

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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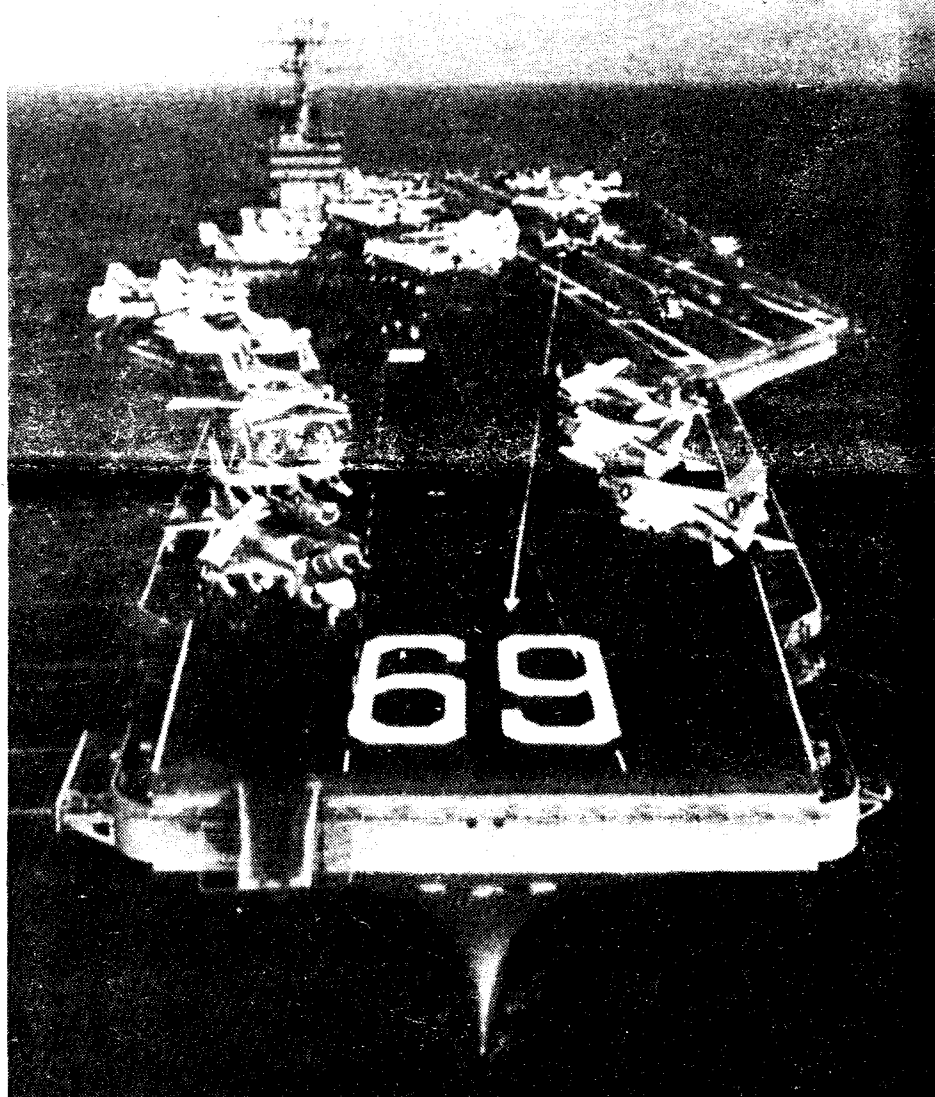
Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!

Reagan/Haig Threaten Blockade

United States imperialism stands poised to commit a counterrevolutionary act of war in the Caribbean. The Reagan administration, attacking black people and busting unions at home, is trying to head off revolution in Central America by drowning it in a sea of blood. Their global Cold War offensive ultimately aims at overthrowing the historic achievements of the workers states, from Cuba to the Soviet Union. In the face of this war danger, socialist revolutionaries and class-struggle militants in the American labor movement must fight to defeat the predatory plans of their capitalist rulers. We demand: **Down with Reagan/Haig War Threats! No Blockade! Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! For Workers Revolution!** As we have repeatedly insisted: **DEFENSE OF CUBA, USSR BEGINS IN CENTRAL AMERICA!**

The war threat was issued as a "leak" to the *New York Times*. On November 5 a front page article by former State Department and Pentagon official Leslie Gelb quoted unnamed "key Administration officials" to the effect that Secretary of State General Alexander Haig had ordered his staff to quickly assemble plans for a variety of military "options" in the Caribbean and Central America. The most frequently mentioned action is a naval blockade of Nicaragua, a maneuver the U.S. practiced only last month in joint exercises with Honduras. As for Cuba, the plans being bandied about in Washington range from stronger economic sanctions to "a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces." And on El Salvador a "knowledgeable source" told *Newsweek* (9 November), "Don't rule out U.S. Marines."

This is no bluff and bluster by frustrated Cold Warriors waving verbal big sticks. The day after the *New York Times* report, Haig himself confirmed its substance. And on Saturday, November 7 the *Times* carried an ominous announcement (buried on page 48) that, "Four-Week Navy Drill Is Begun in Caribbean." It turns out that the naval exercises, which include the aircraft carriers Kennedy and Eisenhower, began a week earlier and are supposedly "only coincidentally related" (!) to Haig's war threats. Nevertheless, the article added, "Pentagon officials said that the size of the fleet and the extent of the exercises could not help but send a message to Cuba." On Sunday, Cuba announced a full military alert. Simultaneously, the war ministers of



U.S. aircraft carrier Eisenhower cruises the Caribbean. Below: CIA fighter plane shot down by Cubans in 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

20 Latin American nations, the U.S. and Canada met in secret sessions in Washington to discuss joint actions against Cuba and Nicaragua. A featured speaker was Salvadoran military strongman Colonel García who parrot-

ed Haig's line, saying that a blockade of Nicaragua would solve his problems (*Washington Post*, 11 November). The following week, in hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman Gerry Studds asked the

Secretary of State if he would pledge that the U.S. was not making "efforts to overthrow or destabilize the current government of Nicaragua." General Haig replied, "No, I would not give you such an assurance" (*Daily News*, 13 November). And now the commander of U.S. troops in Latin America is calling for a reversal of the formal prohibition on military "advisers" in combat operations in El Salvador.

Ever since he took office Reagan has been looking to score a quick Cold War propaganda victory by militarily smashing the Salvadoran leftists. The guerrillas have proved tougher than expected, but the administration has not abandoned its plans to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson," if only by proxy, in America's "backyard." Even if Haig has to wait a while to drop his "demonstration bomb" over the Baltic, he thinks he can get away with a "demonstration blockade" in the Caribbean. In a switch on the usual bureaucratic line-ups in Washington, the Pentagon reportedly questions whether this can be pulled off without provoking a Soviet show of support for Cuba in another part of the globe. This mirrors alleged differences between those in the government who want to strangle Nicaragua economically, and those like Haig who argue that only a military "solution" will do the job. So far, however, economic sabotage has not been enough.

The axis of administration policy in Central America is its Cold War drive against the Soviet bloc. As Gelb reported, the recent Haig memorandum "concentrated on getting to 'the source' of the problem in the region. The immediate 'source' was described as Cuba, with the Soviet Union playing an important role in the background." The U.S. claims that the Russians, via Castro and the Sandinistas, are supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas (unfortunately this is very much *not* the case), and as a result the war there "has become essentially stalemated." So in order to save El Salvador and other regional "dominoes" from toppling out of the "free world," the war gamesmen in Washington come up with a naval blockade. And from there they see a straight line to Bay of Pigs II, Cuban Missile Crisis II and World War III.

So the stage is set for a major clash in the Caribbean. How can the Yankee imperialists be defeated? The liberals and reformists hope that by pretending the issue in El Salvador is "self-determination," by ignoring the imperialist Cold War and the issue of revolution vs. counterrevolution in a raging civil war, they could entice support from liberal imperialist "doves." Repeatedly

continued on page 4

RWL Joins Teamsters for a Democratic Sellout

DETROIT—The sixth annual conference of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) convened here in the last weekend of October. The conference met as the trucking bosses are preparing a major assault against the Teamsters (IBT) in the upcoming contract negotiations. The employers' Trucking Management Incorporated is calling for immediate institution of a wage freeze and its extension over the next three years of the contract. Ominously Teamster president Roy Williams has agreed to the company demand to reopen the master freight agreement over four months before expiration. Already since 1979 the union has lost 115,000 freight industry jobs as a result of layoffs, bankruptcies and runaway non-union firms.

But the Teamsters are one of the most powerful industrial unions with the social weight to cripple the economy, stop the trucking bosses in their tracks and pave the way for a major counter-offensive by the labor movement. Well aware of the danger posed to its interests by the IBT, the capitalist state has jumped to the aid of the trucking employers. Recent months have seen an unprecedented step-up in indictments of Teamster officials ranging from executive board members in Detroit Local 299 to central figures in the International bureaucracy. The government attacks, ostensibly directed against "corruption," are a thinly veiled attempt to intimidate Teamster leaders from any kind of strike action.

But for TDU the elementary duty to defend the union from combined company/government assault is utterly alien. Its central strategy is to drag its opponents in the IBT bureaucracy before the bourgeois courts and Reagan's labor-hating government. In fact, TDU has recently merged with the Professional Drivers Council, or PROD, which for years has been openly allied with the federal assault on the IBT pension funds. The legalistic cretins of TDU, who preach illusions in the bourgeois state, are no more interested in militant class struggle than Roy Williams & Co.

National TDU organizer Ken Paff set the tone at the TDU conference when he told the press, "I think most of our members realize they won't be getting a big wage increase" (*Detroit News*, 30 October). In short, TDU publicly declared its willingness to go along with the companies' demand for a wage freeze. Needless to add, there was not a word about preparing for strike action to shut the industry down tight. One

hapless TDUER who called on the conference to go on record in support of Teamsters who exercise the right to strike was informed that strike talk would only scare away Teamster members!

This is no big surprise from the outfit which at last contract time refused to call for a nationwide strike, which publicly defends its members' crossing Teamster picket lines during a bitter 18-week northern California Safeway strike in 1979, which refuses to criticize Teamster raiding of the Farmworkers and Teamster organizing of racist cops. The TDU constitution actually bars the organization from participating in any political action. Never mind calling for the unions to break with the capitalist parties—the TDU does not even officially oppose the Reagan government!

Enter the RWL, Birds of a Feather

You'd think that any class-conscious militant, let alone ostensible socialist, would want to keep his distance from an outfit with such a sordid history. In fact, TDU, originally brain-trusted by followers of the International Socialists and its spin-offs, has been politically supported by the bulk of the reformist left. This year a new group of opportunists—the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its supporters—burst on the scene. Undoubtedly impressed by the several-thousand paper membership of the TDU, heretofore unknown "TDUers for Militant Action" offered their program to "turn around TDU" and managed to get some press coverage from the *Detroit News*.

The RWL supporters came with orthodox-sounding criticisms of TDU cribbed from the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. But every time they spoke their opportunist appetites couldn't have been clearer. They motivated their call for a workers party by citing support "by union leaders such as Winpisinger"—the "socialist" saboteur of the PATCO strike. One TDUER for Militant Action chided TDU for suing the unions... because it cost too much money! As the TDU chair gleefully pointed out, there are plenty of lawyers willing to do this dirty work for free.

Its verbal criticisms notwithstanding, the RWL gang considers itself an organic part of the TDU, for example, running for the TDU steering committee. The Spartacist League, on the contrary, gives no support to outfits like the TDU that drag the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the labor



Rosas/Black Star

Haitian Victims of Reagan Racism

Even after death, the bodies of 33 Haitians who washed up on the Florida shore October 26 were fuel for Ronald Reagan's race-hate crusade. Reagan ordered the bodies, which had been kept in a 48-foot refrigerated truck, shipped back to Baby Doc Duvalier's torture regime. For those who reach the U.S. alive, it

is concentration camps and the frozen American Siberia of Fort Drum. The INS wants to insist U.S. refugee status is available only to those who are "political" refugees, not those who have fled because of "economic" conditions. But Haiti is a place from which everybody flees, for his life.

movement. In 1973 the SL refused to endorse Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy (MFD), put into office with the aid of the U.S. Labor Department. As the MFD experience demonstrated, those who use the state against their opponents in the union will use the same state to crush the struggles of the workers. Miller supported countless injunctions against miners' wildcats and collaborated with Carter in trying to derail the bitter coal strike of 1977-78. The TDU is simply a smaller version of the MFD and Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback. RWL's joining of TDU is another proof of their subordination to the liberal wing of the trade-union bureaucracy and their hostility to independent class struggle.

And after all, who is the RWL to criticize the TDU? Sure, TDU members have crossed picket lines but so does the RWL. They even boast about it in over 80 pages of documents defending their right to scab on the 1977 Ann Arbor AFSCME strike. The TDU doesn't fight racism? The RWL scoffs at genuine anti-fascist mobilizations such as the Spartacist-initiated mass labor/black demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco that kept the KKK and Nazis from marching.

Those who don't defend the class line at home won't do so abroad either. A featured speaker at the TDU conference was Zigmunt Przetakiewicz, who opened a short-lived New York branch office for Solidarność, Poland's counterrevolutionary "union," with backing

from virulent Cold Warriors like Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin. It's not surprising that the TDU, which appeals to the bourgeois state against the Teamsters union, supports capitalist restorationist forces in Poland. But the RWL is hardly better. Nowhere in their four-page special bulletin addressed to the TDU conference did they once criticize (or even mention) Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive!

We have a different tradition. The Minneapolis Trotskyists in the 1930s were genuine workers leaders who organized a general strike and built the picket lines that made the Teamsters a real power. Standing at the head of powerful Local 544, the hub of the organizing drive for over-the-road drivers, the Trotskyists had so much authority that the industry bosses and local police dared not touch them. Only massive federal raids and frameups could drive them out. The same Department of Justice which TDU/PROD appeals to framed 18 leading Trotskyists and militant unionists in 1941 for their opposition to Roosevelt's imperialist war plans. This included eight Teamster leaders: Jake Cooper, Harry DeBoer, V.R. Dunne, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell and Carl Skoglund. It is their working-class steadfastness, and not the scab anti-Soviet policies of the RWL and TDU, that is the road forward for forging a class-struggle leadership of the Teamsters and the entire American labor movement. ■

Letter

SWP vs. PATCO

14 November 1981

To the Editor:

As a New York City transit worker and regular reader of *WV*, I appreciated your little article, "SWP Transit Forum Excludes Transit Workers" (*WV* No. 292, 6 November). But you were not accurate to say that a Socialist Workers Party supporter was "booed down" at the September 21 TWU meeting when she alibied her refusal to support a motion which called on Local 100 to "stop servicing the scab operation at Kennedy airport and shut down the

Train to the Plane" in solidarity with the PATCO strike. She did get plenty of boos and groans of disbelief when she ridiculed the motion, which was overwhelmingly passed. Another SWP supporter did not fare much better when he tried an "alternative" motion to invite PATCO speakers and donate money, fully in keeping with the AFL-CIO tops' empty "solidarity" talk which tries to put a good face on their refusal to undertake concrete union action to help the PATCO strikers win.

The SWP supporters were the only "consistent" right wing of the meeting, where even some union officials had to pay lip-service to the right to strike as the only weapon workers have. In the TWU a lot of us are sick and tired of

hearing John Lawe & Co. repudiate the militant traditions that built our union. That's why so many brothers at this meeting (and at an earlier meeting of the 207th Street shop) voted for our motion. The SWP thinks that calling that motion "off the wall" even after it has been passed by the workers is the way to win friends and influence people. What people? With their program of defeatist capitulation to the no-strike bureaucrats, the SWP can appeal only to the most demoralized elements in the union. No wonder they can't have a "public" forum on transit without using a goon squad to keep militant transit workers outside!

Yours in struggle,
Dave Brewer

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with Mitterrand! Down with NATO!

Strikes End "Socialist" Honeymoon in France

EXCERPTED FROM *LE BOLCHÉVIK*
NO. 29, NOVEMBER 1981

PARIS—The social "honeymoon" is over. Discontent in the working class has burst into the open, directly confronting the Socialist government of Mitterrand/Mauroy. It was no accident that workers in state-owned companies—Renault [auto] and the SNCF [railways]—were in the forefront of the October strikes. Determined to show that its economic reforms serve broader interests of the French ruling class, the government will let nothing stand in the way of the profitability of the "public sector." But the strikes demonstrate that growing numbers of workers are finding the economic policies of the left-wing coalition no less anti-labor than those of Giscard/Barre. Now simply waging militant struggles for basic trade-union demands means a political challenge to the popular front in office.

Mitterrand's policies aim at a rationalization of French capitalism to face the rigors of a period of rearmament and depression. With unemployment now officially at 2 million and inflation above 15 percent, economics minister Delors and the rest of the "socialist" technocrats offer the reformist hoax of a so-called incomes policy—a rigid wage freeze "sweetened" with empty promises of price control. As campaign pledges for a 35-hour week are postponed until 1985, war minister Hernu announces an immediate 17 percent increase in the arms budget. Meanwhile, prime minister Mauroy's nationalization plans involve laying off tens of thousands of workers.

Austerity and Cold War: this has been the program of the social democrats from the beginning. The NATO popular front acts as Reagan's second lieutenant in Europe, welcoming the Pentagon's Cruise missiles and neutron bombs while denouncing the SS-20s which defend the workers states of the Soviet bloc. In East Europe, it seeks to become a privileged intermediary for Polish Solidarność, now a Trojan horse of counterrevolution. In Central America Mitterrand is the soft cop of imperialism, pushing for a "political solution" in El Salvador in order to head off a revolutionary contagion throughout the region.

Yet the bulk of the French capitalist class is far from resigned to cooperating with or merely tolerating the Socialist government. The bourgeois opposition is up in arms over the nationalizations, railing against "collectivism," darkly prophesying economic collapse and accusing Mitterrand of an "Allende complex." The opposition is not total—even business publications have termed the planned compensation for nationalized firms "generous." But despite long French traditions of "dirigiste" state economic management, the bourgeoisie will not be happy with the technocrats' plans—which with total control of banking in government hands promise to be more than "indicative." Growing business resistance could turn into a full-scale "strike" of capital refusing to invest. And if working-class unrest continues to mount, they will demand a crackdown—one way or another.

Historically, the popular front ushers in the sway of reaction if the reformists succeed in breaking the back of the workers' struggles. The means vary.



François Mitterrand is no Léon Blum. In fact, where Blum needed to maintain the bloc with the bourgeois Radicals to use as a club against the workers' demands, the outright capitalist elements in Mauroy's government are ornamental. The Socialist Party (PS) itself is the refuge for the Delors, Cheyssons and Mitterrands—ex-bourgeois politicians turned social democrat. These are potentially as capable of repressing the workers movement as the Giscardians and Gaullists.

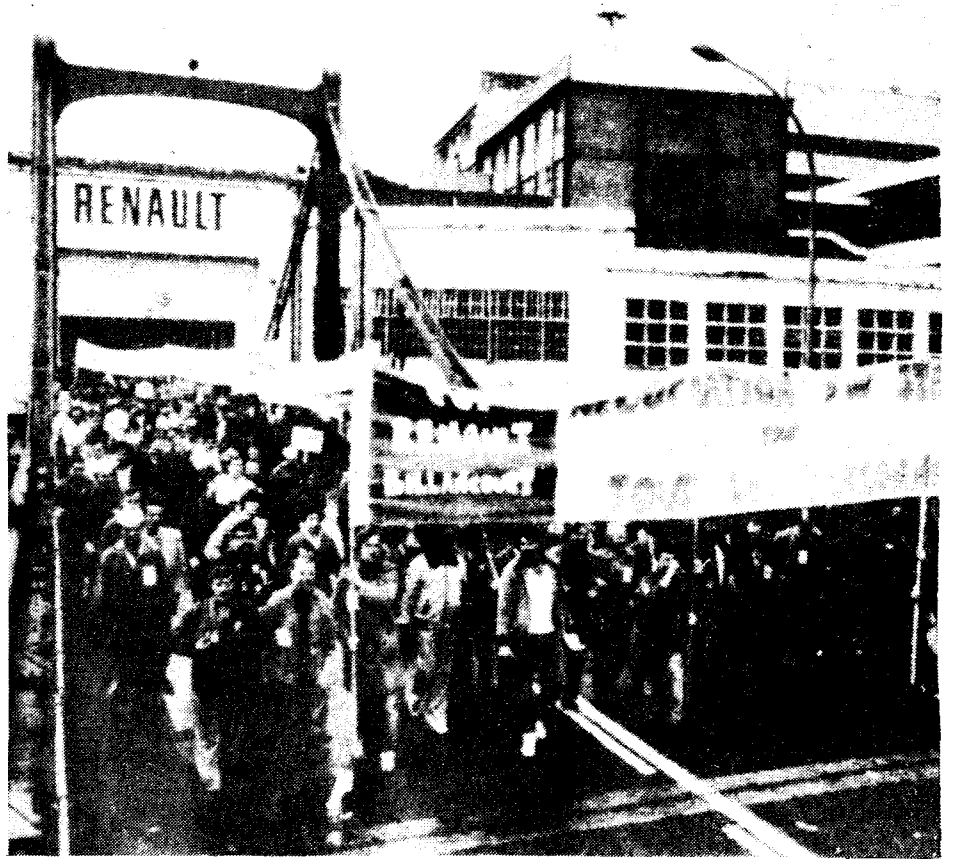
Meanwhile Mitterrand's openly capitalist-imperialist policies have put considerable pressure on his "left" lawyers—particularly in the Communist Party (PCF). In payment for the position of the Communist ministers as courtesans in Mauroy's cabinet, PCF and CGT union militants have to swallow Mitterrand's anti-Soviet foreign policy (including opposition to the SS-20!); on the domestic front they must drop all their "ras-le-bol" (fed up) slogans and replace them with calls for "patience." And now the ranks are getting restless for the great "change-ment." As Trotsky wrote of the 1930s Popular Front as it neared the end:

"What appeared to the working masses as a 'popular' government has shown itself to be a temporary mask for the imperialist bourgeoisie. This mask has now been thrown aside."

—"The Hour of Decision Approaches," December 1938

After only six months in office, the rosy pink veneer of the Mitterrand government has begun to peel.

The leftover French "far left," however, hailed the election of Mitterrand as the "victory of May 10" and since then has been mainly concerned to cash in on his initial popularity. The OCI proclaimed the nationalizations to be "first steps toward socialism," while the LCR withdrew its slogan for a general strike in order "not to play into the hands of the right." The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) was unique in proclaiming "No to NATO Popular Front!" in last spring's cycle of elections,



Rouge
Socialist Party's François Mitterrand wants to make nationalized firms profitable. Workers at nationalized Renault strike against austerity.

and "Don't Wait: Strike Now!" (*Le Bolchévik*, June 1981). Since the resumption of political activity in the fall, the LCR/OCI have tried to divert the workers' strikes into the dead end of pressuring Mitterrand/Mauroy. The LTF told the truth: *that the struggle for the most elementary needs of the working class requires a break with parliamentarism and the popular front and a fight for a workers government.*

The October Strikes and the Labor Bureaucracy

The Renault lockout revealed far more about the social democrats' nationalization schemes than any number of parliamentary debates. This management provocation wasn't the result of any "pressure" from the CNPF [mouthpiece of French big business] or Giscardian holdovers in the company. As *Le Monde* (27 October) explained, Renault's self-financing had to be protected against the workers' demands: "...any concessions would be made at the expense of profit margins" at a time when Mitterrand is holding up Renault as the model nationalized firm.

The conflict was sparked by the atrocious working conditions in this "model enterprise," both at Sandouville (near Le Havre) and at Billancourt in Paris. The strategy of the CGT bureaucrats (who were generally tailed by the CFDT union tops) was evident: isolate the strikes in a few departments and exhaust the workers' militancy in sporadic, brief and therefore impotent solidarity strikes. After the lockout at Billancourt on October 9, the trade-union bureaucracy did next to nothing to mobilize the affected workers. Their "answer" was a couple of two-hour strikes to blow off steam in the rest of the plant.

But the CGT tops went even further. On October 28, 112 workers in assembly department 74 voted to continue the strike (against 107, with more than 400 too disgusted to vote). The Stalinist saboteurs thereupon announced a

"democratic decision" to return to work, denounced the CFDT and "ultra-leftists" for wanting to continue the strike, and didn't lift a finger when a commando of 150 management goons intervened to start up the line!

The government's main ally in implementing its austerity schemes has been the trade-union bureaucracy. Let no one be deceived by Edmond Maire's "cry of anger." The CFDT leader supports the agreement on the 39-hour workweek, which in fact permits longer working hours and more speedup. He supports Delors' wage freeze and the layoffs. His talk of "self-management" is simply a call for class collaboration on the factory floor. His gripes against "centralization" and demands for "democratization" are in reality attacks on the Mitterrand nationalization program from the right.

Maire was responding to the growing discontent at the base of the French labor movement, seeking to outflank the Stalinists with some verbal pseudo-militancy. In response, the CGT tried to

continued on page 9

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Blockade...

(continued from page 1)

they tried to exclude the Spartacist League from El Salvador demonstrations for our demand "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." And even today they fail to raise the demand of "Hands Off Cuba!" There is a line of appealing to a wing of imperialism, a policy doomed to failure. The SL has insisted that the class line is drawn in El Salvador—for military victory of the leftist insurgents against the bloody junta, for workers revolution! Which side are you on?

Stalemate in El Salvador

The civil war in El Salvador does indeed appear to be "stalemated," at least, which is much better news for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) than for Colonel García or junta chief Napoleón Duarte. As imperialist expeditionary forces have learned the hard way, from Algeria to Vietnam, the puppet government army that is not winning a war against popularly supported guerrillas is losing. According to Congressman Michael Barnes, a Pentagon study last month put the odds of the FMLN winning on the battlefield at "50-50." Other observers give the junta even worse odds. According to the *Washington Post* (10 November) "tours outside the capital into the countryside indicate that the stalemate was broken some time ago and that the guerrilla Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is now gaining ground faster than government troops can hold it." The junta army has managed to murder (with the help of paramilitary death squads) more than 30,000 defenseless civilians since the U.S.-backed "human rights" coup of October 1979. But against the insurgents they have suffered a reported 10 percent casualty rate—extremely high for a guerrilla war.

Last January, the FMLN rebels launched a "general" (some called it "final") offensive, hoping to knock out the junta before Reagan could take office. It failed to do that, but in 11 days of fighting the guerrillas proved they could fight the government's forces on a large scale and begin to exercise a degree of control over large areas of the country. After the offensive was called off the junta launched one after another "mopping-up" operation against guerrilla base areas—the same guerrilla base areas time after time. On a clear day businessmen in San Salvador office buildings can see FMLN camps on the slopes of the Guazapa volcano 15 miles away which the government has been unable to take in five attempts. At least six times junta forces have launched major offensives in the northeastern Morazán province, each time withdrawing with heavy losses and leaving the insurgents in control. Last August the FMLN occupied the town of Perquin in this area and held it for a week.

In mid-summer the rebels launched a major campaign of economic sabotage,

targeting especially electric power stations and power line pylons. El Salvador's third largest city, San Miguel, has been without electricity and power for months. Even President Duarte has to travel with a portable power generator to amplify his speeches in towns outside the capital. By September the country's two major power-generating dams had been cut off, and many key road and rail bridges had been destroyed. The FMLN "celebrated" the second anniversary of the 1979 coup by blowing up the most



FMLN guerrillas blow up strategic Lempa River bridge.

important bridge in El Salvador, the Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge) which spanned the wide Lempa River and was the main artery to the eastern third of the country. It will take years to repair. In the aftermath of this raid, the guerrillas have launched a new offensive cutting off the town of Suchitoto, only 20 miles from San Salvador.

In this favorable battlefield situation, a revolutionary leadership would call for redoubled efforts to achieve a military victory, extending the struggle throughout Central America by mobilizing the workers and peasants to take power. But the Salvadoran Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), a popular front grouping of the FMLN guerrillas with a few liberal bourgeois politicians, and their cheerleaders abroad are instead pushing for a "political solution" negotiated with the puppet junta and its imperialist masters. By failing to destroy the rapacious oligarchy and its military butchers, such a treacherous "deal" would rob the working masses of the victory they have fought so hard and suffered so much to achieve. And it could open the door to another bloodbath such as the one that followed the failed insurrection of 1932 led by the Communist Farabundo Martí.

The fruitless search for a negotiated settlement has been the main line of the FDR/FMLN's strategy since the end of the general/final offensive last January. Every month the FDR's preconditions for negotiations have gone down, but Reagan/Haig aren't interested and much less so the Salvadoran colonels. Their latest offer, conveyed to the UN by Nicaragua last month, has no preconditions at all and calls merely for elections (in a country where the word "electoral" is used solely as an adjective to describe "fraud") and an eventual "restructuring" of the armed forces to exclude only those guilty of "crimes and genocide." In the U.S. the bulk of the left has taken up this call for a "political solution" in hopes of winning support from liberal Democrats (who have done nothing to stop Reagan). Robert Armstrong, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) explained this line in the *Guardian* (21 October):

"What has always united the U.S.

foreign policy establishment has been the common objective that the FMLN/FDR forces must not win a military victory."

True. So therefore CISPES and other reformists violently oppose the Spartacist League's call for military victory to the Salvadoran insurgents, and call instead for an imperialist-imposed solution!

Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns

The petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have been trying for more than two years now to follow a "middle course" between establishment of a Cuban-style social revolution and capitulation to imperialism and the local capitalists. Repeatedly they pledge their devotion to "national unity," the "mixed economy" and "political pluralism." It hasn't worked. The Sandinistas have neither appeased Washington nor achieved a modus vivendi with the domestic bourgeoisie. Now the working masses are getting restless, demanding an end to the economic exploitation they continue to suffer despite the overthrow of the murderous Somoza dictatorship. And on top of this the country is now faced with the imminent threat of imperialist blockade and counterrevolutionary invasion.

The FSLN's response has been an economic emergency law prohibiting any disruption of production. Under this decree, as we reported in our last issue, three leaders of the opposition businessmen's association COSEP were arrested and sentenced to seven months for issuing a slanderous statement accusing the Sandinistas of planning genocide. At the same time they arrested 24 members of the tiny Communist Party (PCN), a dissident pro-Moscow group with influence among key sectors of the tiny Nicaraguan working class. Three leaders of the PCN and its CAUS union federation received three-year sentences for leading a factory occupation. Although there has been an imperialist outcry over the jailing of the COSEP leaders (including, quietly, from the social-democratic Second International), the government has announced they could be released upon payment of a fine of \$66 (*Barricada*, 30 October)! The arrested businessmen are staying in jail voluntarily in order to serve as a symbol for counterrevolution.

It's worth noting in passing that before the sentences were handed down the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) once again tried to justify Sandinista repression of the left by claiming that although they have "accused the ultralefts of linking up with the capitalist counterrevolution...the Sandinistas have proceeded to treat the two quite differently in practice. Blows have been dealt to the exploiters, strengthening the workers and peasants government, while the occasional tensions with the ultralefts have given way to periods of collaboration" (*Militant*, 6 November). The next issue of the *Militant* prominently mentions the arrested businessmen but ignores the PCN/CAUS prisoners. The Spartacist League, in contrast, has consistently defended leftists against repression by the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN—from the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the pro-Albanian Workers Front to the Communist Party—and

called for revolutionary justice against the torturers and murderers of the Somozaist National Guard, many of whom have received lighter sentences than the PCN/CAUS leaders.

The SWP is right, however, that the Sandinistas treat leftists differently. A report by Alan Riding in the *New York Times* (17 November) correctly notes that "agitation among trade unions was considered by the regime to be even more dangerous than the business group's protests." And he notes that, "So far, about 100 Communists have been arrested." Many of these were union militants at a CAUS-organized factory, Fabritex, accused of "psychologically torturing" the workers. And to put an end once and for all to this hotbed of worker agitation, the FSLN resorted to an extreme measure: dissolving the factory! Not only were the workers dismissed—as a "lesson to the confused" according to a *Barricada* (2 November) headline—but trucks arrived to remove the raw materials.

Why No Cuban Arms to Salvadoran Leftists?

From the outset of the Reagan administration, Haig and his cohorts have waged an ever more intense campaign of lies and slander directed against Castro's Cuba. Lately they are passing over to threats and plans for imperialist attacks. While allowing counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) a free hand to plot terrorist actions and new Bay of Pigs landings, the government has been trying to mold U.S. public opinion for acts of war against the island of 10 million people only 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist colossus in the world. In addition, Washington is setting up a new radio station to broadcast appeals for the overthrow of the regime, and there is reason to believe the CIA is up to its dirty tricks of old, with a full range of biological warfare against Cuban people and livestock.

On November 2, the Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* printed a lengthy editorial denouncing the lies and threats by the Reagan administration against the Havana regime. On July 30, Secretary of State Haig told the Senate Armed Services Committee he had "solid evidence" that Soviet supplies to Cuba were being "reshipped to Central America." On August 3, a State Department spokesman alleged Castro was arming "beyond Cuba's legitimate defense needs." On August 8, the American UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick threatened from Chile that "Cuban expansionism" would be "directly dealt with." Later General Haig accused Cuba of having 1,500 military advisors in Nicaragua and of having advisors in "certain guerrilla areas" of El Salvador as well. On October 12, U.S. vice president Bush proclaimed that Nicaragua "still has the opportunity to free itself from the chains" of "5,000 advisors sent by Castro." To all the charges by U.S. imperialism, Fidel Castro responded, "Lies, lies, and nothing but lies!"

Castro is right, though not to his credit. In a speech to the Interparliamentary Union in Havana on September 15, the Cuban commander stated: "It is a lie...that there are Cuban military advisers in El Salvador. It is a lie that part of the weapons supplied to us by the Soviet Union is being redistributed in Central America. It is a lie that Cuba is supplying weapons and ammunition to Salvadoran patriots" (*Granma*, 27 September [our emphasis]). What a shameful statement—and it is true, truth worse than slander! An authentically revolutionary workers government would consider it a question of honor and duty to supply arms to leftist insurgents in El Salvador. But as we wrote last spring:

"The reality is that there is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-

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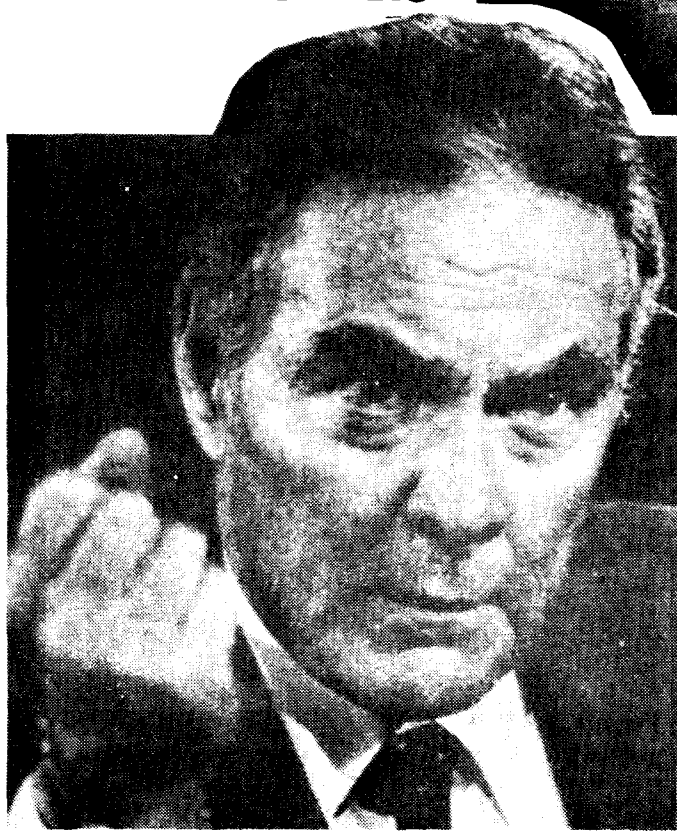
How Haig Learned to Love It

NATO's "Demo" Bomb

A new and chilling phrase has been added to Washington political argot: "nuclear gaffe." President Reagan is supposed to have made such a "nuclear gaffe" when he observed somewhat offhandedly that "limited" nuclear exchanges were indeed possible. He thus confirmed the fears of millions of Europeans who have taken to the streets to protest U.S. missiles in Europe and the idea that World War III would be fought within their national borders. General Haig went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 4 allegedly to calm the nervous nellys across the Atlantic. But instead of a political bromide, Haig, NATO commander from 1975 to 1979, explained that in order to "deter" the Soviet Union in Europe, "there are contingency plans in NATO doctrine to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes to demonstrate to the other side that they are exceeding the limits of toleration in the conventional area."

This proclamation sent shudders across Europe. The Russians noted that it "boils down to stating that Washington admits the possibility to be first to use nuclear weapons in Europe" (*New York Times*, 7 November). The next day, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, war secretary Weinberger tried to patch things up by denying that there was such a NATO plan. The State Department and the Pentagon thereupon issued a joint statement declaring that both were right. Haig was right in saying that NATO had considered such a demonstration bomb, but Weinberger was also right insofar as it was not a "precise" plan. This did not make anyone stop worrying about the bomb. As the Soviet agency TASS wrote, the explanation was "incoherent" and "in actual fact, as aggressive as the statement of the U.S. administration itself."

At his press conference Reagan explained his comments about "limited" nuclear war by saying that while it was possible to be pessimistic about nuclear exchanges, he was "optimistic" about it all. All the talk about "limited" nuclear war, "demonstration" bombs and nuclear "optimism" are not nuclear "gaffes," but the loose-lipped expressions of U.S. strategic policy of a first strike against the Soviet Union. More than any other administration, this one views nuclear



UPI



USAF

U.S. demonstration bomb at Nagasaki, 1945: "There are contingency plans in NATO to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes"—Alexander Haig.

war against the Soviets not only as thinkable, but plannable, survivable, and winnable. They intend to use their nuclear weapons, and they are on a campaign to win some public acceptance for this view. That is what is behind the easy, cynical talk about what used to be called the "unthinkable."

Consider the recent statements of Eugene Rostow, the superhawk who heads up the "disarmament" chicken coop. Asked by Senator Claiborne Pell about survival in an all-out nuclear war, Rostow replied: "The human race is very resilient, Senator Pell" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 September). And he went on to optimistically speculate that there might be "10 million (dead) on one side and 100 million on the other, but that is not the whole population." He pointed out that "Japan, after all, not only survived but flourished after the attack." As co-founder of the far-right Committee on the Present Danger, Rostow had explained that U.S. military posture could no longer be conditioned by post-World War II assumptions. "We are living in a pre-war world," he has said, offering an analysis remarkable for its candor. "Our posture today is comparable to that of Britain, France and the United

States during the '30s. Whether we are at the Rhineland or Munich watershed remains to be seen."

Demonstration at Hiroshima

No wonder few outside Reagan/Haig's fanatic circle were optimistic about the "demonstration" bomb. Some military experts speculated that the nuclear "demonstration" would take place in the atmosphere over the Soviet Union. Most understood that what Haig was talking about was not "maintain[ing] violence at the lowest level," but beginning World War III. Would the U.S. imperialists begin a nuclear holocaust with a demo N-bomb? In fact, the U.S. has already detonated "demonstration" bombs... on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the time of the planning of that nuclear attack, a so-called "scientists revolt" occurred in which leading creators of the A-bomb asked that a "demonstration alternative" be selected over unpopulated territory. What these nuclear physicists did not understand was that the targets and timing for the bombs were already meant as a demonstration—not to Japan, to be sure, but to the Soviet Union.

The Japanese knew they were militarily washed up and had been trying to define the terms of surrender

at least since July of 1945. But Washington rushed to drop the bomb before the Japanese surrendered, to demonstrate this new destructive weapon to the Russians who were scheduled to invade the Far East in mid-August at least three months before the scheduled American invasion. So on August 6 they demonstrated to the Soviet Union not only the most ferocious single military weapon of all time, but the capacity to use it when the Russians knew that it was not militarily required. On August 9, Russia declared war on Japan and the Red Army began the invasion of Manchuria. On August 10 the U.S. dropped its second bomb on Nagasaki.

History has made clear what was obvious to many at the time: the atomic bombs were dropped upon tens of thousands of helpless civilians not just to end the war as Truman falsely stated, but as the first large-scale military/diplomatic act of the Cold War. It was used particularly as nuclear blackmail against the Russians in Eastern Europe. Now they are talking about more demonstration nuclear bombs for Russia. In 1945 they said they exploded two A-bombs because two was all they had. This time they have enough to blow up the world.

wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof."
—"Smash Junta Terror!" *WV*
No. 276, 13 March 1981

Castro justifies this refusal with the claim that "the channels for it do not exist." Why? Certainly not because arms could not be physically delivered to Salvadoran leftists. That is absurd. It is because the Cuban Fidelistas and Nicaraguan Sandinistas both fear to provide weapons to the insurgents because it could be used by the Reaganite Cold Warriors as an excuse for a blockade or invasion. But "socialism in one island" and "sandinismo in one banana republic" will not be preserved by appeasing Yankee imperialism, as events are demonstrating. Within the framework of the Stalinist nationalism of a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Castro has responded with dignity and courage to the Reaganite threats:

"The imperialists mention total blockade as part of their arsenal of measures against Cuba. Very well, we'll have a new experience and so will they, because one thing we're sure of is that

our country can resist a total blockade as long as we have to."
—*Granma*, 1 November

But ultimately, the only real defense of the Cuban revolution is through its international extension—throughout Latin America and above all to the imperialist metropolis to the north.

Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union! Hands Off Nicaragua!

What will the imperialists do? We are not privy to the secrets of the Pentagon, the State Department and the CIA. An invasion of Cuba would be the start of World War III. As liberal think-tanker William LeoGrande wrote in the *New York Times* (17 November), the outcome of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis "was largely the result of the [U.S.] 5-to-1 nuclear-weapons superiority over the Soviet Union"; now that the U.S. and USSR "stand at relative nuclear parity, the Soviet Union is much less likely to capitulate in such a crisis." And the '62 missile crisis is as close as we have come, so far, to nuclear Armageddon.

Socialist revolutionists do not rely on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which has sold out plenty of revolutions, from Spain to Chile. The only guarantee of victory for the Salvadoran masses, of social revolution in Nicaragua, of

defense of workers state power in Cuba is through international proletarian revolution under a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership. Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defend Cuba and the USSR! For Workers Revolution! ■

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Life in Reagan's America

Moral Majority Madness..... 2

Book burning in Hungary

Women and the USSR: An Exchange

Russian "Feminist Dissidents" vs. *Women and Revolution*..... 6

An Soviet dissident in Moscow November 1981 and 1. Mamonova

Is There Sex After Reagan?..... 5

Trotskyists Confront Mamonova..... 17

Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!..... 20

Iranian Leftists Join International Spartacist Tendency..... 22

Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland

Last week for the first time ever the Polish Stalinist regime celebrated the anniversary of the founding of the independent Polish bourgeois republic on 11 November 1918. This was yet another and very significant ideological concession to the counterrevolutionary forces in and around Solidarność. For, as the *New York Times* (12 November) pointed out:

"Indirectly, today's event also honored the memory of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, the nationalist military leader who led Poland to independence in 1918 and headed an authoritarian military regime from 1926 until his death in 1935."

Observing that today "veneration of Marshal Pilsudski is a national passion," the *Times* reported:

"Workers at a Gdansk ship repair yard announced today that they were renaming their yard the Jozef Pilsudski Shipyard. His photograph, instantly recognizable for its drooping walrus mustache, hangs over many a hearth. Marchers today wore it as a postcard-size badge."

Imagine if East German workers renamed their workplace the Adolf Hitler Shipyard, or Chinese workers chose to call theirs the Marshal Chiang Kai-shek Shipyard! Every class-conscious worker in the U.S. and West Europe would instantly grasp the utterly reactionary nature of such a movement. Outside Poland, the name Pilsudski doesn't mean much today, but for Marxists it rings alarm bells.

Over the past year we have insistently warned of the ties between Lech Walesa

& Co. and that agency of international capitalist reaction, the Catholic church, and their efforts to propagate clerical nationalism in Poland. Now that they have gone over to increasingly open calls for counterrevolution, the leaders of Solidarność are also frankly revealing the other side of their ideological badge: Pilsudskiite nationalism, violently anti-Soviet with an overlay of populist rhetoric. And the Pilsudski they most revere is the military man on horseback who in 1920 with the aid of Western imperialism stopped the advance of the Red Army before Warsaw. The very day after the seizure of the Lenin Shipyard in August 1980, Cardinal Wyszynski led 150,000 "pilgrims" in a commemoration of this "miracle on the Vistula."

Pilsudski was one of the leading right-wing dictators of interwar Europe, sharing much in common with fascists like Hitler and Mussolini, Admiral Horthy's fascistic regime in Hungary and bonapartist military dictators such as Franco or Pétain. In 1934, for example, at the personal instigation of Joseph Goebbels, Pilsudski set up a concentration camp for Communists, social democrats, Jewish and national minority militants, and other "enemies of the Polish nation." An American liberal historian described the Pilsudskiite regime of the mid/late-1930s as follows:

"The program of the Camp of National Unity was an amazing concoction, full of national jingoism, anti-Semitism, a domestic variety of authoritarian rule,

Solidarność hails Jozef Pilsudski, fascistic dictator of interwar Poland.



Der Spiegel

and a sprinkling of social ideas borrowed from Mussolini."

—Samuel L. Sharp, *Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field* (1953)

Like Mussolini, Pilsudski began his career as a socialist. Unlike Mussolini, his transformation from socialist agitator to right-wing dictator was gradual rather than abrupt—a factor of considerable significance in modern Polish history.

From Nationalistic Socialist to Anti-Soviet Militarist

The 1815 Congress of Vienna, which ended the Napoleonic wars, marked the third partition of Poland. Most of the nation ("Congress Poland") was incorporated into tsarist Russia, while smaller segments were taken over by Habsburg Austria and the Prussian monarchy. The first Polish working-class socialist organization, Ludwik Waryński's party Proletariat, emerged in the late 1870s. Rejecting the traditional radical program of a national uprising, the party Proletariat collaborated closely with the Russian populists in the struggle against tsarism. Subsequently, however, Polish proletarian socialism became deeply divided between those (such as Rosa Luxemburg) who fought together with their Russian comrades for a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire, and those who sought to mobilize the workers movement in a struggle for national independence.

From the time he entered the scene in the 1890s, Pilsudski represented the extreme nationalistic right wing of Polish socialism. In the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1905, which also

engulfed Poland, Pilsudski's violent nationalism split the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). The majority PPS-Left dropped national independence from its immediate "minimum" program and placed a question mark over its ultimate desirability. The centrist PPS-Left was the principal party of the Polish working class in the pre-1914 period, with the revolutionary Luxemburg/Jogiches SDKPiL standing to its left and the Pilsudskiite nationalists to its right. The Polish Communist Party later emerged from a fusion of the PPS-Left and the SDKPiL. (For a discussion of the national question in the pre-1914 Polish socialist movement, see "Lenin versus Luxemburg on the National Question," *WV* No. 150, 25 March 1977).

In the years leading up to World War I, Pilsudski shifted his organizational base from his own ultra-nationalist wing of Polish socialism to paramilitary groups that were to be the core of his legionary movement. When the war broke out Pilsudski's legionnaires allied themselves with Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany against tsarist Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the war with the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty radically altered the situation in Poland. The Germans, no longer needing and not trusting their erstwhile Polish allies, imprisoned Pilsudski. When Germany was defeated on the Western Front in late 1918, an independent Poland, like the other new East European states, was created by the Treaty of Versailles. This new national Poland was a client state of French imperialism acting as a barrier between Bolshevik Russia and defeated Germany, then in revolutionary ferment.



Trotsky addresses Red Army troops on the march to Warsaw, 1920.

Pilsudski returned to Warsaw as a great national hero, becoming president and commander in chief of the armed forces of the "new Poland."

If Polish socialism was deeply divided between nationalists and internationalists, Polish nationalism was also split into two well-defined camps. The bourgeois conservatives, centrally the National Democrats, wanted to minimize the size of any national minorities in an independent Polish state. They were, so to speak, Little Poles. Pilsudski, in contrast, wanted to "restore" the greater (Jagiellon) Poland of the late Middle Ages which had included Lithuania, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. With his grandiose territorial ambitions toward the Ukraine, the "left" nationalist Pilsudski was actually more anti-Soviet than the bourgeois conservatives like Roman Dmowski who viewed Germany, not Russia, as the main enemy.

Taking advantage of Soviet Russia's exhaustion after six years of imperialist war and civil war, in the spring of 1920 Pilsudski unexpectedly attacked the Ukraine. The Red Army was caught unawares and initially driven back. A counterattack, however, sent Pilsudski's forces reeling and brought the Soviet armies to the gates of Warsaw. Fearing that Poland was about to fall to Bolshevism and the entire Versailles system could collapse, France rushed military aid to the besieged Pilsudski. This imperialist support combined with blunders by the Soviet high command (including Stalin's insubordination) allowed Pilsudski to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. (For an account of the 1920-21 Russo-Polish war and its historic significance, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution,'" *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.)

The 1921 Treaty of Riga, which ended the war, incorporated into Pilsudski's Poland some five million Ukrainians and a million and a half Byelorussians—oppressed national minorities constituting about 20 percent of the population. In addition, another 10 percent of the population of the Polish state was Jewish. The suppression of these minorities was to become a central factor in the internal political life of interwar Poland.

The Left and Pilsudski's 1926 Coup

By 1918 Pilsudski had openly repudiated socialism. ("In the beginning we took the same red-painted streetcar; as for me, I got off at Independence station," he told his former comrades.) Nevertheless he continued to employ a certain populist rhetoric and was still generally regarded as a man of the left. This reputation was of critical importance for the success of his bonapartist ambitions.

In 1923 Pilsudski was pushed out of power by his bourgeois conservative opponents. In 1926, amid increasing and broad popular discontent with the succession of unstable right-wing parliamentary governments, he organized a coup d'état based on army units loyal to their former commander. In this bid for supreme power Pilsudski made overtures to his former PPS comrades for support, and this was more or less given. Moreover, when in May 1926 Pilsudski's forces marched on Warsaw, the Communist Party too offered to place itself under the marshal's baton. A strike of Socialist railway workers proved decisive for Pilsudski's victory as it prevented the regime from transporting loyal regiments to the besieged capital. And a major reason that the government capitulated so quickly was fear that in a civil war Pilsudski's working-class backers would gain the upper hand. Better Pilsudski than a social revolution, the Polish bourgeoisie reasoned.

The misguided Communist Party leaders, like Adolf Warski, had been



May Day, Warsaw 1928: Mass Communist-led demonstration fired on by Pilsudskiite guards and Social Democratic militia.

overcome by the working masses' enthusiasm for "the man of the left" on horseback and their hatred for the existing right-wing regime. As Leon Trotsky later pointed out, they were certainly also influenced by the winds blowing from the Kremlin where Lenin's epigones were abandoning the program of the October Revolution and

reviving the discarded formula of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." And so they supported "the almost 'democratic dictatorship' of the reactionary martinets." As Pilsudski quickly showed his true colors, the Polish CP was turned around and criticized its "May mistake." But the social democrats contin-

ued to support the marshal for more than two years. In fact, on May Day 1928 the PPS militia and Pilsudskiite guards opened fire on a mass Communist-led demonstration. Isaac Deutscher, who was one of the marchers, gave a moving account in his 1958 essay "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party":

"He [Warski] was marching in the forefront of our huge and illegal demonstration, through the hail of machine-gun fire and rifle shots with which we were greeted by the Socialist Party militia; while tens and hundreds of wounded were falling in our ranks, he held up his white-grey head, a high and easy target, visible from afar; unyielding and unmoved, he addressed the crowd."

—reproduced in *Marxism in Our Time* (1971), edited by Tamara Deutscher

In a speech before a Comintern commission, Trotsky analyzed Pilsudski's coup two months after it occurred:

"...Pilsudski quickly found common ground with big capital, despite the fact that in its roots, impulses, and slogans, the movement he headed was petty bourgeois, a 'plebeian' means of solving the pressing problems of capitalist society in process of decline and destruction. Here there is a direct parallel with Italian fascism."

—reproduced in "Pilsudskism, Fascism and the Character of Our Epoch," *Writings* [1932]

Trotsky's insistence that Pilsudski's coup represented "an antiparliamentary and, above all, antiproletarian counter-revolution" was fully borne out. Like Mussolini's Italy, Pilsudski's Poland

continued on page 8

State Department Socialists Rally for Solidarność Counterrevolution

"We warn you. We warn you that we will do everything we can in all our countries to see to it that an invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union will cost in political terms the highest political price."

Ronald Reagan? Alexander Haig? No, America's leading "democratic socialist," Michael Harrington, addressing a leftist audience of 500 at "An Afternoon in Solidarity with Solidarity" in New York City on November 8. Harrington's presentation dominated this rally, not simply because he was the most prominent figure present, but because he had a clear purpose: to mobilize American left-liberal opinion behind the pro-imperialist Solidarność bid for power and to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy. Here was "State Department socialism" pure and simple. In fact, Harrington's "warning" was, if anything, more inflammatory, more extreme than those of General Haig's State Department or other representatives of the Reagan administration.

The significance of this rally lay not so much in what the various speakers said, which except for the one Pole present, Tadeusz Kowalik, was uniformly banal and/or demagogic. The significance lay rather in the composition of the participants. This pro-Solidarność fête registered a regroupment of American anti-Soviet social democracy and its assorted fellow travelers in tune with Cold War II, thus overcoming the divisions of the Vietnam War years. More specifically, this rally could be entitled: "Left Shachtmanites Return to the State Department Fold." The different

species of Shachtmanites (left, ex- and others) who joined Harrington included Joanne Landy, Pete Camarata, C.L.R. James and the RSL.

Shachtmanites Unite for a "Free World" Poland

The spiritual father of contemporary American "State Department socialism" is the late Max Shachtman, who broke with Trotskyism in 1940, refusing to defend the Soviet Union in World War II. Under the pressure of the Cold War Shachtman developed the position that Stalinist totalitarianism ("bureaucratic collectivism") was a greater threat to a socialist future than capitalist democracy. In the late 1950s the Shachtmanites took over the official Socialist Party (SP) and moved it in an even more anti-Communist direction. Shachtman himself supported Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion. And the SP supported the Vietnam War to the bitter end, even after Nixon had given it up as a lost cause. Harrington stayed in the pro-war SP until 1972 when he split.

By the late '60s Harrington's Socialist Party was reduced to a despised anti-Communist sect far to the right of mainstream Democratic Party liberals. Seeking to escape the stench of death around the SP, in the mid-1960s various left Shachtmanites drifted out and eventually assembled in the International Socialists (I.S.). I.S. then functioned, rather unsuccessfully, as a soft social-democratic pole in the 1960s New Left radical milieu, with Joanne Landy one of its prominent spokesmen. In the early 1970s she



WV Photo

Michael Harrington, piper of Reagan's Cold War II.

drifted into New Left feminist circles, but she remains enough of a Shachtmanite to join with Harrington to bring "democratic socialism" (read capitalist restoration) to Poland.

While Pete Camarata was presented to the pro-Solidarność rally as simply the head of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, he too is a representative, even if not a very bright one, of left Shachtmanism. In the mid-1970s he was the I.S.' "honest worker" superstar. The I.S. also made much of the fact that he was a devout Catholic, a happy anticipation of their line on Poland. A few years ago Camarata got involved in I.S.' umpteenth split and took his "honest worker" act to a sectlet called Workers Power. Now the Catholic Camarata has joined the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and Ronald Reagan in fighting for "free" (read pro-imperialist) trade unions in the Soviet bloc.

The Revolutionary Socialist League grew out of a circle of New Left activists in Chicago who threw in with I.S. when SDS split in 1969. But this New Left graft didn't take. So in 1973 what became the RSL exited stage left, swearing on stacks of Trotsky *Writings* that they had broken completely.

continued on page 10

Pilsudski...

(continued from page 7)

was transformed into a police state gradually, somewhat more gradually than in the Italian case. Enjoying broad popular prestige and the support of the mass of the Socialist Party, he initially attempted to rule with the consent of the Sejm (parliament) while seeking a rapprochement with the right. But the masses' growing disillusionment with Pilsudski expressed itself in the 1928 Sejm elections where the Socialists and Communists and their respective allies received 34 percent of the vote compared to 26 percent for the Pilsudskiite bloc.

Pilsudski's "honeymoon" period was given the *coup de grâce* by the capitalist world's Great Depression. The regime responded with the traditional right-wing remedy of extreme deflation (now revived by Margaret Thatcher), seeking to drive down wages in order to make Polish industry competitive on world markets. Predictably this further depressed the economy. Between 1929 and 1934 real national income fell by 25 percent—a tremendous drop. Under pressure from their economically desperate working-class base and buoyed by their 1928 electoral showing, the social democrats finally moved toward opposition. In 1929 the PPS' *Robotnik* (which Pilsudski himself had founded in the 1890s) declared:

"The Pilsudski of 1905, of 1914, of 1918 or of 1920 belongs to history; the Pilsudski of 1926-29 is the leader of the disappearing world of Old Poland, the Poland of the aristocratic societies, of the 'Leviathans' [industrial cartels], of bureaucracy and the 'moral cleansing'."

—quoted in Hans Roos, *A History of Modern Poland* (1966)

The social democrats neglected to say that until then they had supported, arms in hand, the leader of Old Poland which was not at all disappearing.

In fact, Old Poland soon struck back at the social democrats. In 1930, shortly before new Sejm elections, the leaders of the so-called Center-Left opposition were arrested on charges of high treason and taken to Breść (Brest-Litovsk) fortress where they were tortured. Especially brutal treatment was meted out to a prominent Jewish leader of the Socialist Party, Herman Lieberman. The 60-year-old Lieberman was repeatedly beaten into unconsciousness and subjected to a mock execution. The regime's sharp rightward turn in 1930 produced serious resistance among the large Ukrainian minority. Pilsudski responded with a "pacification" campaign, conducted by the army and police, which became an international scandal for closing Ukrainian schools, destroying Ukrainian organizations and subjecting thousands of Ukrainians to beatings, torture and prison.

After 1930, writes an anti-Communist Cold War academic, the Pilsudski regime "became known as the 'regime of the colonels', who threatened their political opponents with 'breaking their

bones'" (M.K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* [1976]). Now it was effectively a one-man dictatorship. A few years later Pilsudski revised the constitution making the president responsible only "before God and history." Throughout the 1930s strikes and protests were suppressed by police terror, innumerable workers and peasants were killed. And especially after his death in 1935, "the regime of the colonels" identified itself ideologically with fascism.

Polish Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

The Pilsudskiite nationalists did not have to learn their anti-Semitism from Hitler, Goebbels & Co. Polish nationalism has historically been associated with anti-Semitism, Jews being viewed as Russifiers before 1917 and pro-Bolshevik after the Russian Revolution. The official proclamation of an independent Poland in November 1918 was "celebrated" by drunken mobs attacking Jewish ghettos. One of the first acts of the reconstituted Sejm was to make it difficult for Jews to Polonize their names, seeking in this way to escape victimization at the hands of the anti-Semites. The new Poland was the country of the *numerus clausus*, the restriction on Jewish admissions to the universities. Moreover, the 1920-21 Russo-Polish war was accompanied by a wave of large-scale pogroms, as Polish nationalists looked upon Jews as a pro-Bolshevik "fifth column." The Pilsudskiite high command interned Jewish officers, many of them volunteers, in a prison camp and transferred Jewish soldiers to disciplinary labor battalions.

The Great Depression brought with it a new wave of anti-Semitic violence, directed in the first place at Jewish merchants and university-trained professionals, who competed economically with the Polish Catholic petty bourgeoisie. "The socialism of fools," the old German social democrat August Bebel called anti-Semitism. While Pilsudski was not personally an anti-Semitic bigot (Jews were among his legionnaires in World War I), increasingly he tolerated attacks on Jews by his right-wing opponents, the National Democrats, as well as by his supporters. Throughout the 1930s there was an escalation of anti-Jewish violence, especially after Pilsudski's death in 1935 when his successors openly embraced anti-Semitic demagoguery. In 1930-31 a wave of attacks on Jewish students swept the universities. In the mid-'30s a mass campaign to boycott Jewish merchants was organized. One of the major organizing forces behind this campaign was the Roman Catholic church. In a 1936 pastoral letter Cardinal Hlond declared:

"It is an actual fact that Jews fight against the Catholic Church, they are free-thinkers, and constitute the vanguard of atheism, bolshevism and revolution. The Jewish influence on morals is fatal... It is a fact that the Jews are embezzlers, usurers and engage in the white-slave traffic."

—quoted in Simon Segal, *The New Poland and the Jews* (1938)

In the late 1930s the Polish government actually proposed in the League of Nations "international measures" to remove 100,000 Jews a year from Poland. And in one sense the regime succeeded in this aim. Most of the Polish Jews who emigrated to Palestine fled not from the Nazi occupation but from the Pilsudskiite regime. The situation facing Jews under the bonapartist military regime is described by the liberal historian Sharp:

"In the last prewar years, under the influence of the ephemeral friendship with Nazi Germany and under the pressure of radically anti-Semitic

The 4,000 exhumed bodies (not ten or fifteen thousand as is commonly claimed) were those of the missing Polish officers. Seeking to widen the rift between the right-wing Polish government-in-exile in London and the Soviet Union, the Germans accused the Russians of killing the officers. The Kremlin, in turn, claimed (and continues to claim) that the Germans did it.

At the time the Germans assembled an "international commission" of experts in forensic medicine who judged that the bodies had been in the ground at least three years, i.e., from 1940 (before



Der Spiegel

Exhuming bodies in Katyn Forest, 1943: massacre was no crime against the Polish working class.

groups, the government of Poland began quite openly to tolerate outbreaks of violence against Jews which spread from the universities to small towns and villages."

—*Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field*

Because these pogroms were carried out by fascistic bands, rather than the police and army, the Jews were able to organize, often quite effectively, to defend themselves. Experienced in mortal combat against native Polish anti-Semitism, in 1943 the Jewish community of Warsaw rose up against the Nazi occupation and held out against the German armed forces for nine months! The Warsaw ghetto uprising is a truly heroic chapter in the history of the Polish working masses. While *Solidarność* wants to "rewrite Polish history" to honor the reactionary Pilsudskiite scum, revolutionary socialists honor the Polish Jewish workers and ghetto poor who fought to their deaths against the armed might of Nazi Germany.

The Katyn Massacre: No Crime Against Polish Workers

An important aspect of the current glorification of Pilsudskiite Poland is raking up the Katyn massacre as supposedly the great crime of the Soviets against the Polish people. Many *Solidarność* activists reportedly sport badges with a cross and the word "Katyn" on them. And in his widely publicized speech to the *Solidarność* congress in September, the old social democrat Edward Lipinski made the "crime of Katyn" one of his main points of attack against the regime:

"...there was an article [in the Polish army press] in which the bastards from Solidarity and KOR were attacked for still continuing to claim that Katyn was a crime of the Russians. 'No,' they said, 'the Germans caused Katyn.' They dare to spread this kind of lie in 1981."

—reproduced in *New York Review of Books*, 19 November

When the Soviet army occupied eastern Poland in September 1939 it took about 250,000 prisoners of war. After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR in 1941 these Polish POWs were released except for about 15,000, mainly officers, who were never accounted for. In 1943 Goebbels announced that the Germans had discovered a mass grave in the Katyn forest near Smolensk, Russia.

the German invasion) not 1941. It could be argued that the Nazis coerced the medical group into this verdict, although they maintained the same position after the war. Other evidence (e.g., the victims' families stopped receiving mail in 1940) also suggests that the NKVD rather than the Gestapo or the SS may have been the executioners in Katyn.

In any case, revolutionary Marxists do not support the indiscriminate killing of the bourgeois officer caste any more than that of factory owners or bourgeois politicians. (Those personally responsible for crimes and atrocities against the working masses are another matter; they will certainly be subject to revolutionary justice.) *Nevertheless, Katyn is not a crime against the Polish working people.* These were the military officers of a fascistic, anti-Semitic dictatorship which regularly butchered workers and even bourgeois dissidents. Many of them no doubt had participated in the Ukrainian "pacification" campaigns. Would Edward Lipinski and his comrades have shed any tears in 1940 over the death of these military cadre of the colonels' regime which killed, tortured and imprisoned many Socialist Party militants?

In 1929 the social democrats stated that their former comrade-in-arms Jozef Pilsudski now represented "the disappearing world of Old Poland." But the world of Old Poland did not simply disappear; it was overthrown after World War II by a social revolution bureaucratically imposed by the Soviet Union. But the remnants of Old Poland, above all, the Catholic church, survived and even grew under Stalinist rule. Today Old Poland raises its head, threatening to return through a capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by *Solidarność*, which offers itself as a company union for the Western bankers, Radio Free Europe and the Pentagon. Polish Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped! Tempered in the struggle against clerical nationalism, a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to lead a proletarian political revolution that sweeps away not only the despised Stalinist bureaucracy, but all of the reactionary filth left over from Pilsudskiite Poland besides. ■

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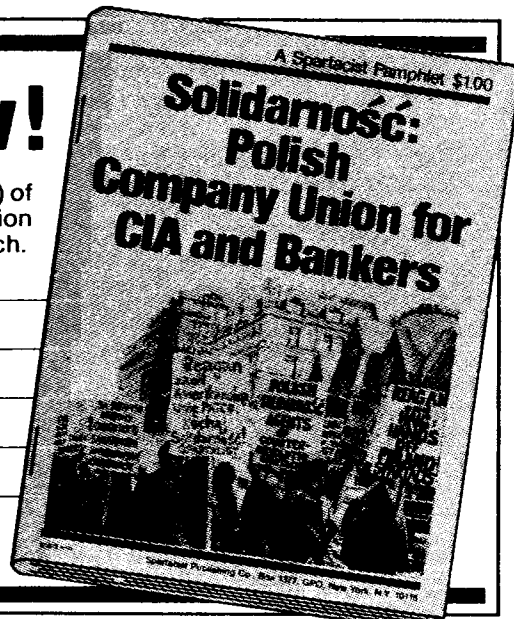
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France...

(continued from page 3)

switch roles and take over the CFDT's position as transmission belt for the Mitterrand government. And PCF transport minister Charles Fiterman zealously played his part, threatening Air France and SNCF strikers (repeating the old bourgeois line that such strikes inconvenience the "public") and doing Reagan a favor by stopping French air controllers' boycott of U.S. planes in solidarity with their fired American counterparts.

A class-struggle policy could have won at Billancourt and Sandouville. Not interminable limited work stoppages, but a full-scale offensive including *plant occupations, mass picket lines* to entirely shut down production and the organization of *workers self-defense* against management, to *strike the entire Renault chain*. This would not only shut down the R-4 model (over 20 years old) produced at Billancourt, but also the more profitable R-5 and R-9 models. Also, democratically elected *strike committees*, responsible before mass assemblies of the workers, which could become the embryos of *factory committees* and organs of workers control if the struggle escalates.

Mitterrand's Bourgeois Nationalizations

The PCF and CGT, while reluctantly backing some limited walkouts, have put all their energy into a propaganda campaign in the plants singing the praises of nationalized industry. Mitterrand/Mauroy want to demonstrate in practice that the nationalized firms will be profitable. And to help them out the Stalinists refuse to strike plants producing the newer models key to Renault's international sales drive. This is the treacherous result of the PCF/CGT "produce French" campaign: safeguarding Renault profits at the expense of wages and working conditions.

Far from representing "first steps toward socialism," or even an attack on the contemporary equivalent of the "200 families," the government program of nationalizations is intended to streamline French capitalism. It is limited to a few monopolies—the Socialists broke with Marchais' PCF in 1977 over the latter's call for taking over several scores of subsidiaries. The payoff to the capitalist owners will be over \$8 billion in negotiable bonds—amounting to more than \$200 in tax revenues per Frenchman. And in many cases the previous management will be left in place. Moreover, much of the management personnel will be drawn from the same pool of cadres educated by the elite National School of Administration as before. There is not a hint of social revolution in Mitterrand's program.

In fact, the primary motivation of the Socialists' package of state takeovers is economic nationalism—to "reconquer

the domestic market." In a press conference last month, Mitterrand summed up his policy with the words, "for us nationalization is a weapon to protect France's production apparatus." The particular firms chosen either need massive state subsidies for research and investment to compete with American, German and Japanese giants; or like ITT-France and CII-Honeywell they are "multinational" monopolies in key sectors. Mitterrand calls his nationalizations the economic version of the *force de frappe* [France's nuclear "deterrent"]. How right he is. The reformists who call on the workers to sacrifice their jobs and wages in order to protect inefficient French industry will one day call on them to give up their lives for the defense of French imperialism. Ultimately "produce French" means imperialist war.

The Mitterrand government cannot be pressured, reformed or cajoled into expropriating the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, the popular front of class collaboration is committed to the defense of capitalism—it is a roadblock, not a stepping stone, to socialism. And as the working class becomes increasingly restive in the absence of the promised *changement*, reformist and centrist supporters of Mitterrand are increasingly under fire. At the recent Socialist Party "congress of victory" in Valence, there was some stormy rhetoric. One orator even repeated Robespierre's famous threat that "heads must roll"—but only to justify the introduction of the spoils system in the state bureaucracy! In the PCF ranks there is growing discord, in several directions. For the last few years Marchais' party has vacillated back and forth between traditional Moscow-loyal Stalinism and "Eurocommunism." With PCF ministers in Mitterrand's anti-Soviet cabinet the heat is on not only to act as a watchdog on the unions, but also to definitively break the tie to the Kremlin.

Feeding on the climate of the Carter/Reagan Cold War, a Eurocommunist wing of this main party of the French proletariat is demanding a return to a full-fledged Union of the Left. There are also elements, however, who balk at the price required for PCF participation in the government. A small group around the newspaper *Le Communiste* sees itself as spokesman for an "anti-opportunist current." Their October issue complains that the PCF must now enforce "austerity on the backs of the workers"; an article on the walkout at the SNCF denounces CGT tops for blocking militant union action; Mitterrand's nationalizations, they say, represent "exploitation not socialization." What is their alternative? It is indicative that *Le Communiste* seldom calls for anything, for they have no real answer, only the yearning for "better" bureaucrats.

Today the "anti-opportunists" see the source of all evil in the PCF's formal abandonment of the dictatorship of the

proletariat in 1976. But how are the PCF's betrayals now so different from before? What about the selling out of the 1968 general strike by PCF leader Waldeck-Rochet, a far greater crime. What about in 1947, when in a desperate effort to maintain the faltering Popular Front the Communist Party tried to break a militant Renault strike by labeling its leaders "anarcho-Hitler-Trotskyite wreckers." Or in 1945 when Thorez declared "strikes are the arm of the trusts" in breaking a strike of the nationalized coal mines. And what of the PCF in the Blum Popular Front of 1936 when Thorez made his famous statement, "It's necessary to know how to end a strike," in order to head off a movement that promised to be the beginning of the French revolution.

The Trotskyists *alone* have consistently fought against these betrayals, which necessarily flow from the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Eurocommunist traitors simply want to take this liquidationist, nationalist program to its final conclusion; the "anti-opportunists" pull back in fear of the consequences.

The revolutionary proletarian opposition of the Trotskyist movement to popular frontism is well known. So well known, in fact, that when Mitterrand came to office even bourgeois journalists recalled that in 1936 it was Leon Trotsky who called for "soviets everywhere" to take the general strike forward to revolution. It was the centrist Pivert, in contrast, who proclaimed that "everything is possible" with the victory of the popular front. (To which the hard-nosed Stalinist Thorez replied that "everything is not possible"...and proved it by quashing the strike.) Yet today the behavior of the main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France is quite different from the intransigent revolutionary opposition of Trotsky. For a Krivine or Lambert "everything is possible"...if Mitterrand permits it. And in the October strikes their role was to protect the social democrats from the workers' anger.

Scandalously, the main demand of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) in the Renault strike was for...*new bosses!* They appealed to the government to come to the aid of the strikers against the government-run corporation. "Renault: Drive Out the Giscardian Management" was the red headline across two pages of the LCR's *Rouge* (16-22 October). The government must "decide to dismiss the entire management" of Renault, said the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (17-24 October). Ironically, the minister of industry to whom these demands are directed is none other than Dreyfus, the former president of Renault who ran the company with an iron hand for decades. It would be comical if this weren't such an insidious attempt to divert the workers' struggles onto the parliamentary road in the service of the popular front.

In 1947 the French Trotskyists called for extending the Renault strike into a strike by all metal workers, and then for a general strike. Today, the OCI/LCR pseudo-Trotskyists *refuse* to call even for a strike of the entire Renault chain, for fear that it would put in jeopardy Mitterrand's program of nationalizations. Where Trotskyists fight for expropriation of the bourgeoisie by a workers government, these fakers support the social-democratic nationalizations by a popular front, "generous" compensation to the bosses and all. And where Trotsky stood with Liebknecht in the tradition of communist anti-militarism—"not a penny, not a man" to the bourgeois army—the LCR has now made its main campaign the reduction of the period of conscription to six months (which, moreover, is a plank in the PS program).

The contrast with the program of authentic Trotskyism could not be more striking. The founder of the Fourth

Corrections

In the article, "For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September), we noted that despite the mounting anger of the American working class against Reagan it remains no less anti-communist, particularly on issues of foreign policy. But things aren't quite as bad as we said, mistakenly referring to "a poll taken at the demonstration [which] claimed a majority of those questioned supported a stronger military." In fact, the poll taken by Public Interest Television showed the opposite. A majority were *against* Reagan's war budget, 19 percent in favor and 24 percent wanted even more military spending.

In *WV* No. 291, 23 October, we reported that at its "All People's Congress" at Detroit's Cobo Hall, Workers World did not sell the previous issue of its paper which carried an article by Sam Marcy admitting that Polish Solidarność is counterrevolutionary. The issue of *Workers World* sold at Cobo Hall *did* include an article with the Marcyites' line on Poland. However, as we had predicted, they did not raise the key question of Polish Solidarność during the Congress for fear of alienating the liberals.

International wrote of the Popular Front of the 1930s:

"Only conscious traitors or hopeless muddleheads are capable of thinking that it is possible to keep the masses immobilized up to the moment when they will be blessed from above by the government of the People's Front. Strikes, protests, street clashes, direct uprisings are absolutely inevitable in the present situation. The task of the proletarian party consists not in checking and paralyzing these movements but in unifying them and investing them with the greatest possible force."

—Leon Trotsky, "For Committees of Action, Not the People's Front" (November 1935)

The pseudo-Trotskyists spit on the lessons of class struggle since 1914: the social democrats in power are agents of the bourgeois state no less than Gaullists or Giscardians. The LCR/OCI now become the "best builders" of the popular front with a program which makes Pivert's "fighting popular front" look like raving ultraleftism in comparison. The LCR proclaimed the "far left" to be the "third component of the majority" after the PS and PCF. Actually it is the fourth—don't forget the token bourgeois politicians. As for their real function it is as a fifth wheel of the popular front.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, defends the masses' struggles for elementary trade-union demands *against* the "popular" government. We oppose "national defense" of the bourgeois state and poisonous economic protectionism. We oppose the virulent anti-Soviet policy of the Mitterrand government, supported both by the PCF and the now tame "far left." No unity with the agents of imperialism, defenders of capitalism, betrayers of the workers! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

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NEW YORK

S.F. Phone...

(continued from page 12)

in which he underlined the demand, "Finks out of the union." Ikegami observed:

"Workers are looking around at the union and how weak it has gotten. They're also looking at Reagan in power, his concerted attack on the unions and minorities and his drive toward World War III. And they want answers. Left-talking out-bureaucrats like former E-Board members Contreas and Carreras not only have no strategy to fight, but are not even running in this election. People are looking to the Militant Action Caucus."

The caucus ran a hard aggressive campaign, talking to workers at more than half the 70-plus work locations in the city. They set up a coffee truck at the two biggest phone buildings and workers employed by the phone company from all unions stopped to talk, not just CWA members. Non-unionized cafeteria workers and phone company service representatives were interested in MAC's demands for organizing the unorganized in an industry-wide union for all communications workers.

Debby Taylor, one of the first black woman spicers in San Francisco, fired by the phone company in 1978, campaigned with MAC members and told fellow unionists, "Vote MAC. They got my job back. That should tell you what they're about." With this kind of response to the MAC campaign, reformist opponents in the union were on the defensive. Phone worker Carolyn Lund, a prominent supporter of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, coyly declined to say who she was going to vote for but said of the Imerzel slate, "I've seen worse."

The Militant Action Caucus ran on a hard-hitting class-struggle program, including such positions as: "For militant mass picket lines that no one crosses" and "No layoffs, forced transfers, or downgrades... For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. For union control of hiring, transfers and upgrades. Organize the unorganized... Abolish absence control! Stop reform school conditions in traffic." MAC argued that the union must defend the specially oppressed: "Down with all

Campaigning for Bay Area MAC candidates. Paul Costan and Kat Burnham (above), Bobbi Sinnott (lower left, dark jacket), Debby Taylor (lower right).



racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers. Support busing, pass the ERA. Full democratic rights for homosexuals."

The critical need for the union movement to come out in defense of the air traffic controllers was emphasized: "Victory to the PATCO strike! Labor: shut down the airports! For the right to strike for all public employees." And the MAC made it clear that it has a program of class struggle to defend the workers' interests down the line:

"Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. For labor action to bring down Reagan! Not a dime, not a vote for the strike-breaking, wage-freezing, job-cutting Democrats and Republicans. Expropriate Ma Bell without compensation. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses."

MAC won more new contacts and supporters in the local and made greater election gains than ever before. The next task must be the building of a nationwide MAC, which could oust the union

traitors and lead a real class fight.

We reprint below excerpts from the MAC campaign leaflet.

Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The union-busting, racism and mass unemployment that Reagan has promised are the domestic component of a war drive beginning in El Salvador. While the CWA brass is knifing union members in the back at home, it supports imperialist assaults against working people abroad.

Our union must stand with our class brothers and sisters who are fighting against the savage right-wing junta in El Salvador, with the workers and peasants whose homes and union halls are being destroyed. The Militant Action Caucus calls for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents. Longshoremen (the ILWU) must implement their boycott of all military cargo to El Salvador. Thousands are fleeing the civil war and seeking refuge in the U.S.

State Dept. Socialists...

(continued from page 7)

110 percent from the Shachtmanite tradition. We pointed out to them at the time that the heart of Shachtmanism was the Russian question and that while they employed a different terminology ("state capitalism" rather than "bureaucratic collectivism") their methodology and conclusions are classical Shachtmanism. Eight years and innumerable splits later, having passed through lumpen rage and gay pride phases, the RSL now finds itself squarely in the "State Department socialist" camp in Poland. Its greeting to the pro-Solidarność rally hailed it as "an important event in forging a movement that will support the Polish workers' struggle and that will condemn any effort by the Polish government to destroy that struggle and any form of intervention by the Russian imperialists or the U.S. imperialists." The "balancing" reference to the U.S. imperialists is sheer cynicism. Everyone knows that the U.S. imperialists are, to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars, the most enthusiastic supporters of Solidarność.

In the manner of a Ross Macdonald detective novel, the rally presented the complex family tree of American "state capitalist" anti-Sovietism, including its bizarre offshoots. And representing the bizarre offshoots was C.L.R. James. A Trotskyist in the 1930s, James split over the Russian question in 1940 and for a while linked up with Shacht-

man, subsequently developing a peculiar amalgam of workerist syndicalism and black nationalism. James had the dubious distinction of engaging in the most virulent anti-Soviet tirade at the rally. Indeed, he sounded like a lecturer at the Pentagon War College overcome with delirium at the happy turn of events in Poland: "The Russian army was supposed to march through Poland and go to the Atlantic.... Today after Poland the Russian army is going nowhere." This fantasy of NATO militarism was greeted with wild applause.

Solidarność Has No Left Face

Supposedly representing Solidarność was Tadeusz Kowalik, listed in the program as an "economist and frequent advisor to Solidarity." Kowalik told *WV* he was *not* authorized to speak for the organization. And indeed, he attempted to present a left face for Solidarność, which it *does not have in reality*.

Misjudging the leftism of his audience, Kowalik felt obliged to explain why in Solidarność' 43-page program the term "socialism" was not mentioned once. To grasp the enormous significance of this, one must remember that for the past fifty or hundred years every workers movement in Europe, very much including the Polish, has considered itself socialist in some sense. Kowalik maintained that the Solidarność membership was "attached to the socialist values despite [the fact] that they do not like the socialist vocabulary." When Lech Walesa tells American television that the U.S. is a "model" for the system he wants to create in Poland, does Kowalik think he is

expressing "socialist values" despite the rejection of a "socialist vocabulary"?

Kowalik had the gall to claim Rosa Luxemburg as an intellectual inspirer of Solidarność. We will not belabor Luxemburg's virulent hostility to all forms of Polish nationalism, especially Pilsudski's, but simply limit ourselves narrowly to her economic views. According to Kowalik, Luxemburg "criticized the statist tendency in the thinking of the Second International, first of all the German Social Democracy." Kowalik to the contrary, it was the *right wing* of German Social Democracy, represented by Eduard Bernstein, which envisaged socialism as a system of autonomous producers—the old name for "self-management." In her famous polemics against Bernsteinian revisionism Luxemburg insisted that in producer cooperatives the workers must play "the role of capitalist entrepreneur against themselves." Like all classical Marxists, Luxemburg considered centralized planning and administration the ABC of the socialist economic program.

To speak of Rosa Luxemburg's views and the clerical-nationalist Solidarność in the same breath is an outrage. Had Kowalik given this speech, with its appeals to the revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg as well as the liberal Stalinist Oskar Lange, to the recent Solidarność congress, he surely would have been booed down.

Harrington: The Idiot Big Lie

But Kowalik's falsifications were modest compared to those of Harrington, whose demagoguery approached the

Labor must use its power to stop the deportations and win asylum for the victims of junta terror.

El Salvador is just a way-station in Washington's war drive against Cuba and Russia. Power in Washington passes from one nuclear trigger-happy nut to the next, and labor misleaders march in lock-step support to their anti-Soviet holy war.

Vote Ikegami, Costan and Burnham

MAC warned before our last international convention that if unopposed, AT&T's reorganization will mean the former CWAer, for supervisor. question is not settled. We can and must fight. In British Columbia a few months ago 10,000 phone workers occupied the central offices. They proved the union *really* has power.

Only the MAC has fought to mobilize the power of the union to stop company attacks. We have built for *strike action* to defend the membership of the union. It was MAC that opposed the new union/company class collaboration fact-finding procedure. When our local budding bureaucrats supported the usual cynical politicians for city elections, it was the MAC that campaigned for Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman, a socialist union militant and former CWAer, for supervisor.

When the fascists threatened to march in San Francisco on Hitler's birthday it was the MAC that helped build the April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN). Seventy-five phone workers demonstrated under our union banners with 1,200 other unionists, socialists and minorities at the Civic Center where the Nazis planned to have their rally. Not only were the Nazis afraid to show up, they haven't been seen in town since.

MAC stands for mobilizing the power of labor to fight for a workers party and workers government to seize all major industry (like Ma Bell) without compensation to the bosses. Only a workers government and a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people—not profit—can stop the economic ruin, racism, and threat of thermonuclear extinction that the Reagan Years promise. ■

Goebbels/Vyshinsky Big Lie technique: "They will sing hymns to the blessed Virgin Mary as part of the struggle for freedom and socialism. And one must understand those hymns become revolutionary anthems..." This is like saying someone who declares himself an atheist on every possible occasion, who spits on crucifixes and wants churches to disappear from the face of the earth is really struggling for Christianity. But Harrington went even further: "... that is the socialist movement in Poland; that is the Marxist movement in Poland; that is the communist movement in Poland." Well, we have a proposition for brother Harrington. Go to Gdansk, to a meeting of the Solidarność executive and tell them—not gullible American radicals—that they are leading a socialist, nay, a Marxist and a communist movement in Poland. But we suggest you start a fund beforehand to pay for the hospital bills incurred as a result of this act of political folly.

Outside the rally salesmen were distributing the first issue of an English-language *Bulletin Solidarność*, published by a veritable interlocking directorate of the fanatically anti-communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy and "the Company." This bulletin is a joint project of the Polish Workers Task Force, set up by the official AFL-CIO youth support group Frontlash, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the obscure Washington-based Polish Watch Center. The next time some student radical buys a Solidarność T-shirt, just remember it is being brought to you by the racist, chauvinist, hardline Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO executive, whose relation to the CIA is more than just a nodding acquaintance. ■

TWU...

(continued from page 12)

shut the system down on the day of Cole's funeral. Such a dramatic expression could have ignited this explosive situation and galvanized all the bitter outrage as the TA sought to impose a whopping fare increase and make transit workers the scapegoats.

Kartsen and Brewer are the only candidates in the TWU elections who are fighting to defend the right to strike. They say, "Racist strikebreaker Koch is trying to kick this union to the back of the bus... TWU must lead black and white to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts." They demand: restore the subways and abolish the fares. These candidates have put forward a program to defend the TWU against the concerted capitalist attack. We reprint below their campaign leaflet.

Kartsen and Brewer are the only candidates who recognize that the strike is our only weapon, the *only power* we have. Now our right to strike is at stake and the existence of our union is being challenged—they've already revoked our dues checkoff. **WE MUST PREPARE THE UNION TO FIGHT.**

We won't get one thin dime without a strike. Unlike PATCO this union has tremendous power—we can strike against Koch/Reagan and win! America can't run without the New York subways. Let them try to run this dilapidated system with the National Guard. The last time we got a decent contract was in 1966. It took a 12-day strike and six of our union leaders in jail but we busted the no-strike Condon/Wadlin Act and won a 15% wage hike despite LBJ's 3.2% freeze. That contract was a pacesetter for unions across the country and led to the 20-year pension in 1968. Let's fight to win back what we lost! It took strikes to build the unions, it will take strikes to defend them. The TWU can lead the way, but we need some leaders who are willing to fight. Kartsen and Brewer accept that challenge.

It wasn't the Taylor Law that beat us in 1980, it was our own misleaders. Never before has this union accepted the no-strike laws and there was no reason to during the last strike. A fighting leadership would have dug in and *stayed out* until New York City—North American center of high finance and commerce—ground to a halt. That's power. Quill said it in '66 when they served him a back-to-work order. He ripped it up and told the judge to "Drop dead in his black robes."

"No-Strike" Lawe and the "Yes, Lawe" Dissidents

Lawe wants to give up the right to strike altogether and the "dissidents" offer no alternative. At the convention Cherry's Cars and Shops Team voted for Lawe's plan to eliminate the policy of "no contract, no work" and to "establish procedures for impartial resolution of collective bargaining" (binding arbitration equals slow death.) Candidates from both slates make the same pitch: "The strike's old-fashioned, outdated... we'll get you a good contract without a strike." HOW? Ravitch, Simpson, Koch and Reagan are not going to give us a damned thing—in fact they intend to *take back* what we've won. The next round won't just be the TWU vs. the TA and Koch—we'll be up against Washington. All the big city mayors got Reagan's message: bust the public workers unions. Koch has targeted the TWU—traditional leader of city workers—for the PATCO treatment. We need a leadership that's prepared to mobilize the power of this union to get what we need.

This Election Offers a Referendum on the Last Strike

The "dissidents" claim they'll do it different than Lawe, but they had their



TWU candidate for president, Ed Kartsen (left). Executive board candidate Dave Brewer.

chance during the last strike. Cherry and Warren were both members of the Good Contract Committee. In the midst of the strike they put out a strike bulletin declaring full confidence in Lawe to negotiate a good contract. And they had *power*—they had a majority on the Executive Board that authorized Lawe to compromise on the givebacks. When Lawe voted to send us back to work with a lousy contract and whopping fines, the "dissidents" never fought to stay out! Instead, they ran to the courts to fight Lawe and "challenge" the Taylor Law—the same courts that stuck us with the fines and took away our dues checkoff!

Keep the Taylor Law Judges Out of Our Union!

The "dissidents" see the courts as the main way to fight Lawe. Mike Warren brags about the suits he's brought against the union, and is currently suing the union over the disappearance of the strike fund. It's suicidal to open our union to the courts that Reagan just used to fire the air controllers and decertify their union. Let's be clear, the government is the tool of big business, and the courts serve their interests. Keep the government out of our union—we can clean our own house. We must rely solely on our own mobilized strength to get what we need.

Stop Racist Attacks! For Labor/Black Defense

The Klan and Nazis are emboldened by Koch's openly racist policies under Klandidate Reagan's government. When a cross was burned on brother Walter Webb's lawn in the Bronx last November, hundreds of union brothers should have been there the next night to protect his house. No reliance on the killer cops—only labor/black mobilizations can crush these vermin. The TWU

must lead labor/minorities to stop these racist attacks.

For Labor Action to Bring Reagan Down

Reagan is trying to provoke WWII from El Salvador to Cuba to Poland in his crazed anti-Soviet war drive. U.S. capitalists and politicians hate the Soviet Union for the same reason they hate unions—they get in the way of corporate profits. The USSR is no workers' paradise, but Soviet workers don't have to fear for their livelihoods. Russian workers have a lot of scores to settle with the likes of Brezhnev, just as we do with the likes of Lawe. But we're better off with some union than no union at all, and the Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organized a planned economy. International working class solidarity means we stand with the workers and peasants of Russia, El Salvador and Cuba against Reagan. He's trying to finance his military budget with welfare, social security and pension funds—meanwhile New York City rots for lack of federal aid. Labor actions can stop Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

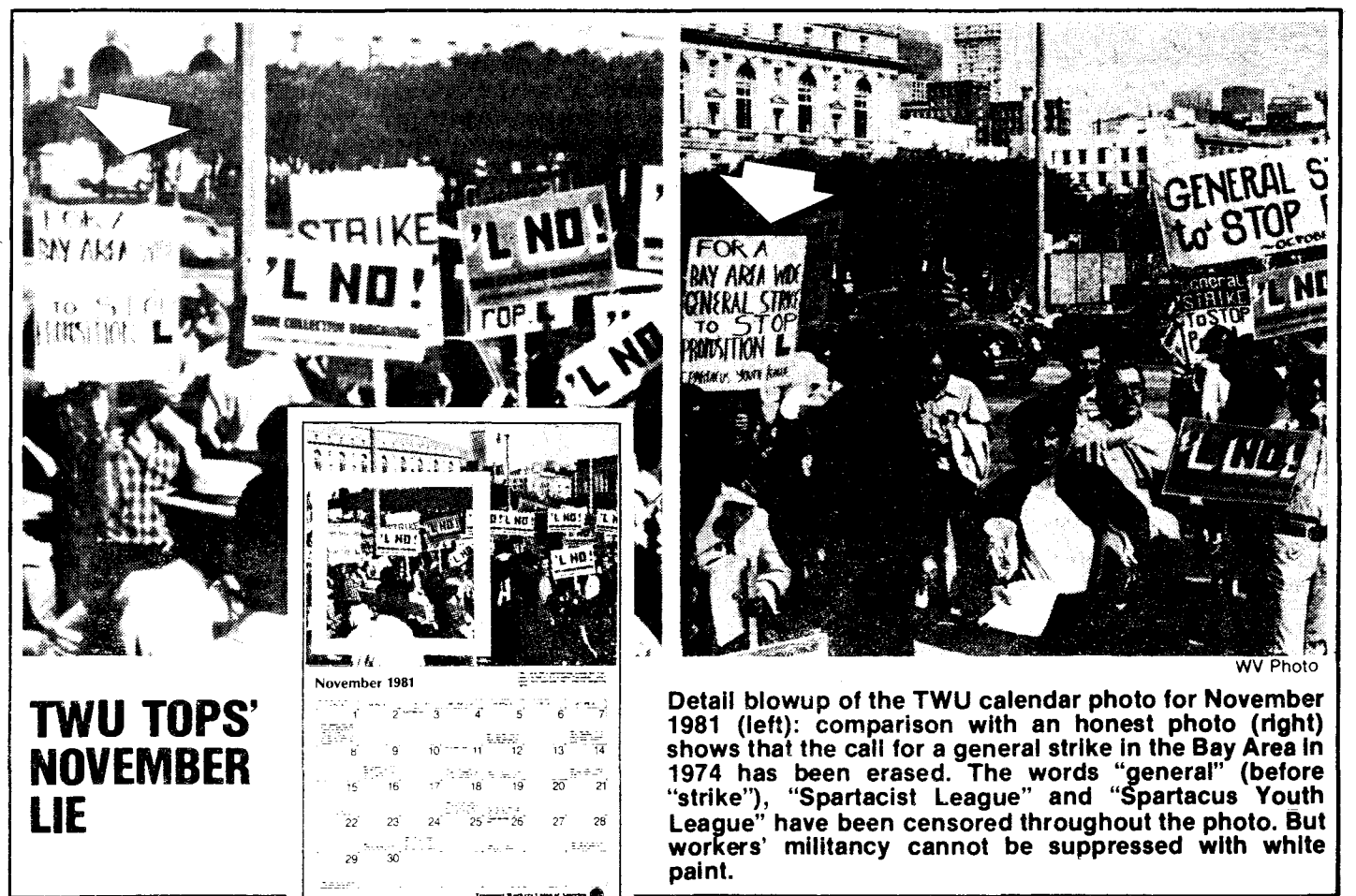
A Workers Party to Fight For Workers' Rights

Reagan is mobilizing the state against the unions—invoking every anti-labor law on the books, using the courts to back them up and the cops to enforce them. Racist strikebreaking Koch just won another four years in office. Both Lawe and Cherry supported Democrat Barbaro who ushered in the Emergency Financial Control Board that threw city workers' pension funds down the Big MAC rathole. Remember Democrat Carter paved the way for Reagan. And where were these "friends of labor" during our strike? Koch ran a political anti-strike campaign, using the media to

whip up public anti-strike sentiment and organizing marches and jogs across the Brooklyn Bridge. A workers party would have countered by galvanizing the rest of New York City labor in a fight to save this city. Massive federal funding—restoration of all cuts in jobs and service and free mass transit. We must dump the present misleaders and elect a class-struggle leadership in the unions. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government to set up a planned economy based on use rather than profit.

Kartsen and Brewer Offer a Fighting Strategy—A Program to Win!

- **Defend the right to strike.** Smash the Taylor Law—America can't run without the New York subways. Defend the dues checkoff!
- **Fight! Strike! Fight! Strike!** Dump the bureaucrats, build a class-struggle leadership! No contract, no work! Shut it down tight! Bring out LIRR, PATH, SIRTOA, MSBA, Conrail and private lines for a joint mass transit strike! All contracts to expire January 1—it's good striking weather. For elected strike committees subject to instant recall. Open negotiations—no "secret deals"! Mass picketing. Mass rallies to win public support.
- **We won't pay with our lives!** Remember Jesse Cole and Al Lamberti. For the right to strike over health and safety. Shut down unsafe jobs!
- **Fight to win back lost wages and benefits!** Stop the productivity drive! For massive federal funding to restore the subways. Double our wages and restore all cuts in jobs and services. A shorter work week at no loss in pay—jobs for all. 100% COLA. We need full, quality health and dental plans and a 20-year full-pay pension.
- **Equal pay for equal work.** Scrap the "wage progression" scale—full parity at the highest level for TA, MABSTOA and private lines workers. System-wide seniority based on total time on the job.
- **Union action to fight racial oppression and discrimination.** For union control of hiring, training and upgrades. For labor/black/Latino mobilizations to smash KKK/Nazi terror. Down with all racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers.
- **For labor action to bring down Reagan!** Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking, wage-freezing, job-cutting Democrats and Republicans. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will establish a planned economy to serve the needs of working people, not profit. ■



TWU TOPS' NOVEMBER LIE

Detail blowup of the TWU calendar photo for November 1981 (left): comparison with an honest photo (right) shows that the call for a general strike in the Bay Area in 1974 has been erased. The words "general" (before "strike"), "Spartacist League" and "Spartacus Youth League" have been censored throughout the photo. But workers' militancy cannot be suppressed with white paint.

WORKERS VANGUARD

MAC Victory in CWA Local 9410 Exec Board Elections

S.F. Phone Militant Wins

SAN FRANCISCO, November 12— Today Kathy Ikegami, a Militant Action Caucus (MAC) member and union steward, was elected to the executive board of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410. Ikegami received 272 votes, netting 40 percent of the plant department vote; MAC candidates Paul Costan and Kat Burnham received 219 and 166 votes respectively, polling one third and one fourth of the votes cast for plant executive board. Once again, as in 1978, the membership has voted to put a MAC candidate on the E-Board. Ikegami's vote reflects an important percentage of workers in the local who see in the MAC class-struggle program the way to lead the union forward.

In the context of the Reagan years, particularly following the vicious busting of the PATCO air controllers union, the MAC victory was all the more significant. Within the American labor movement, the CWA is notorious for its ties to the capitalist government, from the Democratic Party to the CIA-connected American Institute for Free Labor Development

(AIFLD). Yet MAC told union members the hard truth: calling for labor action to bring down Reagan, break all CWA ties to the bloody AIFLD, for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, and to stand with the workers of Cuba and Russia against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Despite claims by various pseudo-militants that union oppositions must be limited to simple bread-and-butter issues, the MAC ran on its full program...and won.

The sellout policies of incumbent local president Jim Imerzel drove most of the membership to vote with their feet in this election. In the lowest ballot return in the local's history, Imerzel was reelected with only 527 votes in a local of 4,000. One issue in the elections was a new so-called "impartial," "fact-finding" procedure which strips the local steward's power to process grievances and gives the phone company the right to interrogate workers about their grievances. As a MAC leaflet put it, "But who wants impartiality. The best stewards are the ones who are biased as hell, in the members' favor." The Militant

Newly elected CWA Local 9410 Executive Board member, MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami (right).



WV Photo

Action Caucus is calling on stewards to refuse to cooperate with this bogus "fact-finding" and for the local right to strike to settle all grievances.

During the campaign the caucus had to work against the demoralization, disgust and anti-union sentiment which years of bureaucratic control have produced. One black worker told MAC he remembered their work

building ANCAN (April 19 Committee Against Nazis) which stopped the Hitler-lovers from marching in San Francisco in 1980. He'd like to vote for MAC, he said, but he had never joined the union because of the company finks and the steward structure. Caucus members gave him a union card to sign and an election brochure

continued on page 10

Militants Run in TWU Elections

Transit Workers Can Bust Union-Buster Koch!

With the contract deadline less than five months away the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 of New York is coming under heavy attack, with racist strikebreaker Mayor Koch leading the pack. Almost daily the press screams "Doomsday Express, Tunnel of Death" headlines; the *Daily News* snidely refers to the "goldbrick" transit workers. Now Koch is threatening to bring in outside contractors to repair the subways. Meanwhile, Reagan has decimated the PATCO air controllers union as he enforces his austerity program against labor, poor and black people. In this context the future of the TWU is at stake. It is a prime target because it is seen as a heavily black union in a city of minorities and foreigners. Ford, Carter, Reagan have all had the same message, "NYC: Drop Dead." But in the 1966 transit strike the union ripped up a back-to-work order and told the judge to "drop dead in his black robes"...and they won.

The fiscal crisis in New York is the race question because racism has everything to do with who and what gets cut under capitalism. But the TWU has the

power to challenge Reagan and Koch. New York is still the center of American finance capital—Wall Street and Midtown can't run without the subways to haul the workforce in. As at the time of the 1974-75 NYC fiscal crisis and the 1980 transit strike, the TWU could lead Harlem, the poor, and even sections of the middle class who are facing the Reagan/Koch budget ax.

This raises the question of leadership in this key union. The TWU members owe the humiliating and costly 1980 defeat to the sellout bureaucrats, the Cherry people as well as Lawe. The current Local 100 elections for officers pose an opportunity. In addition to the usual careerists, a genuine opposition has emerged—militants who recognize the need to strike and for a class-struggle strategy to win. Ed Kartsen, who is running for president, and David Brewer, executive board candidate are proven militants. Last July, when black motorman Jesse Cole was left bleeding to death in his crumpled cab while the Transit Authority (TA) blamed him for the crash, Kartsen and Brewer fought to

continued on page 11



WV Photo

TWU contingent marches on Labor Day, NYC, September 7.