

Massive Black Strike Under Apartheid Reign of Terror

South Africa Showdown

Forge a Bolshevik Party!

JUNE 17—South Africa's black masses observed the tenth anniversary of the Soweto rebellion, which was bloodily repressed by the apartheid state, with a general strike on June 16. The largest ever "stayaway," involving millions of black workers and shutting down major urban centers, was carried out in defiance of the regime's banning of any and all Soweto commemorations and under draconian nationwide "state of emergency" conditions. As we go to press, the near-total blackout of information from South Africa leaves only scraps of information gleaned from dispatches self-censored by the media to conform to apartheid *baas* P.W. Botha's "emergency" restrictions. In Paris, African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo said that, contrary to official reports of "only" eleven killed on Monday, there were "unconfirmed reports of massive slaughter."

Film footage that has gotten through shows the streets of Johannesburg virtually deserted, as were the trains and buses that normally bring hundreds of thousands from Soweto to work in the factories, shops and offices. Reportedly the strike was completely effective in the Eastern Cape region, including blacks, coloureds (mixed race) and Indians. One business source reported that up to 90 percent of the nation's black workers participated in the strike. In Durban, 40 percent of the workers reportedly stayed away today as well. However, mass demonstrations and the insurrectionary actions Botha claimed were being prepared by "radical and revolutionary



Reuters

Apartheid terror rumbles through Crossroads as black settlement burns, leaving more than 70,000 homeless.

elements" apparently did not materialize. In the June 16 test of strength between the Pretoria regime and the combative black masses, it appears that there has been a cold standoff, for now.

Botha declared the "state of emergency" June 12 after the bogus "parliaments" of coloured and Indian representatives balked at giving Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange martial law powers. In the early hours of the 12th, security forces rounded up at least 1,200 anti-apartheid militants, including leaders of the United Dem-

ocratic Front (UDF), the president of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) Saths Cooper, Piroshaw Camay of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA), and clergymen. During the next days, over 4,000 were "detained," including many lower and middle-level officials of black unions and anti-apartheid groups, as well as the secretary general of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and members of the End Conscription Campaign, a white group that opposes the draft.

Under the regulations, detainees may be held incommunicado indefinitely, and no security official can be tried for any actions under the "emergency," including murder. The offices of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) as well as those of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) were ransacked. Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was barred from speaking to journalists and restricted to her house from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m. daily. Reporters were completely barred from the black townships and prohibited from reporting any "subversive" statements (such as a strike call), any actions by the police or army, or the names of detainees. On the 16th telephones were cut off for most of the day in the townships around Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

Pretoria geared up for repression on a massive, bloody scale. In an interview on ABC News, T.J. Swanepoel, the police commander who ordered the first shot fired in the massacre of over 1,000 black youth during the 1976 Soweto rebellion, said he would do it again: "I will kill a thousand people if I can stop the violence..." On June 15, police fired tear gas into a gathering of nearly 1,000 commemorating Soweto at the St. Athans Road Moslem Mosque in Athlone, a mixed-race suburb of Cape Town. According to the UPI: "Terrified worshippers broke doors and windows attempting to escape and several older people and children fainted and had to be dragged from the building, witnesses said. Police waiting outside the mosque beat fleeing worshippers with whips." At St. Nicholas Anglican Church in the Cape township of Elsie's River, 250 were arrested (including many children) by

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South Africa Attacks Soviet Bloc Ships

Two Soviet freighters were seriously damaged and a Cuban ship sunk in a dawn missile and underwater attack June 5 on the southern Angolan port of Namibe. The Angolan news agency, Angop, said a South African warship armed with Israeli Scorpion missiles destroyed two fuel storage tanks, and frogmen placed mines on the three ships. The Soviet news agency TASS denounced the attack on the *Kapitan Vislobokov*, the *Kapitan Chirkov* and the Cuban freighter as a South African "piratic attack," pinning responsibility as well on "those who patronize" the racist regime, "above all the United States." The Soviet government warned that the attack may

Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola: Front Line of Freedom Struggle

have "far-reaching and dangerous consequences."

As with its recent raids on the capitals of the black "front line" states of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which South African president Botha himself said were inspired by U.S. attacks on Libya, the apartheid terror state has once again taken its lead from Washington. While talking of a negotiated settlement of conflicts in south-

ern Africa, the U.S. has decided to supply Jonas Savimbi's UNITA mercenaries with \$15 million in "covert" aid and Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to be used against the Angolan army's Soviet-supplied helicopters and planes. And judging from reported details, the Namibe attack was a carbon copy of the CIA's mining of the Nicaraguan ports of Corinto and El Bluff in 1984.

UNITA, which poses as a nationalist group, is in fact totally dependent on the apartheid regime. Only a cordon of South African troops stopped a large-scale Angolan offensive from overrunning Savimbi's bush "capital" last year. Now that Luanda has launched a new offensive, Botha is trying to head it off through sabotage and terror attacks in the government's rear. But although American dollars have been flowing for some time to the former Portuguese secret police informer, who according to then-CIA station chief John Stockwell was recruited to the agency in 1975, his tribalist guerrillas are in trouble.

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Drop Charges Against Michael Spraggins!

Defends Black Family Against Racist Mob

CLEVELAND, June 14—Marlene Armstrong and her four daughters are alive today thanks to the timely and determined actions of their close friend Michael Spraggins. Last Tuesday night Spraggins, a 23-year-old black restaurant worker, helped disperse a KKK-infested lynch mob with his pump-action 12 gauge shotgun. He repulsed a gang of ax- and rifle-wielding terrorists from carrying out their long-standing murder threats against the Armstrongs, the only black family on West 88th Street on Cleveland's notoriously segregated West Side.

"It was a matter of life or death," Mrs. Armstrong said later. "It was either we were going to die or those people were going to die. Our lives had been threatened" (*Plain Dealer*, 12 June). Eight of the racist attackers were wounded in the incident, which was clearly a case of self-defense, despite the distortions of the local media with their "evenhanded" talk of a "racial feud." Spraggins has been charged with felonious assault while the racist marauders are still at large.

Only the black *Call and Post* described the night of terror and the string of events leading up to the racist outrage. Even before the Armstrongs moved into their county-subsidized rented home last February, a local thug (perhaps inspired by the nearby headquarters of the National White People's Party) had painted "KKK" on the house. After the family had the letters removed, the racists reapplied them along with other racist epithets. Neighbors identifying themselves as Klansmen, and often armed, repeatedly harassed the Armstrongs and their visitors to the point where they were virtual prisoners in their home.

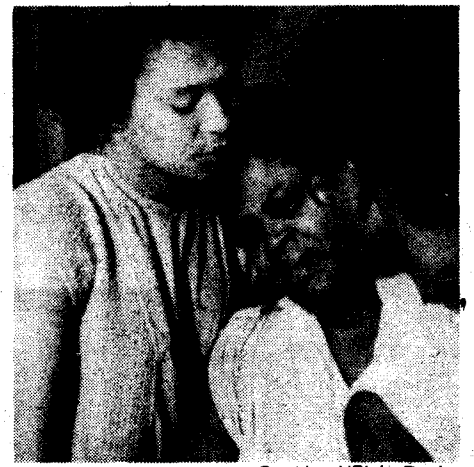
Michael Spraggins, a family friend and himself a resident of the nearly all-white suburb Parma, had often looked in on the family knowing that there was no man in the house. He was there on June 10 when the white racists started throwing small explosives at the Armstrongs' residence. Firecrackers and Roman candles soon gave way to rifle shots and shouts: "You niggers are going to die tonight or move!" (*Call and*

Post, 12 June). Spraggins got the family inside and called the police. But after a perfunctory look at the situation the cops were nowhere to be seen. As long as the racists seemed to be in control the cops kept clear, despite the more than 50 calls received warning of trouble brewing.

It was only after the racists got more than they bargained for that the cops arrived, and put themselves at the head of the mob. Finding that Spraggins had left, they determined to charge the house. "They treated us as if we were the criminals," one of the Armstrong daughters recalled. They were lined up in front of the house and a policeman was on the bullhorn saying, "Come out with your hands up." "We were too afraid to move" (*Call and Post*, 12 June). A couple of white neighbors who courageously defied the racist mob were able to dissuade the cops from a rampage.

In a society with an ounce of human decency, Michael Spraggins would be hailed as a life-saver. He certainly spared the Armstrongs the fate of Nable Gant, the elderly black woman murdered in a firebombing of her house in the so-called Slavic Village section of Cleveland last year. But in racist capitalist America Spraggins has been arrested and faces a sentence of up to 25 years in prison. Charges against him should be dropped immediately and the would-be murderers and fascist scum responsible for the racist attack should be behind bars for good.

The latest racist atrocity to hit the streets of Cleveland comes only days after another lynch mob attacked blacks in another West Side neighborhood, and at the same time that a police investigation cleared the cops who murdered a



Copeland/Plain Dealer

Mrs. Marlene Armstrong (center) with daughter Adrian (right) and family friend.

black suspected car thief. Local politicians, from Republican mayor George Voinovich, who initiated his political career as an opponent of fair housing legislation, to the NAACP, worry about Cleveland's image as an "All-American City." Yet rigid segregation and racist terror are part and parcel of the social fabric of America.

Now the Armstrongs have been forced out of their home and have been relocated in an all-black neighborhood. But a mobilization of Cleveland's integrated labor movement could send the cowardly racist vermin scurrying back to their holes. The way for such a mobilization was shown in 1975 when an integrated UAW Local 6 defense guard successfully defended a black union brother C.B. Dennis and his family from racist nightriders in the Chicago suburb of Broadview. And such labor/black defense can point the way to workers revolution that will put a stop to racist terror once and for all. ■



WV Photo

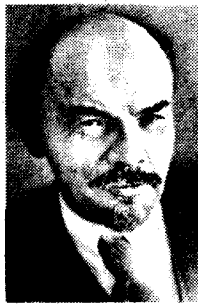
Cleveland City Hall, September 1982: Spartacists protest racist cop attacks.

The Dual Nature of the Stalinist Bureaucracy



TROTSKY

In late 1937, during discussion preceding the founding of the Socialist Workers Party, a dispute broke out on the class character of the Soviet Union under Stalin which is of particular relevance over Poland today. This fight presaged the split from Trotskyism two years later by an anti-Soviet opposition led by Max Shachtman and James Burnham. Trotsky intervened in the discussion to insist that the USSR



LENIN

was still a workers state, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, and analogous to trade unions led by pro-capitalist bureaucrats, such as the AFL then headed by William Green.

The function of Stalin, like the function of Green, has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks.

—Leon Trotsky, "Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

Atlanta Integrated Community Runs Off Ku Klux Klan

ATLANTA, June 14—Twelve fascists, one of them black-robed and hooded and several dressed in military fatigues with Ku Klux Klan insignia, rode into an integrated neighborhood in central Atlanta Saturday to disrupt a performance of an anti-Klan musical. The previous night's premiere of *Bang Bang über Alles* had been a benefit for the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), formerly the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN). In the face of the KKK attack, 300 people spilled into the streets, drawn from a street fair and patrons of a nearby liquor store and supermarket, chanting, "Klan Out!" and "Go Home!" This spontaneous outpouring to defend their community against the lynchers included blacks and whites in equal numbers.

The thugs of the "Southern White Knights of the KKK" led by Dave Holland never got to the theater door with their placard which read on one side, "White Power Equals Red Death," and on the other, "Deport Lyn Wells and Center for Democratic Renewal to Russia." Cops herded them back into their cars as other police held the angry crowd at bay. One Klansman panned

the crowd with a video camera. The Klan had hoped to link up with local skinhead punks against the gentrifying white and black middle-class liberals in the Five Points neighborhood. The swastika-lovers have engaged in some fascist dirty work of their own, like beating up a black passer-by and, during the Libya hysteria, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The Friday night benefit performance of *Bang Bang über Alles* was attended by Angela Davis and William Kunstler, and hosted by former SNCC leaders Democrats John Lewis and Julian Bond (who are running against each other for Congress). The musical is about a group of performers "who decide to confront the Ku Klux Klan with the moral force of their music on the Klan's turf." Perhaps because of the theme of the play, the Klan thought there would be easy pickings. But the spontaneous protest against the Klan was in contrast to the legalistic and moralistic strategies of the Center for Democratic Renewal/Anti-Klan Network.

Newspaper and television reports of this fascist provocation downplayed or

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Phone Workers: Strike Together!

FLASH! Tentative agreement on national contract reached: giveback pact reportedly surrenders cost-of-living, accepts two-tier wages.

JUNE 16—Some 155,000 striking AT&T telephone technicians and long-distance operators are saddled with a scabherding policy enforced by their union misleaders in the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Under this "two-gate" system 400,000 CWA members employed by local operating companies are herded through separate entrances to keep the phone system working while their striking union brothers and sisters walk

Stop the Scabs!

the picket lines alone. The bosses are out to draw blood: as the strike enters its third week, AT&T has already hired several thousand scabs. The union tops buy the company line that these are "temporary replacements," while CWA president Morton Bahr baldly admits, "We're not gearing up for war." From coast to coast, many strikers are outraged at this union/company conniving. A news report in New York noted: "The Brooklyn AT&T workers said separating the New York Tele-

phone Company operators from the AT&T operators weakens their strike. They say they blame CWA union leaders for not fighting New York Telephone Company management to keep the dates of their contract negotiations together" (WBAI, 6 June). In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Militant Action Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, says *picket lines mean don't cross* and has called for a fight against the "two-gate" union-busting. We print below excerpts from a MAC leaflet issued June 12:

Militant Action Caucus Leaflet:

"One Industry, One Contract, One Strike—Shut It Down!"

A declaration of war: that's the meaning of AT&T's announcement that it's hiring thousands of scabs across the country, in all job titles, to try to break this strike. They want to do the same thing to phone workers that TWA just did to the flight attendants, and that the bosses—aided by their labor lieutenants—did to PATCO and the Hormel strikers. Make no mistake: AT&T is playing hardball. Labor has to play hardball to win. But the union "leaders" are playing patty-cakes with the company.

No strike can be won unless you stop the scabs! 3 years ago hundreds of Bay Area phone workers chanted: PICKET LINES MEAN—DON'T CROSS! Now the CWA tops are teaching workers that picket lines mean *do* cross, with their "two-gate" garbage and scab-sheets telling people to "report to work as usual" in buildings picketed by our own union. They are breeding scabs in

Pacific Bell and AT&T. This is a deadly stab in the back to *all* phone workers. The union tops set the whole thing up when they divided the contract expiration dates, helping the companies divide and conquer the workers. AT&T and Pac Bell workers should all be on strike together, now!

We are all one union. To win this strike we must SMASH "TWO-GATE" UNION-BUSTING! A picket line at any building means stay the hell out. Many have died to establish this principle, which is the backbone of the labor movement. ONE INDUSTRY, ONE CONTRACT, ONE STRIKE—SHUT IT DOWN!

AT&T reportedly won a huge "Star Wars" contract recently. This underlines the fact that we're up against the bosses' government as well as the companies. But the labor "leaders" won't fight the bosses because they're for the anti-Soviet war drive and they're

tied hand and foot to the bosses' rules, the bosses' government and the bosses' parties. If workers in the 30s had worshipped capitalist "legality" and bowed and scraped before every measly paper injunction like the labor fakers do today, the mass industrial unions would never have been built at all. And what the current "leaders"—company cops is what they are—are doing today is destroying what militant workers fought and died for in the 30s and 40s.

CWA has 500,000 members operating a critical industry. To defeat the companies, it's necessary to forge a class-struggle leadership to unchain the workers' enormous power. An effective industry-wide strike with mass picket lines and class-struggle tactics could bring the arrogant phone bosses to their knees. In February 1981, 11,000 phone workers in British Columbia, Canada occupied the central offices for 5 days, locking scabs and bosses out and holding BC Tel's high-tech equipment. No, they didn't go to jail—because they used their *power*.

If "two-gate" strike-breaking and union-busting continue, who's to say there will even be a strike in August? Pac Bell may just get the same kind of



WV Photo
Pickets outside AT&T building, New York City.

concessions package that AT&T is demanding. It could be signed, sealed and delivered by the same union sellouts who are scab-herding today. On the other hand, seeing how weak the union is now, Pac Bell may go for even *bigger* concessions than AT&T. Bleating "we picket companies, not buildings," "report to work as usual," "play by the bosses' rules," the Judas-goats of the CWA bureaucracy are leading the way towards the destruction of the union. Throw out the labor traitors! Build a class-struggle leadership!

Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross! One Industry, One Contract, One Strike—Shut It Down! ■

Death Threat Against 25 Unionists

Defend Salvador Phone Workers!

The Salvadoran Telecommunications Workers Association (ASTTEL) is fighting for its life. As reported in our last issue, the union has been locked in a prolonged and bitter struggle with the U.S.-backed death squad regime of President José Napoleón Duarte. Over the last seven months, ASTTEL has fought the government to a standoff despite kidnappings, firings, forced transfers and massive military intervention. On June 5 the 1,200 striking technicians were forced back to work after 51 days on strike. Yet the workers courageously continue to fight. On June 16 a three-hour nationwide work stoppage was carried out by some 3,000 telecommunications workers.

However, the Duarte regime refuses to negotiate and is stepping up the "psychological war." Some 25 unionists have received death threats, including ASTTEL technicians leader Carlos Bernal, who was stopped on the street and warned to stop making trouble or else. The Salvadoran phone workers must not stand alone. American workers must back up their class brothers and sisters with labor action in the face of these union-busting attacks.

Last November ASTTEL's head of international and national relations,

Striking phone workers in San Salvador demand freedom for union leader and sons from Treasury Police torture chambers, November 1985.



Humberto Centeno, was seized by the Treasury Police along with his two sons, who were tortured and are still in jail. In December three activists in the union's international section were seized in reprisal for a 19-day strike which shut down national and international phone service. In January union general secretary Rafael Sánchez was fired by the national telecommunications company, Antel, for participating in a peace demonstration. (Antel is headed by Colonel Mauricio Vides Casanova, brother of the armed forces chief of staff who was former chief of the Treasury Police and a notorious death squad leader.) In mid-April, the phone technicians struck demanding back wage increases. The strike was subsequently

declared illegal by a labor judge, strikers were drafted by the army and military personnel were sent in to man the installations.

At issue currently is the rehiring of 22 fired phone strikers and the payment of wage raises promised in an earlier settlement. Phone workers together with the rest of the Salvadoran union movement are fighting to defend their livelihoods in the face of galloping inflation, 40 percent unemployment and now an IMF-style "austerity" package. In a speech last week, Duarte tried to divert attention from mushrooming urban unrest by calling for renewed "dialogue" with the FMLN guerrillas and their liberal/social-democratic FDR allies. But having killed more

than 60,000 since 1979, the Salvadoran rulers and their godfathers in Washington seek to bury the insurgency under a mountain of corpses. "Power-sharing" with butcher Duarte and the military murderers, in fact any "solution" short of uprooting the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, which funds and directs terror against the working class, is a deathtrap for the workers and peasants.

The Spartacist League calls for military victory to the leftist insurgents in the Salvadoran civil war, to smash the death squad regime and open the road to workers revolution throughout the isthmus. Trotskyist parties must be forged on the program of permanent revolution, to draw in the rural and urban poor behind a proletarian leadership. And in the United States the workers movement has a special responsibility to defend the victims of Yankee imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive which has picked Central America as its prime target. The courageous ASTTEL workers need international support. We urge our readers to send contributions and telegrams of support to: Carlos Bernal, c/o FENASTRAS, Avenida 29 de Agosto, Plaza Barrios, San Salvador, El Salvador. ■

Young Spartacus

Harvard SYL Pickets Reagan's Top Cop

DSA, CIA and Meese

CAMBRIDGE—Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government honored Attorney General Edwin Meese III for "distinguished public service" on May 20. The Harvard Spartacus Youth League called for a mass, militant protest against the racist witchhunter Meese. As our leaflet stated: "Meese is being honored at Harvard for his crimes against students, blacks and workers: take a side—join us in protesting the obscene attorney general!" We were determined that Reagan's top cop would receive a fitting "welcome," and Meese was in fact met with a spirited protest by the SYL and our supporters.

Inside the Kennedy School—that nefarious think tank for the Pentagon—those who opposed Meese's award as an embarrassment to the "good name" of their alma mater staged a quintessentially Harvard-style gentlemen's "walkout." Led by Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, some 50 graduate students silently exited the room as "Mr. Meese" was introduced; they posed for the TV cameras outside and then called it an evening. This "protest" packed all the wallop of a cup of custard, as intended.

Outside the K-School, SYLers and other militants marched against Meese with signs and slogans like: "Down with Government Censorship—Meese is the Dirty Picture!" "From Philly to Tripoli—State-Supported Terrorism: Made in the USA!" and "K-School Gives Meese Kurt Waldheim Award for 'Public Service!'" Charged with keeping the "home front" regimented for Rea-

When the moment for protest came, however, a potentially broad-based united action against Meese was torpedoed by anti-communist liberals and social democrats. Confronted with the SYL-led protest, members of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and the

picket, some 60 strong.

United action with the reds was more than the anti-anti-Meese liberals could stomach. Presumably to avoid being tarred with the brush of Bolshevism, DSA/NLG/SASC refused to take up any of our chants, including such "subversive" calls as "Hands Off the

cluding one which read "Meese Says Rights Are for Whites Only." We continued the demonstration and innovative comrades coined a new chant: "Cold War liberals bloc with Meese—Sweep them into the garbage heap!" We concluded the protest by singing the *Internationale*.

One Should Not Speak of Rope in the House of the Hanged

It takes a lot of chutzpah for the DSA to call anyone CIA agents. They and their forerunners have a long and sordid history of service to the "Company" as fellow fighters against the spectre of communism—not least among students. Government-financed anti-communist provocation is what American social democracy has largely been about for longer than the Harvard DSAers might want to think about. DSAer Grossman has performed fully in keeping with this sordid history and "distinguished" himself as super-fink for Harvard's political purge body, the Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (CRR), which has been boycotted by the student body since its inception in the 1960s. While most student activists continue to respect the boycott, Grossman and his fellow DSAer Damon Silvers collaborated with the CRR's witchhunt against anti-apartheid students, including those involved in a militant SYL-led protest against South Africa's general counsel Abe Hoppenstein last spring. Chips off the old block.

Agent-baiting of revolutionaries in the service of reaction is a timeworn technique, from Kerensky and the Mensheviks' slanders about Lenin and "German gold" to Stalin's grotesque Big Lie that Red Army founder Leon Trotsky was simultaneously an agent of Hitler, the Japanese Mikado and British imperialism. Whether Drayton's penchant for Stalin's portrait, which several years ago graced his dorm room, provides any insight into the CIA-baiting, we don't pretend to know. We do know that DSA honcho Michael Harrington has a documented history of lending his services to CIA-financed operations, going back to the disruption of the 1959 World Youth Festival in Vienna.

To briefly recap his evolution, the young Harrington was associated with the "third camp" socialists led by Max Shachtman, who broke with Trotskyism on the eve of World War II over the Trotskyists' unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. (The mythical "third camp" was ostensibly against both Moscow and Washington, but increasingly came down on the side of the latter when push came to shove.) In the late '50s, Harrington led the right wing of the Shachtmanite youth into the Cold War/pro-Democratic Party clutches of Norman Thomas's Socialist Party. Thomas openly defended his own membership in organizations that received CIA dollars, because, in his words, they reflected "my



Young Spartacus

Harvard, May 20: SYL protests Attorney General Meese at Kennedy School of Government.

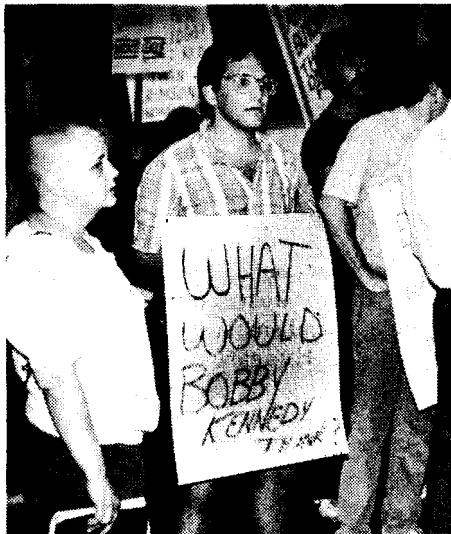
pro-divestment South African Solidarity Committee (SASC) put down their picket signs and huddled in anti-communist paralysis on the sidewalk. What to do? Eventually they sprang into action against the SYL-led anti-Meese protest.

Despite prior discussions with representatives of the NLG, who had indicated their intention to protest Meese at the same time as our publicized action, and despite urgings by SYL supporters on the site, the NLG/DSA/SASC clot repeatedly declined invitations to join the picket line. A few individuals even tried—unsuccessfully—to disrupt it by busting in and out, a particularly nasty provocation under the circumstances. Harvard security was out in force and apt to seize on any pretext to disperse the protest, and Meese would have enjoyed wading through a crowd of bloodied campus "troublemakers" to receive his award if it came to that. (The NLG certainly proved that Lenin's remark, "As to lawyers...there is no telling what dirty tricks this intellectual scum will be up to," retains its validity today.)

The NLG/DSA/SASC in fact did nothing to protest Meese until some members of Students Against Racism, a newly formed integrated group of Harvard activists, showed up, placards in hand and ready to demonstrate. After arguing desperately with these students against joining the SYL-led demonstration (the *only* protest at the time), the lawyers and social democrats set up their own separate line. We promptly marched our contingent into this line, thereby forming a single anti-Meese

Sanctuary Movement!" "Defend Abortion Rights!" and "Avenge MOVE Martyrs—Free Ramona Africa!" Their own whining sentiments were captured in a placard which read: "What Would Bobby Kennedy Think?" Like his brother Jack, who brought you the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the Vietnam War (and for whom the Kennedy School is named), RFK would likely have applauded Harvard's honoring one of its own, even if Meese did go to Yale. Ask the Freedom Riders who fought Jim Crow segregation while then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy plotted with J. Edgar Hoover against civil rights organizations and purposefully left them vulnerable to murderous Ku Klux Klan attacks.

The "progressives" did find a chant that moved them to action of a sort. Initiated by all accounts by one Richard Drayton—a dilettante campus politico and hanger-about in the SASC milieu—the following cop-baiting slander was the signal to wreck the anti-Meese protest: "Hey, hey, what do you say—the Sparts are from the CIA!" This slander was quashed as soon as SYLers confronted the guilty parties, who in turn squirmed and lied: "It wasn't me." Harvard DSAers Evan Grossman and Rob Weissman were among the CIA-baiting wreckers. Having failed to wreck the anti-Meese protest through slander, the cornered political cowards of the DSA/NLG/SASC exited the picket line altogether. The Students Against Racism group, to their credit, took no part in the anti-communist provocation against the demonstration and continued to hold their signs high, in-



Young Spartacus

Liberals appeal to the man who tapped M.L. King's phone.

gan's anti-Soviet war mania abroad, Meese's views on student protesters can be succinctly summed up as "the only good one is a dead one." So even though Meese's appearance just happened to coincide with final exams, there was plenty of sentiment at Harvard against the K-School's fête for the attorney general. SYLers found an enthusiastic reception from other students as we blitzed the dining halls, libraries and dormitories with announcements for the protest.

political beliefs." And by the time of Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion, the renegade Shachtman went so far as to support the CIA's *gusano* mercenaries, the contras of their day.

As was revealed in a major scandal in 1966-67, for 15 years the CIA used overlapping personnel from the National Student Association (NSA, the most well-known student CIA conduit to be exposed) and something called the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) to combat the influence of the Communist-supported International Union of Students (IUS). IUS festivals in Vienna in 1959 and in Helsinki in 1962 were particular targets, and Harrington's Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL, youth group of the Socialist Party and American affiliate of the IUSY) did its bit. *Ramparts* magazine (7 September 1968) exposed the social democrats at a time when the New Left was shedding Cold War anti-Communist prejudices and scrutinizing the CIA's infiltration of the student movement:

"By the admission of the IUSY officers themselves, the social democratic youth movement of the 1960's was entirely dependent on the CIA for the financing of all its international activities. When the communist youth festivals came around, the CIA usually threw in a little extra money to put on a special show.... "At the 1959 festival in Vienna, for example, the IUSY ran an 'anti-festival,' where the 'other side of the story' was presented by American youths carrying placards reading 'remember Hungary' and literature printed at CIA expense."

The Vienna youth festival was a referendum on the Cold War; record numbers of American youth attended despite the consternation of the State Department and State Department

"socialists." The U.S. government did not welcome the prospect of Americans talking "peace and friendship" with the Russians and other Soviet-bloc participants in Vienna. And with protests against Jim Crow racism sweeping the South, the U.S. was also plenty worried about young Americans making contact with the sizable delegations of youth involved in anti-colonial struggles from Africa, Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, South



WV Photo

"State Department socialists": Michael Harrington (left), and his mentors Max Shachtman and Norman Thomas (right).

America and the Philippines. The social democrats in the IUSY called for a boycott of the festival and staged an "anti-festival" provocation in Vienna, bought and paid for by the CIA.

Harrington & Co. were not real popular in Vienna. As he described in a 1962 YPSL pamphlet: "This writer had the novel experience of requiring police protection in order to distribute socialist leaflets against colonialism [!] in the public park outside the Messegalande Festival grounds. Even with six Austrian policemen in attendance, the 'commando squad' from the Festival

managed to rip up signs and tear up leaflets. Others without benefit of police protection fared somewhat worse...." We can only add that Harrington and his ilk were fortunate that the source of their "anti-festival" funding had not yet been widely documented.

The antics of the "anti-festival" disrupters are described in the article below by Shane and Judy Mage, reprinted from the October 1959 *Young*



New America

Socialist. The Mages attended the Communist-led festival, and even before the direct CIA links were public they exposed the well-financed job these "State Department socialists" were doing on behalf of U.S. imperialism. That "the Company" was behind it all was later admitted and vociferously defended by Ms. Gloria Steinem of feminist fame, who worked as an executive of the CIA-funded "International Research Service" there (*Washington Post*, 18 February 1967). Steinem got some bad press about her CIA past, but Harrington was quite happy to

have her as a prominent member of the DSA's immediate predecessor, DSOC.

From Vienna to Harvard

Was the Harvard anti-anti-Meese provocation planned in advance, a mini-version of Vienna? One of the provocateurs at Harvard did implore the police to "shut down the whole goddamned thing," referring to our picket line against Meese (the cops declined). Whatever the case, the inevitable result of the DSA's allegiance to its "own" bourgeoisie is to "unite" with the state and its various agencies against the revolutionary Marxists. In World War I, the great revolutionist Rosa Luxemburg denounced social democracy as a "stinking corpse" for betraying the proletariat and supporting their respective national ruling classes in the imperialist slaughter. For her internationalist opposition to the war, she and her fellow Spartacist Karl Liebknecht were assassinated with the active complicity of the social democrats. Today the social dems are still acting as "bloodhounds" for the bourgeoisie, as they self-admittedly did in sabotaging the German Revolution of 1918.

Today Harrington's DSA stands shoulder to shoulder with the State Department, from backing the feudal mullah reactionaries in Afghanistan to hailing Solidarność, the company union for the CIA and Western bankers in Poland. In southern Africa, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops defend black Angola against the South African army, the DSA's anti-Communism puts it in very bad company indeed. At Harvard, the DSA and SASC blocked with ultraright Conservative Club members who constructed an anti-Soviet

continued on page 10

Vienna Youth Festival 1959

CIA "Socialists" vs. Reds

We reprint below an article by Shane and Judy Mage from the October 1959 issue of *Young Socialist*, published by the *Young Socialist Supporters*, predecessor to the national youth group of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. The Mages had come to Trotskyism from the left wing of the Shachtmanite youth; Shane Mage became a leader of the Revolutionary Tendency, which was expelled from the SWP in 1963 for upholding the Leninist program of the founder of the *Fourth International*.

By Shane and Judith Mage

VIENNA—The Seventh World Youth Festival got off to a loud and colorful start on Sunday afternoon, July 25, when 17,000 delegates marched into the Vienna stadium before a crowd of over 60,000. The Chinese stole the show with their huge, gyrating, paper dragon and soaring helium-filled balloons. The Russians made the most noise, exploding hundreds of firecrackers above the stadium so that they, and everyone who followed them, marched in under a thick pall of smoke. Miniature Russian parachutes floated down through the gloom and were fought for as violently as foul balls in the Yankee Stadium.

For the next nine days it was a kaleidoscopic whirl of concerts, discussions, sports, meetings, dances, parades, lectures, circuses. On August 1 a crowd spread over half the Heldenplatz (where Hitler in 1938 addressed a throng of 600,000) to hear Paul Robeson.

In contrast, the "Anti-Festival" fell rather flat, despite the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of good American dollars and the dramatic arrival in Vienna of—the Dalai Lama's brother. And yet to counteract the Festival the

State Dept. certainly didn't stint its means. Carefully prepared spokesmen for "democracy," chosen from the East-European Institutes of American universities, circulated among the delegates, gaining admission to the Festival grounds with mysteriously procured credentials.

Throughout the Festival three small planes flew over Vienna, trailing streamers that read (in German) "The Festival Without Us," "Remember Tibet," "Re-

But these propaganda efforts were met with a deaf ear by virtually all the young people who had come to Vienna. The unconcealed origin was enough to discredit them, especially with the thousands of youth from colonial countries.

Huge Success

Beyond all doubt the Youth Festival was a huge success. The more or less fantastic stories in the U.S. press and the



Keystone

American delegates march in defiance of State Department, Vienna 1959.

member Hungary." A special daily newspaper, the "Vienna Daily News," was published in Russian, English, German, French, and other languages for free distribution to the delegates. Free movies; daily guided tours to see the "Iron Curtain;" jazz concerts (one, starring Ella Fitzgerald, timed to compete with Robeson); middle-aged ladies with big black satchels full of free copies of "The New Class," "Doctor Zhivago," "Our Europe," "Information Booths" all over Vienna, staffed by a united front of "Socialist" and Catholic youth organizations.

complete blackout in the Vienna press cannot hide that fact. The planned events went off without a hitch. State Department efforts to sabotage the Festival from inside, as by fomenting a "split" in the U.S. delegation, were, despite newspaper stories, a resounding failure. Thousands of youth from the Soviet bloc mingled freely with the other delegates—and none "chose freedom."

But the real question only begins here. The official slogans of the festival were "Peace and Friendship." But a third unofficial slogan quickly took a co-equal place—"peaceful co-existence."

Officially the Festival was strictly non-partisan but independent, open to youth of all political views. In reality anyone could see by whom it was organized, financed, and controlled from beginning to end.

What did they get out of it? As in every youth festival, direct propaganda for the "peaceful co-existence" line, and a wide and receptive circulation for brochures painting an idyllic picture of the life of young people in Hungary, East Germany, etc. But, more important, by holding the Festival, for the first time, in a non-"Iron Curtain" country, the Stalinists were able to show the world the image of a strong, united, and self-confident bloc. The Moscow Festival of 1957 was held under the impact of the revolutionary wave of 1956. The Vienna Festival of 1959 expressed the consolidation of bureaucratic rule which followed the suppression of the Hungarian workers' revolution and the murder of Imre Nagy et al.

Does all this signify that the Social-Democratic Youth of Austria and all other countries were justified in refusing to participate? Not in the least. By serving as an open tool for the U.S. State Department the International Union of Socialist Youth merely discredited socialism still further. Every reference to Hungary in the context of State Department propaganda helped the Stalinists to bury the memory still deeper.

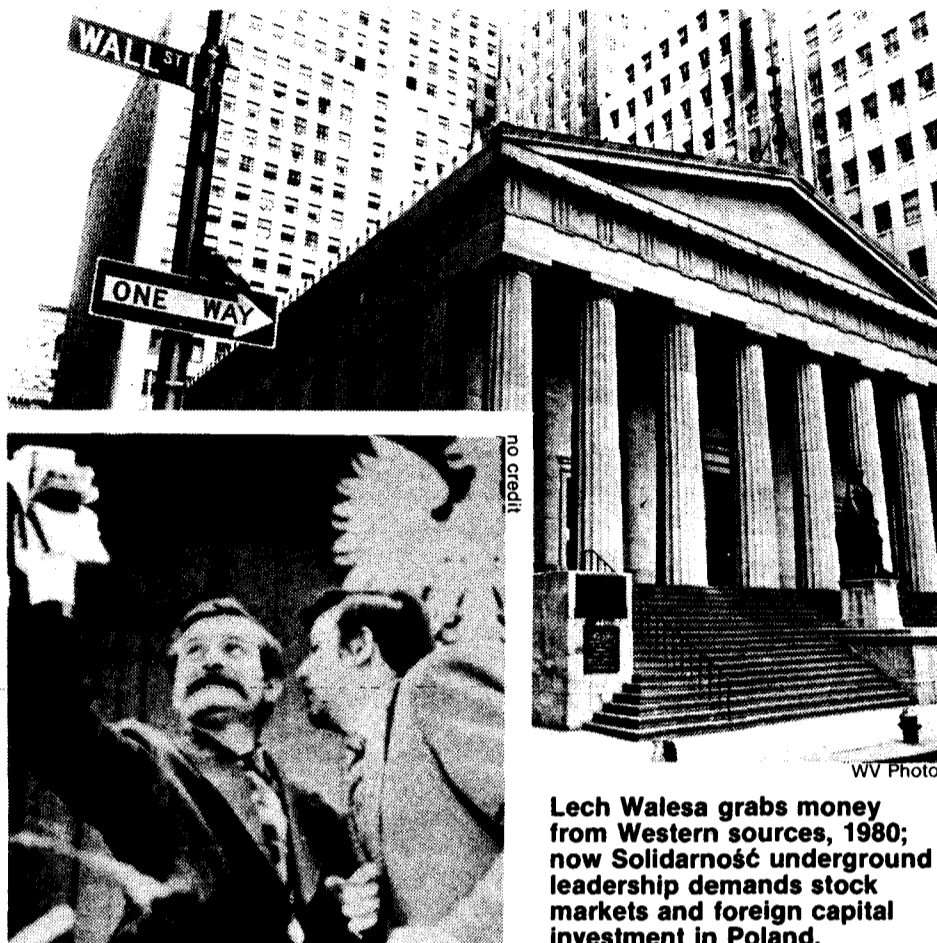
Despite Stalinist control the festival presented to thousands of young people from all over the world an opportunity to meet and discuss in a relatively free atmosphere; and the large majority of these young people were motivated by the ideals of peace, socialism, national independence. This fact, for socialists, should be enough to justify participation in the festival now and at any future time. The presence of a strong contingent of revolutionary socialist youth would have made it far more difficult to suppress all organized discussion of the genuine issues before youth all over the world: the need for workers' democracy, for intellectual freedom, for a real struggle against world capitalism and its built-in drive to imperialist war. ■

Solidarność Calls for Wall Street to Run Poland

The article below was first printed in *Workers Hammer* No. 80, June 1986, newspaper of the Spartacist League of Britain.

"Solidarity with Solidarność" has been a key slogan linking much of the Western left to NATO imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. For example, last December the French "far left" Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvrière joined hands with the CIA-financed Force Ouvrière and the Catholic trade-union group to protest president François Mitterrand's meeting with Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski. In effect they want the French imperialist state to break off even diplomatic relations with Poland. Ernest Mandel, godfather of the French LCR, has over Poland become the pope's "Trotskyist," proclaiming Solidarność to be "the best socialists in the world"! Mandel's supporters in Britain and the U.S. have adapted the Solidarność logo for the mastheads of their own newspapers, as did Argentine fake-Trotskyist adventurer Nahuel Moreno. In Britain, the Healy outfit sparked a right-wing witchhunt against militant miners leader Arthur Scargill when they attacked him for denouncing Solidarność as "anti-socialist."

Solidarność spokesmen both underground in Poland and in exile have repaid their enthusiasts in the Western left with blackest ingratitude. Taking their cue from Ronald Reagan, they have denounced the social-democratic "peace" movement in West Europe as Kremlin agents and dupes. The so-called "Walesa Report," issued last August, called for a "full market" economy for Poland. And in September the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarność came out for capitalist restoration in the most extreme and unashamed way conceivable. They called for private industry, private banks and even the opening of a *stock market* in Poland, as well as "legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment" for foreign capital. In other



Lech Walesa grabs money from Western sources, 1980; now Solidarność underground leadership demands stock markets and foreign capital investment in Poland.

words, they want Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt bankers to take over the Polish economy!

What a low blow for Solidarność "left" apologists in the West, who stand exposed as dupes of the CIA and Vatican. One of these outfits, Sean Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (13 February) in Britain, writes:

"Pro-imperialist, Catholic, right wing—they want to restore capitalism. That was how many left-wingers in the West saw the Polish workers' movement Solidarność when it flowered in 1980-1.

"A new economic programme issued by Solidarność's underground leadership (the TKK) seems to prove them right."

It sure does, Sean, doesn't it! In fact, damn few left-wingers in the West in 1980-81 saw Solidarność for what it

was: pro-imperialist, Catholic, right-wing. All manner of social democrats, the Eurocommunists, anarcho-libertarian types, etc. hailed this clerical-nationalist movement with wild enthusiasm. So did the main currents falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism (Mandel, Moreno, Pierre Lambert).

The international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone in warning against the terrible danger of counterrevolution in Poland. We thus protested when in September 1981 Solidarność opened an office in New York City in facilities provided by the violently anti-Communist bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO trade unions. For this action we were threatened by no less an institution of the American bourgeoisie than the *Wall Street Journal*! "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's foreign operations, a *Journal* editorial (29 September 1981) thundered, "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching." The *Wall Street Journal* and Reagan gang embraced Walesa, Bujak & Co. as their people in Poland.

While *Socialist Organiser* now grudgingly admits that Solidarność is for capitalist restoration, nevertheless Matgamna's outfit *still* supports it against the bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state. This position is actually *worse* than its former fraudulent claim that Solidarność was fighting for workers democracy:

"So maybe Solidarność, or a central section of it, is now advocating the restoration of a capitalist market economy in Poland. Does that mean that the Western left should support Jaruzelski?"

"No. No more than we should support a bourgeois-democratic government in the West which suppresses a Stalinist-minded workers' movement...."

"Likewise in Poland we should defend Solidarność even under pro-Western leadership."

To begin with, it is *false* to define Solidarność as "the Polish workers movement." While originally sparked by legitimate workers' grievances against the Stalinist bureaucracy, it rapidly became a broad political movement, embracing whole sections of the

petty bourgeoisie, led by clerical-nationalists. A survey taken at Solidarność' first national congress in September 1981 indicated that less than half the delegates were members of the working class while almost a third were liberal professionals. A "Letter to Poles in the whole world" issued by this congress stated: "Born of the whole nation's will, Solidarity is not only a trades union of working people, but at the same time a civic social movement of people conscious of their rights and their duties towards the Fatherland and its independence" (quoted in Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* [1984]).

What is fundamentally wrong with *Socialist Organiser's* position, however, is not just its flagrantly false picture of Solidarność. It is the grotesque *equation* of bourgeois democracy in the West with Stalinism in the Eastern bloc. It is this "third-campist" equation which leads Matgamna & Co. to ally themselves with Reagan and Thatcher in supporting capitalist counterrevolution in the name of "defending the Polish workers."

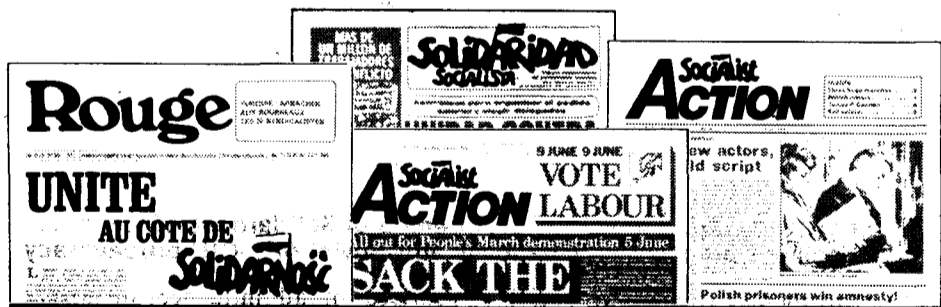
Poland 1981: Counterrevolutionary Bid for Power

To cover this up *Socialist Organiser* claims that in 1980-81 Solidarność stood for workers democracy and only since then has it moved to the right, now calling outright for capitalist restoration:

"In 1980-81, when Solidarność was in the ascendant, its central theme was workers' control; but now, battered, repressed and hunted, the Solidarność underground leaders have turned to market economics as a 'realistic' (their term) alternative to bureaucratic mismanagement."

Anyone not willfully blind could see from the outset that Walesa, Bujak & Co. aimed to make Poland safe for "free world" imperialism. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in almost chemically pure form. This program could have been written by Radio Free Europe. It called for "free elections" in Poland and "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc. It demanded that Poland join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the world bankers' cartel whose initials spell starvation and police-state terror from Bolivia to Bangladesh. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was *defeated*. And to top it off, invited to the Solidarność congress was the notorious American CIA labor operator Irving Brown, a man synonymous with the Cold War subversion of the workers movement in West Europe and the colonial world.

As for Solidarność' agitation around "workers self-management," this was intended to dismantle centralized economic planning, and the "self-managed" enterprises were to be run on the basis of *market profitability*. Thus the program adopted by Solidarność at its September 1981 congress declares: "The organizational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power.... The union recognizes the need to restore the equilibrium of the market..." (*Bulletin Solidarność*,



Fake-left press (above) joins with anti-Communist reactionaries Lane Kirkland, Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla in hailing counterrevolutionary Solidarność.



March 1982).

Solidarność' advocacy of self-management in 1981 had nothing to do with "industrial democracy" as it's called in Western social-democratic circles. Rather it was a move to oust the incumbent managers and replace them with pro-Western anti-Communists. For example, the Conference of Workers Self-Management at the LOT national airlines proposed for the airline's new managing director one Stanislaw Kutek. A former émigré, Kutek had lived in Britain for 35 years and even served in the Royal Navy during the Korean War. He was a retired capitalist who had amassed a fortune from his own aviation company. Kutek's program for LOT was to stop buying Soviet-made planes and buy American instead:

"I've got contacts in the American companies—they'll sell us some good Boeings at a reasonable price. And there's no problem about paying for them: I've got lots of friends in the Western banks."

—quoted in Henry Norr, "Solidarity and Self-Management, May-July 1981," *Poland Watch* No. 7 [1985]

That is what Solidarność meant by "workers self-management" in practice, "rationalizing" the Polish economy by turning it over to the capitalists.

That much of the Polish working class wanted the likes of Stanislaw Kutek to run the economy testified to the complete bankruptcy of Stalinist rule. Three decades of gross economic mismanagement and political oppression along with endless broken promises of reform and democratization had driven the mass of the Polish people into the arms of Pope Karol Wojtyla, Ronald Reagan and the Common Market of NATO Europe. A top White House official saw in the Polish crisis the greatest opportunity to roll back Communism in the Soviet sphere since 1945.

By the fall of 1981 Poland stood on the brink of civil war and counterrevolution. In early December the Solidarność leadership held a secret meeting in the town of Radom. The "moderate" Lech Walesa declared: "Confrontation is inevitable and it will take place... We are aware that we are dismantling the system." Zbigniew Bujak, head of the Warsaw region of Solidarność, asserted: "The first action of the workers' militia will be aimed at liberating the radio and television headquarters... The Government must at last be overthrown." Jacek Kuron, Poland's leading social democrat, stated: "The ground must be well prepared to overpower the authorities" (quoted in Kevin Ruane, *The Polish Challenge* [1982]). Fortunately for the international working class, indeed for all humanity, Solidarność bid for power was checked a few weeks later in a nearly bloodless countercoup carried out by the Polish regime under General Jaruzelski.

The "Workers Opposition": Anti-Communist Syndicalists

Since then the Solidarność leaders have made it ever more clear that their "comrades" in the West are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. To divert attention from the brazenly pro-capitalist Temporary Coordinating Commission the "left" cheerleaders for Solidarność are playing up a new grouping in Poland, the Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition. "The Left in Solidarność," proclaims *Socialist Organiser*, "have declared themselves in favour of an anti-bureaucratic revolution, waged by the working class and aimed at achieving the full liberation of the working class." The Mandelites' *International Viewpoint* likewise claims that the Workers Opposition "identifies with the working class, stands for its self-organization, and poses the question of the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy."

In reality the Press Alliance is a

Solidarność Blueprint for Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from the "Economic Demands" of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarność (24 September 1985), reprinted from *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin* [London] 14 November 1985.

• "Alongside state ownership in the national economy, there should be a room for a wide range of private ownership which should include industry... Fair competition should decide which kind of ownership will predominate in the various fields of the national economy.

• Alongside the central banks, there should be deposit banks, acting as independent enterprises and earning profits by lending on interest.

• Alongside the market for goods and services, there should be a stock market, enabling anyone to buy shares and bonds, to become one of the sources of capital for the development of enterprises.

• The reform must be market orientated and should encourage economic activity based on healthy competition... Prices must be allowed to be shaped by the market.

• In cases of unprofitable enterprises, the principle of bankruptcy and insolvency should be vigorously adhered to.

• Private foreign capital should have legally guaranteed conditions for safe investment in Poland, also in the form, among others, of joint private-state capital companies."

syndicalist current in the stream of anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Polish nationalism. Its attitude toward the militantly pro-imperialist Solidarność leadership is one of comradely criticism, not opposition. It does not condemn "the reprivatization of the means of production" as a program for bloody counterrevolution but considers it a legitimate difference of opinion within the "democratic opposition." The Alliance does not regard Walesa, Bujak & Co. as enemies of socialism and workers liberation but as errant comrades in the common struggle against the "totalitarian" bureaucracy. Thus the Workers Opposition stands four-square for Solidarność' bid for power in 1981.

Marxists stand for the planned, centralized administration of the economy by a democratically governed workers state. But despite their proclaimed "leftism," the Alliance is just as hostile to this socialist program as are the advocates of "reprivatization." Indeed, that is what unites them. In fact, the Alliance deliberately refuses to call itself socialist, a term it only uses in quotation marks to define what it is not. The Workers Opposition draft platform declares:

"The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is socialization, outside of the state and in the framework of a system of workers self-management, of the means of production that are today statized." [our emphasis]

—reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 23 December 1985

This is a social-democratic/syndicalist utopia. Workers self-management outside the framework of state ownership and control amounts to an economic system of producer cooperatives which are necessarily governed by market competition. Profitable enterprises would buy up bankrupt ones and exploit their labor in a fully capitalist manner. And what's to stop enterprises which are losing money or simply want more capital from going into partnership with Western multinationals and financiers? The Solidarność leadership's demand for stock markets and private foreign investment in Poland is in no sense an abandonment of its 1981 program. It is the logical extension of "workers self-management."

The documents of this Workers Opposition are abstract, bloodless, almost scholastic. In the half dozen or so that we've read in translation there is no mention of Ronald Reagan or Pope John Paul II (formerly cardinal of Cracow). Nonetheless, its position on the Cold War is clear enough. To use a term commonly employed by the Trotskyist movement, the Polish Workers Opposition is a "third campist" grouping. That is, it views Western imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy

as equally militarist, equally expansionist, equally driving toward war:

"To the slogan 'Down with the militarist policy of the US and imperialism,' which we support totally and without reservation, we add the complementary slogan, 'Down with the militarist policy of the Kremlin and totalitarianism!'"

—"The Fight for Peace and Workers Power," reprinted in *International Viewpoint*, 24 March

Like many "third campist" groupings in the West, the Polish Alliance maintains that Wall Street and the Kremlin are essentially collaborative, that they form a kind of joint partnership exploiting and oppressing the workers of the world. The first issue of *Workers Cause*, one of the four papers making up the Press Alliance, declared that it "has enemies with whom no accord or alliance can ever be concluded—they



September 1981—Spartacist protests opening of Solidarność office in New York, in facilities provided by fanatically anti-Soviet AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

are the bureaucracy (that is, the social layer that exploits the workers); as well as the bourgeoisie, which guarantees the survival of the long bankrupt bureaucracy."

This is a flagrant denial of the most fundamental reality governing world politics. Reagan guarantees the survival of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski?! In the most naked and aggressive way, from Nicaragua to Libya to Afghanistan, U.S. imperialism is bent on rolling back and eventually destroying Soviet power. That is why the Pentagon is spending hundreds of billions on weaponry to decapitate the Kremlin leadership in a nuclear first strike. And that is why the CIA funneled millions to Solidarność, mainly via the fanatically anti-Communist leadership of the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. That is also why the equally fanatically anti-Communist underground leadership of Solidarność

is calling for Wall Street to take over Poland's collectivized economy. Walesa, Bujak & Co. far better understand the real relation of Western capitalism to the Soviet-bloc degenerated and deformed workers states than do the "third campists" of the Workers Opposition.

But the reality of the Cold War—which is at bottom a class war—always breaks through "third campist" posturing. Those groups which shout "a curse on both your houses" are inexorably drawn into the camp of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union in the name of "democracy and national independence." This is demonstrated dramatically in Poland by the career of Jacek Kuron.

Kuron's Path to Counterrevolution

The first issue of *Workers Front*, one of the papers of the Press Alliance, reprinted the lengthy 1965 "Open Letter" to Communist party members by Kuron and Karol Modzelewski. Kuron went on to become the most prominent Polish dissident in the Gierek era of the 1970s as founder and leader of KOR (Workers Defense Committee). He played a decisive role in the origins of Solidarność and an important one in the 1980-81 crisis. Kuron continues to be a major figure in the underground opposition.

When Kuron and his comrades were sentenced to prison in the mid-1960s for distributing the "Open Letter," they marched out of court singing the "Internationale." The politics of the "Open Letter" is in fundamental ways far to the left of the present Workers Opposition. It denounced Polish Stalinism for favoring "the traditional political right" headed by the Catholic hierarchy. It also drew a hard line against Western social democracy and parliamentarism—"the parliamentary system is one in which the working class and the entire society finds itself

deprived of all influence on government"—and called for a government based on workers councils.

Yet a dozen or so years later Kuron called for the transformation of Poland along the lines of Finland, that is, into a "neutral" bourgeois-democratic state. At the same time his cohort Adam Michnik argued that the Polish left should abandon its traditional anticlericalism and form a united front with the Catholic hierarchy against the Communist regime. A few years later KOR became a sympathizing member of the Second International of Helmut Schmidt and François Mitterrand.

How does one account for the transformation of Kuron from a left opponent of Stalinism into Pope Wojtyla's social democrat? It would be scholastic to blame it all on some theoretical original sin. Nonetheless, the

continued on page 8

Solidarność...

(continued from page 7)

1965 "Open Letter" is fundamentally flawed in a way which does help explain Kuron's subsequent rightward course. The Kuron circle were not politically unsophisticated people. Among them was Ludwik Hass, one of the few survivors of the pre-war Polish Trotskyist movement. Kuron was thus familiar with but rejected the Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste resting upon socialized (and therefore progressive) economic foundations. The "Open Letter" maintained that the bureaucracy "exploits the workers" and had transformed the means of production into "a single centralized national capital."

In the mid-1960s Kuron adopted a "plague on both your houses" toward the Cold War, in large part because he believed that Western imperialism accepted the status quo in the Soviet bloc in return for the Kremlin's quid pro quo. The "Open Letter" maintained that "the two principal blocs...are waging an economic, diplomatic and political competition based on the division of the world into established spheres of influence." In this period impressionistic New Left radicals in the West held a similar view of the Cold War.

However, following the Vietnam War, in the mid-1970s U.S. imperialism scrapped "détente" and revved up the anti-Soviet Cold War under the banner of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade. Washington now put its considerable diplomatic and economic muscle behind encouraging and protecting pro-Western "dissidents" in the Soviet bloc. Poland was an especial target both because it had the strongest right-wing forces in East Europe and because Gierek's unbelievable economic

mismanagement made the Warsaw regime desperate for Western financial help.

The development of Kuron's KOR in the late 1970s was directly linked to Washington's "human rights" campaign. When Carter himself visited Warsaw in 1977:

"At a press conference Carter loudly praised the Polish record on human rights and religious tolerance, in the next breath announcing a further \$200 million of US credits. 'Linkage' could hardly be more explicit than that. If the KOR activists had still been imprisoned, it is doubtful if the credits would have flowed so freely."

—Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity*

U.S. imperialism's modest investment in KOR paid handsome dividends. The activities of Kuron, Michnik & Co. prepared the explosion of anti-Soviet clerical-nationalism in and around Solidarność in 1980-81.

For Polish Trotskyism!

Poland, however, is not one reactionary mass. Propagandists for Solidarność define the Polish nation as fervently Catholic and fanatically anti-Russian. Yet historically the Polish working class was socialist and secular, and Poland had one of the oldest and strongest Marxist traditions of any European country.

The first Marxist working-class organization in the Russian tsarist empire was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s, the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Warynski, which worked closely with the Russian revolutionary populists. In the next generation Poland produced one of the greatest figures of international socialism, Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches' Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania was, along with Lenin's Bolsheviks, in the vanguard of the European workers movement as decay-

ing capitalism drove toward the slaughterhouse of World War I. The early Polish Communist Party of the 1920s, under Luxemburg's disciple Adolf Warski, wrote a heroic chapter in the history of the European workers movement of that period. And Trotsky's struggle against the Stalinist degenera-



Der Spiegel

Jacek Kuron: Wall Street's favorite "socialist."

tion of the Communist International found a response in Warsaw. During the early 1930s an oppositional grouping in the Communist Party led by Isaac Deutscher was won to Trotskyism. And even after this group was expelled from the party, there remained a strong undercurrent of sympathy for Trotsky among Polish Communists fighting the fascistic Marshal Pilsudski (now a Solidarność hero) and the "regime of the colonels."

What characterized all of these great figures of Polish socialism, as Deutscher has pointed out, was their call for revolutionary unity with the Russian and German workers. The emergence of the nationalist Solidarność movement

could come about only in a political vacuum created by the destruction of the traditions of international communism in Poland through savage persecution—Polish Pilsudskite, German Nazi and Stalinist. Perhaps the greatest crime of Polish Stalinism was to so discredit socialism that much of the Polish working class has looked to Reagan's America and the Vatican for salvation. Yet it is only the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism on the Vistula which offers a future for the working people of Poland. Shortly after Jaruzelski's near bloodless coup we wrote in "What Next for Poland?" (*WV* No. 298, 5 February 1982):

"The workers intoxicated by the clerical-nationalist fervor of Solidarność have received a sobering shock. Many are asking themselves what went wrong and are now open to new solutions...."

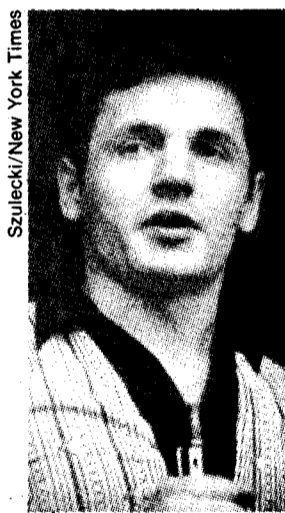
"Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."

The documents of the "Press Alliance of the Workers Opposition" define this tendency as anti-Communist syndicalists, a "left" face of Solidarność counter-revolution. A genuine left opposition would have denounced Walesa & Co.'s embracing of Western capitalism, and proclaimed its unconditional defense of socialized property and the Soviet bloc against counterrevolution; it would have fought the clerical domination in Solidarność, calling for full separation of church and state; it would call for a return to the path of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the "three L's" of the Communist International, in building a Trotskyist party in Poland as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

Bujak: Agent of Imperialism

The capture May 31 of Zbigniew Bujak, the leading figure in the Solidarność underground, is a blow to Western imperialism's efforts to subvert Poland. Indeed, the owner of the "safe house" in which he was found recently received an invitation from the U.S. embassy in Warsaw to attend a farewell reception for Washington's "cultural attaché." The arrest of the Solidarność underground leader will doubtless be made into a cause célèbre for Cold War anti-Communism.

Upon arrest, Bujak was charged by the interior ministry with having "carried out activities aimed at overthrowing the constitutional system of People's Poland," and with being in touch with "Western special services and centers of ideological subversion." A government spokesman said the police had also seized "modern communications equipment and Western currencies." Over the years, the CIA and the Vatican have pumped millions of dollars into Poland to finance Solidarność' activities. And Bujak was their man.



Szulecki/New York Times

Zbigniew Bujak: financed by Washington.

Zbigniew Bujak first came to prominence in 1980-81 as head of the Warsaw region of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność. In early December 1981, when Poland stood on the brink of civil war, Bujak, even more aggressively than his colleagues Lech Walesa and Jacek Kuron, demanded at the secret Radom meeting of Solidarność leaders that "the government should be finally overthrown." He called for setting up a "workers militia" whose first action would be to seize radio and television stations. But these plans were foiled a week later by General Jaruzelski's counter-coup.

Bujak, however, evaded arrest and continued his counterrevolutionary intrigues in clandestinity with the help of his "control" in Washington. It was recently publicly admitted that the Solidarność underground gets money from the National Endowment for Democracy, a major conduit for illicit funds to anti-Communist groups around the world. The chairman of the NED, John Richardson, was head of CIA-funded Radio Free Europe in the 1960s. Last year the social-democratic

Mitterrand government in France, itself staunchly anti-Soviet, was outraged when it was revealed that the Endowment was funding a far-right French student group with fascist links.

The NED also serves as paymaster to the Solidarność underground, mainly via the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute. The head of this notorious CIA labor operation, Eugenia Kemble, naturally has refused to disclose her agents:

"Miss Kemble expressed worry that publicity could endanger individuals facing dictatorial governments and involved in 'sensitive' work...."

"For example, detailed expense reports, including names and specifics of the clandestine Solidarity printing operation inside Poland, would probably give the Polish police enough information to close down the operation."

—*New York Times*, 1 June

The main organizer of the clandestine Solidarność printing operation was Zbigniew Bujak. And Bujak's outfit recently underscored its counterrevolutionary aims by publicly calling for Wall Street to take over the Polish economy.

When the question of power was posed pointblank, we proclaimed, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" Right after martial law was declared, we wrote:

"In the course of heading off the bid for power by capitalist-restorationist elements, a number of Solidarność leaders have been arrested.... As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including the 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."

—"Power Bid Spiked," *WV* No. 295, 18 December 1981

In 1983, after most of the other Solidarność leaders had been freed, we argued that Kuron and his fellow pro-Western social democrats in KOR should also be released.

The Stalinist police mind doesn't distinguish too well between espousing counterrevolutionary, pro-imperialist positions and espionage. An example of the latter is Anatoly Shcharansky, who in addition to his activities as a pro-Zionist Soviet "dissident" turned over information vital to the defense of the Soviet Union—a list of secret defense plants—to the Western imperialists. As for the activities of pro-capitalist Solidarność, it is better—in times of civil peace—that they be above ground, the better to keep track of them. And that way, if they do engage in clandestine activities, the sinister reason why will be unambiguous.

Zbigniew Bujak was running a counterrevolutionary operation financed by the CIA/NED. And it is a good thing his operation has now been exposed. ■

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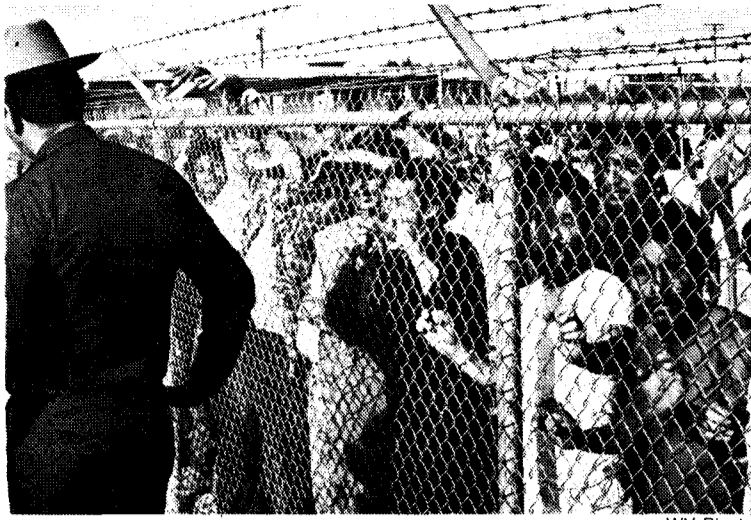
July 4...

(continued from page 12)

if you traipse from one end of Manhattan to the other some corporation is supposed to throw in the equivalent of your subway fare to and from the walkathon. Most of the "Hands Across" money will be handed over for bureaucratic "expenses" and as yet unspecified "lobbying" schemes.

"Freedom" means "free enterprise" for this July 4 "Reagan Country" festival. The big squabble over the Liberty Island restoration project was over whether to make it into an ethnic "theme park," as Iacocca wanted, or to condo the Ellis Island holding pens, the Reagan administration's favored choice. But the man dubbed by *Life* magazine "Mr. America" rebounded with a vengeance. The selling of Lee Iacocca is a perfect testament to the utter hypocrisy of the whole thing: this supposed "little guy" in fact "made it" by extorting a cool billion in givebacks from auto workers (plus axing tens of thousands of jobs) and a billion-dollar federal government bailout—the latter repaid with interest. And after spearheading the chauvinist hate-Japan chorus for American protectionism, Iacocca (not being totally stupid) is now importing Japanese cars.

Meanwhile, scandals are busting out all over in this administration unashamedly dedicated to capitalist greed. Reagan's minions, in the words of *In These Times* writer John Judis, have "looked to government service as a glutton views a buffet." And if Nancy's confidant Mike Deaver can milk big bucks out of influence-peddling over "acid rain," of all things, it's only to be expected that all those low-paid clerks will try to cash in on their access to "national security" secrets. Meanwhile,



WV Photo
Reagan's concentration camps for Latin refugees from death squad terror; "golden door" is wide open for CIA-loving reactionaries.

the government is "privatizing" everything in sight, from health insurance to jails. They're even constructing "for profit" concentration camps—presumably to hold the expected hordes of Central American "feet people" fleeing the "Sandinista menace." After last year's mess at the IRS we fully expected them to reintroduce tax farming, "rolling back" the French Revolution, as it were.

Nowadays you can't turn on your TV without being inundated by red-white-and-blue commercials hardselling "Born and Brewed in the USA," "The Pride Is Back," and the like. The U.S. Army urges black youth to "Be All That You Can Be"—that is, cannon fodder for U.S. imperialism. But all the "America Standing Tall" propaganda hasn't overcome deep-seated fears of another losing military adventure. For all his talk of burying the Vietnam syndrome, what has Reagan actually done? Terror-bombing Qaddafi's tent and "conquering" the tiny black Carib-



"Give me your rich, your famous, your Nobel laureates, your Russian poets and Polish emissaries, your respectable white anti-Soviets yearning to breathe free...."

bean island of Grenada, with a population the size of one New York City housing project. And that took a whole week, in the face of stiff resistance by middle-aged Cuban construction workers. "The home of the brave"? More like home of the bullies. And while Ronald ("I'm a contra") Reagan may prevail in Congress on contra aid, his "freedom fighter" terrorists will surely lose on the battlefield in Nicaragua.

As for all the "land of the free" rhetoric, not only are they oppressing America with the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit, but Meese's porno commission has launched a blackmail campaign against drugstore chains to stop them from carrying such harmless fixtures of Americana as *Playboy* and *Penthouse*. Big Brother Meese wants mandatory urine tests and regular electrode lie detector sessions for American workers, too, not to mention eliminating abortion rights and the Congressional War Powers Resolution. The "founding fathers" would gag at the Reaganites'

"Moral Majority" assault on the separation of church and state. And their onslaught against school integration is nothing less than an appetite to "roll back" the verdict of the Civil War.

Meanwhile, the New York City "Miss Liberty" celebrations look like a real horror show. Worrying about a "terrorism op," federal officials are moving to secure "ground zero" (Lower Manhattan) with an estimated 40,000 personnel from umpteen agencies and no single commander. As an estimated 7 to 13 million visitors pour in (and only 500-plus portable toilets!), with the free-flowing beer and wine sales (percent of profits to Wolper & Co. of course), the grossly inflated restaurant prices and bleacher seats to watch the fireworks, we expect the World Trade Center area to look like something out of the movie *Escape from New York*. More canny Manhattan natives, while sensibly trying to soak the big corporations for rental space, have already made their escape plans. ■

Atlanta...

(continued from page 12)

ignored the quick and angry response to the Klan threat. While there has been escalating KKK violence throughout Georgia, this organized Klan foray into Atlanta proper was an ominous move. The "New South," which ends at the perimeter highway surrounding Atlanta's inner city, looks increasingly like the Old South when it comes to Klan nightriding and suppression of black rights.

The Center for Democratic Renewal has been a special target for fascist terror. On April 23, Klan leader Holland who beat an NAKN observer in Marietta was found innocent despite eyewitness testimony. CDR director Lyn Wells is reportedly on a hit list of the paramilitary "Order" (*Southline*, 7 May). Another of the fascists' targets is

the prominent Southern Organizing Committee organizer Ann Braden. Seeking "democratic renewal" in the "New South" is akin to asking the Confederacy to voluntarily grant black emancipation. That took a Civil War.

When the KKK threatened to march in the nation's capital in November 1982, Wells' NAKN defended the cross burners' "right" to terrorize black Washington in the name of "free speech," and called on Reagan's Justice Department to enforce civil rights legislation. Luckily the black youth and trade unionists of D.C. recognized that these racist killers posed a mortal threat to every worker and oppressed minority and to the democratic rights of everyone. They placed no faith in the KKK-endorsed Reagan government or the Democratic windbags who sought to divert anger against the Klan into a gabfest. On November 27, they came out 5,000 strong in a Labor/Black

Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League with wide backing of area unions, and stopped the hooded fascists before they even got their robes on. For mass labor/black defense to smash racist terror! ■

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

clinics across the country. The Justice Department has claimed the incidents, blamed for an estimated \$3 million in damage since 1982, are not related." Not related?! Take the case of one Joseph Scheidler, described as executive director of the "Pro-Life Action League" in Chicago. Scheidler was arrested June 11 in Denver in connection with the storming and smashing up of the twice-bombed Ladies Center in Pensacola, Florida. The very next day Scheidler was out on bail, leading a mob which swarmed around the Denver Planned Parenthood clinic.

"There is a reign of terror against women who are trying to live a modern life," says NOW president Eleanor Smeal. Scheidler (the author of the terrorist tract, "Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion") travels around the country whipping up murderous attacks. He works in league with Ku Klux Klansman John Burt, responsible for the Christmas 1984 clinic bombings in Pensacola, who openly brags of his part in KKK anti-integration violence in Florida ten years ago.

One of Scheidler's main targets in Colorado is Dr. Warren Hern, director of the pioneering Boulder Abortion Clinic. As Hern wrote in a recent "Op Ed" column in the *New York Times* (14 June):

"More than 40 abortion clinics and doctors' offices have been firebombed since Mr. Reagan took office in 1981.... Members of Mr. Reagan's Administration have said that there is no national conspiracy to terrorize abortion service providers. Those of us who are providing abortion services think otherwise. Having a brick hurled through the

window of a doctor's waiting room where patients sit may seem like small potatoes, but it's terrorism. Listening to the police tell you that you must now drive home a different way each night and check the mail and your automobile for bombs is frightening."

On May 20 a Toledo, Ohio abortion clinic was bombed. On June 9, the Women's Health Care Center in Wichita, Kansas was bombed, following repeated anti-abortion marches and picketing targeting the facility. According to UPI (11 June), clinic operator Dr. George Tiller was forced to move to secret quarters for "fear anti-abortionists would attempt to intimidate customers." And on June 14, a fire causing \$100,000 damage was set off in a clinic in a suburb of St. Louis.

NOW has focused on calling on the federal government for protection against the clinic bombers. But FBI director William Webster grotesquely claims that clinic bombings don't constitute "terrorism," and Reagan's "keep up the good work" speeches to anti-abortion rallies in Washington give the "right to life" bombers the high sign from their chief. NOW recently filed a class action suit, seeking "legal restraints" on clinic bombers based on Reconstruction Era anti-KKK laws. But just as "ban the Klan" legislation has historically been used, not against the fascists, but against those who try to stop them, no doubt the Reaganites will find a way to use such laws to shut down the clinics.

With the blessing of the White House, the crusade against abortion rights is a spearhead of profound social, sexual and political reaction in this country. The Spartacist League fights to mobilize the workers movement to champion the cause of blacks, women and all the oppressed against murderous capitalist reaction. The fight to defend abortion rights is an integral part of the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. Don't let them turn back the clock! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on demand—Free quality medical care for all! ■

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Racist Koch Jeered Off Stage

Democrats' "Anti-Apartheid" Fraud

On June 14, the racist Democratic Party with its black and union-bureaucrat front men (and the usual left waterboys) staged a travesty of protest against apartheid. Many of the 50,000 or so who congregated in Central Park had come to express their solidarity with South African black masses facing murderous repression. But as far as the march and rally were concerned, the fact that racist pig Edward Koch led it off says it all. While Koch "divests" city council stock in South Africa, his cops are shooting down black kids in the streets of New York and racist mobs rampage through Coney Island and Staten Island.

Inviting Ed Koch to speak at an anti-apartheid rally is like asking Kurt Waldheim to address a Holocaust memorial! The crowd erupted with jeers, thumbs-down gestures and chants of "Koch Go Home!" Which he then did—not without pique, complaining about being forced to sit there for an hour and a half. Koch wasn't the only thing to gross out the protesters. Thousands booed when the "Star Spangled Banner" was sung from the



NYC, June 14—Racist pig Ed Koch leads off march; demonstrators jeer "Koch Go Home!"

stage, then pointedly stood up for the singing of a black liberation anthem. At the Harlem State Office Building pre-rally, black Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel was also heartily jeered.

After the popular-front trek, protesters were penned in and surrounded by cops for what some called "the great yawn on the Great Lawn." After hours

of hot air from Democratic politicians and labor bureaucrats, a representative of the African National Congress finally got to speak. Alfred Nzo, veteran ANC general secretary, spoke of solidarity with the "heroic people of Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, Palestine, Namibia" and the Soviet bloc countries. But even this mildly anti-imperialist rhetoric was swiftly countered by Jesse Jackson,



WV Photos

sounding like he was looking for Andy Young's old job as the black face of American imperialism at the UN.

Jackson went on a diatribe against the Soviet Union, which he said should not be given "expansion by default" because of the Washington-Pretoria alliance. The U.S. should be "the superpower with moral authority," he said. To top it off, Jackson obscenely proclaimed, "We must stop killing each other at every Crossroads." This parrots the "black on black violence" line of Reagan and Botha, who use it to justify bloody police and vigilante terror.

The Spartacist League presence stood out in sharp contrast to this liberal gabfest for imperialist sanctions. One family carrying a portrait of Malcolm X stopped to have their picture taken under our banner reading "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" In Harlem, a militant stopped at our table, with its banner, "Harlem to Soweto—Smash Racist Terror!" He bought a subscription, saying, "I don't know if I'm going down to the park, but I want to get some of this revolutionary literature." Altogether, more than 2,000 Spartacist publications were sold, including 1,638 copies of *Workers Vanguard*, and 74 subs. *WV* welcomes our new readers and looks forward to winning the best militants to the fight for workers power from South Africa to the U.S. ■

DSA, CIA...

(continued from page 5)

"gulag" next to the symbolic anti-apartheid shantytown. DSA and SASC supporters offered these junior Reaganites tools to build more "gulags" and joined them in calling for "divestment" from the USSR! No wonder the Harvard "shantytown" found such favor with the administration, who posted security guards to protect it.

In contrast, *Young Spartacus* has called on all defenders of the exploited and oppressed to defend the Soviet Union, the main military and industrial bulwark of the states where capitalist rule has been overthrown, and ultimate target of the imperialist war drive. From fighting union-busting and resurgent KKK terror at home to fighting U.S. aggression from Libya to Central America, the "Russian question" is key. Consider the fate of the Student Peace Union, which for a brief time in the early 1960s rivaled SDS as the largest radical youth organization in the country. The reason most readers have never heard of the SPU is that it descended into irrelevancy after failing to take a clear stand in defense of Cuba in the 1962 missile crisis. Shackled by its social-democratic leadership, the SPU was paralyzed in the face of this direct U.S.-Soviet confrontation.

Only by breaking with the Cold War "socialism" of its parent organization was SDS able to recruit massive numbers of civil rights and antiwar activists. But when SDS came out against knee-jerk anti-Communism in its 1962 Port Huron Statement, its social-democratic elders led by none other than Michael Harrington kicked them out of their offices. And SDS wasn't the only youth group to have its

locks changed by Harrington for going "too far" to the left. When the SP supported mad bomber Lyndon B. Johnson as a "lesser evil" in 1964, YPSL rebelled, calling for "Vote 'No' for President." Harrington didn't want to jeopardize his welcome in the White House (as architect of the JFK/LBJ "war on poverty"), so he suspended the SP youth en masse. Throughout U.S. imperialism's genocidal Vietnam War, Harrington & Co. never called for American withdrawal, much less victory to the Vietnamese NLF/DRV.

As the political climate shifted to the right in the late 1970s, the DSA picked up support, posing, as Harrington put it, as "the left wing of the possible." But in Reagan's America, even these anti-Soviet social democrats have become increasingly irrelevant except as saboteurs of struggle. More generally, American social democracy hasn't amounted to anything for decades, *except as a handmaiden of the state*. In Europe, the social democrats sit atop mass labor organizations and are deeply ensconced in the parliamentary apparatus of capitalist rule. In the U.S., a Cold War labor bureaucracy, including social democrats like the Reuthers, took power in the unions in the postwar red purge; today their heirs, such as Machinists head and DSA bigwig Winpinger, are actively breaking strikes and joining the bosses' giveback assault on the unions they lead. Politically they are ciphers except as barnacles on the capitalist parties—the Democrats in the case of Harrington's DSA, and the Republicans in the case of Shanker's SDUSA.

As Vietnam radicalized a generation of student youth, Ed Meese was making his name as an architect of brutal police repression on California campuses. Under his and then-governor Reagan's

People's Park, 1969: Cops take aim, rooftop spectator felled. Meese said, "James Rector deserved to die."



direction, thousands were tear-gassed, over 100 injured, 13 of them by gunshot wounds, during the 1969 People's Park protests at Berkeley. Twenty-five-year-old James Rector, who watched the cop rampage from a roof, was killed. Said Meese, "James Rector deserved to die." When Meese came to Harvard last month, he came to glory in his murderous record. It turned out he had a "fifth

column" of liberals and social democrats who took a side... against the reds. Despite their wrecking antics, a militant protest was held against Meese which we are proud to have led. We Trotskyists will continue to work for the day when socialist revolution will sweep away the Edwin Meeses of the world and finally bury the "stinking corpse" of social democracy. ■

South African Attack...

(continued from page 1)

Stingers for Savimbi will not defeat battle-hardened Cuban troops who have defended black Angola ever since Pretoria invaded the newly independent country a decade ago.

At the time, U.S. intervention on the side of South Africa was stymied by widespread fear of "another Vietnam." But now there's a bipartisan offensive against the "Vietnam syndrome." It was only with Congress' repeal last July of the 1976 Clark Amendment that Reagan could "legally" resume aid to UNITA. The Democrats also applauded Reagan's attack on the North African state of Libya. And while squirming over CIA-laid mines in Nicaragua led Congress in 1984 to vote against contra aid, the Democratic-controlled House had previously secretly approved financing for the CIA's mercenaries. Now they're doing it again under guise of "humanitarian" aid to these torturers, mercenaries, drug traffickers and dollar-launders.

In blowing up Soviet bloc ships, the apartheid rulers are playing with fire. The attack at Namibe fits the recent

pattern of insane Reaganite war provocations: U.S. helicopters ferrying Honduran soldiers to the Nicaraguan border, Sixth Fleet attacks in the Gulf of Sidra, Navy spy ships invading Soviet territorial waters near Black Sea fleet headquarters at Sevastopol. In southern Africa, occasional "anti-apartheid" tut-tutting to the contrary, Washington relies on Pretoria as a regional gendarme. And they all agree in demanding the withdrawal of Soviet-backed Cuban troops in Angola. The Namibe attack was a calculated attempt to gain favor with Reagan by needling the Soviets. But if the Russian bear is provoked beyond endurance, watch out!

In the face of Pretoria's international marauding and murderous repression of South African blacks, liberals and reformists call for U.S. sanctions against the apartheid regime. Yet Reagan's America, which invades black Grenada and mines and bombs ports from Libya to Nicaragua, is the bloodiest terrorist of them all! We Trotskyists hail the Cuban troops who have genuinely been in the front line defending Angola against apartheid attack. Immediate, unconditional independence for Namibia! Smash apartheid—Workers revolution in South Africa will be the powerhouse for liberation of all black Africa! ■

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SAN FRANCISCO

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

police who called the service a "subversive" meeting.

Despite Botha's reign of terror, the massive strike was carried off. In the 20-month-long confrontation between the racist regime and deepening anti-apartheid revolt, police-state measures have failed to cow the oppressed into submission. Importantly, repression could not prevent the two previous general strikes, in the Transvaal in November 1984 and nationally in the recent heroic May Day strike. But as the prospect for bloody one-sided civil war looms ever larger, the question of power—who shall rule the country—is posed starkly. In confrontations such as this, the need for revolutionary leadership is more urgent than ever.

South Africa today has the smell of a revolutionary situation. In Lenin's classic definition, it's not enough that the masses can no longer live in the old way—their rulers must also be unable to rule in the old way. The government's actions are losing coherence, going in different directions at the same time, trying for piecemeal "reform" of apartheid, ordering brutal repression of anti-apartheid revolt, fantasizing about a separate Afrikaner state. Meanwhile the open fascists are growing in strength. There appears to be a loss of nerve at the top, the inability of the state to act as the general staff of a united ruling class. Which doesn't mean they're not ready for blood—on the contrary, genocide can be the result. Hitler came to power in part because of a loss of nerve of the German bourgeoisie. But rather than uniting around a bonaparte, the South African rulers seem to be thrashing around in wild factionalism.

The enormous potential power of the six-million-strong South African black proletariat has once again been demonstrated. "A general strike could bring the country to its knees in a couple of weeks," worried the chief labor specialist for the huge Anglo American mining and industrial conglomerate (*New York Times Magazine*, 15 June). And the black unions have discovered that they can't avoid politics. It all points to a revolutionary crisis brewing, but the key element for victory is missing. Unless the anti-apartheid revolt is organized along class lines, with the black proletariat led by a multiracial Bolshevik party, forged on the program of permanent revolution and leading the rest of the oppressed and disenfranchised in a fight for state power, the possibility of smashing the power of the white supremacist capitalist regime will be squandered, with hideous consequences.

White Laager Digs In

While the nationalists of the main anti-apartheid grouping, the ANC,



AP
Doing Botha's work: black vigilantes torch shanties in Crossroads settlement.

pursue a strategy of "pressure" on the regime (from without through imperialist economic sanctions, from within through the "policy of chaos," of making the townships "ungovernable"), Botha has increasingly responded to pressure from the right. Thus the South African bombing raids on the capitals of three black African border states, ostensibly aimed at ANC installations, in late May. Said Botha afterward: "South Africa has the capacity and the will to break the ANC.... We have only delivered the first installment" (*New York Times*, 22 May).

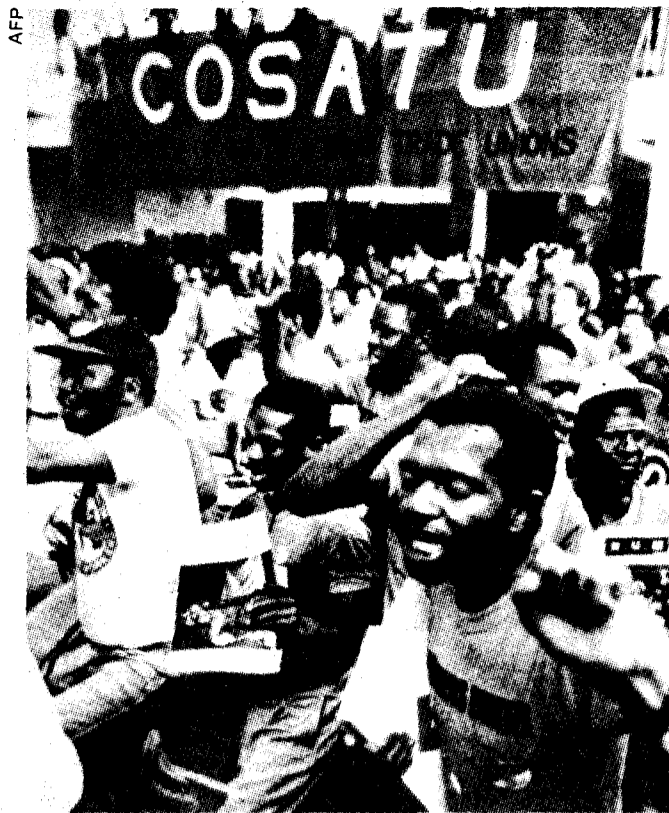
A genuinely fascist far right has grown, largely at the expense of Botha's National Party (especially among the police). Hitlerite Eugene Terre'Blanche led his *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement) thugs in storming a National Party meeting just days after the bombing of the black states. From the shoulders of his stormtroopers, as the AWB's three-legged swastika flags filled the hall, Terre'Blanche ranted: "I want to tell the ANC: if you mess with the Boer Volk (people), we will blow you all to hell" (*Times* [London], 23 May).

At the Crossroads squatter settlements near Cape Town, the regime is giving a taste of what it is prepared to unleash on the black population. For years Crossroads has stood as a symbol of resistance to the apartheid "influx control" which makes it illegal for the majority of blacks to move to the cities. The government has unsuccessfully been trying to force out most of the Crossroads population into a new black "township" ten miles further out of town—a deathtrap with only one access road and military bases on two sides. As they have throughout the country, the cops spawned reactionary black vigilantes in Crossroads, called "*witdoekies*" for the white armbands they wear, consisting primarily of black cops, common criminals and some shop owners, to be used against the militant township youth, the "comrades."

Between mid-May and mid-June, the police and army have backed up several thousand vigilantes in systematically destroying sections of Crossroads occupied by the "comrades," killing at least 65 with machetes and guns, torching thousands of shacks and leaving 70,000 homeless in Cape Town's winter rain and near-freezing temperatures. Pretoria's game here is clear, of portraying the events at Crossroads as "black on black violence." And Ronald Reagan joins in this pretext for terror, claiming, "It is blacks fighting against blacks" (*New York Times*, 14 June). As has been evident since the outset of the anti-apartheid revolt, Washington stands with its anti-Soviet ally in Pretoria, charged with policing the continent for the "free world."

This simple fact has not dissuaded the proponents of imperialist "sanctions"—who run the gamut from Bishop Desmond Tutu to the ANC and its "left" supporters. *Newsweek* (23 June) reported that "Tutu met with Botha for 90 minutes and appealed to him—in the name of Christianity and anticommunism—to lift the ban." Tutu emerged from the meeting with the complaint that the draconian measures would "not likely help restore law and order," i.e., they might backfire. And in an Op Ed piece in the *New York Times* (16 June) he spelled out the anti-Soviet "logic" of his call for sanctions, noting that the U.S. used sanctions against Poland, Nicaragua and Libya and still maintains a blockade of Cuba. But the ultimate absurdity and imperialist hypocrisy behind the call on racist mass murderers like the United States rulers to impose sanctions on their South African junior partners was exposed by the report that *Israel*, a major military supplier of the Pretoria regime, was considering a trade ban!

Similarly, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group supports sanctions and pressure on Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC in order to forestall the



Black unionists cheer founding of COSATU, November 1985.

coming to power of a "radical black government 'totally antipathetic' to Western interests" (*New York Times*, 13 June). Botha's reply to "the Commonwealth" was the bombing raid on three black African member states while the EPG was in South Africa. American leftists, meanwhile, are calling on the U.S. to "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua." But KKK-endorsed Reagan, who alibied the March 1985 Uitenhage massacre and told the world that racial segregation had been abolished in South Africa, is in a strategic alliance with apartheid (even if an occasionally strained one) whereas it is committed to overthrowing Nicaragua's Sandinista regime.

Smash Apartheid! Workers to Power!

Backing the Soweto Day general strike in a May 21 radio broadcast from his headquarters in Zambia, ANC president Tambo called for a total shutdown as part of a "death-defying" campaign to "bring the ruling class to its knees." But the ANC calls for "armed struggle" and "people's war" as part of its thoroughly reformist strategy of pressuring apartheid into a "power-sharing" scheme. Are unarmed black masses to go up against the massively armed racist ruling class and die by the thousands just so that Oliver Tambo can be South Africa's counterpart to Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, so Nelson Mandela's picture will be printed on Rand notes while Anglo American, Wall Street and the City of London continue to control the wealth of South Africa? To liberate the oppressed masses from apartheid slavery *those who labor must rule*. This can be accomplished only through the construction of a Leninist proletarian vanguard forged in struggle against petty-bourgeois nationalism and its pressure schemes.

Pretoria, spurred on by the Afrikaner ultraright, is gearing up to drown the

black revolt in blood. But there are notable cracks within the white population, as demonstrated by thousands of white youth who are refusing conscription and the hundreds who defy police *sjamboks* and bullets to demonstrate alongside blacks. One of the stories to filter out of South Africa is that in the early morning hours of June 16, some 30 carloads of flowers collected the day before in liberal white churches were deposited on the outskirts of Soweto—which was sealed off to whites. The flowers were seized by the apartheid authorities; apparently they too were "subversive." Later, some were dropped into the township by plane. Attached to one bouquet was a message that read:

"Many white South Africans feel a profound sense of sadness and shame at what happened in Soweto in 1976, and what continues to happen in 1986, and would like to express this in some way. Normal avenues of communication have been closed and so we search for a gesture to show black South Africans that we care, and that we too would like to see the creation of a just and open society in this country."

—*New York Times*, 17 June

Such gestures are all too rare in this racist police state. But a Bolshevik party can seize upon such openings while struggling tirelessly to overcome ethnic and tribalist divisions among the exploited and oppressed, especially among the strategic "migrant" workers who come from the bantustans and neighboring black states. The vision of a "just and open society" for all the oppressed—in which anti-racist whites must have a place as well—can only be realized in a black-centered workers government that turns the tremendous mineral and industrial resources of South Africa into a powerhouse for the liberation of the entire continent. The question of power is posed point-blank—and beginning the work of constructing a Leninist-Trotskyist party for the conquest of power, the urgent internationalist duty of all revolutionists, is long overdue. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

July 4: Invading New York

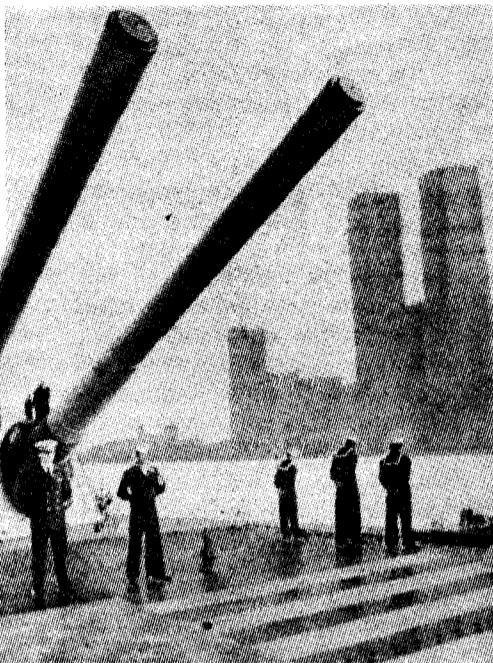
Reagan's Chauvinist Circus

Ever since Ronald Reagan's reelection, this government's acting with the arrogance of someone who just defeated the Paris Commune. The gang in the White House thinks they've won a "mandate" for global counterrevolution, including pre-emptive strikes against the American people. Congressional approval of aid to the CIA's Nicaraguan mercenaries will mean "the end of the post-Vietnam syndrome," proclaims Contra No. 1. The one-two air strike against Qaddafi's Libya means the U.S. can once again be cops of the world, says White House spokesman Larry Reaganspeak. They think they can slam the Kremlin up against the wall, with one war provocation after another. But if the Soviet Union is the Evil Empire, who is the "enemy within"? Since the McCarthyite witchhunters' all-purpose Communist bugbear is hardly credible today, the Reaganites are going after anyone and anything deemed a threat to "our way of life," from labor and blacks to legal aid and "illegal aliens." And don't forget abortion and porn. Weirdorama—it's "1984" in 1986.

And now they're going to make a "birthday party" for the Statue of Liberty into a Disneyland *Triumph of the Will* on July 4. To stage this Reaganite pageant they've hired Hollywood's own Leni Riefenstahl, David Wolper, who brought you the "America über Alles" L.A. Olympics. Celebrating the corporate state, events will be kicked off by Chrysler hotshot Lee Iacocca welcoming Reagan to "Liberty Island," while high priest John Cardinal O'Connor officiates in a special mass. Even Congress has objected to the presence of the notorious Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda* among the tall ships to parade up the Hudson. But what about the host ship, the USS *Eagle*, built by Hitler's Third Reich in 1936 as the training ship *Horst Wessel*? As it sails



UPI
Waving the nuclear Big Stick: Battleship Iowa, which Reagan will ride into New York harbor July 4.



Handsuh/NY Post

past will the band play the "Horst Wessel Song," the infamous marching anthem of the Nazi stormtroopers?

But not everyone's cheering. Blacks in particular aren't buying it, especially the part about the Statue of Liberty beckoning poor immigrants through the "golden door." Blacks created much of the wealth of this nation, and are certainly among our "founding fathers"—but they were dragged here in chains. Their "welcome" was the overseer's whip and the auction block. Even after slavery was abolished in a great, bloody Civil War, blacks were forcibly kept on the bottom of racist American capitalism, while millions of white immigrants kept arriving. Today thousands of Haitian and Salvadoran immigrants' first glimpse of America is not a shining torch but barbed-wire concentration camps, from Miami's Krome Avenue to El Centro, California. As columnist Russell Baker remarked

ironically about the racist undertone of this July 4 affair:

"And how about all those immigrants who had been arriving, some at slave ports, during the 250 years before the statue went up? To many of their white descendants Miss Liberty's words of welcome to the earth's poor and wretched could only have meant 'There goes the neighborhood.'

"This is the cry that still goes up against the poor and wretched immigrants, like today's Haitians, despite the sentimental self-congratulation for our own tolerance that is now being generated about the forthcoming Statue of Liberty rites."

—New York Times, 31 May

In a special issue of *Time* magazine titled "American Best," the editorial underneath a "feelgood" picture of Miss Liberty begins, "We celebrate ourselves." It's certainly not a celebration of open doors to immigrants as more than a million and a half Mexicans will be deported this year. The famous poem on

the statue's base welcomes the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free." Yet this rich and powerful imperialist nation has produced massive homelessness and hunger on these shores. In the sprawling, devastated inner-city ghettos, whole families, even working people, are simply dumped on the street. Reagan said recently that if people went hungry it was just sheer ignorance. Meanwhile thousands are turned away every day from the few social welfare agencies his budget-slashing hasn't abolished yet.

The ruling class message to the oppressed is "self-help" and "self-reliance"—in other words, this government couldn't care less about the vast human misery racist capitalism creates. Black front men for the bourgeoisie like Jesse Jackson have pitched in to sell this disgusting "more hype, less gripe" line. Meanwhile they stage repulsive media events like the "Hands Across America" charity bonanza. For \$10 to \$35 a head you got to stand in a line including Ronald Reagan and sing "America the Beautiful." No wonder the event looked so white. At least in the March of Dimes

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Levin/Black Star

Capitalist tycoon Iacocca takes over "Liberty Island."

Abortion Clinic Bombers Rampage

As the U.S. gears up for its flag-waving extravaganza for the centennial of the Statue of Liberty, the bourgeois media has unleashed a propaganda blitz extolling the "land of the free." Meanwhile the Reagan gang, which upon its first days of taking office announced that "terrorism" would henceforth be its focus, has proceeded to terrorize with abandon, from the government bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia to its murder strike against Libyan leader Qaddafi. Now a continuing wave of bombings of abortion clinics is terrorizing women and threatening the closing of clinics across the country. Even as the Supreme Court last week narrowly upheld its 1973 decision legalizing abortion, the

Reaganite "Right to Life" Terrorists

bombing of a clinic in Wichita, Kansas forced it to relocate to an "undisclosed location." In Reagan's America, abortion clinics are going underground.

On June 11 the Supreme Court reaffirmed the 1973 Roe vs. Wade decision, striking down a Pennsylvania law designed to intimidate women seeking abortions. Under that statute, doctors were ordered not only to use every means possible to browbeat women into having unwanted babies, but also to perform operations potentially endangering the life of the mother in order to save the fetus.

Moreover, doctors were required to give the state extensive reports on each abortion, which could be a virtual hit list for harassment and terror. Justice Harry A. Blackmun, who wrote the 1973 decision and this majority opinion, said eloquently:

"Few decisions are more personal and intimate, more properly private, or more basic to individual dignity and autonomy, than a woman's decision ... whether to end her pregnancy. A woman's right to make that choice freely is fundamental."

While the National Organization for Women (NOW) hailed the ruling, the

Right-to-Lifers were jubilant over the 5-4 split in the Court. TV preacher Pat Robertson, the ultrarightist who has raised money for contra terrorists in Central America, noted that "with the wonderful process of the mortality tables only one more is needed" to overturn Roe vs. Wade. From the days of the John Birch Society crusade demanding the impeachment of Earl Warren over the decision outlawing segregated schools, attempts to pack the courts with racist states-righters have been a hallmark of the far right in this country. But they don't limit themselves to legal machinations.

An 11 June UPI dispatch noted, "Last year there were 224 reported incidents of violence at [abortion]

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