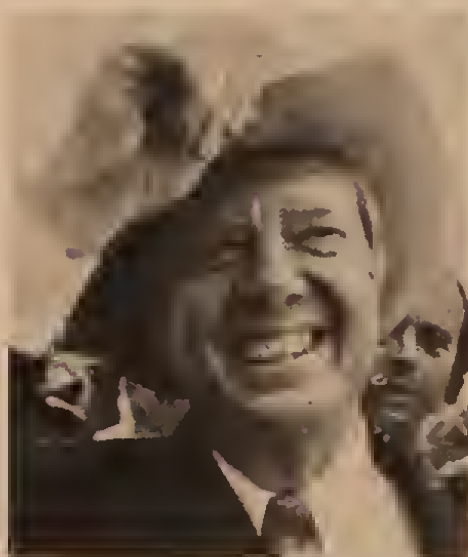


Madder Than MAD: Pentagon Targets Soviet Leaders Carter/Reagan Nuclear War Fever

On the eve of the Democratic convention last month word was "leaked" that President Carter had formally adopted nuclear war plans long advocated by military hardliners, previously known as "counterforce strategy." Presidential Directives 58 and 59 envisage fighting a "prolonged but limited nuclear war," aim at knocking out the entire Soviet strategic missile force and train the cross hairs on the political and military leaders of the USSR (*New York Times*, 6 August). This was followed up by further "revelations": that the U.S. had developed an "invisible" plane to foil Russian radar, new "uncannily accurate" missiles known as "fire-and-forget" weapons, and in the future laser-armed "battlestars" to orbit the earth incinerating the Soviets.

Long gone are the days of "fail-safe" when we were assured that only a madman could unleash a nuclear war. Now we have two madmen running for commander in chief of the deadliest imperialist power in history, each trying to outdo the other in threatening atomic holocaust. Beyond the obvious electoral fallout—stealing the Republicans' thunder on the right—Carter's new directives spell out what has been implicit in the U.S.'s rearmament drive since its ignominious defeat in Vietnam. America's rulers seek to return to the days following World War II when they could throw their weight around with nuclear blackmail. Their now-stated goal is to achieve a first-strike capacity. Way beyond thinking the unthinkable, they're planning it.

A dangerous war atmosphere is building in the Pentagon, the White House and on the campaign trails. Not since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis has there been such open and official talk from Washington about winning a "controlled" atomic war—now euphemistically called a "nuclear event." Soviet Communist Party leader Brezhnev responded that the purpose of the U.S. directive was to "make the idea of nuclear war sort of acceptable to public opinion," and *Pravda* warned that it meant turning West Europe into a "radioactive desert." Coming from the intended targets of Washington's Minuteman murder threats, this is rather mild. As *New York Times* columnist



Katz/Black Star



UPI

Flora Lewis noted, "Moscow could feel it had reason to fear a U.S. first strike and decide to launch in anticipation of such a strike."

It wasn't just the Russians who were complaining about government by "authorized leak." Carter's weepy Secretary of State Muskie moaned that he had not been consulted about the major nuclear policy statement developed by his nemesis in the White House basement, Zbigniew Brzezinski. Nor, for that matter, were "the allies." And Henry Kissinger, himself a former "high Administration source" under Ford and Nixon, backed Reagan's complaint that leaking information about the "invisible plane" was politically motivated and had "breached one of this nation's most



Der Spiegel

U.S. imperialism's mega-death aimed at Soviet Union.

closely held military secrets." (Some "secret"! A special 16 June issue of *Aviation Week* on "Modernizing Strategic Forces" reported and even printed drawings of "Boeing strategic penetrator aircraft concept designed for stealth operations....")

Waving their ten-gallon hats like Slim Pickens riding an H-bomb to glory in *Dr. Strangelove*, the U.S. presidential contenders are calling each other out as the fastest nuclear triggers in the West. Carter's cold war drive against the Soviet Union has created the climate for ominous atomic bravado from Reagan. The Republicans argue with Orwellian "war is peace" logic that the Democrats' arms build-up, which projects spending \$1 trillion in the next five years, is

"disarmament." The GOP platform assails as "not credible" the nuclear strategy limited to "threatening mass extinction of civilians." Candidate Carter answers with PD 59: see, we're already going after Soviet military targets. Reagan hails the genocidal Vietnam War as "a noble cause"; the Democrats run TV campaign commercials like something out of *The Big Picture*: jets, rockets, napalm aflame and ending up, "Jimmy Carter, A Military Man, A Man of Peace."

The new wave of high-technology imperialist militarism is already reflected in popular culture. Millions groove on *Star Wars* and *The Empire Strikes Back* with their contest between the

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Poland and the Left...6

KKK Terrorists Invade Connecticut

The Ku Klux Klan invaded Connecticut with the protection of state police to hold a cross-burning on September 14 in the township of Scotland. Two hundred state troopers, including a police team armed with automatic weapons and dogs, defended "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson's "Invisible Empire" as they held their racist, terror-inspiring cross-burning. Almost 500 anti-Klan protesters, inspired by Progressive Labor's Committee Against Racism, skirmished ineffectually with KKKers along the narrow road leading to the cross-burning site. Reportedly six anti-Klan demonstrators (at least) were arrested.

The Louisiana-based "Imperial Wizard" was in Connecticut to anoint his Connecticut lieutenant, "Gary Peterson" (a/k/a Gary Piscottano) of New Britain. Local news media made much of the fact that the cops forced Piscottano to remove a cover on his car's rear license plate which read "K's car" (real license number SL3699). But he got to keep his gun—for which he had a state permit allowing him to carry it concealed, granted after he applied to be an auxiliary policeman! Wilkinson was so pleased with his Saturday night terror-show that he held another cross-burning Sunday night, also heavily protected by the cops ("The Wiz is coming. Let him go through," the police radioed to each other).

Wilkinson's arrest later on a technical weapons violation—carrying a .45

automatic—was just window-dressing to make the liberals feel better. But everyone knows the Klan got what they wanted, with the cops' help. In Greensboro the KKK murdered in cold blood, in Chattanooga they shot to kill at defenseless black women, seriously wounding some of them. The ominous growth of the Klan and other fascist terror groups is marked by the growing



Labor, blacks must stamp out hooded cross-burners.

tolerance of the American state, from Carter (who kicked off his presidential campaign in Alabama Klan territory) and Reagan (he went to Mississippi's state fair, traditional bastion of "Old

South" segregationism), on down to the local cops. Only labor/black mass mobilizations can stop the growing fascist terror! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan demonstrators! ■

No "Free Speech For Fascists"!

SWP Shares Platform with Klan Terrorist Metzger

Greensboro, Chattanooga, Connecticut, southern California—Klan terror is riding again in America, and that means murder of blacks, trade unionists, socialists. The new star-spangled "Speak Up America" TV show September 5 featured Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, who's the Democratic Party candidate in California's sprawling 43rd Congressional District. What the Klan's "program" consists of was clear enough—film clips showed KKKers armed with clubs and dogs savagely assaulting anti-Klan protesters in Oceanside. Within the 43rd District the Klan has already been carrying out

its program of race-terror—from Imperial County, where it runs night-riding patrols to murder Mexican workers crossing the border, to Riverside, only a few miles from where David Howard, a black telephone worker, was the victim of a racist shooting shortly before a Klan rally in July.

Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate Mark Friedman sat placidly in the audience watching these terrorist atrocities—after all, the SWP believes the KKK/Nazis have the right to "free speech." He rose only to politely rebut his "Democratic Party opponent," and state that the SWP calls for "unions,

civil rights, and women's rights groups to unite to defeat the Klan." Friedman had nothing to say about the Klan's real atrocities, though—because the SWP does *nothing* but sit on the sidelines while they rampage and murder! The SWP's *Militant* bragged about how Friedman "confronted" the Klan in the safety of the TV studio. But on the streets, where the Klan does its dirty work, the SWP isn't around.

Communists do not support "free speech for fascists." The KKK is a gang of killers. The Spartacist League has mobilized labor and the left to confront and stop the Klan—in Detroit following the Greensboro massacre and in San Francisco, where 1,200 trade unionists, blacks, Chicanos, gays, Jews and socialists rallied to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. On those days the SWP stayed home. Obviously they prefer "debating" the Klan to fighting it. ■



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Detox Koch!

On September 15, twelve hours before New York City mayor Ed Koch's racist administration planned to shut it down, Harlem's Sydenham Hospital was taken over by doctors, hospital workers and members of the local black community. While hundreds of supporters marched outside chanting such slogans as "Koch has got to go!" they kept the emergency room, admitting desk and administrative office functioning.

The confrontation had been brewing for a long time. After the austerity-crazed city government drastically slashed city workers' jobs and wages in 1974-76, the next target was the city's black and Latin ghettos. Koch promised funding for Sydenham when he ran for mayor in '77, but later included the 119-bed facility on a list of six ghetto hospitals he wanted closed. Harlem, which the federal government classes as one of the most "medically underserved areas" in the U.S., was sentenced to lose both Sydenham and Metropolitan hospitals. Federal funds were scraped together to keep Metropolitan going, but Sydenham, the second-largest em-

ployer in Harlem, was written off, to be downgraded into a drug and alcohol detoxification center.

Harlem didn't sit still—they sat in. Tempers had been boiling for months, and the Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital, supported by AFSCME Local 420 representing Sydenham workers, announced it was occupying the facilities to force the city to keep them open. As we go to press Sydenham Hospital is still functioning under a "people's administration" while hundreds of cops mass outside waiting for the word from Koch to move in. Ed Koch is a virulent race-hating and labor-hating capitalist politician—an honest-to-goodness enemy of the people of New York. But the black Democrats who oppose him today have no solution to the capitalist cutbacks being pushed by all sectors of the ruling-class parties. Only the power of the NYC labor movement—demonstrated so impressively in the May transit strike, despite the defeatist TWU leadership—has the social power to beat back the bosses' racist austerity drive. ■

Hospital workers protest racist shutdown at Sydenham.



WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

Unemployment and Wage Slashing

"The stagnation of production would have laid off a part of the working-class and would thereby have placed the employed part in a situation, where it would have to submit to a reduction of wages even below the average."

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. III

There's a common belief that while an economic downturn is certainly painful for those workers who lose their livelihood because of it, mass unemployment has little or no effect on those who still hold on to their jobs. This attitude was caught in a cynical joke from the late 1950s: What is the difference between a recession and a depression? Answer: a recession is when your neighbor is unemployed; a depression is when you are unemployed.

In reality, recessions/depressions hurt *all* workers, not only those laid off. And that is exactly their function in the capitalist system. As Marx explained over a century ago, a periodic collapse of production and with it increasing, mass unemployment are a necessary means whereby capitalism restores a higher rate of profit. On the one hand, obsolete plants are scrapped, bankrupt firms are taken over by more efficient operations, capital is devalued thus increasing the rate of return on new investment. At the same time, the mass of unemployed desperately seeking jobs drives down the general wage level and so increases the rate of exploitation.

When Marx wrote *Capital* trade unions were few and weak. During economic crises workers who refused to take a pay cut were simply fired and replaced by members of the swollen reserve army of the unemployed. Eliminating this cutthroat practice was one of the main goals of mass unionization, for example, of the great CIO organizing drive of the 1930s. But saddled with a cowardly, cynical and defeatist bureaucracy, even unionized workers in the U.S. once again face

the ultimatum: take a wage cut or you're out on the street. A recent article in *Business Week* (8 September) expresses pleased surprise that:

"Spurred by mounting layoffs and major plant closings, unions are granting concessions—in midcontract—to some of the nation's largest companies. 'These concessions will serve to improve the chances of affected employers to survive until business turns up again.'"

union is also the victim of the long-term strategy of the Big Four tiremakers (Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal and Goodrich) of moving to runaway shops in the South and Southwest. Needless to say, the Rubber Workers leadership, like the AFL-CIO bureaucracy as a whole, has long refused to organize the "right-to-work" South. Among other things, such a major unionization drive would involve bloody fights with the Ku

policy. The 8,000 workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel were forced by the bureaucracy to defer two cost-of-living increases and a \$150 per worker bonus, cutting the company's labor costs by some \$6 million.

The pacesetter for the current wave of union givebacks was the United Auto Workers (UAW) over Chrysler. In order to go for a government bailout of the near-bankrupt firm, the UAW's Soli-

And for Detroit blacks the unemployment lines go on and on.



Der Spiegel

Leading the charge to break their own contracts in order to negotiate lower wages is the United Rubber Workers (URW). An old Midwest-centered industrial union, the URW is right in the heart of the disaster area that is the American auto industry. The

Klux Klan and a general labor assault of the Jim Crow system. But for this kind of fight the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy, like the Rubber Workers' Bommarito, has no stomach.

So instead they cut their members' wages—hoping the capitalists will find this higher rate of exploitation more acceptable. In August 5,000 Uniroyal employees took a cut of 13 percent in wages and benefits. With the rate of inflation now about 12 percent annually, this means that those rubber workers will suffer a decline of roughly one-quarter of their income in the next year or so! No wonder Firestone vice president John Zimmerman waxed eloquent over how "responsible" the unions have become toward the interests of American capitalism:

"Organized labor in general is taking an increasingly responsible position in regard to productivity and the competitiveness of American industry."

—*Business Week*, 8 September

Another union being ever so "responsible" toward its exploiters is the United Steelworkers (USWA). This is also an industry both hard hit by the current depression—devastating its markets in auto, construction and heavy machinery—and suffering a long-term contraction due to superior foreign (especially Japanese) competition. So while screaming for import protectionism (let Japanese workers be laid off), the McBride bureaucracy of the Steelworkers is selling its members' labor cheaper.

When the Kaiser Steel Corp. threatened to close down its Fontana plant in southern California, the only full-scale, integrated steel mill on the West Coast, USWA Local 2869 vice president Rick Flores assured them that "the union will offer whatever is necessary for the plant to continue" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 September). So far it has agreed to give up \$1 an hour in scheduled wage increases plus lower the cost-of-living escalator for Fontana's 5,500 workers. Kaiser is not the only company benefiting from the USWA's current giveback

parity. The 8,000 workers at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel were forced by the union was built. Last fall Fraser & Co. signed a contract which gave Chrysler workers \$4,000 per man or 25 percent less than union members in General Motors and Ford.

Marx called trade unionism a kind of guerrilla warfare by the workers against the capitalists. But in periods of sharp economic crisis like the present, the usual reformist, trade-unionist policies obviously don't work. Today's conservative labor fakers are not even promising to better the workers' conditions. Quite the contrary! Their response to depression, to mass layoffs, to plant closings is exactly the same as the capitalists': the workers must cut their wages to secure higher profits. The only way the workers can break out of this "choice" between unemployment or wage slashing is with a class-struggle leadership that goes beyond business unionism to struggle against the capitalist system. ■

Ohio CP: No Program to Fight Plant Closings Strike for Jobs!

YOUNGSTOWN, 14 September—It was billed as a flashy demonstration of hundreds of steel and auto workers to demand "Save Jobs." But the Communist Party (CP)-supported rally held in deserted downtown Youngstown yesterday was a dismal flop, drawing some 100 unionists, campaigners for Republican "independent" John Anderson, assorted politicians and the like. CP supporters as much as admitted they have no program for workers here facing depression-level unemployment. A United Electrical Workers speaker announced the union is petitioning for "unlimited extension of unemployment benefits," a quite minimal demand, while the CP's election platform calls for jobless benefits at only 75 percent of the prevailing wage!

The Stalinists also brought a bosses' politician onto the labor platform—Democratic Party senator Howard Metzenbaum, who called to "bar Japanese imports from coming into this country until we can get the auto industry back on its

feet." Scandalously, while supporting Metzenbaum's toothless "plant closing legislation," not one of the CP supporters felt compelled to denounce this anti-Japanese protectionist tirade. (Then again, it was the CP who hailed Truman's atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a blow for democracy!)

So who could blame Youngstown steel workers for going fishing yesterday when all the CP had to offer was the same defeatist program sold to them by do-nothing local union bureaucrats who have refused to mobilize the union in a real fight for jobs? Union-conscious steel workers have repeatedly shown their willingness to fight against all odds for their jobs. Now it is literally a question of their daily bread. What is needed are sit-down strikes against layoffs, a national steel strike for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to save jobs, and a break from the Democratic Party of war and depression—for a workers party to fight for a workers government!

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Nuclear War Fever...

(continued from page 1)

"progressive feudalism" Federation and the "bureaucratic collectivist" Empire. But when Carter and Brzezinski brag in public about their schemes to "take out" the Soviet Politburo with "smart" bombs and "invisible" bombers, it is not sci-fi fantasy. The U.S. president is demanding, in the words of the *Time's* Lewis, "the choice of liquidating the enemy's leadership." How does Carter expect the Russians to react to this one? Has he never seen the *Godfather* movies? The choice posed in the midst of the first imperialist world war by German-Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg still stands:

"Friedrich Engels once said: 'Capitalist society faces a dilemma: either an advance to socialism or a reversion to barbarism'... This World War—that is a reversion to barbarism. The triumph of imperialism leads to the destruction of culture, sporadically during a modern war, and forever if the period of world wars which has just begun is allowed to take its course to its logical end."

—"The Crisis in German Social Democracy" (*The Junius Pamphlet*), 1916

Today a new imperialist global conflagration would have as its target the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. Thus the "Russian question" is directly posed: which side are you on. "Disarmament" schemes, as shown again by the experience of SALT, merely allow the capitalist merchants of death and imperialist warmongers breathing space to improve their armaments. The choice now is proletarian revolution or irradiated barbarism.

"Evolving" Toward World War III

U.S. Defense Secretary Brown quickly attempted to reassure the world that Presidential Directive (PD) 59 was really "defensive" and not so radically new: just an "evolutionary step" in nuclear war strategy as usual. U.S. war plans always included knocking out Soviet military and command targets, we are assured. Contrary to the illusions of liberal doves and starry-eyed reformists, despite all the talk of a "balance of fear," the Pentagon was always ready and willing to unleash an atomic holocaust. There is little reason to doubt Brown's assertion that PD 59 "takes the same essential strategic doctrine and restates it more clearly... in the light of current conditions and current capabilities." But there is even less reason to be reassured, for the "evolution" is clearly toward a nuclear Third World War.

The *New York Times* voiced the liberals' concern in a 21 August editorial on the "countervailing" strategy:

"The new policy carries other dangers. Mr. Brown considers it 'very likely' that limited nuclear strikes would get out of control and escalate into full-scale nuclear war. Moreover, Soviet leaders may conclude that the United States is seeking a first-strike capability to wipe out their forces by surprise. True, Mr. Brown denies that, but he also endorses the MX missile, which the Soviets might perceive to be a first-strike weapon."

Military sources admit that the policy "could not be carried out" without the Air Force's new mobile MX missile, 200 of which (with ten warheads apiece) are to be made invulnerable to attack through an elaborate 4,600-mile underground "racetrack" annoying the inhabitants of Nevada and Utah. The highly accurate warheads are judged capable of destroying the entire USSR force of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM), almost three-quarters of the Soviet nuclear potential. Meanwhile, over two-thirds of U.S. warheads, those launched from strategic bombers and nuclear-powered submarines, would be secure from attack. And as President Carter boasted in his January 1979 "State of the Union" speech,

"Just one of our relatively invulnerable

Poseidon submarines, comprising less than 2 percent of our total nuclear force, carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-size city in the Soviet Union."

The MX missile, which makes the U.S.' now-explicit "hard-target counterforce" strategy possible, was excluded from the current strategic arms limitation talks (SALT II) limits and went into production in 1979. It is estimated that its total cost would be over \$100 billion, making it the largest construction project in history. A leading bourgeois critic of the program, Herbert Scoville, has pointed out that the only rationale for such a huge missile is to carry more warheads, that the only conceivable target for the projected 2,000 warheads is the Soviet ICBM fleet (presently estimated at 1,400 missiles), and that "a silo-busting force is of value only for a 'first strike' since an attack in response would only hit empty silos." He also thinks it won't work, that it will in-



Famous super-secret invisible plane (courtesy of *Aviation Week*, 16 June).

duce the Soviet Union to build unverifiable missile systems and thereby greatly increase the risks of nuclear Armageddon.

Planning the "unthinkable" is nothing new for the U.S. imperialists. And they are prepared to go way beyond the planning boards. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed in an act of calculated savagery—calculated to keep the USSR out of the Pacific basin. It was not so much the last explosion of World War II as the first shot of the post-war Cold War/hot war against the Soviet Union. Capitalist class hostility toward the Russian degenerated workers state has been at the heart of U.S. nuclear policy ever since. And they were ready to push the button all along: Truman contemplated it in 1951 over Korea, Eisenhower's National Security Council discussed it in 1954 over Vietnam, and Kennedy threatened it over Cuba in 1962 (see box on facing page).

After the "golden years" of nuclear blackmail in the post-war "American century" (which actually lasted only twice as long, 25 years, as Hitler's "Thousand Year Reich"), the warhawks on the Potomac were forced to come to terms with the Russian Bomb. After Sputnik they launched a major nuclear armament drive which Kennedy justified by the claim of a bogus "missile gap." On the basis of clear U.S. atomic superiority, JFK put Khrushchev up against the wall in the Cuban missile crisis. But to assure nervous liberals, his university think-tank advisers devised a strategic policy known as MAD—Mutual Assured Destruction—which, as Flora Lewis noted, is the aptest acronym ever. MAD had a simple premise: if the U.S. bombed Russia's major cities, the Russians would do the same to the U.S. Thus the impulse to a first strike was supposedly checked, and it was fatuously argued nuclear war had become "unthinkable."

Liberal doves advertised this holocaustal scenario as a policy of peace. Atomic war by accident was impossible ("fail-safe"), they claimed, and it would take a madman ("Dr. Strangelove") to set it off. Yet it was

clear that in the war-simulation rooms of American imperialism the generals, braintrusts and presidents thought of little else than winning against the Soviets. The same Kennedy advisers who concocted MAD came up with "graduated escalation" to cover U.S. aggression in Indochina, and "flexible response" providing for NATO plans to use "tactical" nuclear weapons to offset superior Warsaw Pact conventional forces in Europe. If the U.S. nuclear arsenal came to be considered "political deadwood," as Kissinger put it later, it was not for qualms about being the first to unleash atomic annihilation but for a very different reason: relative nuclear parity with the USSR.

The Soviet Union had substantially caught up with the West in numbers of ICBMs while the United States was bogged down spending billions on rifles and helicopters for its Vietnam "quagmire." Ever since the North Vietnamese

drove the American army off the peninsula, the Pentagon has sought to recover from this humiliating rout by regaining global nuclear superiority over Russia. Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs of the "defense debate" at the beginning of the Nixon administration:

"Our capacity to maintain a rough strategic balance was not endangered—provided our technological superiority was fully exploited. We could deploy an ABM to protect our cities or our missile sites. We could also speed up preliminary work on a more advanced bomber (later known as the B-1), a new submarine and submarine-launched missile (the Trident), and a new ICBM (the MX). After 1978 we would thus be in a strong position, provided all the programs started in the early 1970s were maintained. We took all these steps, but each was attacked both in the Congress and in the media."

—*White House Years* (1979)

All of these programs aimed at securing first-strike capacity for the United States, the ability to destroy the Soviet nuclear arsenal so that imperialism could dictate its terms with the threat of annihilating Russia's peoples and industry. And this has been official policy of the U.S. government for more than a decade.

Already in 1974, U.S. war minister Schlesinger proposed to replace the MAD doctrine with a "counterforce" nuclear strategy. But in the post-Vietnam political climate of pervasive bourgeois defeatism, the Republican administration was unable to mobilize support even for a modest imperialist adventure in Angola, much less a massive arms drive. What is new and most dangerous now is that the U.S. bourgeoisie has reestablished a political base for aggressive militarism. This has been the constant goal of the Carter administration, as we have pointed out from the very beginning (see "'Human Rights' Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine," *WV* No. 154, 22 April 1977). While the rest of the left was calling on Carter to "live up to his words," we warned that this moral rearmer would soon be militarily rearming American imperialism for war against the USSR. Now the chauvinist furor over the

Teheran hostage seizure and U.S. threats over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan have created the Cold War climate for the biggest weapons build-up since 1945.

And in order to reestablish U.S. hegemony, Washington fully intends to use nuclear blackmail as an instrument of foreign policy. Following its defeat in Vietnam and given relative nuclear parity with the Soviet Union, the United States could no longer count on unconditional support from its capitalist "allies." Now, with the increasing rivalry of West Europe and Japan, it is clearly looking for an opportunity to flex some military muscles. Even before PD 59 was issued, Brzezinski announced in a *New York Times* (30 March) interview the "serious thought being given to our nuclear targeting plans, in the much higher emphasis being placed on command and control centers." He added, "All of these reviews are designed to enhance our ability to bargain in the context of a severe crisis..." And he promised "increasingly energetic efforts to revive the critically important role of American power in world affairs and make that power credible and if necessary to demonstrate through action that aggression does not pay."

It's a Class Bomb

It is the relative decline of U.S. imperialism that has made it so desperate to become "credible" again. And as Washington seeks to redress economic and political weakness by sharply escalating its military power, it plans to capitalize on American technological superiority. The \$50 billion annual weapons budget will concentrate on new tactical missiles based on the use of semiconductors (silicon chips which make it possible to give warheads a minicomputer "brain"). These "fire-and-forget" weapons increase the sensory capacities of missile guidance systems by thousands of times, and unlike laser-guided missiles the launching aircraft doesn't need to stick around exposed to retaliatory fire. "Our missiles will be not just smart but brilliant," boasts one of America's leading merchants of death. And the Pentagon planners are already drawing up scenarios for their push-button "science-intensive war." "Defense" Secretary Brown puts it simply: "Given our disadvantage in numbers, our technology is what will save us."

But while the General Wastemorelands and Jack D. Rippers prepare for sci-war and the Daddy Warbucks drum up publicity for their "brilliant" missiles, the imperialist war machine has feet of clay. The volunteer army is no more reliable than the disaffected U.S. conscript army which lost the Vietnam War. And while they're investing billions in Star Wars technology, the Pentagon needs military cadre to run the sophisticated equipment. This is an additional reason why the government is pushing for a draft right now in order to get petty-bourgeois students. But, of course, the equipment itself is unreliable. A military which botches a "hostage rescue" attack on Iran due to the loss of three helicopters had better not be too confident about its ability to carry off a first-strike or surgically limited nuclear war.

Curiously, the technocratic euphoria of the imperialist warmongers has a distorted reflection in the petty-bourgeois pessimism of radical disarmament circles. If Brown thinks "technology will save us," the no-nuke pacifists say "technology will kill us." Buck Rogers meets Jane Fonda. Both hide the fact that it is not military technique but class forces that determine the course of history. How soon they all forget Vietnam where the computer homms and laser beams burped and hummed and twinkled destruction, but American imperialism was defeated nonetheless. Brown's optimism aims at selling his monster arms hudget in preparation for war; the pacifists' pessimism is an excuse to duck the fundamental class questions

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posed by the threat of nuclear World War III, principally defense of the Soviet Union. Against the "pretense of disarmament" Leon Trotsky wrote in 1934 words that speak no less sharply to the technocratic disarmers of today:

"Disarmament is not a means against war, since, as the experience of Germany itself shows, episodic disarmament is only a stage on the road to new rearmament. The possibility of new and very rapid rearmament is inherent in modern industrial technique. 'General' disarmament, even if it could be realized, would only mean the strengthening of the military superiority of the more powerful industrial countries. 'Fifty percent disarmament' is the road not to complete disarmament but to 100 percent rearmament. To present disarmament as 'the only real means to prevent war' is to mislead the workers for the sake of a common front with petty-bourgeois pacifists."

—"War and the Fourth International"

Not in a generation has the threat of atomic holocaust entered so alarmingly upon the political stage. Particularly in Europe, the designated "theater" for the Pentagon's "nuclear event," there is being revived the "ban the bomb" politics of the early '60s. In Britain, E.P. Thompson has published an article, "Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilization," in the June-July issue of *New Left Review*, written as if he were the first man to look into the nuclear abyss and come back a pacifist. Behind Thompson's new-fangled jargon is the old pacifist saw that the technology of destruction is autonomous and the real enemy is the "hawks," both East and West, rather than the capitalist ruling classes. He concludes with a call for a broad coalition of the anti-Soviet "left" and right:

"Only an alliance which takes in churches, Eurocommunists, Labourists, East European dissidents (and not only 'dissidents'), Soviet citizens unmediated by party structures, trade unionists, ecologists—only this can possibly muster the force and the internationalist élan to throw the cruise missiles and the SS-20s back."

But the petty-bourgeois left doesn't need an E.P. Thompson to persuade it to fall in behind a social-patriotic pro-détente movement. At a recent demonstration called by the British Labour Party against the planned stationing of NATO cruise missiles in England, only

Will They or Won't They?

Would the people who run this country do it? After their monstrous devastation of Indochina, where more tons of explosives were rained on an area the size of New Mexico than on Europe in all of World War II, who can doubt the lengths to which imperialist terrorism will go? But the Vietnamese could hardly retaliate in kind. What about dropping The Bomb on the Russians, pushing the button that could send the world into a nuclear holocaust? Is it, as they claimed, "unthinkable"?

We shall let the capitalist rulers speak for themselves:

Exhibit 1: Recently President Harry Truman's private diary became available and it was revealed that during 1952 he "twice considered using the threat of nuclear war against China and the Soviet Union as a means of ending the stalemated Korean War and forcing Moscow to free Eastern European satellite countries" (*New York Times*, 3 August). His 27 January 1952 memorandum stated: "This means all-out war. It means that Moscow, St. Petersburg

[Leningrad], Mukden, Vladivostok, Peking, Shanghai, Port Arthur, Darien, Odessa, Stalingrad and every manufacturing plant in China and the Soviet Union will be eliminated," if the USSR and China did not get out of Korea within ten days. Remember, by this point the Soviet Union already had the bomb. And Truman had already dropped it twice before, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Exhibit 2: As the French colonialists were on the verge of being driven out of Indochina in 1954, possible use of nuclear weapons against Ho Chi Minh's liberation army was discussed at the highest levels of U.S. government. Richard Nixon reports: "The next morning [30 April 1954] I met with Eisenhower and General Albert Cutler, his Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. Cutler reported that the NSC planning board had been discussing the possibility of telling our allies that if we went into Indochina, we might use the atom bomb" (*RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*). A week later Dienbienphu fell.

Exhibit 3: The Cuban missile crisis, October 1962. JFK had launched a major arms drive to develop the ICBM; he had "faced down" Khrushchev over Berlin a year before. Eager to make up for the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs invasion, he now challenged Soviet delivery of missiles to Cuba for protection against new U.S. aggression. Khrushchev eventually withdrew the missiles when the U.S. "quarantined" Cuba with a naval blockade and threatened massive retaliation. But Robert Kennedy said later: "We all agreed in the end that if the Russians were ready to go to nuclear war over Cuba, they were ready to go to nuclear war, and that was that. So we might as well have the showdown then as six months later" (quoted in Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days*).

And today? In his 30 March *New York Times* interview, U.S. "national security adviser" Brzezinski says that it has to be made clear that "our decision makers will not shrink from using American power..." The ever-gullible détente liberals and reformists will claim, perhaps, that Carter's Dr. Strangelove means "using American power" metaphorically. But would you take odds on it?

refused to budge. 'Smash NATO!' the Spartacists yelled back. 'U.S. Hands off Iran! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!' ... 'One, two, three, four, we don't want Imperialist war. Five, six, seven, eight, defend the Soviet workers state!'

Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is the central question separating Trotskyists from every sort of radical pacifist, reformist and centrist in this period of renewed Cold War. The "Euromissiles" have a target, the USSR, whose collectivized property represents a historic gain for the entire proletariat despite subsequent degeneration of the revolution under Stalinism. There is and can be no middle road.

MAD Delusions of Disarmament

The Kremlin bureaucracy has become rather alarmed by the Carter administration's escalating nuclear

containing the statement, "The United States should plan to defeat the Soviet Union and to do so at a cost that would not prohibit the United States' recovery." Millshtein has some hard words to say to "some people in the United States" who hope that with the improved accuracy of new missiles they can shift the balance of nuclear forces in their favor: "The Soviet Union will never permit parity to be upset," he warns. But politically his alternative is détente and a return to the doctrine of "mutual assured destruction."

Millshtein denounces the "erosion of the concept that nuclear weapons simply cannot be used," and "abandonment of the old war-preventing concept." An article in the Moscow publication *New Times* (No. 35, August 1980), "Behind Directive No. 59," claims that under MAD, "it was admitted that since the potential enemies could totally destroy each other, further arms race was senseless and, consequently, had to be replaced by arms control talks." Nonsense, the American imperialists never admitted any such thing. As we pointed out in our two-part article, "That Was the Détente That Was" (*WV* Nos. 254 and 255, 18 April/2 May 1980), and as Kissinger openly admitted in an *Economist* (3 February 1979) interview, the United States merely used SALT I in order to prevent the USSR from adding missiles while the U.S. MIRVed its own force like crazy. Soviet illusions in détente are simply the expression of the Stalinist bureaucracy's pipedream of achieving "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. In fact, MAD and "counterforce" strategies are merely different tactical approaches in a general strategy whose goal is the destruction of the Soviet Union.

The same illusory argument for disarmament is also offered by the cringing reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The method to their MADness is obviously the liberal pacifist concept of "overkill." In one of his last polemics, late SWP leader Joseph Hansen threw the Trotskyist position of unconditional Soviet defensism to the imperialist wolves. Sounding like Norman Thomas, Hansen calls on the Soviet Union to stop "participating in this mindless race":

"But the fact is that each side possesses a stockpile much larger than needed to wipe out all human beings once.... 'Military defense' has obviously become meaningless...."

—*Militant*, 12 August 1977

So under the cover of the Kennedy liberal MAD, the SWP holds that

defense of the USSR is "meaningless." (The same identical argument, incidentally, is made by Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo, in his book *Eurocommunism and the State*, and innumerable other anti-Soviet renegades.) In the meantime, the U.S. is busy building the MX, deploying the cruise missile and Trident and arming for a "first strike."

Defense of the Soviet Union is dependent precisely upon keeping up in the "mindless race." If the U.S. can shoot 200 missiles out of 4,600 launch sites in the desert, then Moscow had better target all 4,600 ASAP. Far from being a meaningless game, the arms race is the most serious business on earth. Ultimately, defense of the Soviet bloc cannot be left to the Stalinists and their dangerous illusions of détente with rapacious imperialism, and still less to the pacifist SWP types. Only proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states, led by Leninist vanguard parties, can sweep aside the bureaucratic caste with its dangerous nationalism (witness China's open military alliance with U.S. imperialism against Russia) illusions in détente and stultifying mismanagement. Only workers democracy can fully mobilize the planned socialized economy and provide communist unity against imperialism.

In contrast to Hansen's call on the Kremlin to "seize the initiative on disarmament," American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote three decades ago:

"The ultimate aim [of American diplomacy] is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are aiming for. 'Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the 'necessity and desirability of peaceful coexistence' can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way. The only road to a stable and enduring peace for the people of the world is the hard road of struggle pointed out by Lenin."

—"The Road to Peace" (1951)

Or as Trotsky put it in the 1938 "Transitional Program," "The only disarmament which can avert or end war is the disarmament of the bourgeoisie by the workers." ■



Spartacist Britain

London June 1979—Spartacist League/Britain stands for Soviet defensism, denounces pro-NATO "pacifism."

the Spartacist League/Britain called for military defense of the USSR against imperialism. The London *Daily Mail* (23 June) reported that the Labourites were embarrassed by the active intervention of "scores of supporters of a Marxist group, the Spartacist League, [who] occupied a section of the column set aside for Labour moderates and

threats and recently had a leading military official, Lieutenant-General Mikhail Millshtein, grant a rare interview with the *New York Times* (25 August) to explain Soviet views. He points to an article in the recent issue of *Foreign Policy* by Colin Gray of the Hudson Institute, entitled "Nuclear Strategy: Victory is Possible" and

"Poland: A Workers Victory" hailed the liberal *Newsweek* (8 September). "Poland: A Victory for Workers Power" echoed the "socialist newsweekly," the *Militant* (12 September). Their coincidence was not accidental—in recent weeks there has been a remarkable consensus over Poland stretching from ultra-reactionaries such as Ronald Reagan and Germany's Franz Josef Strauss to the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats to would-be far-left "Trotskyists." Only the Kremlin-loyal Stalinists are left out, it seems. "Free trade unions," they all agree, are the next best thing to "democracy." Catholic unions, socialist unions? Workers democracy, bourgeois democracy? These questions the pseudo-leftists leave unasked as they chant "Polish, American workers—same struggle, same fight." Yet these questions must be answered by revolutionaries who seek to lead the upsurge in Poland in the direction of socialism and combat reactionaries who would exploit the justified grievances of the Polish masses to create a mass base for counterrevolution.

For Trotskyists who struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies based on our unconditional defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism, there can only be war to the death between the two programs of workers political revolution and social counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc. But if the capitalist media is gleeful at the evidence of church influence among the strikers, the bulk of the anti-Stalinist left does its best to ignore or minimize this dangerous sign. Such willful blindness can be lethal: ever since the days of the victorious Russian Revolution, the imperialists have sought to organize the restoration of capitalism under the star of "democracy" and the sign of the cross.

Events in Poland may reshape the political map of Europe and as such they are a litmus test for those who claim to speak in the interests of and lead the working class. In our last issue we wrote that the crisis in Poland was heading toward an explosion which could "bring either proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy or capitalist counterrevolution led by Pope Wojtyla's church." The Baltic strikers showed a powerful mobilization of the power of the working class, but was it a mobilization for working class power? And we warned:

"Insofar as the settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But only a blind man could fail to see the gross influence of the Catholic church and also pro-Western sentiments among the striking workers. If the settlement strengthens the working class organizationally, it also

Eurotrotskyists Whitewash Catholic Reaction Poland and the Left

strengthens the forces of reaction. Poland stands today on a razor's edge."
—"Polish Workers Move," *WV*
No. 263, 5 September 1980

But these considerations were totally alien to ostensible Trotskyists like the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the British International Marxist Group (IMG) and their co-thinkers in the United Secretariat (USec) who flatly deny that there is a danger of counterrevolution in Poland. In Iran these fakers told us that the mullahs were incidental to the spontaneous rising of the masses. Now they try to tell us that the Catholic church is peripheral to the Polish situation, too.

This is no question of splitting hairs. Those who fall into the procession behind the president's pope John Paul Wojtyla and cheer on the anti-Marxist Polish dissidents, whose main goal is to spur the Catholic church into leading a Polish nationalist revolt, in practice have thrown overboard the Trotskyist program for the deformed and degenerated workers states. The policy of these renegades is derived not from the International Left Opposition of the 1930s but from the revisionist tendency led Max Shachtman, which on the eve of World War II abandoned the Fourth International, objecting to Trotsky's

unflinching defense of the USSR against imperialism. Whether they called the Soviet state "bureaucratic collectivist," "state capitalist" or even (for a time) formally maintained a Trotskyist position, the Shachtmanites deny that the need to defend revolutionary gains—in spite of bureaucratic deformations—is posed.

Poland throws into bold relief the advanced social-democratization of the ostensible Trotskyist groups. For the last five years as the Trotskyoid tail on the Eurocommunist dog, they cheered as the Carrillos and Berlinguers crossed out "Leninism," the "d of the p" and other "totalitarian" points from their program. They clapped their hands for every Russian dissident from Solzhenitsyn who wanted to bring back the tsar, to Shcharansky who passed Soviet defense secrets to the U.S., to Sakharov who wanted to starve the Russian people through an imperialist boycott of wheat. In Afghanistan, whether or not they joined the imperialist chorus against Soviet "aggression," they all agreed that defense of the USSR was "not the issue." Now Poland brings it all home.

It is no longer a matter of chasing the mullahs in faraway places, but of enlist-

ing in the pope's divisions next door. Already they are publishing the addresses and urging contributions to the Polish dissidents. In the 1960s their predecessors carried the bags filled with literature and arms for the Algerian nationalists struggling against French colonialism, the subject of a recent book entitled *Les Porteurs de Valises*. But those who would call themselves Trotskyists today had better look in their suitcases to see that they are not in reality carrying counterrevolutionary propaganda for Zbigniew Brzezinski, John Paul Wojtyla and their imperialist masters.

SWP: Same Struggle, Same Fight?

For the SWP, the largest self-proclaimed Trotskyist organization in the United States, the strikes in Poland are just another trade-union struggle. "Polish Workers Fight Price Hikes, Demand Union Rights," said the lead article in the 29 August *Militant*. The next week was an editorial headlined, "Poland: Example for U.S. Workers." Then it was "Polish Workers Win Union Rights." And the 19 September *Militant* front-page headline proclaimed, "Polish Victory Shows How Workers Can Fight Back Here." The article goes on:

"Many of the Polish strikers' demands are sorely needed in this country, Pulley pointed out; automatic increase in wages whenever prices go up; a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; more child-care centers; greater safety on the job, including an end to inhumane shift-work schedules."

As in the early days of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, these reformists harp on the hypocrisy of the U.S. government. The same *Militant* 19 September article asks, "How about unions free of government interference? Carter says he likes to see it in Poland. Why not here?" But what Carter really wants in Poland is counterrevolution under the catchwords of "free unions" and "democracy." Strangely enough, these are the main slogans of the SWP as well. The *Militant* quotes SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley: "'Democracy is a revolutionary idea,' the socialist candidate declared. 'There's lots of talk about it in the United States, but little implementation.' So by implication all you need, in Poland and



Baltic coast general strike halts clerical-nationalist counterrevolution.



Strikers kneel before Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church.

Gamma



thrown Poland into deep crisis, posing either proletarian political revolution or
ution.

Altan/Sygma

at home, is more consistent democracy and more consistent liberals.

The program of counterrevolution under the slogan of supposedly "classless" democracy has been the hallmark of social democrats since the time of Karl Kautsky. Then it was the cause of "democratic Georgia," the social-democratic-ruled Caucasian republic that was backed by the admirals and generals of Lloyd George's Britain against the Bolsheviks. In 1940 it was Baron von Mannerheim's "poor little Finland" loosely tied to the "democratic" imperialist powers. And of course now it is "fiercely independent Afghanistan" whose "freedom fighters" were armed by the CIA. We refer our readers

to Lenin's pamphlet "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," written over six decades ago, which demolished this liberal nonsense.

The SWP straight-out denies the threat of counterrevolution in Poland:

"The workers and the dissidents allied with them have denied that they are antisocialist. None of the strikers are demanding a return of the capitalist class that ruled Poland until the late 1940s."

—*Militant*, 5 September

Ignoring strike leader Lech Walesa's private meetings with Catholic Primate Wyszynski, his battery of Catholic liberal advisers, his flaunting of Catholic and Polish nationalist symbols, the SWP quotes Walesa's call for the

workers to be "masters of the factories." Hell, a *New York Times* (24 August) editorial hailed the formation of the Polish workers' strike committees as precursors of "spontaneous soviets [which] are precious emblems of what is best in the revolutionary tradition"! Does this mean the *New York Times* is not anti-socialist? There are words; then there is reality.

SWP: Democratic Rights for Counterrevolution?

For the SWP the reimposition of the veil in Iran was a "symbol of resistance" against imperialism. What does that make the pictures of Pope John Wojtyla on the Lenin Shipyard gates—symbols of the struggle for "human rights"? The *Militant's* first response to the Polish strikes (29 August) was a front-page article that doesn't even mention the Catholic church. But pretty soon the church's role became so obvious even the SWP couldn't ignore it, what with mass confessions in the shipyards. So their next answer was to claim that the church and the Stalinist bureaucracy work hand in hand. A column by Harry Ring in the 5 September *Militant* argues, "But when the chips are down the Pope and his top brass within Poland line up with the bureaucrats against the workers."

Ring refers back to the pope's visit to Poland last year about which a *Militant* editorial commented that the bureaucracy "need[s] the Polish Catholic Church" to help keep the workers down. As we said at the time, "Gierek needs this pope like a hole in the head." Our article continued:

"The Stalinists are unable to wipe out the church's influence and forced to concede to it, but they surely don't like it very much. Why does the SWP insist on their identity? Above all, it seeks to deny that there can be any conflict between imperialism and the Stalinist regimes of the deformed workers states, in order to avoid the basic Trotskyist duty of defending these states against American imperialism's growing onslaught. Particularly, the SWP denies that the U.S. 'human rights' offensive, of which the pope is an integral part, has any connection with counterrevolutionary imperialist designs because it wants to act as a left pressure group on Carter,

posing as the most 'consistent' defender of (supposedly classless) democracy in the Sino-Soviet states."

—"Pilgrimage for Anti-Communism," *WV* No. 234, 22 June 1979

With all their enthusiasm for the strikers, the SWP seems to have had a little trouble with their demand for air time for the Catholic church. The 19 September *Militant* "Questions and Answers" column begins:

"What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?"

"We support this demand."

At the SWP forum in New York City 30 August, *Militant* journalist Fred Feldman went further. Not only was privileged air time for the church "progressive," Feldman said, he'd even like to see a "daily Wyszynski Hour on television"! This is no democratic demand at all, but a call for building up the authority of a necessarily counterrevolutionary institution, the Roman Catholic church. How's about calling instead for TV time for Polish Leninist revolutionaries to attack pro-imperialist "human rights" dissidents and advocate proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy?

SWP vs. SWP

To back up its social-democratic program for Poland, the SWP pretends as if the church is just another misleader of the working class that will be discredited by enabling the workers to go through their own experience. "Only experience with the role of the church hierarchy in the class struggle will convince the Polish working masses of its fundamentally reactionary anti-working-class outlook," the SWP writes. Well, it's probably true that the experience of a bloody counterrevolution which drowns the Polish workers in blood would convince the Polish masses not to place their trust in the church. With the same sort of reasoning, the SWP defends "free speech" for fascists. But it is the antithesis of a revolutionary program to advocate clerical counterrevolution or fascist

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Poland Draws RWG Toward "Third Camp" Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit

The Polish workers strikes have become a focal point for anti-Sovietism in this country. Ronald Reagan embraced strike leader Lech Walesa's father at a Jersey City "ethnic picnic" as Russia-hating Eastern European reactionaries waved the flags of their "captive nations." The aging Cold Warriors in the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, who have never seriously tried to organize the open-shop American South, offered to finance what they hope will be Catholic, anti-Communist "free trade unions" in Poland. And on the left-wing fringe of this anti-Soviet mobilization, a variety of left-social-democratic sectlets also rushed to

proclaim the strikes a challenge to "Russian imperialism" in Eastern Europe.

On September 6 in Detroit three of these groups, all tracing their political ancestry to Max Shachtman's 1940 split from the Trotskyist movement over his refusal to defend the USSR from imperialist attack, staged a panel discussion of "Why Socialists Support the Polish Workers." Under that banner the Workers Power group (WP), International Socialist Organization (ISO) and Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) staged a typically anti-Soviet, social-democratic forum. What was interesting about this Shachtmanite confab, how-

ever, was that a fourth organization, the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), which claims to defend the Soviet Union against the capitalist restorationists, spoke from the platform and made common cause with the three denizens of the "Third Camp" swamp.

The RWG is a little-known cult/sect with no public press, a history of masquerading behind an array of front groups with ever-changing names and a habit of crossing picket lines (see "What is the Revolutionary Workers Group?" *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). Significantly, the RWGers did not have one piece of literature on the Polish events. In fact their first statement on Poland was participating in this anti-Soviet, social-democratic forum. The RWGers portray themselves as "orthodox" Trotskyists. But when the September 6 meeting was polarized by the intervention of the Spartacist League (SL), insisting on the primacy of Soviet defensism as a touchstone of genuine Trotskyism, these scabby centrists revealed that their real political affinity is for the Shachtmanite Russia-haters.

Just before RWG guru Peter Sollenberger spoke, Brent Davis of the RSL spelled out in detail the counterrevolutionary conclusions of the Shachtmanites' "Third Camp" line. The Polish workers, Davis said, must smash "Russian imperialist domination" and "the alliance of U.S. and Russian imperialism that is sucking Poland dry." He

scorned the collectivized industry, state economic planning and integration, however limited, of the economies of the East European deformed workers states with that of the USSR. All of these historic gains for the East European workers and peasants mean nothing to the RSL's Davis, who shrilly called for "the mobilization of armed struggle on the part of the Polish workers and soldiers to inflict serious military damage on the Russian army."

Authentic Trotskyists, who advocate proletarian political revolution in the USSR and East bloc states in order to defend and extend the gains of the social revolutions in those countries, would immediately have condemned Davis' program as a left-wing cover for capitalist restoration. When Max Shachtman similarly declared his indifference to whether the Red Army or Hitler's Wehrmacht occupied the Kremlin, the Trotskyists attacked him as a traitor to the world revolution. But Sollenberger was too busy playing political footsie with the Shachtmanites. Although he spoke right after RSLer Davis' rabid denunciation of "Russian imperialism," Sollenberger did not speak to this question at all, much less fight for the Trotskyist program of defending the Soviet Union against capitalist-imperialism. He ducked the key issue of military defense of the USSR with an ever-so-polite, abstract,

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Poland...

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holocaust for their "educational" value!

Perhaps the most powerful condemnation of the SWP comes from the SWP itself, in the late '50s when it was still a revolutionary organization. Trotskyists resolutely supported the 1956 Hungarian uprising against Stalinist oppression as the beginning of the proletarian political revolution. Nevertheless, it warned about the dangers of counter-revolution. In 1959 the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance, distributed a pamphlet by Shane Mage (who was later a founder of the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, precursor of the Spartacist tendency) entitled "The Hungarian Revolution." The first part of the pamphlet is a reprint of a document by Mage written for a left faction in the Shachtmanite Young Socialist League (YSL), which had split and joined the SWP as Shachtman & Co. were liquidating into the State Department social democracy. Polemizing against the "purely democratic" program of the YSL majority on the 1956 events in East Europe, Mage wrote:

"The authors of the draft have made the most stupid omission possible in a resolution on Poland and Hungary: there is no mention whatever of the Catholic Church, either as a religious institution or as a social force!"

"Yet in both Poland and Hungary the Church is the one institution to emerge full blown from the Stalinist regime, with a highly organized and stable apparatus, a long tradition of continuity, and a high degree of popular prestige...."

"What role does the Church desire to play in these revolutions? The draft Resolution states that in Poland and Hungary 'forces which advocate a capitalist restoration... were extremely small and carried no weight.' It is true that neither in Poland nor in Hungary did the Church present an openly capitalist program. But it is not necessary for it to do so. The Catholic Church, by its very nature as an international body completely controlled from the Vatican, plays a certain role in world politics—the role of an important ally of U.S. imperialism and of capitalist reaction in all countries. If it felt free to do so, what reason is there to think that the Church headed by a Mindszenty would act differently than

does the Church in Italy, Spain, or Austria?"

Today the church is a far more active force in Polish society than in either Poland or Hungary of 1956; for the SWP to hold its position today is even a more consciously anti-Marxist policy than it was for the Shachtmanites at that time. Today, the SWP has come to occupy the political space of the YSL and YPSL social democrats, not only in its propaganda but in its reformist role in the antiwar movement and elsewhere.

Their "21 Demands" and Ours

In Europe the capitulation of ostensible Trotskyists to imperialist "human rights" propaganda was not always so direct as in the U.S. For many years the followers of Michel Pablo and his successors (Ernest Mandel & Co.), the leaders of the United Secretariat, were deeply buried in the Stalinist parties; more recently they've tailed after left-talking social democrats. But the deep-going events in Poland have forced them to take a position on the most visceral right-wing anti-Sovietism...and "define themselves" they did. When Pinochet-lover Franz Josef Strauss declared "the 16 demands of the strikers are justified and taken for granted in our democratic conditions," the German section of the USec, the GIM, replied "Right: these demands are justified," and only objected that they weren't taken for granted under capitalism.

The GIM went even further, giving the strikers' demands their "full support" and declaring that they constitute the "decisive component for a transitional program for Poland today" (*Was Tun*, 30 August)! A leader of the French USec section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) made the same claim even more emphatically: "Taken together the 21 points are already the first actualization of the program of political revolution for the Poland of 1980" (*Rouge*, 28 August). LCR and GIM militants who have read the "21 points" will be astonished to learn that broadcasting Sunday mass on state television is part of the program of political revolution!!

In contrast, authentic Trotskyists seek to crystallize a revolutionary left wing among the Polish workers by raising within the new workers organi-

fight, which was that Shachtman hadn't gone over on the Russian question all the way yet. He simply provided cover for the passage from Trotskyism to State Department socialism.

"So, the RSL, the ISO and Workers Power, although they tried to avoid it in their speeches, have an open position of supporting Carter's 'human rights' campaign in Afghanistan. There was a civil war in Afghanistan—which side are you on? Are you on the side of the Red Army, which in contrast to many other places, like Ethiopia, where it sided with reaction, is intervening on the side of social progress? Or are you on the side of the mullahs, landlords and bankers? That's the side these people are on!"

In the discussion which followed the forum an RSL member confirmed that his group would support Catholic-dominated unions, state-supplied media access for the church's counterrevolutionary propaganda and would even have stood with the Pilsudski-led Polish army against the Red Army before World War II. RWG honcho Sollenberger, who was standing around listening to this anti-Communist garbage, just smiled and walked off.

Has the RWG found its niche, as the tame "defensists" in the Shachtmanites' "Third Camp" swamp? Maybe so, maybe no. The anti-Spartacist cliquists of the RWG used the forum provided by the Shachtmanite social democrats to attack the Trotskyism of the SL. Yet a few days later, when the Spartacus Youth League gave a forum on Poland at their home turf of Ann Arbor, the RWG lacked the political courage even to show up! Above all they are political cowards. ■

RWG...

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academic critique of the theory of state capitalism.

Instead Sollenberger concentrated his polemical fire on the SL, not the Third Campers, attempted to smear the real Trotskyists as apologists for the Polish bureaucrats and tried to create an amalgam between the SL and the pro-Stalinist Marcyites of the Workers World Party. The RWG's abandonment of the Trotskyist position on the "Russian question" as applied to Poland was so obvious that the RSL's Davis observed in his summary that "There's one basic division in the room, politically, that puts everybody on one side and the Spartacist League standing on its head on the other." (Naturally those who think that capitalism is in full bloom in Moscow have a little trouble figuring out which end is up.) Davis was sharp enough to point out that the RWG "stands in the middle and doesn't really know where it stands, despite its sympathies and desire to make a revolution [i.e., a social revolution] in Poland."

The same observation had been made earlier by an SL spokesman in the discussion period, albeit from the other side of the fence.

"There are really only two sides in this debate: one is State Department 'socialism' and the other is the Trotskyism of the Spartacist League. The position of the RWG has been simply to run back and forth between the two and obfuscate the questions. Their role is basically the role played by Shachtman in the '39

New York Times for Soviets?

Fake-Trotskyists tailing social democracy have uncritically enthused over the Polish strikers, ignoring, denying or dismissing the considerable influence of the Catholic church and of nationalistic, pro-Western sentiments among them. But the imperialist bourgeoisie is very much aware that politically contradictory mass protests against Stalinist rule in East Europe can be subordinated to the forces of capitalist restorationism. And on those rare occasions when the bourgeoisie can use the forms of proletarian organization for counterrevolutionary ends, they are quite willing to voice vague rhetoric of "workers power." In the latter stages of the Russian civil war, for example, the liberal-monarchist Cadet Party launched the slogan of "soviets without communists."

Now in an extraordinary editorial entitled, "What 'Soviet' Means in Poland," so has the *New York Times* (24 August), the central organ of the American ruling class. It begins by paralleling the *Communist Manifesto*: "There is a specter haunting the Soviet Union, and it is the ghost of genuine revolution by the workers." It goes on to hail the revolutionary traditions originating with the Paris Commune:

"The Polish workers' councils have other antecedents. Recurrently, from the days of the Paris Commune in 1871 to the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, workers have sought social regeneration through committees that owed little to café intellectuals. As Hannah Arendt contended in her essay on revolutions, these spontaneous soviets are precious emblems of what is best in the revolutionary tradition."

The *New York Times'* present enthusiasm for soviets in Poland is more than just rhetoric. The more sophisticated leaders of the bourgeoisie know that there can be soviets under reactionary as well as revolutionary leadership. They know, for example, that the Social-Democratic-led soviets in Germany in 1918 were a bastion against Bolshevism and a force for the restabilization of capitalism. (In fact these very same Social Democrats were responsible for the murder of the Communist Luxemburg—who is also praised, along with the fascist dictator Pilsudski, in this amazing editorial.)

That is why the *Times* is for anti-communist soviets in Poland. The key to proletarian political revolution in East Europe is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist party. We can assure our readers that there will never be a *New York Times* editorial in favor of that!

zations a series of demands including: for independent trade unions based on a program of defending socialist property; for the strict separation of church and state, fight clerical-nationalist reaction; for the collectivization of agriculture; workers control of production; break the imperialist economic stranglehold—cancel the foreign debt; for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism; for the revolutionary unity of Polish and Russian workers. In this way we seek to drive a wedge between the reactionary Catholic forces and pro-imperialist dissident groupings, winning pro-socialist workers to the program for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for a government based on workers councils.

This is the program put forward by the international Spartacist tendency, while USec Pabloists join Pinochet-friend Franz Josef Strauss, McCarthyite witchhunter Ronald Reagan and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy (which supported the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam) in uncritically supporting the strikers' "21 demands." We stand on a rather different set of "21 demands," the Conditions for Admittance to the Communist International as set forth by the Comintern's Second Congress in 1920—including calling for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, support for the dictatorship of the proletari-

at and unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against counterrevolution! Every one of the sections of the USec would fail these 21 conditions of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International!

Eurotrotskyists and the Church

On the role of the Catholic church, the British section of the USec, the International Marxist Group (IMG) commented laconically, "Many workers are of course Catholic." Oh yes, we almost forgot. "But," they go on, "most people are scandalised at any suggestion that the church should play a directly political role" (*Socialist Challenge*, 11 September). Would they like to tell us that Wyszynski's reception of strike leader Walesa in Warsaw following the settlement was "not directly political"? But for the French LCR, there was none of this ambiguity. *Rouge's* eyewitness reporter reports: "The support of the church and the pope's letter are highly appreciated. They are interpreted as unconditional support for the strike." He also quotes without comment a "militant" according to whom "God helped the strikers" and that they were also protected by the Virgin of Jasna Gora (*Rouge*, 5 September). Perhaps the protection of the Virgin is also a "part of the transitional program for Poland" today.

And what of the threat of

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Spartacist League Central Committee
Editor, *Spartacist*

Cambridge

Thursday, September 25, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House, Parlor Room
Harvard University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Boston

Friday, September 26, 12:00 noon
315 George Sherman Union
Boston University
For information call: (617) 492-3928

Berkeley

Saturday, October 4, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(415) 835-1535

San Francisco

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
55 Laguna, Room 202
UC Extension
For information call: (415) 863-6963

Los Angeles

Sunday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.
For location and information call:
(213) 662-1564

Speaker to be announced

Chicago

Friday, October 3, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
(Michigan Avenue & Balbo)
For information call: (312) 427-0003

counterrevolution? IMG's *Socialist Challenge* (28 August) dismisses this out of hand. It states categorically, "The strikers offer no prospect for a return to capitalism in Poland." Through the attempts of the Polish dissidents to woo the church hierarchy in their favor, their calls for Finlandization, the USec pseudo-Trotskyists will find themselves hand in hand with the class enemies. Thus earlier this year the French LCR wrote, "So when the Polish oppositionists push the slogan, 'Down with the government,' we support them even if they are looking for a return to a private economy, because a mass movement capable of bringing about this goal [toppling the government] will never allow the factories to be returned to their former bosses" (*Rouge*, 1 February 1980). Amazing! And all that in the name of the "dynamic"!

And what about the USec's main competitor, the "Parity Committee"? Its main European component, the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert openly courts pro-capitalist-restorationist elements in Poland. It supports a Polish organization, Szerszen ("The Gadfly"), whose leader is Edmund Baluka, a former leader of the strike committee at the Warski docks in Szczecin during the 1971 strikes. Baluka's newspaper calls for a "democratic parliament" and a "broad movement of diverse socialist organizations whose goal is democracy and independence for Poland" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 31 May 1980). This sounds like Kronstadt 1921, with its pseudo-democratic call for "free soviets" and "free elections"—free from Communists, that is. In reality it is a call for counterrevolution. But for the social-democratic OCI, which hailed Soares' CIA-financed counterrevolu-



Strike leader Lech Walesa bows his head before cardinal Wyszyński.

reactionaries who shoot schoolteachers and imprison women behind veils) is "reactionary." And in Poland not only are they giving direct material support to the pope's dissidents, but there are domestic repercussions as well. As over Afghanistan, there's practically no difference between the reaction to the Polish strikes by the Pabloists and various "state capitalist" groupings. In the U.S., the SWP has already fused with the non-Soviet-defensist Landau grouping (in 1977) and are now ogling another Shachtmanite splinter group, the ISO.

In England the IMG has been discussing the conditions for liquidation into the much-larger "state capitalist" SWP of Tony Cliff. The initial response on Afghanistan by both groups was "Soviet Troops Out." And while they drew out parallels over Afghanistan,

in Britain the Workers Power (WP) grouping has lately been on a leftward course. WP, whose origins are in the Cliffite SWP, formally abandoned its "state cap" analysis of the Soviet-bloc states over Afghanistan. But while adopting some general positions of orthodox Trotskyism they have flinched when it comes to hard issues of concrete policy where the differences between Bolshevism and centrist confusionism are concretely posed. Thus, while recognizing that the USSR is a degenerated workers state, Workers Power denies any progressive content to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. While recognizing, unlike the rest of the left, the reactionary character of the mullah-led movement in Iran, Workers Power nevertheless could not break with the "mass movement" led by the clerical/reactionary Khomeini.

On Poland *Workers Power* (September 1980) notes: "The poison of the Catholic church hopes to use the struggles and sacrifices of the Polish workers to increase its bargaining position within society." But what is the conclusion drawn from this? Nowhere do they warn that the international organization led by the Vatican represents a counterrevolutionary threat. On the contrary, they write:

"It [the church] is not interested in breaking the political stranglehold of the Stalinists at present, only in proving its indispensability as a force for conservatism and stability in exchange for a greater licence to peddle their obscurantist and reactionary message. This they can do better as props for Gierk than alongside victorious striking workers set on destroying all privilege and inequality."

Only, that is, until it sees a chance that counterrevolution might succeed. The idea that the church (and Western bankers) are four-square behind the Soviet-bloc bureaucracy is a "state cap" myth. A temporary coincidence of interests, perhaps, but in spite of the Stalinists' treachery there is the "little matter" of the class line which separates them from the capitalist ideologues and businessmen. Whoever fails to see this

cannot possibly present a revolutionary program for the Polish workers.

As for the strike leadership, *Workers Power* declares the Interfactory Strike Committee, the MKS, as "in embryo a workers council, a Soviet." So what? The *New York Times* says the same thing (see page 8). Elsewhere in the same article, it indicts the post-war overturn of capitalism in Poland carried out by the Soviet army because "that transformation ran counter to the immediate pattern and rhythms of the class struggle, and served to isolate and demobilise the most class conscious sections of Poland's working class." What fatuous garbage! The "rhythm" of the class struggle in Poland in 1944-45 was measured by the beat of Red Army heavy artillery pounding away at the Germans. What workers? It was hard enough to find a house standing in Poland at that time. So the Soviets won, and social transformation was the outcome. The bottom line is: which side are you on? That is where the open or disguised "Third Campers" are caught out. If militants of Workers Power wish to continue their leftward motion to embrace authentic Trotskyism, they cannot wish away these questions.

Over the past couple of years, a series of key questions have tested the political capacity of various groups claiming to stand for Marxism and Leninism. When China invaded Vietnam and the USec called for an even-handed policy, we were unique in pointing to U.S. complicity as part of a developing anti-Soviet Washington/Peking axis and demanded "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism." At the time of the overthrow of the bloody shah, when millions were chanting "Long live Khomeini," we alone warned there must be no support to the clerical/reactionary mullahs. Our slogan "Down With the Shah, Down With the Mullahs—For Workers Revolution in Iran" was angular and did not gain us popularity at the time. But it has now, tragically, been proved tenfold.

As we wrote in the document of the first delegated conference of the international Spartacist tendency, "The Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution will have the same cutting edge as our opposition to the popular front in West Europe and Chile had in the previous period" (*Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). Events soon confirmed our analysis. For in the face of Carter's Cold War propaganda about "Afghan self-determination," when most of the left condemned Soviet intervention, we raised the slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

And now on Poland, where everyone from ultra-reactionaries to pseudo-Trotskyists has unconditionally hailed the strikers, we insist there are the possibilities both of proletarian political revolution and capitalist restoration. It could go either way—it is the job of Trotskyists to see that it turns out to be the former and not the latter. ■

Marx vs. The Militant

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power', by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles."

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871)

"What do Marxists think about the demand made by the strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?"

"We support this demand. Not only because Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it. The demand was also justified as a political move to broaden support for the workers' struggle."

—*Militant*, 19 September 1980

tionary movement in Portugal in 1975, this is no problem. The conference of Baluka's Szerszen in December 1978 was attended by the president of the Polish Peasants Party of pre-war (Pilsudskiite) Poland!

The "Eurotrotskyist" accolades for the pro-Western Soviet bloc dissidents is a reflection of the general rightward drift of the European labor movement over the past decade, in particular the phenomenon known as "Eurocommunism." Arising in the context of Soviet-U.S. détente, Eurocommunism represented the attempts of Communist party leaders to prove to their "own" bourgeoisies and to Washington they could be trusted with ministerial portfolios—through their much-touted independence from Moscow, their shedding of even the pretenses of Marxist/Leninist phraseology, and 100 percent support to East European "dissidents." So today Eurocommunists and Eurotrotskyists join Carter, Brzezinski and Pope Wojtyla in campaigning for "human rights" and "democracy" in the Soviet bloc.

When the first shots in the new Cold War were fired over Afghanistan, the USec, as usual, was all over the map. But now they all agree that defense of the USSR is irrelevant and that the Russian intervention (against Islamic

Poland could be the place where they get down to talking business. Already they have a joint operation going on in the publication *Labour Focus in Eastern Europe*. *Labour Focus* is so anti-Soviet that it printed without criticism calls for boycotting the Moscow Olympics, a fact which provoked the resignation of Tamara Deutscher. Where *Labour Focus* differs with the social-democratic KOR dissident group in Poland, it is only to endorse the more "militant" Pilsudskiite, anti-Semitic, Catholic nationalist PLN (see "All the Pope's Dissidents," *WP* No. 263, 5 September).

In Iran, the leaders of the USec demonstrated their devotion to the imam Khomeini by chanting "Allah Akbar" (God is Great) and endorsing reimposition of the veil. (Not long after the "anti-imperialist" ayatollah showed his gratitude by arresting their Iranian comrades.) Those USec militants who don't want to end up singing "God Who Protects Poland" in the cause of Jimmy Carter's human rights had better wake up soon! Who knows what Pope Wojtyla has in store for them?

Whither Workers Power?

In contrast to the rightward motion of most of the ostensible Trotskyist outfits,

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Poland 1956, Poland 1980

We reprint below excerpts from a speech given by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at a forum in New York City on 5 September.

Poland is unique in the history of what we call the degenerated and deformed workers states. That is, on the one hand you have a highly combative working class with a history of struggle for independent organizations, of struggle against the bureaucracy, for independent organizations going back now approximately 25 years [to] the mid-'50s. On the other hand, it's the only country in East Europe where you actually have what amounts to a counterrevolutionary institution, having some of the characteristics of a political party, in the Catholic church.

One way of looking at Poland is that in Hungary in 1956, and then again in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the whole dynamic of the situation was toward a proletarian political revolution, whatever its ultimate outcome. Or as in Afghanistan you have a situation where the Soviet Army is playing a progressive role in suppressing a clerical-reactionary movement, this time of an Islamic nature. Poland stands somewhere between the two of them. It can either go the way of Hungary in '56 or it could go the way of Afghanistan. (Although it's a deformed workers state and Afghanistan is not, but nonetheless the analogy holds as far as it goes.)

Now, of the various East European countries, Poland was the one which suffered least from Stalin's terror in the late '40s and early '50s. And that had its good side and its bad side. Its good side is that a great many Communist workers, honest Communist workers and cadre, were not killed. Its bad side is

that a lot of reactionary priests and noblemen were also not killed [laughter]. And in Poland, like a number of East European countries, there was a severe crisis, so-called crisis of de-Stalinization.

Now what was de-Stalinization? In the first place it was an attempt to end the tyranny of the secret police within the bureaucracy itself, to end the kind of irrational state terror among the bureaucrats themselves. The first act of de-Stalinization shortly after Stalin died was that the secret police chief in Russia, a chap known as Lavrenti Beria, was invited for tea in the Kremlin with other members of the Politburo. He was informed that these days it was not proper etiquette to carry guns around. And when he walked in for tea, while he was drinking or before he got to, two Russian generals blew his brains out. That was de-Stalinization.

But of course, once you take away Stalin and the secret police, then you have differences within the bureaucracy, differences on economic policy, differences on policy toward dissident intellectuals, differences on peasant policy, you have all kinds of differences. It's not so easy to resolve them. When you have Stalin and Beria it's easy to resolve them: you just shoot someone. So you have divisions within the bureaucracy which were particularly severe in East Europe where many of the elements of the bureaucracy had been persecuted by Stalin's immediate followers. In '53, '54, '55, sections [of the bureaucracy] appealed to the masses. They promised socialist legality. They promised higher living standards. And you had a period in many of these countries, including Poland, of a kind of rising line of social struggle, both among the intelligentsia and the workers.

In Poland this culminated in the so-

called Poznan uprising, where a large number of workers among the big factories were demonstrating for higher wages and lower prices. The militia either refused to or weren't able to disperse them and they attacked the seats of government power. They attacked the prison, they attacked the radio station. The army moved in and a lot of them were killed. And the regime's initial response was to cry, "imperialist provocateurs!" But everybody knew that was a lie. So under the conditions of general unrest, the country was brought almost near to some kind of revolutionary upheaval, which in fact occurred a few months later in Hungary.

It was avoided in Poland by a change of government which [brought in] Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been a leader of the Polish party in the underground and was purged by Stalin in 1948 as a Titoist, as a national-liberal. But, as I said, in Poland the terror was not as severe, and instead of being killed like his opposite numbers in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, he was merely placed under house arrest. And one has to remember that at this time the majority of the Polish workers were not anti-Communist. What they wanted, what they strived for, was to replace what was in their eyes a bad Communist government with a good Communist government. They had the illusion that Gomulka was that. He was not responsible for most of the crimes and he talked a pretty good line. So in this situation of mounting revolutionary unrest, they brought Gomulka to power and he promised great things.

I'll read a quote because it's important to get a sense of what the Polish workers had been hearing, the kinds of promises they've been hearing for decades. This is Gomulka in '56:

"Only by marching along the path of democratization and eradicating all the evil from the past period can we succeed in building the best model of socialism. A decisive part on that road must be played by widening the workers democracy, by increasing direct participation of the workers in the management of enterprises, by increasing the part played by the working masses in governing all sectors of the country's life."

Now what's significant is not that Gomulka said it but that the workers believed it. And moreover the workers were very conscious that workers democracy was not bourgeois parliamentarianism. So that the Communist Party cell in what was then sort of the vanguard factory of the workers, the Zeran auto factory, said: anybody who thinks that this democratization is the first step toward bourgeois democracy is going to have to contend with us.

Now, the Russian leadership still believed that Gomulka was perhaps the Polish Tito. So they seriously considered military intervention to oust Gomulka from being reinstated. But unlike Dubcek [in Czechoslovakia], Gomulka was a pretty tough cookie. He'd been an underground leader. So Dubcek and his friends mainly it seemed went around petting dogs and dancing with peasant women, activities which are in themselves not objectionable and perhaps even pleasant. But when the Soviet leadership is building up masses of armies to invade you, this is not exactly the thing that a good leader would do. Well Gomulka didn't do it. So when Khrushchev hit Warsaw to demand that Gomulka step down, he was met at the airport by an honor guard of armed Communist workers from the Zeran factory. And Gomulka indicated that there were a lot more like them.

The Communist Party had sufficient confidence so that at least in many key areas, if not all, they armed the workers, partly spontaneously and partly developed at the base by the Communist

fractions. There were workers councils which were genuinely independent, certainly no less independent organizationally than this trade union [in Gdansk today]. And the real crime of Polish Stalinism under Gomulka, the real crime was not the incidence of terror, because if you discount the massacre in December 1970 it wasn't great. It was that in 1956 the majority of the Polish workers, the majority of the intellectuals and maybe even, certainly a lot of the peasants, wanted a socialist democracy and they saw that through a reform of the existing Communist government.

Gomulka betrayed those expectations. And you could see kind of a trajectory from '56 to '70 to '80: that in '70 the workers had more or less given up hope on democratization, what they demanded was mainly economic. They still had illusions in the ability of the bureaucracy to grant their economic demands. They had lost complete faith in promises of democratization. And now, with the economy going to hell, they've sort of gone over to what they see as the opposition, namely the Catholic church.

Today all of the organized forces in Polish political life—the Polish Communist bureaucracy, the Catholic church, the various dissidents—all of them continually pound the idea that Soviet Russia is the enemy of the Polish people. The church and the dissidents claim that their desire is to turn Poland into Finland, some kind of neutral bourgeois state "liberated" from "red imperialism." But the hallmark of a revolutionary party in Poland is a positive orientation toward the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Soviet Central Asian workers and peasants. This has historically distinguished genuine Polish Marxism from Polish nationalism.

This is not simply a question of abstract proletarian internationalism. Because you had better believe that Brezhnev thinks that anything that happens in Poland—workers revolution, liberal Stalinism, counter-revolution—that a Russian conscript army could be depended on to suppress it. For the political consciousness of the Soviet masses is very different from that of Eastern Europe where the overthrow of capitalism was from without. The Russian masses are very much aware, having fought and survived Hitler, that all of the nuclear weapons are aimed at them... and Carter has made them more aware in the last couple of weeks.

A proletarian political revolution in Poland must extend itself to the Soviet Union, the central locus of proletarian state power, or one way or another it will be crushed. That is simply the concrete application in that area at this time for the classic Marxist formula of "Workers of the World Unite." ■

Marcy to the Rescue

And then there is Sam Marcy, Monday-morning quarterback for Polish Stalinism. While most of the fake-Trotskyists cheer-lead for the Polish social democrats and the "human rights" pope, the American Marcyites root for the Stalinist bureaucracy. What both have in common is a profound defeatism, a disbelief in the capacity of the working masses to embrace a genuinely revolutionary program and adhere to a Leninist vanguard party. Marcy broke from the Socialist Workers Party in the late 1950s after supporting the Kremlin's suppression of the insurgent workers in Hungary.

Now Marcy sets for himself the uphill task of restoring the popular authority of the ruling Polish United Workers Party. Sounding like a disappointed schoolmaster he expresses mild dismay that Gierk, "a worker himself who once toiled in the mines," should have known that a "critical situation" was evolving in Poland. But once he got into the mess, says Marcy, Gierk (à la Nixon?) should have tried to stonewall: "By officially admitting grave and serious errors... Gierk weakened his own hand" (even Gus Hall and Brezhnev were more critical than this!)

But never fear, Polish Stalinists. All is not lost, Sam Marcy is here. All you have to do is distance yourselves a bit from the state:

"The party, however, is the historical instrument of the proletariat and the ideological and political vanguard of the workers.... In times of tension

between the state and the workers, as is the case now, and in times of worker dissatisfaction and even outright hostility, the party of necessity must be ready...to partially detach itself from the state with which it is so intimately interwoven and connected, and which it has been leading; the party must be ready to create some distance between itself and the state and stand by the workers...."

—Workers World, 29 August

No doubt Marcy, who was once upon a time a Trotskyist, has forgotten that a mere 50 years ago Trotsky pointed out that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was not a party at all (much less a revolutionary vanguard), but was simply an extension of the government bureaucracy. We can safely predict that Stanislaw Kania, despite comrade Sam's well-meaning advice, will not "detach himself from the state" and "stand by the workers."

Sam Marcy must now be one of the few people on earth who thinks the Polish Communist party is the "political vanguard of the workers." If there is any country where the Stalinist bureaucracy is thoroughly discredited and despised, it is Poland. More than three decades of endless lies and broken promises, of blatant corruption, of bureaucratic oppression have made many Polish workers look favorably to Pope Wojtyla's church and the Meanyite AFL-CIO. Where Marcy's program is to act as a pressure group on the bureaucracy, Trotskyists seek to mobilize the power of the proletariat in soviets, as the only force capable of leading humanity to communism.

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Jail Omega 7 Killers!

Félix García Rodríguez, an attaché at the Cuban mission to the United Nations, was blasted to death as he drove down Queens Boulevard on Thursday, September 11. Minutes later a group of right-wing Cuban-exile killers called to claim credit for the assassination. Not only was this the first time ever that a UN diplomat had been murdered in the United States, but Omega 7 (the gusano group) is the same terrorist outfit that worked hand in hand with Pinochet's DINA to carry out the assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C. in 1976. And the Omega 7 hitmen are trained by the CIA, veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion. (As we go to press, a U.S. appeals court has overturned on technical grounds the convictions of the three gusano terrorists jailed for participation in the Letelier slaying.)

Over 400 people marched outside the United Nations the next day, September 12, to protest this hideous atrocity. The Spartacist League joined the demonstration carrying signs, "Jail Omega 7 Assassins—Murderers of Letelier and Cuban UN Diplomat" and "CIA-Trained Omega 7 Assassins—Soldiers for Carter's 'Human Rights'." The SL participated not only to protest gusano terrorism, but

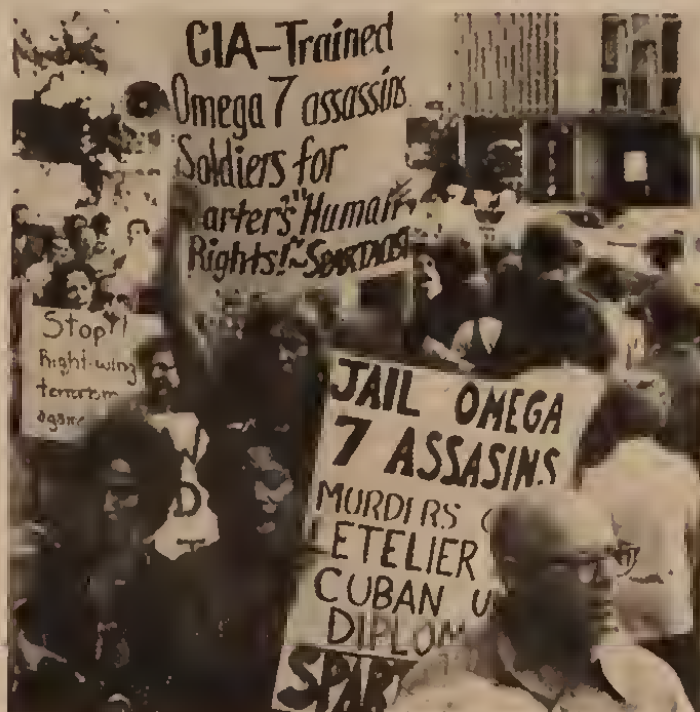
to place responsibility for these acts where it belongs—at the feet of the U.S. government and its offspring. The FBI obviously keeps close tabs on Omega 7. "We had indications some months ago that the bombings [of buildings] may stop and other activities may accelerate," the head of the Bureau's New York office reported. "The other activities were to start

killing people" (*New York Times*, 13 September). But somehow the Feds never manage to stop them before they strike.

The organizers of the protest in New York City, the Committee to End the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba, under the influence of the Communist Party, were more interested in orchestrating an outpouring of liberal grief than mounting an effective political protest demonstration. After a few minutes on the picket line, SL comrades were told to remove the organizational identification from our placards. When we

refused, goons set upon us and ripped our signs. With Carter threatening WWII over Afghanistan in the name of "human rights," it says a lot about the reformist CP that they're so worried about offending the liberals that they feel compelled to silence those who attack Carter's anti-Soviet policies.

The U.S. government has blood on its hands. Carter's "human rights" means asylum for all the gusano scum and immunity for the Omega 7 and DINA death squads. Jail the Omega 7 Assassins! ■



Spartacists march in protest against gusano assassination of Cuban official; CP sectarian red-balters break up united demo.

Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

Socialist Party we mean a workers party that struggles for proletarian state power.

Members of the candidate interviewing committee of the SF Central-labor Council were familiar with ANCAN's work and listened with interest when the president asked Coleman, "What do you think of the Polish workers strike?" She replied, "That's a very good question. Many of the workers' demands are justified. They're talking about mine safety, they're talking about trade unions independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, but I want to see trade unions stand on some kind of socialist basis. If you're asking me if I stand for the Polish Catholic church, one of the most reactionary forces in the world, I don't. And I'm opposed to any kind of lash-up where the Polish Catholic church is trying to get NATO intervention in Poland to restore capitalism. I stand for a socialist Poland and workers democracy."

Coleman is running against Carter-Reagan-Anderson and their imperialist drive for war against the Soviet Union. Indeed, she's the only candidate running for election anywhere in the country who is making an issue out of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

A Fighter for the Working Class

Diana Coleman is a fighter on the side of the working class. She's a 34-year-old native San Franciscan and a militant whose first political act was to demonstrate on the city hall steps to drive the witchhunting HUAC out of town in 1960. She went to Gulfport, Mississippi in 1965 and did civil rights work with SNCC. She was a prominent Bay Area anti-Vietnam War activist, a leader of Oakland Women's Liberation and has been a fighting union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company in the CWA. Coleman is a supporter of the Spartacist League and is well known in the San Francisco labor movement as an organizer for the April 19 Committee Against Nazis.

Diana Coleman is running against a field of strikebreaking Democratic Party politicians who are labor-haters in a labor town. The working population

of San Francisco is ruled by a city government that cut wages of city craft workers in 1976, broke a teachers' strike in '79, laid off teachers and closed schools. This summer they had black, Asian and Latin women hotel strikers arrested by a special SWAT-style squad. They have demonstrated their willingness to pay more to save a shark or restore cable cars for tourists than to pay their workers a living wage or see to it that the next generation of San Franciscans will be able to read or write.

There is an enormous potential to break labor from its ties to the Democratic Party. Coleman noted, "Even the Central Labor Council bureaucrats hold their nose when they vote for (Mayor) Dianne Feinstein. She's a hard package to sell to the union membership."

In 1976 San Francisco city craft workers struck against a Board of Supervisors' wage-cutting attack on their unions, as the city was poised on the edge of what could have been a victorious general strike rallying all sectors of the poor and working population behind it. The Spartacist League intervened in that strike, calling on the craft workers to "Screw the Supes! Stay Out!" and extend the strike to other unions in a general strike to shut down the city. Instead, the strikers were stabbed in the back by the CLC that sent them back to work, leaving wages to be determined in the bosses' courts and at the mercy of the Board of Supes.

After the strike was broken, then-Supervisor (now Mayor) Feinstein bragged that the Board was able to "settle it without putting any money on the table. I don't know of any jurisdiction that has been able to accomplish that anywhere." It's high time to reverse these attacks and get the powerful San Francisco labor movement back on its feet. The Coleman campaign will make that struggle its focus. Enough! It's time for a workers party!

A Test of Revolutionary Leadership

Class struggle is a test of revolutionary leadership, and other left groups failed that test in the 1976 strike. They failed to pose what was needed to win it and in some cases actively opposed a general strike. Some of these groups are running candidates in this election: there are four or five social democrats of

the DSOC and "Rebel Worker" stripe; there is a long-time Stalinist fellow traveler in the running and a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). None of them deserve workers' votes.

The CP and SWP do not see elections as a means to direct workers toward socialist revolution but rather to advance utopian reformist slogans like "Tax the rich" and "Spend more on butter, less on guns." In practice they chase after alliances with trade-union bureaucrats and tail the "lesser evil" among capitalist politicians.

To show how very far from proletarian politics the ex-Trotskyist SWP has gone, they are running a scab, Andrew Pulley, for president. They used to admire another candidate for supervisor, the gadfly cop and former jail warden Richard Hongisto, who they imagined was some kind of progressive "Brubaker"-style maverick. (Hongisto, by the way, is best remembered as the sledgehammer artist of International Hotel, where hundreds of elderly Chinese and Filipinos were evicted when he smashed down the first doors for the news photographers.) Anyone who tells workers to believe in "hip" cops or puts a scab on the ballot for president has no claim on workers' votes.

This election campaign is an opportunity for the Spartacist League to present our program of socialist revolution in a concrete and immediate way—it is, in fact, the only solution to the hardship

and threats to the jobs of working people of San Francisco. Unemployment, street crime, biting increases in housing costs, transit breakdowns, cuts in welfare, food stamp and unemployment benefits, schools that don't educate—all these things hit minorities the hardest, particularly blacks. Coleman will be explaining to thousands that the socialist Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League is the only way to attack these ills.

We're going to make this campaign a vehicle to gain a wider hearing at a time of heightened political interest, to expose the parties and candidates who falsely claim to represent the interests of the working masses.

The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee will use this opportunity to combat electoral illusions and make the point that social gains in this country will be made on the picket lines, not in the ballot box. Running in elections is an adjunct to a Leninist party's general propaganda and agitation, a subordinate tactic in the fight for revolutionary leadership of the working class.

We will use the campaign the way Diana Coleman would use the office if elected—as a platform to rally the workers to the battle lines of class struggle. Just as the Bolsheviks fought in the tsar's Duma, we will fight in the capitalist elections to lead the workers in the direction of the revolutionary conquest of state power. ■

Protest SWP/CP Ballot Exclusion

The Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have just been thrown off the ballot for statewide and national offices in California by the secretary of state in a nakedly exclusionist move. The state invalidated their petition signatures not because they are not registered voters but on the claim that these registered voters have moved since they registered—and this in the most mobile state in the union!

Diana Coleman, running for San Francisco supervisor supported by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, responded to this attack: "In trying to get on the ballot myself I've been down to the registrar of voting

office several times, and let me say they have the most disorganized office I've ever seen. I don't think they know their own address. And in general these regulations are patently undemocratic. They are for the purpose of excluding left groups and keeping them off the ballot.

"That's the point of the massive number of signatures you have to have to get on the ballot, especially for national elections. It's a way of excluding small groups... I oppose it. Though I have no desire to vote for the scab Andrew Pulley or his social-democratic puritan running mate, they do have the right to be on the ballot."

WORKERS VANGUARD

**Socialist/Labor Militant
Diana Coleman for S.F. Supervisor**

Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO—Members and sympathizers of the Spartacist League in San Francisco greeted with pleasure the opportunity to file with the registrar of voters as sponsors for Diana Coleman, a genuine socialist union militant, as candidate for supervisor in the city elections coming up November 4. The Spartacist Party Campaign Committee to support Diana Coleman has been formed, and adopted as its central slogan for the campaign, "Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!" The campaign is already underway with scheduled appearances for the candidate before the San Francisco Central Labor Council (CLC), the Frederick Douglass Club, Teamster Local 9 and ILWU Local 10.

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* Coleman stated, "The other candidates are worried about petty concerns like the sewage tax, district elections and freedom for the great white shark in Steinhart Aquarium. Our campaign will hit the *real* issues facing workers—depression, the threat of war against the Soviet Union, the rightward turn taken by bourgeois politicians in this country that has encouraged the growth of fascist groups like the Nazis and the Klan.

"Just last Saturday night 400

attended the first Klan rally in Connecticut in 70 years. Two weeks ago dozens of KKKers in full regalia patrolled an NAACP march under police protection right across the bay in Richmond, California, and then last week, the night before Rosh Hashanah, swastikas were painted and a bomb threat was phoned to stop the opening of a Jewish play in Los Angeles. The same night windows were smashed at a Jewish bookstore on Geary Street here in San Francisco.

"The press has been criminally complacent about these things. They call the daylight murder of five labor organizers by the Nazi/Klan in Greensboro last November 'a shoot-out between extremists.' This equates the victims with the murderers. On these Rosh Hashanah attacks they yawned, 'This happens every year.' I represent a program and a strategy to chase these murdering fascists back in their holes.

"We showed how to do it in San Francisco last April 19. When the Nazis threatened a public celebration of Hitler's birthday, the Board of Supervisors was going to let it take place on their own doorstep. It was the Spartacist League that initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) and put a stop to that. I worked with

**Diana Coleman
outside 1978
CWA
convention.**



WV Photo

ANCAN to build the united-front rally of 1,200 trade unionists, gays, blacks, Jews, Asian-Americans, Latinos and socialists that occupied the intended site of the Nazi demonstration and prevented it from taking place.

"A vote for me is a vote for that strategy. Not pork-barrel ethnic politics, but a program to unite all the different sectors of poor and working people in San Francisco behind the labor movement to stop fascist terror groups and fight for labor's interests. My campaign will be a small but important step toward breaking labor from the capitalist parties and building a mass workers party."

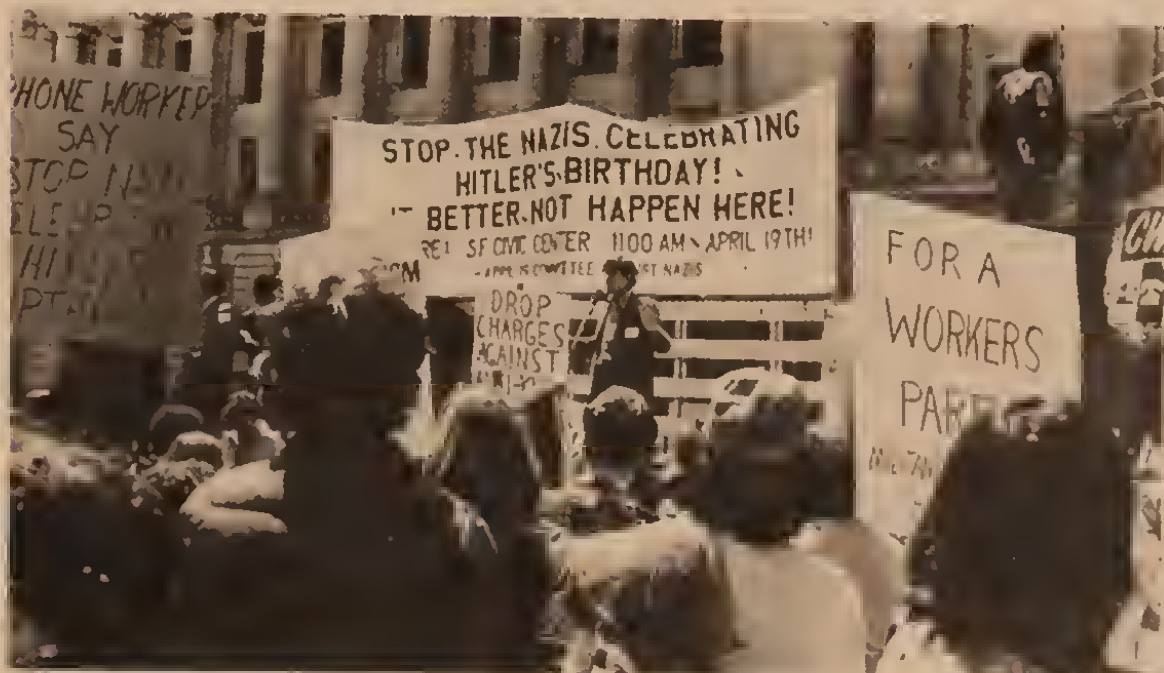
**Addresses Central Labor
Council**

The first labor group to support the Coleman candidacy was the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Local 9410 of

the Communications Workers of America (CWA). The MAC considers Diana, a former caucus member, as something of a favorite daughter. They voted that "We are delighted to have a real workers candidate with a class-struggle program to vote for in the San Francisco elections. The MAC enthusiastically endorses the Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman for Board of Supervisors. Activity in support of her campaign will be a major focus of MAC work until the November elections."

It's been so long since a real labor-socialist has run for election here calling for a workers party that in Coleman's first speaking engagement before the San Francisco Central Labor Council September 11, the CLC president noted: "Oh yeah, sure, we heard of all that stuff for years from Eugene Debs, but it never worked." But unlike Debs and the old

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WV Photo

San Francisco—April 19th labor rally stopped Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Diana Coleman Statement

We reprint below the statement of Diana Coleman, candidate supported by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee for SF Board of Supervisors, filed for publication in official voter information material:

Six years Communications Workers of America militant, supporter Spartacist, labor/socialist organization which initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped Nazis/Klan celebrating Hitler's birthday, San Francisco Civic Center. Stop union busting! End discrimination—housing, education, jobs! Pass ERA! Full rights for homosexuals! Citizenship rights for undocumented workers! For jobs, free medical care, education, transit! Expand rent control! Oppose gun control! Oppose Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! For workers political revolution against Stalinist bureaucracies! For rigid separation of church and state—Afghanistan, Iran, Poland, United States. For workers party fighting for workers government. Expropriate major industry—establish planned economy!