

Solidarność Counterrevolution Checked

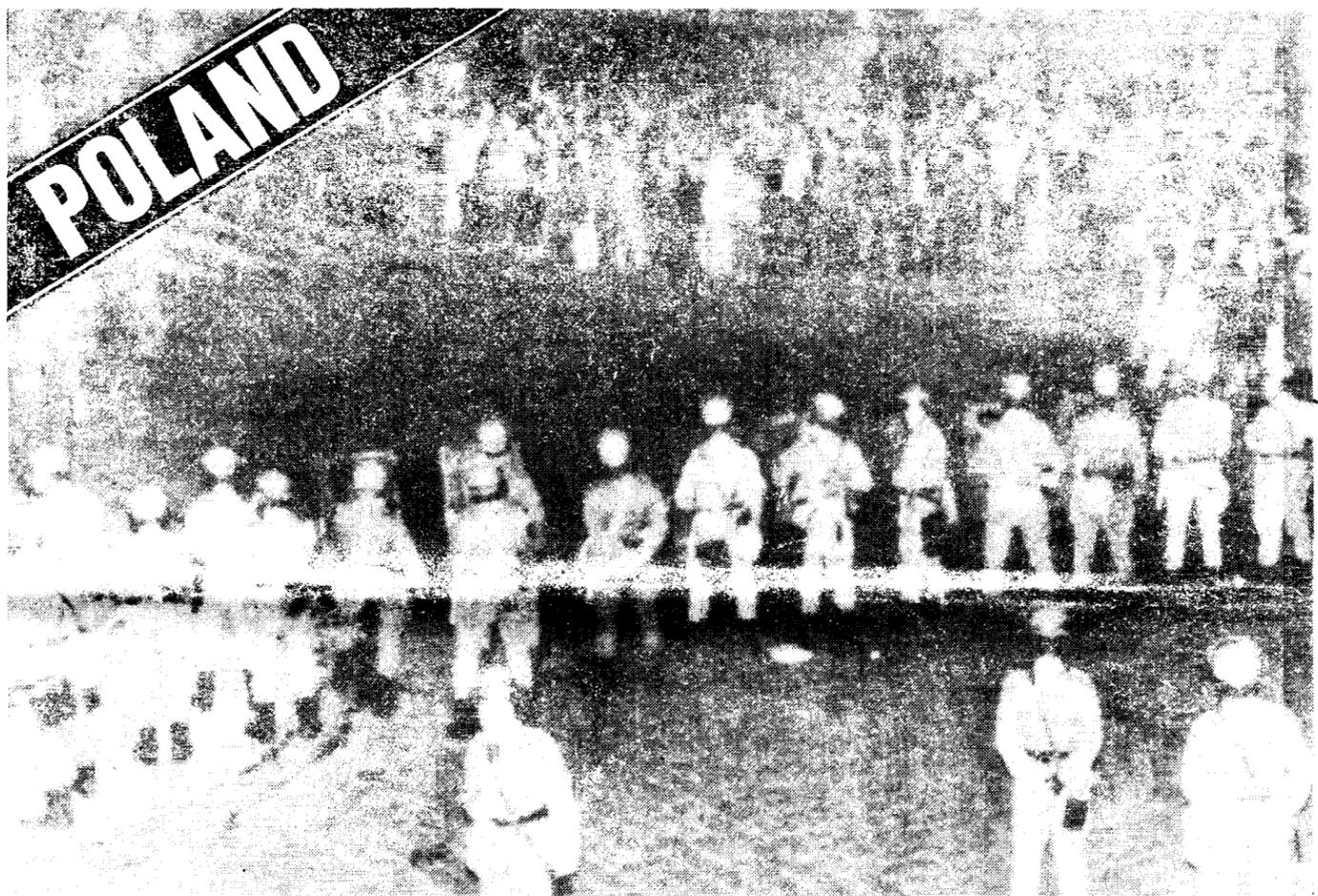
Power Bid Spiked

DECEMBER 15—With the imposition of a "state of war" in Poland, a counterrevolutionary grab for power has been checked. Just hours before the proclamation of military rule, the clerical-nationalist leadership of Solidarność announced it was organizing a national referendum on forming an anti-Communist government and breaking the military alliance with the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. The Warsaw regime was ready to take up the challenge. The actual steps taken go far beyond those usually described as martial law, and they seem to have made considerable preparations for the crackdown. So while Reagan and Haig were chasing their Qaddafi will-o'-the-wisp, the Polish government, at what appears to have been the last possible moment to make a move based on power, launched a virtual counter coup.

The Polish Stalinists managed to pull off an effective coup d'état in their own country. Contrary to every instinct and appetite of the ruling bureaucracy, constantly seeking accommodation with imperialism, they were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat. For it must be recognized that Lech Walesa's Solidarność was moving to overthrow not merely the corrupt and discredited Stalinist regime, but social gains inherited from the Bolshevik Revolution—centrally a collectivized planned economy—which were bureaucratically extended to Poland after the Red Army liberated the country from Nazi occupation. That is why this Polish "free trade union" is supported by the forces of imperialist reaction—from Wall Street to the Common Market and the Vatican—and why Ronald Reagan declared that the Polish crisis represented "the beginning of the end of Communism."

With such inflammatory statements, the U.S. imperialist chief sought to provoke a bloodbath in Poland, in order to fuel his anti-Soviet war drive to a white heat. It is in the interests of the working class, in Poland and internationally, that the present suppression of Solidarity's counterrevolution remain "cold"—that is, without bloodshed. The Polish workers must be warned that strikes, protests and other acts of defiance against the martial law would only play into the hands of reactionary adventurers. Massive violence would lead either to the reimposition of a Stalinist totalitarian police state, crushing the workers movement for years, or the victory of capitalist counterrevolution, a world-historic defeat for the socialist cause. Trotskyists seek above all to maintain a relatively open situation, so that a process of recrystallization can begin to take place to forge a proletarian and internationalist vanguard.

If the present crackdown restores



Sipa/Black Star

Polish police surround Solidarność headquarters in Wrocław.

something like the tenuous social equilibrium which existed in Poland before the Gdansk strikes last August—a tacit understanding that if the people left the government alone, the government would leave the people alone—conditions will be opened again for the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist party. Especially in a country as historically evolved as Poland, the proletariat has the capacity to recognize its own historic interests, given time and a relatively open political situation. There must be elements—outside Solidarność, within Solidarność, in the Communist party—with genuinely socialist impulses which have been smothered by the particular confrontation that has dominated Poland over the last year. They must be won to the program of defending proletarian state power against the kind of clerical-nationalist mobilization that brought Poland to the brink of counterrevolution, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Solidarność Bids for Power

At its first national congress, held in Gdansk in September, Solidarność consolidated around a program of open counterrevolution. Its appeal for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc, long a central slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation to Moscow. Behind its call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) was

the program of "Western-style democracy"—that is, capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government. To underscore their ties to the West, Solidarność even demanded that Poland join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and invited to its congress Lane Kirkland, the hardline Cold Warrior head of the American AFL-CIO, and notorious CIA operative Irving Brown, chief of the AFL-CIO's European operations.

Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarność did not and do not consciously seek the chronic unemployment, wage gouging and deterioration of safety conditions that capitalism would bring. If the IMF ever got its hands firmly around the neck of the Polish economy, the workers would soon hanker after the "good old days" under Gomulka and Gierek. It would presage the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis, and set the stage fairly directly for a nuclear Third World War, one way or another. In keeping with the Catholic spirit of Solidarność, one can say: "Forgive them father, for they know not what they do."

In their own way the Stalinists recognized that Solidarność was bent on a final confrontation, but nonetheless they temporized. Negotiations between Jaruzelski and Walesa finally broke down centrally over Solidarność' demand for free elections to local govern-

ment bodies. Under existing conditions in Poland, this would have meant placing governmental power at the base of society in the hands of anti-Communist nationalists such as the neo-Pilsudskiite and anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The event which led directly to the crackdown was Solidarity's attempt to organize the firefighter cadets in Warsaw, a group whose legal status (as throughout Europe) is similar to that of the police. This was one remove away from organizing in the armed forces and militia. The night after police dispersed the cadets' sit-in on December 2, the Solidarność leadership met in Radom in a closed meeting where they made plans for a counterrevolutionary seizure of power. The head of the powerful Warsaw region, Zbigniew Bujak, declared that "the government should be finally overthrown" and proposed the organization of a Solidarność militia for that purpose. Someone turned the tapes of this meeting over to the government, which repeatedly played them on state radio (see "Solidarność Counterrevolutionary Plot Exposed" on page 10). Many Poles were no doubt shocked, especially at the duplicity of the "moderate" Walesa who told his colleagues to keep saying, "we love you socialism," while plotting the government's overthrow.

With their secret plans exposed, the
continued on page 10

"The Libyans are Coming, The Libyans are Coming!"

Having failed to uncover a made-in-Moscow "international terrorist conspiracy" in the United States, the Reagan regime came up with the Libyan Plot. A five-man hit squad (or ten-man, if you read the *Washington Post*) has supposedly been sent by Colonel Qaddafi of Libya to assassinate the American president in revenge for stuff like the U.S. shooting down two Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sidra in August and earlier shutting up Billy Carter. The Libyan plans involve (take your pick) "shooting down Air Force One, the Presidential jet, with a surface-to-air missile, blowing up the President's limousine with a rocket or attacking the President at close range with small arms" (*New York Times*, 4 December).

Behind it all, it's now revealed, lurks elusive superterrorist "Carlos the Jackal" (whom no one has ever seen for sure) publicized by Claire Sterling in the Reaganite bible, *The Terror Network*. But the only "evidence" so far of Libyan terrorists going after U.S. officials is an alleged attack on the American chargé d'affaires in Paris last month. In an article entitled "He Came from Central Casting," social-democratic journalist Diana Johnstone noted that the purported assassin missed hitting anything with seven shots fired at pointblank range against the unprotected diplomat (*In These Times*, 25 November-1 December). It all sounds like a script for Efram Zimbalist, Jr. in "The FBI," but it's an all-too-real attempt to generate xenophobic hysteria as part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.



Under Reagan's bed?

The Libyan Plot is such a clumsy production that not even the gullible bourgeois press is buying it wholesale. The *Washington Post* (8 December) carried a front-page analysis by Haynes Johnson calling it "The Believe It or Not Show" and concluding that the reports "are setting a new standard of incredibility." Moreover, they are "reminiscent of the talk about Castro in the days when the United States was planning the Bay of Pigs invasion, and, in fact, commissioning 100 assassination schemes against Castro." The *New York Times* (11 December) noted that "European spokesmen seemed more amused than

alarmed at the reports of the assassination squads...." And ABC's Ted Koppel on "Nightline" remarked how reminiscent it all was of the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident, later proved to be a U.S. government fabrication designed to whip up pro-war sentiment.

The absurdity of it all is not that Qaddafi is incapable of dreaming up such a plot—he is a messianic Muslim fundamentalist dictator who has supported terrorists from the PLO to Idi Amin—but that the imperialist U.S. government has become fixated on the threat of Libya, a country of barely two million. With Washington threatening a naval blockade in the Caribbean and after its provocation against Libya in the Mediterranean last August, Reagan's charges of "unlawfulness" against Qaddafi are like Hitler condemning Al Capone for brutality. As for terrorism, CIA-trained gusanos are the biggest assassins around, and don't forget what the "land of the free and home of the brave" did to the peasants and workers of Vietnam.

Qaddafi complains, with rather more justification, that the United States is trying to assassinate *him*. Reports have been circulating for months of current CIA plots for the "ultimate" removal of the Libyan strongman: the plan as presented to the House Select Committee on Intelligence reportedly includes a "disinformation" campaign, the creation of a "counter-government" and "an escalating paramilitary campaign" (*Newsweek*, 3 August). Just last month the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force"

mounted "Operation Brightstar," a joint military exercise with the Egyptian army along the Libyan border. In another twist of this complex script, Qaddafi, as everyone now knows, has armed himself with the help of "retired" CIA operatives Wilson and Terpil, who have remarkably escaped prosecution by the massive apparatus of the U.S. government (see "The CIA's Libya Connection," *Workers Vanguard* No. 294, 4 December). Ironically, there is considerable evidence that the U.S. originally sponsored their current Libyan bogeyman as an anti-Communist prop in the Arab world.

The anti-Libya campaign is linked to administration plans to justify increased domestic police power for the CIA, a move which even has former Agency director Stansfield Turner worried ("the ethic of intelligence is to get the job done in spite of local laws"). And it's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive begun by Carter and rolling ahead full steam under Reagan. Qaddafi is no flower child, but he's certainly small fry compared to U.S. imperialism, the most monstrously armed terrorist power ever, whose nuclear war aims are a clear and present danger to all the peoples of the world. Only revolutionary action by the international working class can prevent the American imperialists from embarking on new adventures that may end in World War III.

A little while ago, Qaddafi's menace was held to be concentrated above all in his takeover of Chad, the key domino to Central Africa. Hence the panicky call from the anti-communist Sudan to hold the Libyan threat at bay. But Qaddafi's feelings were hurt by Chad's president, who demanded hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, and the few thousand Libyan troops left, doubtless flown out as they'd been flown in—by freelance Americans. P.S. to General Haig—the southern fringe of the Sahara is the road to nowhere and even harder to get out of than into, as the new African "peace-keeping" force for Chad is surely finding out. ■

Village Voice Redbaiting Transit Militants

We reprint below two letters you probably won't see in the Village Voice.

New York City
14 December 1981

To the editor of the *Village Voice*:

We tried to have a letter printed in the *Voice* protesting your dirty little piece of red-baiting by Joe Conason against militant candidates in the Transit Workers Union elections and the Spartacist League. However, you insisted in making editorial changes not dictated by questions of space. Our purpose in writing was not to go through your editorial process but to protest against it. Since that is not possible anyone who is interested in seeing what we had to say can read the letter in *Workers Vanguard*.

Jan Norden
for the Spartacist League

New York City
11 December 1981

To the Editor of the *Village Voice*:

Your article "TWU Reformers Split Again" penned by Joe Conason simply dismisses the campaign of Arthur [sic] Kartsen as a "token campaign," "supported by the Trotskyist splinter group known as the Spartacist League." If the author had even taken the time to peruse Kartsen's election material he would have at least realized his name was Ed not Arthur, and that Arnold Cherry is not, as your article claims, the only black candidate for president.

Of course the Spartacist League

supports the candidacy of Ed Kartsen. What's wrong with a labor socialist organization endorsing candidates for union office? It's a question of program. In fact throughout the union there are a number of slates that correspond to a number of political programs. "No-strike, Giveback" Lawe who's done his best to destroy the militant traditions of this union is the preferred candidate of some of the city's financial powers. The anti-labor *Post* supports Mike Warren whose specialty is dragging the bosses courts into union affairs. It is correct and logical that the wretchedly reformist Communist Party backs Arnold Cherry. Their programs coincide: reliance on the Democratic Party and the government—and everything flows from this. Cherry was one of the founders and leading spokesmen for the Citywide Coalition of Blacks for Barbaro, the phony "friend of labor" the CP hustled votes for throughout the unions and ghettos of this city. Cherry runs to the courts as a substitute for mobilizing the ranks of the union to fight just as the CP calls on the racist bourgeois state to ban the Klan rather than mobilize labor and blacks to smash these vermin.

We stand for working class independence from the capitalist parties and for the mobilization of labor to defend workers rights. That's why we support Ed Kartsen and David Brewer, who is running for executive board of the car maintenance division. They are the only candidates who recognize the need to strike, the need to mobilize the power of the union to fight the attacks on the TWU and the racist cutbacks of Reagan and Koch. Their class struggle program demonstrates that the workers must rely

on their own mobilized strength to get what they need: bust the Taylor Law through strike action, get the bosses courts out of the union, for union action to fight racial discrimination, break with the Democrats—build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Last July, when black motorman Jesse Cole bled to death in his crumpled cab, Kartsen and Brewer fought to shut the system down and make the funeral a massive protest. More recently, they fought for union action to shut down the "Train to the Plane" to defend the right to strike and support PATCO. Why wouldn't we just like every other political tendency in the labor move-

ment want to see candidates who share our program run for union office?

While you rushed to the defense of Arnold Cherry against the smear attack of Lynn Marcus' "New Solidarity International Press Service" which charges that the dissidents are "mushy headed disrupters controlled from the outside," you dismiss the Kartsen campaign with the same kind of swipe. You singled us out in particular. It's just gratuitous, gutter red-baiting in the best traditions of your owner, Rupert Murdoch. You sure work for the right guy.

George Crawford
for the Spartacist League

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Reds on

REDS

Paramount

"Well, Jack got serious on us," says the dilettante left-wing editor Max Eastman in *Reds*. He was consoling John Reed's wife Louise Bryant, distraught over her husband's intense plunge into building the American Communist movement. Such scenes make Warren Beatty's *Reds* particularly interesting to revolutionaries. Part of the film's obvious popularity surely is due to the careful construction of a film that allows for many levels of perception, including the one that communists bring to it. Although the Reed/Bryant love story is the film's focus—it is not really a political film—nonetheless its political background is extraordinary in Ronald Reagan's America: sympathetic treatment of the Russian Revolution and the founding of the American

A Review by Pat Kincaid

Communist movement. There is the Reed/Bryant/Eugene O'Neill triangle, but the powerful impact of the Russian Revolution itself becomes almost a third party to Reed and Bryant's affair, a field against which character is developed and tested.

Beatty treats the stormy politics of the First World War and postwar revolutionary upheavals seriously because his hero becomes a serious



John Reed as war correspondent, 1915.

Communist. Unusually, Beatty takes more liberties with the love story than with the socialist politics. The events of the Russian October 1917 Revolution, the subject matter of Reed's stirring *Ten Days That Shook the World* (see box, page 10), appear only briefly. But there is a good deal of politics in *Reds*. Not only the politics of *Reds* reflect Reed; the film also reflects his romanticism and sometimes, to its detriment, his sentimentality. Beatty is interested in what made Reed different from Eastman and Louise Bryant, from the frustrated liberal muckraker Lincoln Steffens and the rest of his libertarian Greenwich Village friends. From Harvard gadfly and culture hero, Reed raised reporting to an art, and then graduated from theatricality to the social drama of the greatest events of the class struggle. Beatty is clearly fascinated by the tension in Reed between the artist-rebel and the revolutionary who decides for the disciplined vanguard party against his temperament. However, the film does not emphasize Reed's participation in the Paterson, New Jersey textile strike and IWW miners strikes in the West, where he came first to a working-class perspective of struggle.

Many reviewers place *Reds* in the "Zivago tradition" of counterrevolutionary heroes whose private lives are tragically torn apart by great historical events (*Nicholas and Alexandra*). But *Reds* is something of an anti-Zivago whose hero resolves his conflict between private and public life with ever-deepening political commitment. Thus many reviewers like the movie despite its political background. We like *Reds* because of it.

We have become used to the anti-Communist distortions and primitive class prejudice that characterize Hollywood's product, the stupidity and massive disregard of historical truth, the unerring ability to get the politics wrong—in the service of ideology. We do not expect Hollywood movies to realistically present meetings of militant workers and socialists, nor to characterize political confrontations fairly in tone and substance, movies peopled by recognizably serious socialists. Still less do we imagine Hollywood can present arguments on the left with anything resembling honesty or generosity to the

actual historical characters. We were surprised by *Reds*. The political arguments, though condensed, are powerful, as Beatty has his hero answer the best arguments of his opponents. This is particularly true in the confrontation between Reed and the anarchist Emma Goldman in the midst of the bitter cold, misery and starvation of revolutionary Russia. There he effectively defends the Bolsheviks' struggle to consolidate the revolution against the efforts by 16 imperialist armies and the Russian White Guards to strangle it.

More surprising still was that Beatty took on directly the shaping influence of the Russian Revolution on American radicals. Here is a film that comes along in Reagan's America, amid the most massive war build-up in history with the deepest bourgeois consensus since McCarthyism. In Cold War II, the film presents a hero who struggles against capitalism and defends the Russian Revolution. U.S. audiences aren't likely to leave the theater humming the "Internationale" or "Trotsky's Red Army," but coming from the man who made *Shampoo*, *Reds* is quite an accomplishment.

If leftists are likely to enjoy *Reds* and respect Beatty's research, feminists shouldn't be too happy with the portrayal of Louise Bryant. Beatty is true to the accounts of her as a self-centered, rather flaky "emancipated" woman. Against the great political events of the period, her all-consuming desire to make a name for herself is shown as petty, narrow egotism. For the first part of *Reds* she is a pill, carping about her self-development even on the train to Petrograd, 1917: Annie Hall goes to the Russian Revolution. With Bryant and the boy scout portrayal of Reed, Beatty shows the difficulty, indeed the general failure of a layer of romantic libertarians to emancipate themselves from sexual jealousy and to actually make lives out of their notions of "free love." Bryant's real development in *Reds* comes with the recognition of the importance of the Russian Revolution and some perspective on her own life with Reed. She rejects the cynically individualist Eugene O'Neill to enact what Beatty portrays as a heroic act of love for Reed.

Despite its sympathetic portrayal of

left-wing causes in right-wing America, *Reds* hasn't generated political controversy—even Ronald Reagan, who saw it in a private showing with Beatty, reportedly liked it. (Although according to the *New York Times* he was "hoping for a happy ending." For Reagan doubtless this means the defeat of the gains of October and a victory of the White armies which he and his class have been working for since 1917.) Of course the love story dominates the film, but Beatty's shrewd and artistically brilliant use of a "chorus" of aged real-life "witnesses" also acts to lend distance from the political present. The various speakers are contradictory: Henry Miller is a beaten solipist, George Jessel sings "Yankee Doodle Dandy" in uniform, the ex-Trotskyist Arne Swabeck explains how revolutionary Russia was surrounded by the imperialist armies like a noose. The overall effect is to fix the events in a distant, dimly if at all remembered past.

But the ideas and impetus to class struggle cannot be relegated to a romantic past, a lost American innocence. *Reds* is no mere nostalgia piece, or as one movie critic put it, "radical chic antique." If simple expositions of class-struggle politics sound strange to most Americans, it is not because of some increased "sophistication" in end-century America, nor the result of time and aging. Fundamental class counterpositions remain; it is the degeneration of the left, the result of massive defeats and the betrayals of Stalinism, which has changed the political terrain. What is needed now is exactly the sort of forthright class opposition shown by the early Communist movement.

The American Communist Party today is no less reformist and pro-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Chicago Transit Crisis:

Bust "Battle-Ax" Byrne!

CHICAGO—Once this city's mass transit system was a showpiece of "the city that works." Now it's a rotten mess, and mayor Jane Byrne along with the banks and industrial capitalists she represents has decided that the primarily black transit workers and the riding public will pay.

The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has savagely cut service and turned maintenance into a joke. The fare was recently raised to 90¢—the highest in the country. As another harsh Chicago winter begins everyone knows they're in for hell on the CTA. As usual, the black areas will be victimized the worst.

The bosses' campaign to make working people pay for the city's financial crisis is spearheaded by an escalating war on the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU, which represents CTA workers. Having effectively cut off all city aid to the transit system, "Battle-ax" Byrne now intends to make up for the CTA's \$138 million deficit by slashing service, imposing layoffs and freezing wages. Byrne even demands that the ATU reopen its contract, which doesn't expire until next December, to pave the way for massive contractual takeaways.

Despite this attack on a key section of the Chicago city labor movement, Byrne is being criticized by such capitalist

mouthpieces as the Civic Federation for being *soft*. Clearly, all sections of the city workforce will come under the cutback ax if Byrne wins this critical test of strength.

There's only one way to repel such all-out assaults on working people: plain old-fashioned class struggle. But union leaders continue to preach reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party at a time when it's Democrats like Byrne who administer Reagan austerity in the form of municipal misery for blacks, Latinos and the entire working class.

Under Byrne, the racist, brutal Chicago police force has broken the grisly record for prisoners "committing suicide"—more than New York and Los Angeles put together! In two years, 23 men—mostly black or Latino and typically arrested only hours before on minor charges—have allegedly hanged themselves in jails throughout the city. And trigger-happy, racist transit police shoot CTA riders for such "crimes" as smoking.

The December 19 "Solidarity Day II" rally called by the ATU is intended only to let off steam and rebuild faith in the racist anti-labor Democrats. Such class collaborationism is the road of utter defeat for minorities and other working people. ATU Local 241 president John Weatherspoon has consented to a *wage*



Martha Leonard

Jane Byrne's blues for Chicago workers, blacks

freeze through 1984 because the Democrats in the state legislature won't answer his pleas for aid unless transit workers "sacrifice." Back in '79 Weatherspoon and other misleaders of the Chicago ATU locals came to Byrne's assistance by ending a powerful four-day strike without a contract. Such agents of the bosses must be booted out in the struggle to break labor's ties to the Democratic Party.

The 1979 defeat was a minor episode compared to what the bosses have in store for city workers today. And the attack won't stop with transit. The betrayal of two years ago helped the bosses pick off the municipal unions—transit, teachers and firemen—one at a time. Now joint class-struggle action by the city unions is even more necessary. Only strike action will ensure that every

cut is restored, that every "eliminated" city worker is rehired and that Chicago's working people finally win high-quality *free* mass transit.

It's reached the point under Byrne that you have to chuck a buck into the fare box to take an express bus to work. But it's not just Chicago. Soon they may bring back the Susan B. Anthony "tin" dollar, which everyone knows was intended to serve as a subway token. What's happening is the decay and deliberate ruin of America's inner cities. And as usual it's blacks and other minorities who are told to ride at the back of the bus. The Spartacist League rejects the "New Deal" illusions perpetuated by reformists and liberals to keep the working class politically disarmed. For class struggle to bust the Reagan/Byrne offensive! ■

Detroit Labor, Blacks, Students:

Clean Out South End Racist Nest!

DETROIT, 15 December—After two weeks of turmoil over racist provocations in the Wayne State campus newspaper, the *South End*, the Student Newspaper Publications Board today tried to hide from black outrage behind closed doors and a barricade of police. A public hearing called to rule on the status of racist FBI-loving editor E. Dale Lee had been moved to a secret location. But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which brought out some 60 black and white students and auto workers from several Detroit-area plants, found out and the whole group marched over to the meeting. They found the room blocked with riot-equipped Detroit cops, but to no avail. For over an hour the spirited crowd rallied in the hallway, chanting, discussing strategy to fight the fascists. Finally, they spotted the Publications Board sneaking out a side door and forced them to hold the public meeting.

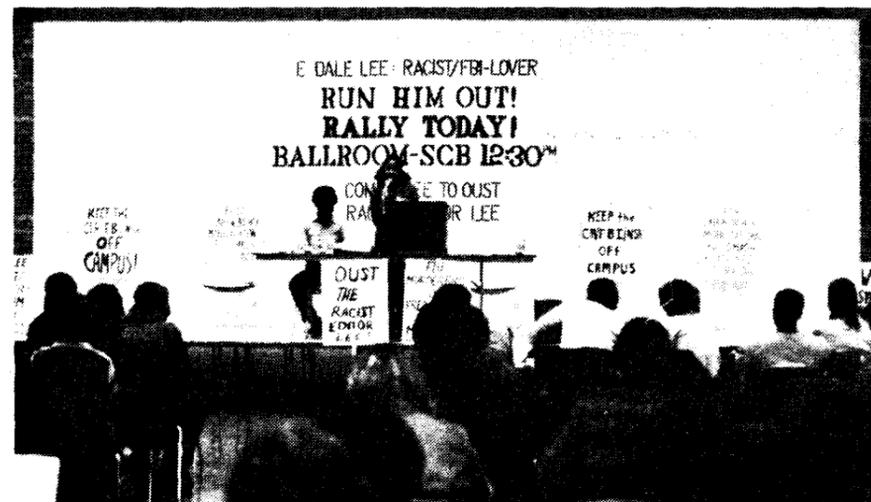
Succumbing to pressure from the SYL, which had initiated a student Committee to Oust Racist Editor Lee, the board had earlier announced Lee's temporary suspension. On Monday the SYL forced them to agree to hold Lee's hearing publicly. But when they finally faced the students, it was only to announce they were postponing any decision until next Tuesday, by which time classes will be over and the students scattered or embroiled in exams!

The protests were sparked by Lee's publication in the *South End* of a vile racist "cartoon" entitled "How Many Honkies Are in This Picture?" and depicting five identical black basketball players and a white-sheeted Klansman. Even after this "cartoon" generated widespread outrage, Lee kept up his provocative filth. "I personally do support what the FBI does," he an-

nounced (*Detroit Free Press*, 26 November) at the very time three Klansmen, one an admitted FBI informer, stand trial here for conspiring to kill a black man. Last week the *South End* published an interview with a Klansman which waxed lyrical on a cross-burning and "failed" to mention that the KKKer served six years in prison for fire-

calling on unionists to join the campaign:

"Auto workers slave on the assembly line so our kids can get out of the ghettos and out of the plants. Now as layoffs mount and tuition goes up, black students are being driven out of Wayne State. The racists don't want to stop there. They want a lily-white school in the middle of a black city."



Young Spartacus

SYL-Initiated rally December 3 mobilizes Wayne State students in anti-racist campaign.

bombing school buses in Pontiac, Michigan; an article on Hitler which never mentioned the Nazis' murder of six million Jews; and yet another racist "cartoon," this time on a rape case at WSU. The front-page drawing showed a weeping blond girl menaced by sinister eyes from the surrounding darkness.

On December 3, a protest by the Committee brought out some 100 people (see "South End Racist Editor Has to Go!" *Young Spartacus* No. 96, December 1981/January 1982). And militants in the giant Ford River Rouge plant here have circulated a leaflet

Last Friday the protest against *South End* racist provocations was taken to the Detroit city council by Spartacist League spokesman Don Andrews. However, the council members refused to take a position, using bogus arguments about freedom of the press. (This is not surprising coming from a body which permits fascists to parade their swastikas and KKK paraphernalia in downtown Detroit while arresting anti-fascist demonstrators.) And the ACLU is now defending racist Lee. But free speech is not the issue—a nest of racist provocateurs has taken over the official

student newspaper of WSU. As angry students proclaimed today, Wayne State is becoming a breeding ground for the Klan. This is intolerable. Run the racists out of the *South End*!

Even while support for the SYL-initiated campaign to oust the racist editor has grown, a wretched black nationalist outfit and some scab "socialists" finally came out into the open to direct their main fire... against the SYL. The tiny pan-Africanist "Association of Black Students" (ABS) drew 25 people to a rally December 10 with a leaflet advertising their "principal[sic] struggle against Spartacism." The rally was co-sponsored by Peter Sollenberger's miserable Revolutionary Workers League (RWL).

This disgusting policy comes from two groups who have abstained on every recent struggle by black students at WSU, starting with last year's successful campaign by the SYL which drove out the *South End* editors who applauded the acquittal of KKK/Nazi murderers in Greensboro. The ABS' paper, *Spirit and Drum*, says openly: "Should we demand 'fire the editor'?" No." And at the December 3 rally by the Committee to Oust Lee, one RWLer tried unsuccessfully to circumvent the security measures undertaken to protect against possible right-wing violence, an act which provided an opening for the cops to harass the meeting. At a time when the campus is polarized over the issue of the *South End*'s racist editor, when Committee supporters have been physically attacked by racist thugs, their actions go beyond sectarianism to *objectively aiding the Klan and the FBI!*

The *South End* must not be allowed to continue as a racist mouthpiece! Remove Lee and all those responsible for the *South End*'s racist provocations! ■

The Russian Question Pointblank

SL/SYL Faces the Reagan Years

The Central Committee of the Spartacist League recently held a major and full meeting of its membership in the Midwest. This was the second plenum of the sixth SL CC. Some 200 comrades attended the weekend's proceedings, including visitors from several other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The main political report by SL National Chairman James Robertson took place on Friday evening and was open to attendance by all SL and Spartacus Youth League members. The next day was reserved for the Central Committee plenary session to which all full members of SL Midwest branches were invited. Over 90 SYL members and various interested party observers attended the SYL Active Workers Conference held on Sunday. Youth members from as far away as California and Massachusetts made the trek so as to be able to participate in the SYL conference.

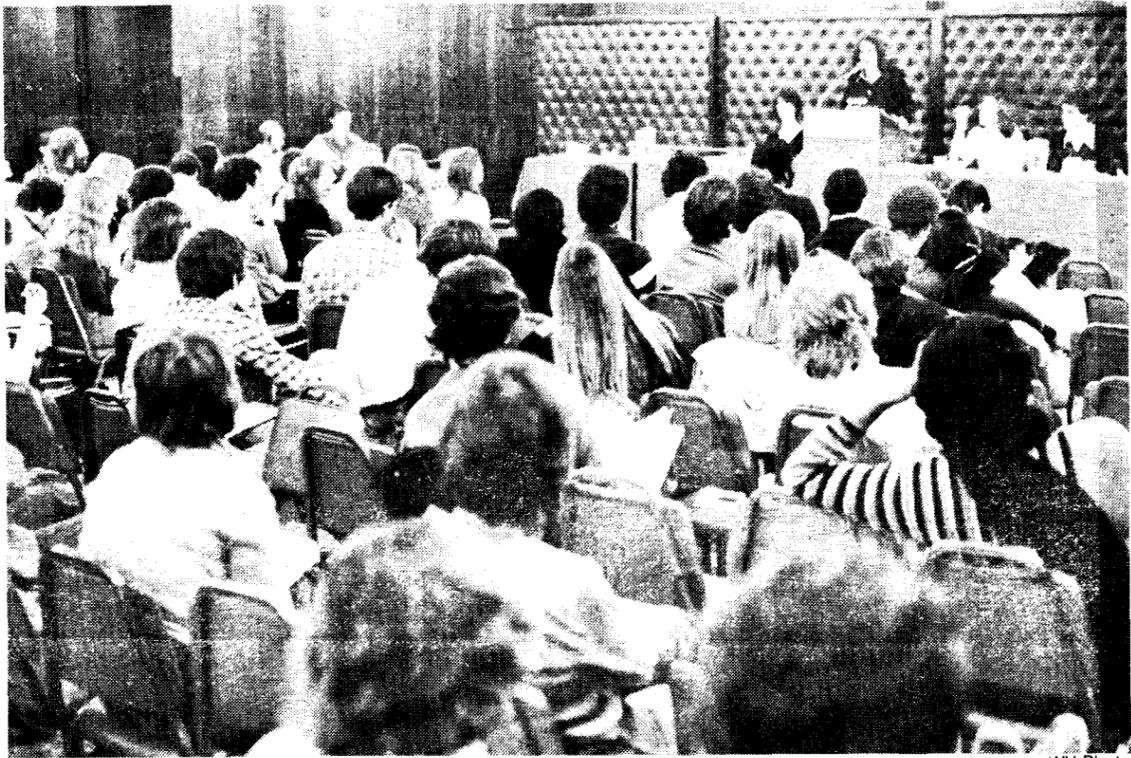
A memorandum prepared for the gathering entitled "SL/U.S. Faces the Reagan Years: The Russian Question Pointblank, For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan! For a Workers Party!" provided the primary focus for the plenum discussion. The plenum unanimously adopted the memorandum, noting the necessity to add to it a particular section on the black struggle and to more decisively set the section on Poland into an international context. Also approved by the Central Committee were a series of personnel shifts aimed at strengthening party branches in the industrial heartland of the Midwest. Due to the combination of pronounced inflation and the corresponding sharp increases in federal income taxes, which have resulted in a two-sided financial squeeze on the party membership and on the organization as a whole, the CC also approved a necessary reduction in the minimum sustaining pledge each comrade is expected to pay.

The SYL conference included a spirited discussion on recruitment opportunities, particularly among black youth, and the task of education and assimilation of the large number of new comrades recruited last spring and summer out of our intervention into the protest activism ignited over El Salvador.

"We are entering a period of considerable opportunity and considerable danger," the SL memorandum noted. "It is this combination which challenges our small fighting propaganda group struggling to meet the tasks of a vanguard nucleus in the changed climate of the Reagan years." In light of the rapid political changes which have occurred in the U.S. since Reagan's election—with considerable effect on the world at large—the ability of the SL leadership to discuss and quickly adopt a series of analyses, observations on and a guide to action for the immediate period demonstrates a cohesiveness of both program and cadre in this critical juncture for the party.

Reagan's election meant a turn further to the right on all political and social questions. But now with PATCO-style union busting and drastic social programs which economically threaten every known sector including the aged and the crippled, the mood is beginning to crack. And it is tending to crack along class lines. While the politics of sectoralism dominated the radical opposition in the late 1960s and '70s, when each oppressed group was urged to organize on the basis of its own oppression, opposition to Reagan is differentiated depending on whether one is a petty-

SYL holds Active Workers Conference to assimilate new recruits.



WV Photo

bourgeois university student with a chance at the "good life" or a proletarian backed up against the wall. The half million workers who marched in Washington on September 19 showed that what has long been true for the black population is now becoming true for broad layers of the working class: they know they have an enemy in the White House. Thus the adoption by the party Central Committee of a fighting perspective:

"The objective possibility exists to bring Reagan down in sharp class struggle by the proletariat leading the oppressed. We remember that despite U.S. constitutional peculiarities, Nixon was dumped one jump ahead of a jail sentence and more significantly that LBJ was effectively brought down after the Tet offensive of 1968. . . . It was the heroism of the Vietnamese that brought Johnson down. Our perspective is a fighting labor movement to do the same to Reagan."

Poland and the Russian Question

Central to a revolutionary opposition to Reagan reaction is defense of the Soviet Union against the U.S. drive toward imperialist war aimed at the heart of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The Russian Question is the question of proletarian revolution in the U.S. and internationally. Appropriately, both the main report to the Central Committee plenary session and a special educational point at the SYL conference took up crucial aspects of our demand that Polish Solidarity's counterrevolution must be crushed by any means necessary.

Reagan's embracing of Solidarność occurs within the context of U.S. imperialism's campaign to forge a global anti-Soviet war axis. From Central America (where the murderous right-wing Salvadoran junta is backed by the U.S. as a bulwark against "Soviet/Cuban aggression" even as Haig steps up threats to blockade Nicaragua and Cuba) to the brutal apartheid regime of South Africa which has now taken its real place as a bastion of the "free world" (i.e., U.S. surrogate in the region) the anti-Soviet war drums beat loudly. The memorandum states:

"It is in Poland that Reagan sees the best possibility to realize his revanchist appetites toward the Soviet Union by rolling back the social and economic gains of the postwar transformation of Eastern Europe carried out as a 'cold' process by the Russian army in the wake of the defeat of Nazi Germany. The Polish crisis is seen as well as a choice opportunity for the U.S. ruling class to

finally slough off the effects of 'Vietnam syndrome' with an aggressive propaganda campaign to refurbish the discredited slogans of the Cold War ('free trade unions') and enlist the American people in an anti-Communist crusade."

There has been surprisingly little overt internal trouble over the party's line on Poland throughout the iSt. Rightist impulses to flinch in the U.S. tended to be posed as excessive worry about world reaction to Russian intervention, with the implication that it might not be worth the popularity cost. While our position will send our opponents into Stalinophobic spasms and isolate us somewhat in the U.S., there is no reason to assume its universal unpopularity—particularly in countries with a mass Stalinist base and a traditional antagonism to the church among advanced workers (e.g., Italy, France).

In any case, the need to stop the threat of bloody capitalist restoration and the establishment of a NATO eastern front is the decisive criterion for the formulation of our line. As the reporter on the document commented:

"We do not like and do not find it an ordinary experience in history, but certainly when the program of the emancipation of the working class is in flat contradiction with a section of the working class our loyalties reside with the program."

That the bulk of the working class in Poland has embarked on a counterrevolutionary course behind the clerical/nationalist, pro-imperialist Solidarność is one of the great crimes of Stalinism. An account of the destruction of the once-superior Polish party by the Stalinist usurpers given in the main presentation underlined this:

"In the old days of the Communist International under Lenin and later the saying was, as I remember Shachtman quoting from back when he was a Communist, 'We used to say that the German party is the biggest and the Polish the best.' Well, comrades, the Polish party really was the best. It was the biggest of the main Comintern parties that, when the issue that Trotsky is not so hot came out in 1923, abstained on the question in their Political Bureau pending receipt of the documents. That was the regime of the three W's [Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa].

"They were purged. There were two more purges, complete purges of the Polish Central Committee, and still Stalin was not satisfied with the Polish Communist Party; and in about 1938 he liquidated it on the grounds that it was nothing but a nest of police spies and provocateurs, i.e., Trotskyites. . . .

"It had the interesting effect that when

in 1944 the Russian army rolled through Poland fighting the Germans they created completely fresh from the egg a brand new bureaucratic apparatus completely in the image—completely, utterly without a trace of hypocrisy due to old norms and old forms—in the image of then Stalin's Russia. So while I don't think this has any particular decisive qualities compared to the Stalinist party of Romania, Hungary or the rest of them, at least these other parties had cadres who were old Stalinists and who knew better. . . .

"Certainly the Polish Stalinist party that took over the administration of Poland were simply guys that they grabbed from around who were willing to do the job. And they had to be, therefore, overwhelmingly scoundrels without even an honorable past to live down, an enormous gang of careerists who were willing to become quislings for one of the historic enemies of Poland.

"And one has to have some sort of motive—so what's the motive going to be? Massive corruption that would shame the chief of the KGB.

"The irony is that in that sector of the tsarist empire which first produced a good workers party, the party Proletariat, born in Warsaw a decade or two before they had a party circle in Petersburg, and that produced what used to be called the best party in the Communist International—had to be so thoroughly destroyed root and branch that the Polish Workers Party of today has less nominal continuity than the American CP, small though it is."

Against the Anti-Soviet Popular Front!

The Russian question is key not only because of direct military threats from the White House, but also because the developing class-collaborationist anti-Reagan mood has an explicit or implicit anti-Soviet thrust as well. The Democratic Party and its labor lieutenants are just as anti-Soviet as is Reagan. Supporting the military buildup against the Soviets, Kirkland & Co. can have no consistent economic program, can mount no credible opposition to Reagan's austerity drive. Their anti-Sovietism can be the millstone that sinks them; it is our opening. Our sales of some 9,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* at the September 19 AFL-CIO demonstrations indicated more than the power of our unique call to shut the airports and win the strike. Among the up to 500,000 workers at the Washington, D.C. march called by a frightened and brittle labor officialdom, there was at least an openness to pro-union socialists. There is a huge political vacuum in the labor movement between ourselves

continued on page 8



Hapless Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo.

Kappa/Liaison

Carrillo Pays the Price of Eurocommunism

Spanish CP Rips Apart



Cambio 16

At PCE 10th Congress last July Carrillo admitted, "This party could self-destruct."

The most spectacular blowup in a mass Communist Party since World War II is tearing apart the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). The latest act in this escalating drama came on December 10 when the leadership of the PCE's Catalan affiliate (PSUC) expelled or suspended 29 central committee members on charges of factionalism. The purge victims are the heads of a so-called "pro-Soviet" left wing representing possibly half the party ranks in Catalonia and especially its working-class base.

Earlier this fall, the Basque Communist Party split in two as its leaders moved to dissolve into a social-democratic nationalist coalition. This move was supported by the ultra-"Eurocommunist" right wing of the PCE. In response, Communist Party chief Santiago Carrillo not only dissolved the Basque central committee (which thereupon declared its independence) but dumped six right wingers from the national CC and booted half the PCE city councilors in Madrid out of the party. This in turn provoked protests, resignations and expulsions in every CP stronghold in Spain.

Already party membership had fallen drastically, from 200,000 in 1977 to 100,000 today, and the current explosion could easily cut that number in half. The PCE is not so much hemorrhaging as breaking up along every conceivable line of division—and there are plenty. The origins of the crisis lie in the abysmal failure of Eurocommunism, a product of the long process of social-democratization of once-Stalinist parties who despite their reformism are still considered pariahs by their "own" bourgeoisie. Carrillo was the standard-bearer of this tendency, breaking his last ties to Moscow and sloughing off vestiges of Leninist terminology in the hopes of gaining acceptance from the capitalist state. But in the climate of renewed Cold War, the imperialist bourgeoisies have not been interested in a deal.

So the PCE has been left out in the cold, with marginal electoral strength, outflanked by the Socialists and nothing to show for its concessions on everything from wages to democratic rights. Now petty-bourgeois sectors want to go all the way and complete the liquidation into social democracy. Sectors of the working class, however, facing international capitalist economic crisis and the threat of a bonapartist military takeover in Spain, are pressing in a confused and contradictory way for a more militant policy of class struggle. That gives the present crisis of the PCE special importance for authentic Trotskyists, who alone have an international communist program to sweep away the legacy of Francoist dictatorship and open the road to European revolution.

Act I: PSUC and the "Afghans"

When Jimmy Carter unleashed a Cold War barrage over Afghanistan in early 1980, Carrillo was the most shameless of the Eurocommunists in toeing the State Department line. A "Condemnation of the Intervention of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan" was published in the PCE's *Nuestra Bandera* (March-April 1980) alongside a photo featuring a placard calling for "Death to Russia—Get Out of Afghanistan." But this virulent anti-Sovietism did not go down well with much of the Communist ranks. District and local organizations of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) in the Barcelona industrial belt (notably Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental) issued resolutions supporting Soviet aid to Kabul against the CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries. Soon a wing of the PSUC had crystallized which became known as the "Afghans" and was based on sections of the leadership of the CP-led labor

federation, Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). The "Afghans" were not merely or even mainly old Stalinist hardliners left over from the Civil War years, but younger union leaders who had built Comisiones in the clandestine struggle against Francoism.

Discontent in the Catalan party against Carrillo and his policies reached the flashpoint last January 5-6 at the Fifth Congress of the PSUC. By a vote of 424-359 all references to Eurocommunism were struck from the party's programmatic theses. A motion withdrawing earlier PSUC criticism of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was defeated, but altogether 19 amendments by the "pro-Soviets" were adopted. Among them were calls for a referendum on Spanish entry into the Common Market (the PCE is for entry), for dismantling U.S. bases in Spain (the PCE is silent on the issue), and for relations of "friendship and solidarity" with the USSR. This strong offensive by the "Afghans" led to the resignation of the Eurocommunist PSUC general secretary Antoni Gutiérrez Díaz, who was replaced by the "Leninist" Francesc Frutos. (At the PCE's Ninth Congress in 1978, Frutos was the minority spokesman against Thesis 15 which eliminated references to Leninism in the party program.) The challenge to Carrillo was crystal clear. But for all the ideological thunder, the PSUC had not broken politically with Eurocommunism, much less gone over to anything resembling Leninism.

The liberal weekly *Cambio 16* (19 January) noted the confused nature of polemics at the PSUC congress, commenting that the CP was rent by several overlapping divisions: "Eurocommunists vs. pro-Soviets, intellectuals vs. workerists, Carrilloists vs. anti-Carrilloists, centralists vs. federalists, old vs. young, party vs. trade union." The political distinctions were far from clear. The "Leninists," for example, had split from the Eurocommunist leadership over Carrillo's Thesis 15; otherwise they were virtually politically identical with Gutiérrez & Co. On the other hand, the "Leninists" are based on the Catalan Comisiones where they had joined with "Afghans" in throwing out the Carrilloists in mid-1980. On the hottest issue the new general secretary voted with the minority for retaining the term Eurocommunism. Yet Frutos and a whole group of his "Leninist" cohorts were elected to run the PSUC with the support of the "Afghans," in horse trading aimed at keeping out both "Euros" and the even more right-wing social-democratic grouping known as the *banderas blancas* (white flags).*

As a result of the "Leninist"/"Afghan" rotten bloc, even after this spectacular rebellion which was greeted with enthusiastic support in the PSUC ranks, the new central committee ended up with a majority that fundamentally supports Carrillo. (While "pro-Soviets" won many of the policy fights at the "upset congress," when it came time to elect a CC they took only 25-30 seats out of 110.) This time the wages of opportunism were paid on the barrelhead. Madrid's *El País* (8 January) headlined that "Eurocommunists Support New PSUC Leadership to Contain Pro-Soviets." Frutos immediately turned on his allies, removing the organizational secretariat from "Afghan" hands. PCE tops began spreading rumors of connections with the Soviet embassy and complaints that the weekly Madrid-Aeroflot flights were booked up with Catalans. After a few months of this kind of dirty pool, a PSUC central committee meeting simply brushed

*So-called because they are the remnants of a Maoist split from the '60s, known by the name of their paper *Bandera Roja* (Red Flag), who returned to the PSUC fold in the '70s on a rapid rightward course.

aside the Fifth Congress, declaring Eurocommunism "synonymous with a revolution of the majority" and again condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (*El Periódico*, 17 May).

What really took the wind out of the "Afghan" sails, however, was the PSUC's limp response to the February 23 coup attempt, ostensibly by a couple dozen Guardia Civil troops who seized the Cortes (parliament), but actually backed by top military leaders. That night the working class all over Spain was ready to fight, yet the PCE and Comisiones refused to mobilize and only called for a two-hour strike the next day. In Catalonia the PSUC/CC.OO. originally called for a 48-hour general strike, but by the morning of the 24th this had been reduced to the token two-hour stoppage with workers to stay at their jobs (i.e., no demonstrations). There were local general strikes in the "Afghan" strongholds around Barcelona, but the "Leninists" followed the PCE line of "serenity." Expressing confidence that normalcy reigned despite the *tejerazo*, the PSUC tops even held a meeting in their own headquarters. To top it off, the May CC meeting that "recuperated" Eurocommunism voted to show its faith in the "democratic" military by participating in Armed Forces Day! The Catalan working class logically concluded that the "new" PSUC was no different from the old.

Act II: The PCE Tenth Congress and the "Renovators"

With the left-wing "Afghans" held in check, the right wing of the PCE, the so-called "renovating Eurocommunists," began making noises. Beginning last December, long-time party leader and CP deputy mayor of Madrid Ramón Tamames launched a campaign for a "profound democratization" of the

At Fifth Congress of Catalan PSUC, left-wing "Afghans" rebelled against Eurocommunists.



J. Gol

entitled, "What Are CPs Good For in Europe?":

"In our time it will only be possible to construct a solid left alternative, in the countries where the Socialist and Communist parties are strong, by overcoming the tragic and absurd break of the 1920s.... For our part, we Communists have already said what this means in our opinion: a complete break with the Soviet model, accepting an international policy in the framework of West Europe."
—*La Calle*, June 1981

Carrillo refused to publish the document of this "critical tendency," but the "renovators" won a majority at the Madrid regional conference in early July. At the PCE's Tenth Congress (28-31 July) the Carrilloists trained their sights on this liquidationist social-democratic current, which (with about a

vaguely for a "new political formation" along the lines of British Labourism. With an eye on the "Afghan" ranks he twice made positive remarks about the Russian October Revolution. To reassure the generals he made explicit the PCE's renunciation even of "democratic propaganda" in the military (*Mundo Obrero*, 26 July). But toward "renovator" and "pro-Soviet" leaders he made it clear that at the Tenth Congress there would be winners and losers. If the formation of tendencies is not stopped, he said, "this party could self-destruct in a very short time." However, the tendencies had already formed...

Act III: Basques, Catalans, Everyone

...and the self-destruction of the Spanish Communist Party is under way. The chain reaction began in mid-September when Roberto Leroxundi and a majority of the leadership of the CP's Basque affiliate, the EPK, decided to liquidate into Euzkadiko Ezkerra (EE), a social-democratic nationalist group linked in the past with the "Political-Military" wing of the ETA Basque nationalist guerrillas (ETA-pm). A joint document by the leaders of the EPK and EE called for:

"...the creation of a broad, mass, non-dogmatic class party, which would overcome in theory and practice the historic division within the working class between socialists and communists."

As a condition for "fusion" negotiations, Euzkadiko Ezkerra demanded that the EPK break all ties with the PCE and that the term "democratic socialism" replace "Eurocommunism." This in turn provoked opposition among the working-class sectors of the Basque Communists, which by and large are of non-Basque origins. When Leroxundi agreed to the EE *diktat*, Carrillo dissolved the EPK central committee and ordered a special conference.

As a result there are now two Basque CPs, roughly equal in size, one subordinate to Carrillo & Co. and the other preparing to dissolve into nationalist social democracy. However, at last July's PCE congress Leroxundi was a main spokesman for the "renovating Eurocommunists." So in early November he was invited to speak publicly in Madrid by six "renovator" CC members and five city councilmen of the same tendency. Carrillo thereupon demanded and obtained the ouster from the CC of the six offenders and the expulsion from the party of the Madrid councilmen who had sponsored Leroxundi. Among the CCers dumped were the PCE's leading anti-Soviet theoretician Manuel Azcárate, and several Cortes deputies. This sparked protests throughout the country. The CC of the Andalusian CP

opposed the sanctions as did the Salamanca provincial council, all the PCE councilmen in Valladolid, hundreds of party members in Valencia, etc. Madrid locals representing 9,000 members demanded a special conference.

Meanwhile, the internal fights in the Catalan PSUC were boiling over. In May, party president Pere Ardiaca, a 74-year-old founder of the PSUC, was ousted for his "pro-Soviet" views. Then at the annual fair for the party newspaper *Treball* in September, several hundred "Afghans" drowned out Carrillo with shouts of "traitor" and "out, out!" The dissidents wore badges with the slogan, "I'm Communist. Long Live the Fifth Congress. PSUC." The Eurocommunist tops retaliated by cutting off electricity and water to stands belonging to the Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental districts, which were distributing Soviet-made handicrafts (*El Comunista*, 9 October). Shortly after, a number of left-wingers were expelled by the PSUC executive committee for booing Carrillo at a mass meeting in March.

With tendencies banned, the political fights take place in a counterpoint of physical attacks and bureaucratic abuse. When district party conferences in Barcelona's industrial belt returned big "pro-Soviet" majorities, PSUC's "Leninist" majority retaliated by simply dissolving them, putting dissident locals under its direct financial control. In early November the PSUC youth split in two. And at a CC meeting the Catalan party leadership set a special conference for next March in order to ratify "full support to the strategy of Eurocommunism." Delegate elections were rigged so two-thirds of the membership, in the big Barcelona-area locals, predominantly left-wing, received one-third of the delegates. When "Afghans" on the CC objected that these highhanded measures were undemocratic... all 29 of them were expelled or suspended from the PSUC. No one can say Carrillo didn't teach "Leninist" Frutos how to do it!

Eurocommunism on the Rocks

The debacle of Eurocommunism must be located firmly in the international context. It was U.S. imperialism's post-Vietnam anti-Soviet drive that ultimately led to the demise of the French popular front (see "Why the Union of the Left Fell Apart," *WV* No. 280, 8 May), and which relegated the PCE to the political ghetto. Early in 1978, Jimmy Carter's State Department announced it would not tolerate CP participation in West European governments, whether or not they called themselves Eurocommunists. Whatever his previous chances, that was the end of

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Mundo Obrero

Parliamentary cretins of the PCE call for referendum on NATO entry.

party and to "kick out the Old Guard"—in the first instance Carrillo himself. Having gotten nowhere, Tamames quit the party in early May. But the "renovators" drew up a platform calling for the right to form "currents of opinion" in place of the PCE's Stalinist ban on factions. This tendency is based in particular on the CP municipal councilors, who hold office in coalition with Felipe González' Socialists (PSOE). Thus they represent that layer of the party which is most integrated into the capitalist state apparatus, and their aim is to carry Eurocommunism to its logical conclusion by dissolving the PCE altogether and liquidating into social democracy. A leading "renovator" (and PSUC *bandera blanca*) Jordi Borja expressed this clearly in an article

quarter of the votes) was easily beaten. The "pro-Soviets," with only 6 percent of the delegates, thanks to Frutos & Co., took a dive, not even answering direct attacks or the expulsion of one of their leaders, García Salve, from the party. *Cambio 16* (10 August) called it the *carrillazo*, although there was one hitch in Carrillo's coup: the general secretary himself only came in 15th in voting for the CC.

In his report Carrillo made some "self-critical" gestures to assuage discontent over the poor results of the CP's "policy of concentration" (amounting to partial support of the reformed Francoist governments of Suárez and Calvo Sotelo). Taking note of the "Mitterrand syndrome" and appealing to the "renovating Eurocommunist" ranks, he called

Spanish CP...

(continued from page 7)

Santiago Carrillo's hopes for a "government of national concentration" with Felipe González' Socialists and Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez' reformed Francoist UCD. The French and Italian CPs faced the same imperialist veto, but they had a solid electoral and trade-union base to fall back on, abandoning or toning down their Eurocommunist fervor. In Carrillo's fundamentally weaker position, the only card he could play was ever greater sellouts.

At the time of the PCE's Ninth Congress, in April 1978, we concluded that Carrillo's party had crossed the Rubicon in the direction of social democracy:

"Although apparently the French and Italian CPs are not ready to take such a dramatic and showy step as the PCE's renouncing of 'Leninism,' it is clear that in the case of Carrillo's party there has been a definitive break with the Moscow bureaucracy such that it can no longer be called Stalinist."

—"Spanish CP Goes 'Eurocommunist,'" *WV* No. 205, 12 May 1978

And we predicted that after Carrillo's party officially chose the Spanish king over the Kremlin, "the level of dissidence poses the possibility of large splits to the left." Now this is occurring before our eyes. But the leftists do not have a Leninist program. The so-called "pro-Soviets" have no proletarian internationalist policy to replace Carrillo's Eurocommunist class-collaboration internationally; they had no answer to the February 23 coup attempt internally.

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism

In their amendments to the draft theses for the Catalan PSUC's Fifth Congress, the "Afghans" of the District Committee of Vallès Occidental simply proposed to eliminate criticism of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. They admit the bourgeois character of the "Iranian Revolution," recognize the problems posed by the Iraq-Iran war (between two purportedly radical-nationalist Islamic regimes), but do not present a coherent international class line. Their criterion is the foreign-policy alignment toward the USSR of the bourgeois nationalist dictatorship in question (which would have made Egypt "progressive" under Nasser and reactionary under the latter-day Sadat). International questions are decisive—one need only look at the impact of the Polish events throughout Europe—and the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) have been unique in fighting for a consistent Marxist analysis and program. The iSt calls for "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarność Counter-revolution!" in Poland, while struggling for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies throughout the degenerated/deformed workers states.

Leftist militants breaking from Carrillo's Eurocommunist fiasco must confront above all the question of Stalinism vs. Trotskyism. As Trotsky predicted as long ago as 1928 (in *The Third International After Lenin*), the definitive subordination of the Moscow-loyal Communist Parties to their "own" bourgeoisies is simply the logical extension of Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country." From this flows the class-collaborationist policy of the popular front, allying with the "national" bourgeoisie, and "national

defense." It was under this sign that the PSUC was born in the mid-1930s. And it was on this platform that it played a decisive role in defeating the most important class mobilization of the Catalan proletariat—the May Days of 1937.

Today left-wing "Afghans" reject Carrillo's cringing oaths of loyalty to king and Carter. Yet the theses of the PSUC's Fifth Congress, which they defend, endorse the PCE's program of "national reconciliation" during the 1960s and early '70s—the Stalinist basis for today's Eurocommunist sellouts. PSUC left-wingers now object to the "implementation" of the Moncloa Pacts. And indeed, when the Pacts were first signed in 1977, 100,000 protested in Barcelona, led by the same CC.OO. leaders who today are called "pro-Soviets." Yet the protest stopped with a single march—for the latter-day "Leninists" and "Afghans" were not prepared to wage a head-on struggle with the Spanish state. They dissented from Carrillo & Co. but had no independent policy of their own.

Authentic Trotskyists (not the social-democratic imposters of the LCR)

called repeatedly for a working-class offensive against the hated bonapartist dictatorship in the wake of Franco's death. The PCE in all its wings, Eurocommunist or neo-Stalinist, sought a pact with "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie. Carrillo settled for less, the "Afghans" want more—but the fundamental program is the same. Genuine communists fight not for a "neutral Spain," a slogan common to all wings of the PCE, but for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, for socialist revolution throughout West Europe and workers political revolution in the Stalinist-ruled deformed/degenerated workers states of the Soviet bloc. "Pro-Soviets" only tail after the discredited bureaucracies, whose bankruptcy has been demonstrated in Poland, while the Eurocommunists (renovating or Carrilloist) tail after Reagan and Schmidt.

The anti-Carrillo "Afghans" in Spain have tapped widespread proletarian rejection of Eurocommunist class-collaboration. But only the program of Trotskyism provides a revolutionary answer to the bankruptcy of Stalinism. ■

Free Fulani Sunni-Ali!

Cynthia Boston (Fulani Sunni-Ali), a leading member of the black nationalist Republic of New Africa (RNA), is back in jail in Manhattan—sentenced to up to 18 months in prison—although there are absolutely no criminal charges against her. She is being held "in contempt of court," as a result of the vicious government "Weather-witchhunt" and its grand jury inquisition in the wake of the Nyack Brinks robbery. It began when Sunni-Ali woke near dawn October 27 in her Mississippi farmhouse to see a land-and-air invasion—involving a helicopter, camouflaged tanks, hundreds of armed men, including SWAT teams, FBI agents and cops—surrounding her home. This mighty army managed to capture her, along with 12 children. "All the children down to age six were handcuffed. They simply had none small enough for the babies," she told a New York press conference November 6.

They claimed she was involved in the Nyack Brinks robbery, but they couldn't make it stick. After Fulani Sunni-Ali proved she was in New Orleans at the time, the government was forced to release her with all charges dropped. But the feds were out to teach a lesson in racist American "justice." Their instrument was the witchhunting grand jury with its power to slap "uncooperative" witnesses in jail without appeal as it conducts a fishing expedition under the draconian RICO laws which allow for virtually unlimited persecution of alleged "co-conspirators." These "racketeering" statutes are now being turned into a deadly weapon against the left in Reagan's Cold War America. So they dragged her back before the grand jury, denied her the right to representation by her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, and then jailed her again on December 7 for "contempt of court"—that is, for protesting the outrageous violation of her elementary right to her chosen counsel and refusing to provide hair and handwriting samples to these witchhunters!

Lumumba, a practicing member of the Michigan bar, is also a member of the RNA. In a dangerous ruling violating every constitutional amendment on the right of free speech and representation, a federal judge granted the prosecution's motion barring Lumumba on the grounds that he would bring politics



Fulani Sunni-Ali

into the courtroom! "One of the clear purposes of Mr. Lumumba's application is to enable him to carry on a propaganda campaign," said federal district judge Irving Ben Cooper (*New York Times*, 11 November). As if the federal prosecutors—who in their Brinks job investigation have tried to implicate Cuba, Vietnam and anyone who favors "the creation of a socialist state"—hadn't brought politics into the courtroom! Fulani Sunni-Ali is being railroaded on political charges, and she has a right to defend herself against this frame-up politically.

Now the attorney general and Rockland County prosecutors have backed down, saying they will withdraw objections to Lumumba. But he still hasn't been granted the right to represent his client, who remains behind bars in the Metropolitan Correctional Facility.

The federal government's attack on Sunni-Ali and her lawyer has ugly McCarthyite precedent. During the height of the post-war witchhunt, lawyers willing to defend left-wing clients faced attempts to disbar them, subpoenas for HUAC, and anti-Communist loyalty oaths by the American Bar Association. The lawyers who defended the CP in the 1948 Smith Act trials were themselves sentenced for contempt of court.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General demanding the immediate release of Fulani Sunni-Ali. This vicious state witchhunt must be opposed. Stop the Weather-Witchhunt!

SL/SYL...

(continued from page 5)

and the mainline bureaucracy; the other ostensibly revolutionary organizations in industry have simply become social-democratic appendages to, or satellites of, the labor tops.

That section of the plenum document dealing with our left opponents is aptly titled "The U.S. Left Moves Right." Simply by remaining stable, the SL/SYL have become the only left opposition to pro-Democratic popular frontism.

"The U.S. political terrain has become more 'traditional' with the effective disappearance of Maoism, the increasing irrelevance of the SWP, the splintering of the Shachtmanoids and the end of a definable black movement. The Russian question draws the line clearly. There is the 'State Department socialist' complex, the Stalinist orbit, and us."

Despite the fact that we are in an enviable political position to recruit radicalizing worker militants, the depressed condition of the U.S. economy has meant massive layoffs for much of the industrial proletariat and therefore a weakening of our industrial concentrations. This is a situation we urgently seek to rectify.

"On guard against routinism!" was a recurring theme throughout the plenum discussion and applies with full force in the trade-union arena. Episodic cynicism on the part of union militants about activity in the union is not uncommon, particularly where the bureaucracy is conjuncturally so discredited yet so entrenched (e.g., the United Auto Workers). In many such situations, the possibility of proletarian revolution may literally seem more realizable than ousting the bureaucrats and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership. Comrades must not therefore fetishize any particular trade-union tactic (e.g., elections) nor should we eschew the likelihood of recruiting directly to the party from the plants. *Workers Vanguard* readers circles—both in areas distant from established SL local committees and in locals with large concentrations of *WV* readers among workers—can serve as transitional organizations for recruitment.

Reagan Reaction and Repression

Our bourgeois opponents are not idle. They are instead preparing to suppress and repress the workers movement through lynchings "legal" and illegal. The single most important, though not by any means the only, protection we can have is our links to and the firm rooting of our organization in the labor movement. That we are being subjected to a systematic campaign of slander in the press from campus tabloids to prestigious bourgeois dailies is obvious. Equally obvious is that we can expect no "buffer" in the left milieu to stand between us and state repression—quite the opposite. The reformists and centrists are more than willing to act as cops for the bourgeoisie when it comes to the

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NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard
skips a week in
December.
Our next issue will be
dated January 8.**

Trotskyist Spartacist League. We have faced a series of attempted exclusions from demonstrations and meetings including frequent use of the police: in Chicago by the CP, in Washington by the Marcyites, in New York by CISPES et al., everywhere they can by the SWP.

"Particularly with our aggressive campaign against counterrevolutionary threats in Poland, the SL/U.S. is marked as 'Russia lovers' in an increasingly anti-Soviet period. The enemies of U.S. Cold War policies are branded according to the new coded vocabulary as 'international terrorists' and Kremlin 'surrogates' spreading KGB 'disinformation.' The code for us seems to be changing accordingly. Increasingly now the international bourgeois media refers to the SL as 'pro-Soviet'.... No less a bourgeois force than the *Wall Street Journal* (29 September) in a lead editorial described our anti-Solidarność picket as the sort of 'dirty business' that must be stopped, ending with an unmistakable threat...."

It was noted at the plenum that one is hard put to recall when the *Wall Street Journal* had previously undertaken to threaten a radical or socialist group.

With all proportions guarded, if we learned any single lesson from the brutal repression of the Communist Party in the 1950s it is this: better to fight. Bourgeois democracy, even if narrow and brittle, does mean that the state in mounting attacks on its critics and opponents will pay a certain price. It is our job to make it as difficult and costly as possible. We intend to bring our energy and resources to bear to make certain we are not nameless, faceless nobodies who can be blown away in the dead of night. Thus when California attorney general Deukmejian issued an official report on "Organized Crime in California, 1979" naming us as purported left-wing criminal terrorists, we not only brought suit against him but raised the slogan "Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" We took the case to worried elements—in the labor movement, among the black community, liberal Democrats and civil libertarians—who rightly saw the threat as directed against much more than just the SL alone.

On Recruitment

Time is of the essence in politics. We enjoyed our largest single burst of recruitment since 1972 last spring and summer because our clear-cut and communist class-struggle line appealed to the best of the radical youth temporarily in political motion over the El Salvador issue, and because we struck while the iron was hot. At the same time, a number of cadre quit heading into the Reagan years, a reflection both of the "conjuncture" and of the aging process (the latter being at bottom a lack of energy and a tendency for personal difficulties to become keener and more keenly felt). Some were prominent union oppositionists uneasily aware of their personal "high profile" in a period of virulent bourgeois anti-Sovietism. As noted at the plenum, this places a greater burden on the party and youth cadre to direct the education and assimilation of our newly won comrades, the bulk of them student-aged youth. Party comrades in particular felt basic education on the fundamentals of revolutionary Marxism was an urgent necessity after repetitive instances of public misrepresentation of our line suggested that in and around the fringes of the youth organization a programmatic feeling containing elements of New Leftism had been brought into our movement along with some of the new recruits. As the memorandum states:

"Impatience, spontaneism and a penchant for self-gratifying verbal extremism may be understandable diseases of youth but their political incarnation is counterposed to the program of scientific socialism. It is our political responsibility to educate our members in the politics of the organization they joined, not the least because the party as a whole can and will be victimized for the irresponsible statements of its newest candidate member."

Every new member is obligated to read

and read again the article "FBI Targets the Spartacist League" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 151 (1 April 1977).

Continued augmented recruitment is not narrowly dependent on the issue of El Salvador. The Reagan years will not be years of domestic quiescence, and opportunities for a socialist propaganda group posing a labor-led struggle against capitalist economic crisis, racial oppression and imperialist war will occur. These opportunities will tend to be occasional and fleeting, requiring energetic and timely intervention as well as an intelligent combination of boldness and self-defense. Now as last spring, the "three whales" of contemporary Bolshevism (recalling Lenin's capsule program against tsarism), the bottom line for the recruitment drive, are: (1) "Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them!" (2) "Defend Cuba and the USSR!" and (3) "Smash Klan/Nazi Terror Through Labor/Black Defense!"

The last demand confronts the bourgeoisie's anti-communist drive at its fringe, indicating the strategy we have successfully demonstrated can interdict the fascists from the major northern industrial centers. The plenum noted in particular the acquisition of a Spartacist black cadre in both the party and youth organizations. Leading black comrades at the national and local levels will further enable the party to transform into recruits our powerful program for revolutionary integrationism and a class-struggle fight for the rights of the specially oppressed. Discussion on the special problems of black recruitment included the necessity to politically defeat the vestiges of black nationalism, that remain to act as psychological solace, perhaps, but offer no program for the forward motion of the black masses.

Our program, proven correct time and time again, indeed has the power to recruit. A qualitative transformation of the SL from a fighting propaganda group to a revolutionary workers party requires more than Marxist clarity, however. It requires our successful intervention into a major and victorious struggle of our class. A story about the early Trotskyist opposition recounted by the reporter on the document underlined that the struggle for revolutionary leadership is not an intellectual exercise abstracted from the conditions of the class struggle. Trotsky had correctly predicted that unless the Chinese Communists independently and in opposition to the bourgeoisie and the imperialists mobilized the proletariat, taking in tow the peasantry, there would be a disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution. Such a defeat in fact occurred for the very reasons the Trotskyists had warned of. When a number of the younger and less experienced members of the opposition had exclaimed that since their predictions had been proved correct, then surely new forces would be won to the opposition's faction, Trotsky is supposed to have replied to the effect that:

"If only we'd been wrong, then we might have been heavily strengthened. Because we are the wing of Russian Bolshevism that is optimistic and revolutionary and depends for its forward motion on the expression of power of the working class on this planet. The expression of power has been put back by the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. Thus the conservatizing forces that cause people to cling to Stalin or Bukharin have been reinforced.... It's not an intellectual game in which we won the crossword puzzle fastest. Yes, perhaps a few score thoughtful youth capable of living a somewhat detached existence will come over to us. But the vast mass of the party will draw the conclusion 'Russia is thrown on herself and the theories of socialism in one country and the turn to the middle and upper peasants will be deepened....'"

Our perspective, as the plenum document concludes, is to "grow through quantum leaps to the point that we can, when the bourgeoisie is deeply split and demoralized, come forward as America's last, best hope to lead our class to victory." ■

France...

(continued from page 12)

but also among students at the Ecole Normale (teachers college) and by immigrant and civil liberties organizations. The united-front appeal by the Mobilization Committee warned that the fascists threaten labor, racial minorities and democratic rights generally:

"Today, still weak but determined, the fascists must be stopped before they grow and gain confidence. Behind the leaflets there are clubs and revolvers. The arms theft from the army base at Foix and the Danet affair underline the real danger.

"The mass murderers of Auschwitz began their sinister careers by minor acts of intimidation, terror and appeals to racial hatred.

"Germany, wake up!" was the slogan of Hitler in 1926, then an obscure agitator bankrolled by big capital in a Germany in the midst of economic crisis, ravaged by unemployment.

"France, wake up!" was the slogan of the leaflet distributed by the fascists two weeks ago in Rouen. Everything must be done to prevent this slogan from becoming the banner of all the despairing elements to be hurled against democratic organizations and labor."

In the united-front committee it was nevertheless necessary to combat the reformist arguments advanced by the PSU (United Socialist Party, a decrepit left social-democratic outfit) to the effect that the LTF was "fantasizing" about the fascists or (like the PS nationally) "we don't want to give them any publicity." The same refrain was echoed by LCR "observers." Yet even organizations and union militants quite distant from revolutionary Marxism rejected these shameful arguments for passivity. It's quite sufficient to open the morning papers to see the need to act. The call for working-class mobilization to stop the fascists met with a response from class-conscious militants: a petition for labor action circulated by LTF supporters at Renault-Cléon was signed by some 50 workers. But the PCF and CGT bureaucrats turned a blind eye to these proposals, thus blocking a genuine mass mobilization.

Individual CP/CGT militants broke with their organizations' cowardly misleadership to join the demonstration. Yet some CGT union officials even uttered openly racist sentiments in opposition to the march, agreeing with the fascists that immigrants were responsible for unemployment. As the LTF leaflet pointed out, the Euro-Stalinists' chauvinist call to "Produce French" and their racist anti-immigrant provocation at Vitry are counterposed to and block mobilization of the working class against the fascists. The LTF banner at the Rouen march proclaimed: "The Popular Front Disarms the Working Class! Crush the Fascist Vermin! Workers Self-Defense!"

The question of actually implementing working-class mobilization against the fascists was sharply posed by an incident on December 9 at the teachers college campus. At a meeting called by students to build for the Friday demonstration, an LTF member of the defense squad was obliged to use the necessary force to eject a couple of provocateurs of the royalist Action Française. The LCR argued, in the worst reformist manner, that these scum should be allowed to present their "arguments." But this line was defeated and the defense squad carried out its duties.

"No to NATO Popular Front of Cold War and Austerity!"

It was not surprising that two of the major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France were notable for their absence: the social-democratic Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), with its enthusiastic Stalinophobic support to Mitterrand, and the latter-day worker-priests of Lutte Ouvrière (LO), one of whose leaders dropped by the demonstration to observe that he didn't like "political speeches." As for the LCR, which has several times the forces of the LTF in

Rouen, it initially "failed" to come to the meetings to organize the Mobilization Committee. Only when the LTF initiative began to pick up support, especially among the social-democratic CFTD leaders so assiduously tailed by the LCR (and who in Rouen are often ex-LCR members), did the Pabloists even give paper support to the demonstration.

Yet the LCR repeatedly refused to endorse the Mobilization Committee or participate in the united-front defense squad. When an LCR delegation was pushed as to why they had initially boycotted the committee but now suddenly wanted to support the demonstration, their local leader responded in exasperation, "What do you want me to say, that the LTF built a mass campaign and that the LCR had to tag along?"



Poster of Trotskyist-initiated united front in France: "Stop the Fascists!"

After having minimized the importance of the fascist attacks, LCR spokesmen then argued they should be allowed to attend meetings to build the march! Up to the last minute the Pabloists did their clumsy best to brake the momentum of the campaign. And while they did manage to turn out for the demonstration, though not for the defense squad, during the rally they disappeared, not even bothering to accept an invitation to speak.

The LCR's despicable role was the result of its support to Mitterrand's anti-working-class popular front, which ties the workers to the class enemy in the name of bourgeois "democracy." In their parliamentary cretinist framework, the fascists are not seen as a mortal danger to the working class but rather minor auxiliaries of the bourgeois opposition to Mitterrand. The LCR claims that the latter are plotting a Pinochet-style coup. Capitalist opposition to Mitterrand is real and may indeed take extraparliamentary form. But at this point such an "analysis" is panic-mongering to cover political support to social democracy. As its answer to the coup danger, the LCR proposes its latest social-patriotic gimmick of six months compulsory military service.

The Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, did not limit its intervention to building the united-front committee, calling for workers self-defense and "no platform for fascists." The LTF speaker at the rally warned against any confidence in Mitterrand: "From the beginning, we called on the workers to use strikes to fight against this NATO popular front of austerity and anti-Sovietism." Instead, he said, "We must continue the tradition of the Black Sea revolt in 1919, when French sailors solidarized with the Russian Revolution against their 'own' bourgeoisie." The social democrats' anti-Sovietism, he pointed out, aids the fascists. "We revolutionaries say: Freedom of expression is not the question. The fascists don't discuss, they strike! Workers self-defense to crush the fascists in the egg!" ■

Solidarność Counterrevolutionary Plans Exposed

If anyone doubted that the anti-Communist leadership of Poland's Solidarność was planning to seize power in the name of the eagle, the cross and "the free world," these doubts were certainly laid to rest when someone turned over to the government tapes of a secret Solidarność leadership meeting in Radom on December 3. The authenticity of the tapes, repeatedly broadcast over state radio, is not denied by the participants.

According to a December 7 UPI dispatch, Warsaw region Solidarność chief Zbigniew Bujak asserted: "The government should be finally overthrown, unmasked and deprived of any credibility." He then proposed the establishment of workers guards to counter the state police. Jan Rulewski demanded a "transitory government" to stabilize the situation before the election of a new parliament.

That Bujak and Rulewski said these

things isn't likely to surprise anyone since they have a reputation of being Solidarność hardliners. The leader who was really exposed by the Radom tape is the "moderate" Lech Walesa, who is shown up as a total dissembler. Walesa cultivates an image of a simple, honest workers leader, soft-hearted and even a bit soft-headed. The tapes show that this is an act to disguise his counterrevolutionary aims. "We should not speak loudly about confrontation," he advises his colleagues. "We have to say, 'We love you, we love socialism and the party and of course we love the Soviet Union.'" But all this love talk is just a stratagem to buy more time for a counterrevolutionary mobilization:

"The confrontation is unavoidable.... I wanted to reach the confrontation in a natural way, when almost all social groups were with us. But I made a mistake because I thought we would keep it up longer and then we would overthrow these parliaments and councils and so on."

Right after the first part of the Solidarność congress in early September, we concluded that "decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution" and that "the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power" ("Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" *WV* No. 289, 25 September). We did not have nor need access to tapes of secret leadership meetings to recognize this. The actual goals and intent of Solidarność were readily available in Western sources for anyone not blind to reality.

Willfully blind to this reality are the fake-Trotskyist opportunist outfits, most of which simply call the pro-imperialist, counterrevolutionary mobilization of Solidarność a developing proletarian political revolution. Black is called white. A few fake-Trotskyist groups, however, notably Workers Power in Britain and Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) in the U.S., tried to cover up Solidarność' counterrevolution by maintaining the organization is *too conciliatory* to the Stalinist regime. *Workers Power* (October 1981) informs us that the dominant tendency in Solidarność, "articulated in nationalist and Trade Union colours," is "towards accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy."

Likewise, the Sollenberger outfit is, if anything, even more blatant in its whitewash. It held up publication of its "monthly" *Workers Struggle* for a

month and a half, reportedly in order to work out a line article on Poland (its first since over a year ago). And then it only mentions the danger of counterrevolution to deny that it exists:

"For their own reasons, the Western capitalist press, the Soviet bureaucratic press and some of the more crazed elements of the American left have seized upon these weaknesses, blown them out of all proportion, and deliberately lied about the Polish working class, making the absurd claim that it seeks the restoration of capitalism in Poland. A simple review of the actions of the Gdansk congress shows this to be a blatant lie.

"In fact, the *major* weakness of the Solidarity congress was that even the opposition was too conciliatory to the Polish bureaucracy and to the Walesa leadership." [emphasis in original]

—*Workers Struggle*, November 1981

The Radom tapes expose the sophistries of Workers Power and the RWL as clearly as they expose Walesa. The difference between the so-called Solidarność "moderates" and "radicals" is over timing and public posture, not final aims. As Walesa explained to his colleagues at the Radom meeting, he wanted to make the seizure of power *appear* as a gradual escalation rather than a confrontation forced by Solidarność. As defenders of the proletarian dictatorship, even if bureaucratically deformed as in Poland, we didn't need access to secret tapes to understand the reality and raise the battle cry: Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution! ■

Poland...

(continued from page 1)

Solidarność leadership made an open bid for power, announcing a national referendum for the establishment of a temporary government and "free elections." Hours later the regime struck back, declaring a "state of war" under a Military Council of National Salvation. A thousand Solidarność leaders were reportedly detained, and, as a sop, five former Communist party leaders arrested—ex-party leader Edward Gierek and his close associates. While General Jaruzelski, the prime minister and party leader, insists this is not an army takeover, there is here a disturbing element of military bonapartism. In this there is perhaps a concession to anti-Communist nationalism. While the Stalinist party is utterly discredited, the army retains a certain popular authority as the embodiment of the national state, supposedly above politics. The Stalinists only make hypocritical reference to socialist forms, the acknowledgment that vice gives to virtue. But compared to the naked armed fist, those forms are important.

Imperialism and "Liberal" Stalinism

"Free trade unions" and "free elections" for Poland have become key slogans in Reagan's Cold War II, and the imposition of martial law will certainly be used to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive, especially in West Europe. In France, in particular, mass pro-Solidarność demonstrations have been held, led by Socialist Party notables, producing a "holy union" running from the fascists, royalists and Gaullists to social democrats and Stalinophobic fake-Trotskyists like the OCI and LCR. In the U.S., imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger, a man directly responsible for the murder of millions of defenseless Vietnamese, condemns the crackdown on Solidarność as "a very grave offense against human freedom." When Kissinger speaks of "freedom" he means freedom to exploit the workers and peasants of the world, a "freedom" maintained by mass terror.

In the name of countering "the export of revolution" to El Salvador, American war materiel and Green Berets are propping up a kill-crazed junta. The racist apartheid South African regime

becomes a central part of the "free world" in attacking Angola with Israeli-supplied weapons. In Afghanistan, the CIA arms Islamic reactionaries fighting along the southern border of the USSR to maintain feudal and pre-feudal slavery. Washington's ally China constantly menaces Vietnam, which heroically fought U.S. imperialist barbarism for decades. But it is in Poland that Reagan sees the best possibility to realize his counterrevolutionary designs against the Soviet Union by "rolling back" the postwar social and economic gains in East Europe. The seizure of power by Solidarność would mean a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, for the Common Market and the IMF, for bloody Latin American dictators and South African racists. The creation of a "free world" Poland on the western borders of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust.

If today much of the Polish working class looks to Western imperialism for salvation, this is not simply a response to the terror of the Stalin period which gradually trailed off into abuse and mismanagement under Gomulka and then Gierek. An earlier crime of Stalinism destroyed the important traditions of international communism in Poland. Thousands of Polish Communist militants who fled to the USSR from the fascistic dictatorship of Pilsudski were killed in the purges of the late '30s. The Polish Communist Party itself was officially liquidated, and then Nazi occupation finished the job of beheading the Polish proletariat, especially its important Jewish component. The post-1945 ruling bureaucracy was, therefore, largely constructed from purely careerist elements who lacked even the degenerated Communist traditions of the old Stalinists.

The present crisis is, above all, a reaction to the bankruptcy of *liberal* Stalinism. When in 1956 Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in the wake of the Poznan uprising, he promised the widest workers democracy. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and leftist intellectuals who had supported him against the hardline Stalinists, while at the same time strengthening the position of the Catholic church and the smallholding peasantry. When Gierek replaced Gomulka after the 1970 Baltic coast workers' uprising, he promised unparalleled

prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants. So after this repeated experience, when the Polish workers rose again in the summer of 1980 they now looked to the powerful Catholic church opposition and nationalist dissidents, behind whom stands Western imperialism. For a year the clerical-reactionary leadership of Solidarność around Lech Walesa stopped short of calling for the overthrow of the official "Communist" system (a bureaucratically deformed workers state) and its replacement with (bourgeois) "democracy." Now the mask has fallen.

What Next in Poland?

The Warsaw regime's preventive coup is apparently effective. Solidarność activists at large are agitating for a nationwide general strike. While news reports from Poland are very scanty, reported strikes appear to be limited to particular Solidarność strongholds and there seems to be little serious active resistance to the martial law. It remains possible, especially given the desperate economic conditions, that anti-Communist agitators in and around Solidarność could provoke mass protests which could escalate into violence and even civil war. Under these conditions Soviet military intervention could well be the only available means to suppress counterrevolution. But it is by far in the best interests of the working class that Solidarity's counterrevolutionary bid for power be pushed aside as

quietly, quickly and bloodlessly as possible.

In the course of heading off the bid for power by capitalist-restorationist elements, a number of Solidarność leaders have been arrested. The right to strike and protest have been suspended, a curfew imposed, Poland's borders sealed, telephone and telegraph communications interrupted or cut off. As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including release of the Solidarność leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them *politically*, by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests.

For Trotskyists, the current Polish crisis powerfully reaffirms the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies, particularly brittle in East Europe. In its scale and *form*, the social mobilization around Solidarność demonstrates the power of the working class to take control of society. Yet coming under the influence of the Catholic church and the leadership of neo-Pilsudskiite nationalists and pro-Western social democrats, the social *content* of Solidarność is profoundly *anti*-proletarian. A proletarian-internationalist workers movement in Poland can be rebuilt only under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard with a program of revolutionary unity between the Polish and Russian workers. This unity, necessarily directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, is key to defense of the collectivized economies and the gains of October. ■

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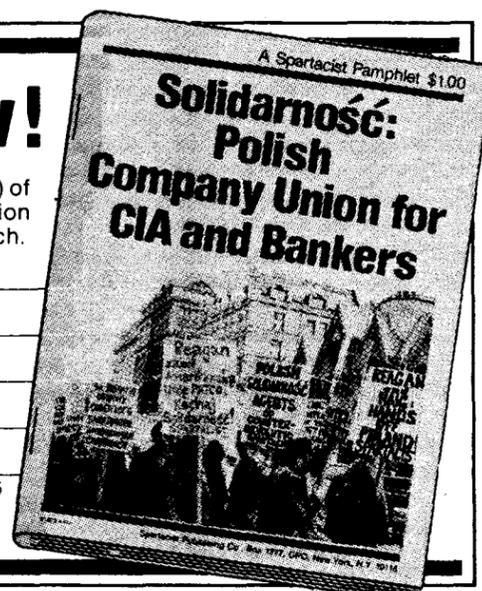
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Reds...

(continued from page 3)

capitalist than the social democracy it split from to form revolutionary parties. In *Reds* we see an excellent scene portraying the famous Socialist Party split convention in Chicago, at which the SP leadership called the cops on Reed and the Communists. And we hear Reed denounce the social democrats for calling the cops, the armed fist of the capitalist state. There is a logic in reformists calling the cops on revolutionaries. They continue to do it today. On the streets of New York and Chicago it is the Stalinists of the CP who call the cops on the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League.

John Reed and the Comintern

In *Reds*, history is seen through Reed's vision—which was sometimes right and sometimes wrong on the issues. Reed was right in his battle with Louis Fraina to stay in the Socialist Party, in order to win over militants who supported the Russian Revolution but were not yet ready to form a Communist Party. Fraina originally agreed with this perspective but capitulated to the sectarian foreign language federations whose members' hearts were really in South and East Europe. The split was premature and terribly crippling for the early American Communist movement. The Reed/Gitlow tendency was correct to insist on the importance of developing an American-born leadership.

Reds is accurate in pointing out the demagogic aspects of the Baku Congress of Peoples of the East in 1920. Zinoviev did indeed call for an Islamic "jihad" (holy war). This call for religious holy war was an aberration of Communist International (Comintern) policy toward the colonial regions. Surely Beatty was reflecting on Khomeini's Iran, as many reformist organizations hailed Khomeini's mullah "jihad" in part on the authority of the Baku Congress. But Reed was right: communists are for class war against imperialism, not holy war.

The film also stressed accurately the sharp political confrontation between Reed and some of the leaders of the Comintern. It is with the figure of Zinoviev, sharply insisting on the party's monopoly of truth, that Beatty does make some concessions to anti-Communist stereotype. Yet as Reed's desire to return home by the holidays is portrayed in the film, in the midst of the Russian Civil War, we do not find Zinoviev's sharp and angry objections to this powerful propagandist's taking off to be out of line.

Reds can leave the impression that Reed was always right and the Comintern always wrong. This was by no means the case. Taking Reed's view there is an implicit tendency to line up behind American exceptionalism against the Comintern, which was dominated by the enormous authority of the victorious Russian revolutionaries.

In fact the early Communist movement in America was sectarian, wooden and wrongheaded in all of its permanently warring factions. It is a very good thing for the cause of American communism that the Comintern and Lenin in particular intervened before it was too late. There was not a principled basis for two Communist parties, and the Comintern was quite correct to arrange the shotgun fusion between the Reed/Gitlow group and the Fraina group by refusing to recognize either as the official section. Each would have been qualitatively weaker than the fused party.

Reed and Fraina were united at the Second Congress of the Comintern on the American trade-union question—the entire American Communist movement was dual unionist, rejecting on "revolutionary" principle work in reactionary trade unions. After years of fighting the A.F. of L., they mistakenly clung either to passive propagandistic

Reed vs. Stalin

"Ten Days That Shook the World"

John Reed was the most important American popularizer of the Russian Revolution. His columns in the pages of the *Liberator* stirred radical Americans to the support of the Bolsheviks and their October. Reed's main political accomplishment and literary masterpiece is *Ten Days That Shook the World*, the classic account of the Bolshevik Revolution. The book was such an honest and inspiring account, filled with eyewitness vignettes of the seizure of power, that it won a ringing endorsement from Lenin, who wrote an introduction for it in 1919:

"With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention I read John Reed's book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

But after Lenin's death Stalin found that the thunderous proletarian internationalism of *Ten Days* clashed with his counterrevolutionary bureaucratic theme of "socialism in one country." Furthermore, Reed's honest account, in which Lenin and Trotsky figure as co-leaders of the revolution while Stalin is barely mentioned, undermined the developing Stalinist mythology, in which Trotsky was erased from history and Stalin was painted as Lenin's right-hand man. Thus when Stalin launched his attacks on "Trotskyism" in the early '20s, Reed posthumously came under fire as well:

"Rumours are being vigorously spread among members of the Party that the Central Committee as a whole was opposed to an uprising in October 1917. The usual story is that on October 10, when the Central Committee adopted the decision to organize the uprising, the majority of the Central Committee at first spoke against an uprising, but, so the story runs, at that moment a worker burst in on the meeting of the Central Committee and said: 'You are deciding against an uprising, but I tell you that there will be an uprising all the same, in spite of everything.' And so, after that threat, the story runs, the Central Committee, which is alleged to have become frightened, raised the ques-

tion of an uprising afresh and adopted a decision to organize it.

"This is not merely a rumour, comrades. It is related by the well-known John Reed in his book *Ten Days*. Reed was remote from our Party and, of course, could not know the history of our secret meeting on October 10, and, consequently, he was taken in by the gossip spread by people like Sukhanov. This story was later passed round and repeated in a number of pamphlets written by Trotskyites."

—Stalin, "Trotskyism or Leninism?" November 1924, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6

In its essence, Reed's account was accurate: the fact is the Bolshevik Central Committee at first *did* waver on the question of the insurrection in October 1917, and Zinoviev and Kamenev openly threatened to split the party over the question. Reed simply could not know that the "worker" referred to was Lenin himself, who spent agonizing days in October trying to win over the sluggish CC to the idea that insurrection was now on the agenda. Lenin felt so strongly about the deadly danger posed by this initial hesitation that he even threatened to resign from the Central Committee and go to the party rank and file, stating "there is a tendency... among the leaders of our party which... is opposed to taking power immediately" and castigating the shameful sluggishness and "unwillingness of the Central Committee even to consider this question" (Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*).

Lenin won over the Central Committee instead, with the exception of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who then themselves threatened to split the party on the question. Only nine days after the famous October 10 Central Committee meeting referred to by Stalin, Lenin sent a letter to the CC denouncing Zinoviev and Kamenev as "strikebreakers" whose "threat of a split" must be answered by their expulsion from the party. By 1924 Stalin felt compelled to attack Reed in order to cover up his own role and that of his new-found bloc partners, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Reed's book was so widely read and moving that the Stalinists found it useful to use his name by forming

authority of the Russian Revolution behind it...."

—"The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," appendix to Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Reed fought doggedly and openly for his positions in the Comintern—a powerful indictment of its later bureaucratic destruction by Stalin. Only a few years later heads would roll for far less. As Theodore Draper noted, in those days:

"It was possible to defy the highest leaders of the Comintern, to stand up openly and fearlessly for what one believed, to go down to defeat proclaiming victory for one's ideas the next time, and to be rewarded with the highest honor bestowed by the Comintern on its most faithful servants. John Reed proved that it was possible—in 1920."

—*The Roots of American Communism*

Reed's death before the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution makes it possible for all sides on the left to claim him. Even middle-class intellectuals argue that had he lived he would certainly have gone the way of Max Eastman into the camp of imperialist Cold War. There are even "disillusionment" stories about Reed, originating from a series of contradictory statements by Louise Bryant and Emma Goldman. Certainly Reed had contradictions, but it is at least clear that this

"John Reed Clubs" in the U.S. in the early '30s—until the big turn to the Popular Front in 1936, when the proletarian internationalism of *Ten Days* became an embarrassment in the search for bourgeois respectability. Then the John Reed Clubs and *Ten Days* were ditched. But the book remains a source of proletarian inspiration, and indirectly demolishes Stalinist theories of "socialism in one country"—as in this excerpt of the scene at the Congress of Soviets on November 8, right after the seizure of power when the Bolsheviks were accused of establishing an isolated and doomed regime:

"And now Trotzky stood upon the raised tribune, confident and dominating, with that sarcastic expression about his mouth which was almost a sneer. He spoke, in a ringing voice, and the great crowd rose to him.

"They speak of the necessity for a coalition. There is only one coalition possible—the coalition of the workers, soldiers and poorest peasants; and it is our party's honor to have realized that coalition...."

"There are only two alternatives; either the Russian Revolution will create a revolutionary movement in Europe, or the European powers will destroy the Russian Revolution!"

"They greeted him with an immense crusading acclaim, kindling to the daring of it, with the thought of championing mankind. And from that moment there was something conscious and decided about the insurrectionary masses, in all their actions, which never left them."

In his introduction to *Ten Days That Shook the World*, British historian A.J.P. Taylor caught the essential problem for the Stalinists with Reed's book:

"In Reed's book Stalin was barely mentioned and Trotsky was the hero of it. The book was banned along with its hero. In the years since Stalin's death, Reed's book has received a grudging tolerance from the Communists and no more. For while Stalin's other victims have been rehabilitated, Trotsky can still not be mentioned and yet no account of the Bolshevik revolution can be given without him. To the present day a citizen of the Soviet Union can find no book—Reed's or any other—to tell him in detail how his state was born. Reed's book will survive the ban. It stands unrivalled as a monument to the Bolshevik revolution and to its two leaders, Lenin and Trotsky."

impulsive and powerful man up until his death was on a trajectory from observer to committed party revolutionary. Reed intended to carry on his arguments within the Comintern—hardly the perspective of disillusionment. It is to *Reds'* credit that it doesn't buy the apocrypha of "disillusionment." Perhaps Reed's essential honesty as a political leader inspired Beatty as a filmmaker. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Le Bolchevik

Ligue Trotskyste Leads United Front

Unionists Mobilize to Stop French Fascists

ROUEN, France—The city of Rouen, regional center of Upper Normandy, saw one of the largest and most combative leftist demonstrations in years as more than 400 people turned out on Friday, December 11 to protest against a recent series of fascist provocations. This was a genuine united-front labor mobilization in one of the industrial and maritime centers of northern France (including the Renault-Cléon auto plant, which played an important role in the worker-student upheaval of May 1968). Nearly half the demonstration consisted of a contingent of some 200 trade unionists which linked up with the militant traditions of struggle against the fascists by the Rouen-area working class.

As the demonstrators gathered at the assembly point on the banks of the Seine, word spread that the local fascist hangout—a café called "Le Métropole"—had been closed up tight specially, in anticipation of the march passing before it. As banners unfurled and the contingents formed up, the crowd chanted "Stop the fascists!" and "Workers, French and immigrant, same boss, same fight!" The march made its way through the length of the city center, slogans echoing off the cathedral and surrounding buildings, and ended up at the railroad station where a short rally was addressed by speakers from some of the organizations supporting the demonstration.

Initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), the demonstration was supported by several local trade unions and numerous individual militants. The poster for the march was signed by the CFDT hospital workers local, postal workers local and teachers local, as well

as five left-wing political organizations, three civil rights associations and two immigrant defense organizations. It was also signed by seven individual Communist Party members, and a number of members of the CP-led CGT union federation attended, particularly from Renault-Cléon and the local Shell and Baroclem refineries.

The march was organized by the Mobilization Committee Against the Fascists on the demand, "[We Must] Stop the Fascists!" The bureaucrats were reluctant to mobilize heavily, looking instead to the Mitterrand popular-front government to counter the fascist threat. When a Socialist (PS) local office in Paris was attacked recently, PS national leaders opposed mass mobilization, arguing the "necessity of not setting off a cycle of violence!" However, the Rouen demonstration appealed not to the bosses' state but to working-class action. And the Mobilization Committee's official defense squad was prepared to translate this perspective into action: on three occasions it chased away handfuls of fascists skulking around the edge of the march. As our spokesman at the concluding rally put it:

"I'm a worker at Cléon and a member of the LTF. For several weeks, together with my organization I have been working to mobilize workers at Cléon. There are 15 of us here today. I believe that if the Cléon workers, the chemical workers, the dockers from the port mobilize, the Nazis will be driven back into their holes like rats.

"You can't count on this government to get rid of them either. Now when the fascists are raising their heads around the country, the government is protecting the enemies of the workers by saying that you shouldn't make them too

important by fighting against them. We must stop the fascists!"

Fascist Provocations Escalate

In recent weeks, fascist goon squads have stepped up their attacks. In Paris, after wrecking the PS office in late October, they sacked a leftist publisher, EDI (which publishes Trotsky's *Writings*), on November 26 and a few days later attacked CP newspaper salesmen in several open markets in the capital. At Rouen, for nearly two years the royalists of Action Française have harassed and threatened the far left. Rather than being a nostalgic monarchist sect, AF in Rouen works hand in glove with local fascists, serving as advance scouts. In March of this year a joint royalist/fascist commando appeared to threaten LTF salesmen, chanting "Kill, kill the communists!"

The point of confrontation between the far left and these reactionary scum has been the train station located in the center of the city. Again and again, leftist groups have had to band together in order to protect their right to sell at the Rouen station. On November 13 the LTF initiated a united mobilization of left organizations, bolstered by commuting workers coming out of the station, which succeeded in chasing away the royalists. The following week the royalists and fascists returned in force to avenge this defeat. Once again they were repulsed by a mobilization of leftists, but were able to regroup and counterattack when the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—pseudo-Trotskyist fraternal organization of the American SWP) precipitously withdrew from the station.

The need for a massive labor-centered

response was now starkly posed. The issue was now citywide in scope and no longer a simple question of defending sales at the stations. The fascists of the Front National had launched a campaign around a local rape case (perpetrated by a mixed group of French and Algerian youth) in order to whip up a racist frenzy against immigrant workers. They also tried to cash in on the Cold War atmosphere with a leaflet against the "Soviet danger." And they had extended their attacks to the local campus, where a member of the LCR was attacked and tear-gassed, leading to hospitalization.

This rash of fascist gangsterism reflects the fact that these vermin are hoping to capitalize on the growing unemployment to step up their drive against immigrant workers and exploit anti-Soviet pronouncements of the social-democratic Mitterrand/Mauroy government to lend their fanatical anti-Communism an air of respectability. The fascists have infested Rouen, and it is obvious that they mean business with their terror attacks. Two months ago, a local fascist leader and ex-mercenary, Danet, was arrested on charges of arms trafficking.

"For Workers Self-Defense!"

That the Ligue Trotskyste, with its modest forces and implantation in Rouen, was able to galvanize a successful demonstration of 400 worker and leftist militants testified to the power of our program for labor mobilization against the fascists. Our demands and class-struggle strategy received a wide hearing not only among union members

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GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1981, from issue No. 271 (2 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 295 (18 December). During this time, *WV* was published bi-weekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:
Civil War in El Salvador, #272, 16 Jan. (12, 11)
means the headline of the article, issue No. 272, 16 January 1981, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:
Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: General**, **Chrysler Bankruptcy**; **Steel Workers**.
means that articles on unemployment can be found by going to the subject head **AUTO WORKERS** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Chrysler Bankruptcy** and by going to the subject head **STEEL WORKERS**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Wilmington Ten) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases**.
- Articles on historical aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
C: Correction
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