

World Capitalist Economies in Trouble

Wall Street Blues

Blue Monday, 28 September 1981. For a moment everyone feared another Black Thursday, 24 October 1929, the Great Crash which ushered in the world depression. The panicky selling on world stock exchanges followed the sun. The trading day opened in Tokyo on a truly blue note as the Nikkei Dow Jones index plunged 300 points, the largest fall in its history. A two-week slide in the London market turned into a full-scale rout, the third largest decline in its history. Stock prices in Zurich hit a six-year low. The Paris bourse and Frankfurt exchange likewise suffered severe declines. "The markets in the West are like a snowball rolling downhill," said one French broker of the day's dealings (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 September).

Everyone's eyes turned to the giant New York Stock Exchange, which on Friday had closed at a 16-month low. (Prices on the Big Board had fallen almost 200 points since June.) Stock market tipster Joseph Granville was predicting prices would fall right through the floor. And when the Big Board opened, it looked as if Granville was dead on target. Prices fell 14 points in the first hour. "There is panic in the Street. The market looks as if it is having a free fall with no end in sight," exclaimed one broker (*New York Times*, 29 September). But as it turned

out the fall was checked and reversed. Late in the trading day the big institutional investors, insurance companies and pension funds, stepped in to buy stocks at now bargain-basement prices. So Blue Monday did not become Black Thursday... this time.

While the panicky selling from Tokyo to New York was something of a chain reaction, investors were also reacting to the specific economic and political conditions of their respective countries. And these conditions are, each in their own way, bad. For months Wall Street has been saying that Reagan's policy of financing a massive arms buildup by *reducing* taxes is just plain crazy. It will ruin the economy. After unsuccessfully trying to bully the money men into lowering interest rates, the tough-guy president made an effort to appease them by reducing the budget deficit. On Thursday September 24, Reagan announced an additional \$11 billion of budget cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, welfare, food stamps, veteran's benefits, government employee pensions, subsidized housing and student loans. Wall Street's verdict was: not enough! On Friday stock prices fell to a new low and on Monday a crash was averted only at the eleventh hour.

The most depressed of the world's depressed stock markets is naturally



Der Spiegel

Panicky traders on Wall Street. The Big Board has dropped nearly 200 points since June.

London, financial capital of the sick man of the imperialist West. Two years ago Margaret Thatcher came to office as right-wing crusader, much like Reagan, vowing to restore Britain to its place in

the sun. The means: tear down the "welfare state," revive the "magic" of free-market capitalism, squeeze the money supply to choke off inflation and

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SL Protests Solidarność Counterrevolution

"State Department Socialists" Provide NYC Office

When Polish Solidarność opened an office in New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) headquarters September 24, it was a significant step in their link-up with Western imperialism. That was recognized by all sides, including capitalist propagandists who try to cover this up with their "free world" rhetoric. The inaugural "Solidarity" press conference was jammed with representatives from every NYC newspaper, TV network and major news weekly, plus government mouthpieces like Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, a handful of East European news agencies, and *Workers Vanguard*. But the ominous declaration of intent by pro-imperialist labor fakers was an-

swered. Outside on the street there was a demonstration by the Spartacist League (SL) which proclaimed, "Polish Solidarność Agents of Counterrevolution." The 50 protesters carried placards and chanted "No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" and "Social Democrats, AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!"

An SL press release pointed out it was no accident the Solidarność office was sponsored by UFT president Albert Shanker, a leader of Social Democrats, USA (SDUSA), a gang of super Cold Warriors. It also noted that Lech Walesa had invited AFL-CIO "European representative" Irving Brown to

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WV Photo

New York, September 24: "Reagan busts American union PATCO, loves Solidarność."

Labor Must Shut Down the Airports!

Militant PATCO Pickets Stop Traffic at S.F. Airport

SAN FRANCISCO, 25 September—Today the largest Bay Area airport demonstration yet in support of the air traffic controllers strike got out of the hands of the AFL-CIO officials who called it. Some 600 to 800 picketers from PATCO (the air controllers' union), the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and a score of other unions surged into the streets, blocking all traffic into San Francisco International Airport for an hour and 20 minutes.

Picketers first surrounded a car which broke down in the passenger pickup lane and began chanting, "On strike! Shut it down!" Then they fanned out across all lanes of traffic, defying orders from California AFL-CIO secretary John Henning and Jeff Pector, head of the AFL-CIO's SF Airport Coalition, to uselessly restrict picketing to the central terminal. TV coverage from helicopters showed freeway traffic backed up for miles around the airport. Many air travelers missed their flights. But had these militant pickets been led in mass picketing of airport employee entrances at shift change, there would have been no departing flights to get on. Such a strategy of *solidarity strikes to shut the airports down* would have won the PATCO strike eight weeks ago.

Faced with hundreds of workers in the street, Pector pleaded with the crowd on his bullhorn: "You can all go home now. The demonstration is over." This appeal was met with jeers and the chant, "Hell no, we won't go!" Despite his protest that "it's not my demonstration," Pector was ordered

Air controllers and Machinists defy bureaucrats, chant "Hell no, we won't go!"



WV Photo

by the cops to clear the street. Wringing his hands, Pector asked a group of IAM stewards for help, but they just laughed at him. The IAMers instead joined with other militants to protect the demonstration from would-be thugs and hit-and-run drivers. One such driver cooled down in a hurry when a burly trade unionist suggested the picketers "flip the fucker on its side." Unfortunately, another hostile driver escaped after ramming a picketer, throwing him across the hood of his car.

When the IAM stewards refused to do Pector's bidding, Steve Bryant of the small Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) stepped into the

breach. "You heard him!" yelled Bryant, unsuccessfully trying to herd demonstrators back to the curb. But no one listened to Bryant either. Such opportunist shenanigans expose the RWL's paper position—plagiarized from *Workers Vanguard*—for labor to "shut down the airports" as so much hot air. According to the RWL, such action should take place only with "international union sanction," i.e., never. The RWL's real program is to tail bureaucrats like Henning who occasionally blow smoke about forming a "labor party." At an earlier SF airport demonstration on August 21, Bryant paid his dues to such fakers by handing out a Central Labor Council

leaflet calling on unionists to "write your congressman"! To do what—shut down the airports? When Henning raised the same call to "write your congressman" at today's demonstration he was loudly booed, but not by the likes of Bryant.

Tying up passenger traffic into the airports won't win the PATCO strike. But even such action is too militant for Henning, who fears it will lead to more effective tactics. Those 800 demonstrators who came out today should have been led in mass picketing at the airport worker entrances. As the sign carried by a militant warehouseman said: "Bust Union Buster Reagan! Shut Down the Airports!"

CIA International Terrorism Exposed

How U.S. Arms Afghan Counterrevolutionaries

In the first days of 1980, James Earl Carter fired the opening shots of Cold War II. The American president demagogically whipped up popular anti-Soviet frenzy over Russian intervention against counterrevolutionary Islamic guerrillas in Afghanistan. And the bulk of the left soon fell into line, from

Eurocommunist renegades from Moscow to pseudo-Trotskyists whose "anti-Stalinism" has more in common with Amnesty International than with the founders of the Communist International. While the British IMG initially headlined "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" its comrades of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) hesitated to take up the imperialist refrain so blatantly. But now the USec is echoing the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, demanding "End Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan!" The international Spartacist tendency (IST) has stood alone in defending proletarian internationalism with our battle cry, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" (see *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80).

An integral part of the imperialist propaganda barrage has been to cover up massive U.S. military backing for the Afghan reactionaries. Even frequently perceptive leftist observers have been taken in, as for example Fred Halliday who wrote that "the Russian claim about direct foreign interference in Afghanistan is wide of the mark: the fighting against the central government is being done by rebel Afghan tribesmen and there is no serious evidence of direct participation in the fighting by any

foreign personnel" (*In These Times*, 16-22 January 1980). Recently, however, investigative reporter Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame has lifted the veil on imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. Bernstein's article for the *New Republic* details the CIA's intricate gunrunning operation, part of a war drive aimed at overturning the historic social gains of the Russian October Revolution:

"A year and a half after Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is coordinating a complex, far-flung program, involving five countries and more than \$100 million, to provide the Afghan resistance with the weaponry of modern guerrilla warfare. The result is an emerging anti-Soviet alliance—the United States, China, Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia...."

"Shortly after the invasion of December 1979, there were scattered newspaper reports that the United States intended to supply arms to the Afghan resistance fighters.... In fact, the American role in Afghanistan—as described by senior officials of the Carter and Reagan administrations—is far more extensive than any of those initial reports suggested. For the United States the stakes are especially high. This is the first time that weapons supplied with American help have been used to kill regular troops of the Soviet army...."

—reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 August

Operation Afghanistan, reports Bernstein, was "personally ordered by President Carter and carried out under the direct supervision of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his CIA director, Stansfield Turner." So the "captured Soviet AK-47" with which Brzezinski posed at the Khyber Pass, the weapons used to gun down "Communist schoolteachers" who taught young girls to read and write, are supplied by the "free world." But appearances had to be kept up: "Increased American assistance, the President told his aides, should do nothing to disturb the impression that the Afghan struggle was an Islamic struggle." Rather than being run as a straight-out CIA setup, this operation was played through counterpart intelligence agencies of friendly Arab countries. With this cover, the article notes, not a single objection was raised to the secret American gunrunning conspiracy in the Congressional "Oversight Committee" then headed by liberal Democrat Birch Bayh—unlike 1975, when the Senate cut off funds to South African-linked, CIA-backed guerrillas in Angola.

The Afghanistan network was elaborate, Washington coordinated, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 290 9 October 1981



Silver/City on a Hill



Miller/SF Progress

Reagan's Puppet Tours U.S. for "Negotiations by Death"

S.F. Cops Assault Anti-Duarte Protest

On September 27, club-wielding San Francisco police, on foot and on horseback, repeatedly charged into a picket line of more than 6,000 demonstrators ringing the Jack Tar Hotel where El Salvador's junta president José Napoleón Duarte and National Guard commander Colonel Casanova were being winned and dined by Salvadoran reactionaries. Inside the hotel, members of Hotel Workers Local 2 refused to serve Duarte's banquet; two waitresses joined the picket line. Outside, the cops injured picketers and bystanders alike: 15 were treated on the scene and two were taken to hospitals.

The scene was bloody. About 2:00 p.m. a phalanx of helmeted riot police flooded Van Ness Avenue and charged the crowd, driving protesters away from the hotel. Freely swinging their billy clubs, cops struck, kicked and pulled demonstrators by the hair if they did not retreat fast enough. People waiting at a bus stop were knocked to the ground during the charge. Even as the protesters attempted to depart from the hotel for a rally site at St. Mary's Cathedral, police charged them once more, driving the remaining demonstrators from the scene.

Since Ronald Reagan's inauguration, he has put out the word: his administration stands by it butchers. Duarte was on a shopping trip for arms in the U.S., and he received VIP service in San Francisco: massive police protection and a 55-room wing of the hotel blocked off and guarded for his entourage. Duarte's opponents got the billy club. San Francisco is home to many big coffee company families—among them Hills Brothers and Folgers—but the junta president said he came here "to be near the Salvadoran community." Indeed there are an estimated 50,000 Salvadorans living in the Bay Area, but many of them are refugees from the junta's bloody terror. His claim to popular support was given the lie by thousands of demonstrators chanting "Duarte asesino! Duarte asesino!" A special sense of outrage was provoked by the presence of National Guard chief Casanova, whose troops and death squads have murdered over 20,000 workers and peasants in the last two years.

The largest organized contingent in the demonstration was the 100-plus militants organized by the Spartacist

League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) under the banner, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents! Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!" These demands sharply contrasted with those of the official sponsors, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), which opposes socialist revolution and calls for a "political solution" with the junta. Many demonstrators picked up SL picket signs and spread our chant up and down the line: "1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist Rebels Win the War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing to Negotiate!" An official CISPES sound truck picked up and broadcast our slogan, "Down with the junta—workers to power!" until a CISPES marshal stopped the announcer.

SF Board of Supervisors member Nancy Walker was at the demonstration and witnessed the brutal cop assault. At a Board of Supervisors meeting the next day, she said the protest turned violent only after police moved to drive out the crowd without warning. In response, deputy police chief George Eimil denied the cops had rioted and blamed it all on left groups:

"... such as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacus Group and several others who were there Sunday to cause trouble, and their purpose was to be violent and cause violence."

—San Francisco Examiner, 29 September

Two days later, the SF police commission brazenly "declined to watch a mini-version of a videotape of the purported riot at Sunday's demonstration against the visit of the president of El Salvador" (Examiner, 1 October). Once again Eimil tried to blame the police brutality on the left. All lies, attempting to turn the liberals' complaints against the victims of the cop assault, to scapegoat the Spartacist League.

This was a clear case of unprovoked cop brutality. There was indeed provocation on September 27. But the provocateurs were the ultra-right-wing cult followers of Sun Myung Moon, who staged a pro-Duarte provocation that was protected and given encouragement by the cops. *The real violence came from the San Francisco police.* By raising his false and slanderous accusations, Eimil is trying to get the skull-cracking cops off the hook by blaming the demonstrators themselves for the violence. The repeated charges by mounted police

against the demonstration last Sunday were not just aimed at the Spartacist League or Eimil's alleged "agitators." They were above all intended to disperse the protest.

The massive police presence and assaults at the anti-Duarte demonstration occurred because Ronald Reagan did not want his murderous puppet Duarte to be embarrassed. CISPES and the reformists who call for a "negotiated settlement" got a taste of "negotiations"

Reagan-style. In San Francisco such dangerous illusions are met with police clubs. In El Salvador they are met with the reactionaries' machetes and bullets. From El Salvador to Angola to Poland, U.S. imperialism is waging an anti-Soviet war drive that threatens all of humanity. Popular fronts, at home and abroad, are a recipe for bloody defeat. The key to victory is the forging of class-struggle workers parties—for the re-birth of the Fourth International! ■



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RWL: Swimming with the Anti-Soviet Stream

The latest addition to the U.S. left press calls itself *Workers Struggle*, heralding the latest incarnation of Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL, formerly RWG/BLT/BLG/CDU/OCC/CLSG) after swallowing Steve Bryant's minuscule Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC). Replacing the RWL's previous *Fighting Worker* (known to *WV* readers as the "Flinching Scab" for its vociferous defense of picket-line crossing) and the SL-DC's *Labor News*, this new Sollenberger product bears a curious and deliberate resemblance to *Workers Vanguard*. A banner front-page headline borrows the Spartacist League (SL) slogan "Break with the Democrats and Republicans: Build a Workers Party." The back page on the air controllers strike copies *WV* from the headline, "Shut Down the Airports," to the photo of PATCO leaders in chains. In this case, however, imitation is not meant as the sincerest form of flattery, for every mention of the SL is coupled with the adjective "sectarian," the epithet centrists always reserve for revolutionaries.

There's a difference, all right: *Workers Vanguard* has teeth; the RWL's imitation doesn't. As Leon Trotsky pointed out in "Centrism and the Fourth International," centrists are parasites who borrow their arguments against the Marxists from the reformists and their arguments against the right from the Marxists, "dulling however the sharp edge of criticism, avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless." This fits the RWL to a T. Look at the air controllers strike. Shut down the airports? At a Bay Area PATCO strike-support meeting in August, the RWL called for a one-day airport shutdown...but *opposed* the demand by union militants and the SL to *set a date*. And last week when angry unionists blocked traffic into San

Francisco International Airport for over an hour, labor bureaucrats tried unsuccessfully to herd demonstrators back onto the curb while RWLer (ex-SL-DC) Steve Bryant tagged along shouting, "You heard him." "Keep the airports open" is the RWL's line in practice.

There's an ocean separating the words and deeds of Sollenberger's cult, as we have pointed out before (see "Centrists in Quicksand," *WV* No. 287, 14 August). But there's something missing altogether in the first issue of *Workers Struggle* which gives the measure of this bunch: *any defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism*. The Russian question is the touchstone for any tendency claiming to be Trotskyist, but in the context of Carter/Reagan's Cold War the RWL tries to duck the decisive question of our day. Their lead article directed at the AFL-CIO "Solidarity Day" march, spread over four pages, has not one word about the anti-Soviet war drive, much less anything about which side they're on. In the laundry list of demands at the end there is a vague reference to "war preparations"—against whom? The only mention of the USSR is a non-committal reference to "the rise of the military power of the Soviet Union" as one of the factors that have "undermined the foundations of the 'Pax Americana'."

General Haig could agree with that... or the AFL-CIO executive council, which began its latest statement by saying it was "steadfast in its support for a strong national defense" against "totalitarian expansionism." The RWL talks about breaking the American union movement from the capitalist parties, yet it does not challenge the anti-Sovietism which defines the subservience of the labor bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism at least since Cold War I. On September 19 the Reagan administration tried to strike a conciliatory pose

by emphasizing as No. 1 among its "areas of agreement" with labor their backing for a "strong defense." In fact, the Meanyite misleaders were super-hawks when Ronald Reagan was still making movies. They are in the *fore-front* of the bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union. And the Sollenbergerites are bringing up the rear.

For if there's one thing the RWL

land says: "As our brothers and sisters in Poland have shown the world, [solidarity] is a quality of the human spirit that can never be defeated." Solidarność leaders have shown what kind of "action" they are interested in by inviting to their congress U.S. imperialism's top anti-Soviet labor lieutenant, Kirkland, and "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself, the sinister Irving Brown, who has been disappearing "reds" and busting unions in West Europe with CIA bucks since the end of World War II. At the San Francisco "Solidarity Day" rally, former Democratic vice president Walter Mondale launched into an anti-Communist diatribe over Poland culminating with "Show me a nation with free unions, and I will show you a nation that is free"—at which point he was shouted down by workers chanting "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO!" But the RWL only echoes the Kirklands and the Mondales.

At least *Workers Struggle* is consistent here. An article on the recent French elections (in which Mitterrand is misspelled throughout) notes that Reagan

WORKERS VANGUARD

It's Us or Them!

Labor: Shut Down the Airports!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bust Union-Buster Reagan: Shut Down the Airports!

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Stop Union Busting

SHUT DOWN THE AIRPORTS

Workers Struggle

DWS

RWL's United Fraud Against Fascism?

Workers Struggle "introduces" itself with the claim that "in all its articles, *Workers Struggle* will do more than just report the facts." The problem is that the RWL paper does considerably less. It lies, distorts and slanders.

Consider *Workers Struggle*'s front-page claim of "victory" for its so-called "labor/black united front" against the Nazis in Detroit August 22—a "victory" in which the cops protected the Klan/Nazis, charged the crowd, beat up protesters and arrested nine. The RWL claims the SL "refused to work within the united front."

What are the facts?

Fact: When the SL and worker militants at Ford's River Rouge initiated the 10 November 1979 mobilization of 500 in Detroit's Kennedy Square, in response to the Klan's threat to celebrate its Greensboro massacre there, the RWL (then the RWG) dismissed the mobilization as a "fraud" and "media hype."

Fact: The Spartacist League helped

organize a broad, labor-centered mobilization of more than 1,200 which stopped the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in San Francisco on 19 April 1980. Twenty-two unions participated along with leftists and community groups, but the RWL denounced this protest as "sectarian" and chose to participate in a much smaller splinter rally of Democrats and Maoists meant to pressure the City Council while avoiding a "confrontation" with the Nazis.

Question: So why are these larger mobilizations that reach out to labor and blacks—and actually stop the fascists!—"sectarian" while an RWL demonstration where the cops beat up the leftists is a "victory"?

Answer: The RWL is a lot less interested in stopping the fascist terrorists than they are in building a slander campaign against the SL. Regarding the August 22 demonstration, the RWL participated in a "conspiracy of silence" not much

different from that of the Detroit City Council, which issued a march permit to the Nazis and kept that fact a secret.

The RWL, which "borrows" SL slogans and pins them to its own strategy of opportunism, did not want the SL involved in the August 22 protest. So it held a secret "united front" meeting with a few other small left organizations and *decided to keep the SL out*, while borrowing the SL's slogans and even the graphics from the San Francisco protest posters. Now *Workers Struggle* claims the SL "refused" to participate. In fact, the RWL leafleted the River Rouge plant (where the RWL even has some supporters) only as a token gesture at the eleventh hour. Was the RWL afraid to raise their demo among workers? Were they politically opposed to appealing for working-class support? Or were they afraid of alerting SL supporters in the plant to the demonstration?

The RWL talks about "labor/black mobilization" but their strategy is no less adventurist and despairing of the possibility of such mobilization than that of the Revolutionary Socialist League, their "united front" partner. But unlike the RSL, the RWL lacks even the necessary street courage for this "strategy." Nor do these centrists

take any responsibility for the protesters that get set up and hurt in the small-group confrontation.

At a recent RWL/RSL conference, the bloc partners' "anti-fascist united front" strategy was exposed when an RSL speaker explained they did not approach the powerful Detroit unions because the workers aren't ready. An SL spokesman who helped build the San Francisco anti-Nazi protest explained the difference between the SL's strategy of "labor/black mobilizations against KKK/Nazi terror" and the RWL's use of the same words. It is the difference between revolutionaries whose program becomes action and centrists whose words are borrowed from the revolutionaries, but whose deeds are those of cowardice and despair. The Spartacist speaker said:

"We didn't call a little group meeting of little left groups. We went to the unions in San Francisco, to the strength of the labor movement. We went to the ILWU, we went to the UAW, we went to all of the major unions, and we leafleted the plants. We got a united front of the labor movement and that stopped the Nazis. The Nazis were forced to cancel their march. They were unable to show their faces.... Labor marched in San Francisco on Hitler's birthday. Hitler's birthday was no holiday in San Francisco. It was the labor movement that won!"

Hands Off Philip Agee, Covert Action!

Down with CIA Cover-Up Bill!

The Reagan administration has launched a vendetta against anyone daring to expose the crimes of its secret police and spies. This campaign to refurbish the reputation of imperialism's hated spy/assassination/torture experts in the CIA and elsewhere is part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive and is intended to intimidate and silence CIA opponents. In an ominous new escalation of this campaign, the House of Representatives on September 23 passed the "Intelligence Identities Protection Act," which makes it a crime for anyone to reveal the name of any present or former U.S. intelligence agent, whether or not that information is already publicly available. In fact, this "official secrets act" would make it illegal not simply to name names of government provocateurs and infiltrators, but also to reveal anything which could identify the spooks. It is intended to put a stop to any and all exposures of the spy agencies' dirty work.

Senator Jeremiah Denton, the Moral Majority of one, said that the purpose of the bill was to shut down *Covert Action*, the Washington-based journal committed to uncovering CIA dirty work

around the world. But even the liberals are worried about this one. Major bourgeois papers like the *New York Times* instantly decried the new bill as "going too far"—every working journalist in the country is under threat of criminal penalties if the bill becomes law. Such exposés as the Watergate affair (the original burglars included former CIA agents) or Seymour Hersh's detailed *New York Times* account of the bloody arms-dealing trail of former CIA agents Edwin Wilson and Francis Terpil could be forbidden in the future and their authors imprisoned. Editorials simultaneously expressed pious hopes that the bill could be declared unconstitutional after all, while ostentatiously dissociating themselves as responsible bourgeois patriotic journalists from the "Philip Agees of the world."

Already legal precedents for censoring critics of the CIA are in place. Even gung-ho pro-CIA Frank Snepp, whose *Decent Interval* devastatingly exposed CIA incompetence in the last days of the Vietnam War, has been slapped down, forced to turn over all profits from his book to the CIA and submit to CIA prior censorship. Even more dangerous

was a Supreme Court decision on June 29, in "Haig v. Agee," to uphold the State Department's lifting of Philip Agee's passport, overturning the rulings of lower federal courts. The top court held that he is a person deemed likely "to endanger national security." Agee, author of *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* and a member of *Covert Action's* advisory board, has been a thorn in the side of the vindictive spooks of Langley, Virginia, who have hounded him out of country after country. Now they've got the Supreme Court on their side: any U.S. citizen can have his passport taken away without any criminal charges against him, simply by administrative decree. Anybody Haig or Reagan thinks is against them (and that's a lot of people, these days) is now an open target for McCarthyite harassment.

The Reaganauts hope these new laws will put an end to the "Pentagon Papers/Watergate era" of widespread disgust with the CIA's Murder, Inc. and intimidate more active exposers like *Covert Action*. Of course the CIA, FBI, NSA et al. intend to "refurbish" themselves in any case, with or without the benefit of protective legislation, as



CIA nemesis Philip Agee.

Reagan seeks to clear the decks in preparation for World War III. But what the secret police and spies of imperialism need most in order to carry out their deadly work is... secrecy. What is most sinister about the new bill is the general climate of repression and intimidation it is designed to enforce, in which the U.S. government and its hitmen can literally get away with murder without anyone daring to raise a voice in protest.

This campaign to smear and silence critics of the bloody American state and its secretive, deadly agents must be stopped! Hands off *Covert Action*! Give back Philip Agee's passport! Down with the new witchhunters! It'll take proletarian revolution to put the CIA out of business! ■

L.A. Black Football Star Beaten to Death by Cops

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Police kill in Signal Hill" and "Justice for Ron Settles," several hundred mainly black students from California State University at Long Beach demonstrated September 12 at the Signal Hill civic center. More than 100 armed sheriffs in full riot gear manned barricades to prevent the demonstrators from marching on the police station, instead bottling them up in nearby Hinshaw Park. Meanwhile SWAT team sharpshooters stood on rooftops, police helicopters circled overhead and undercover officers mingled in the crowd. No representative of the police department would accept a list of ten demands from the demonstrators, who called for arrest of the cops who refused to testify before an inquest on charges of murder.

Ron Settles, a 21-year-old black running back at Cal State Long Beach, was killed this summer in his jail cell in Signal Hill, a small town bordering Long Beach. On June 2, Settles was stopped by the local cops, supposedly for speeding. He was handcuffed, brutally clubbed on the legs and head and hauled off to jail. Two hours later he

was dead. The cops said Settles hanged himself in his cell. They then proceeded to destroy all radio tapes and written records of the arrest to cover up their crime. Settles' parents refuted the cop lie that their son was "suicidally depressed"—the star athlete had already been contacted by the Dallas Cowboys and Seattle Seahawks in his junior year. On September 3, a coroner's jury ruled it was murder; subsequently a grand jury investigation has been convened. The only real question was whether the police choked Settles to death or strung him up alive.

Cop terror and murder are commonplace in this deeply racist country, not least in the Los Angeles area where paramilitary police run roughshod over a large minority population including an estimated one million "illegal aliens" who have no legal rights at all. The tiny 30-man police force in the mean little town of Signal Hill is a miniature model of the nationally infamous LAPD. The officer who arrested Settles, Jerry Lee Brown, had been fired by the LAPD on misconduct and drug charges—and was then hired by Signal Hill. Six years ago he arrested one Ruben Carrillo, who was so savagely beaten with repeated blows to the head that he collapsed in a coma from severe brain damage two hours after being arrested. Carrillo remained comatose for two years, then died. Again, just one week after the Settles murder a second man, Jack Brown, was found dead in the Signal Hill jail. And in neighboring Long Beach cops removed Keith Kouba from a common cell and put him in solitary confinement where he, too, died "from hanging" on August 25.

After this spree by kill-crazy cops, and with Reagan racism in the White House, the Settles murder has sparked outrage in the Los Angeles/Long Beach black community. One thousand demonstrated July 11, 300-plus on Septem-

ber 12, and further protests have been announced. The bourgeois press has made the case front-page news as they hail the coroner's jury verdict and grand jury investigation as proof that "the system works." Of course, the inquest verdict is not binding on the district attorney, who is closely tied to the police department, and the DA announced some cops involved would be granted immunity in exchange for grand jury testimony. Meanwhile, none of the police are being prosecuted. Nevertheless, the ever-so-respectable NAACP urged Long Beach State students to be "cautious" with their protests and wary of "outsider provocations." According to the *Long Beach Press Herald* (9 September), local NAACP president Frank Berry sent a letter to the Signal Hill mayor and city council calling only for the cops' temporary suspension (!) "until the case is considered closed by the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office and the Central District of California, U.S. Attorney's office."

Such faith in the workings of racist, capitalist American justice is dangerous. Ron Settles' murder is no isolated incident. One only has to recall the acquittal of the LA cop killers of black gas station attendant Cornelius Tatum and black housewife Eulia Love. ACLU figures reported to a Congressional investigating committee last year showed that 123 people were killed by Los Angeles police in a three-year period, yet not one cop was convicted. The futility of attempts to "reform" the race-terrorists in blue was shown in the famous LAPD shredding affair in which the department destroyed four and one-half tons of citizens' complaints under the guise of disposing of "miscellaneous records"! The official thugs of the capitalist state are only doing their job when they terrorize black ghettos and break workers' strikes. The LA-area cops are particularly vicious because



Jail killer cops of Ron Settles!

Los Angeles is an open-shop town, a transplanted Southern industrial city. A strong, militant labor movement and this paramilitary police force could not long coexist.

Race terror and union busting are mounting ominously in Reagan's America. Like the anti-black, anti-labor budget cuts—passed by a Democrat-controlled House of Representatives—these are the domestic face of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. And Los Angeles already has its black Democratic mayor. Demands for more investigations, calls for civilian review boards, reliance on the liberals and the courts cannot fight this climate of generalized reaction. What's necessary is to mobilize the power of labor, the social force which has the strength and interest to sweep away racist capitalist "law and order," leading the black masses and all of the oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution. That is the only road to justice for the countless thousands of victims of cop terror. Jail the killers of Ron Settles! ■

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wall Street Journal Loves Poland's Company Union

Western imperialism figures it has an unprecedented opening in Poland, a chance to strike a blow against the USSR deep in its own sphere. From the Pentagon to the Common Market Commission to the Vatican, the forces of reaction are egging on Solidarność in its recent call for "free trade unions" throughout Eastern Europe. In the mouths of these certified labor-haters, the call for "free trade unions," long the fighting slogan of Cold War anti-Communism, really means "free enterprise": the restoration of capi-

talist exploitation through bloody counterrevolution.

It is no surprise that the anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, forged in the 1950s McCarthy period when "reds" and militants were forcibly purged from the labor movement, is deeply involved in this enterprise. With a zeal which recalls their ultra-hawk stance for U.S. imperialism's dirty war against Vietnam, the American union tops are up to their necks in the U.S. government's schemes to manipulate the Polish crisis as a spearhead of the

imperialist drive to "roll back" Communism throughout the world.

In this context, the opening of a Solidarność office in New York at the headquarters of Albert Shanker's teachers' union on September 24 was a graphic symbol of Polish Solidarity's application for membership in the "free world." And outside the press conference which celebrated this event, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League demonstrated against Solidarność' counterrevolutionary course, demanding "No 'Rollback'!—No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" Appealing to the socialist and internationalist traditions of the Polish workers movement of Rosa Luxemburg, the protesters exposed the "solidarity" between Solidarność and the AFL-CIO tops as brokered by the CIA. For example, Lech Walesa extended AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland an invitation to visit Poland in the company of the notorious Irving Brown, long-time creature of the CIA whose credentials as "AFL-CIO European representative" furnish the "labor" cover for his decades-long career of provocation and gangsterism against the European labor movement. The Spartacist demonstrators carried placards like "Reagan smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność" and chanted "Kirkland/Shanker/Brown—CIA Stooges."

The protest was covered by a couple of local TV stations but was blacked out by the networks and the newspapers. Then the *Wall Street Journal* devoted the lead editorial in its 29 September issue to a sharp attack on those who dare to expose the common thread linking the American labor bureaucracy's political and financial support to Solidarność with the U.S. State Department/CIA appetites for counter-revolution in Poland. After several paragraphs dismissing an exposé of CIA involvement in AFL-CIO "aid" to unions internationally which appeared in *CounterSpy* magazine more than six months ago, the editorial says:

"Counterspy was not the last source to strike this theme. Just a little while ago, broadcasts from the Soviet Union could be heard denouncing Solidarity's American connection and cutely referring to Lane Kirkland as among the 'chief stockholders' in the Polish dissident movement. Over on this side of the ocean, when Solidarity recently opened an office in New York, a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorial which attacks our demonstration is more than a political statement. What this

mouthpiece of the American ruling class has in mind is not an exchange of polemics on Poland, but a government assault on the right of communists in the labor movement to challenge the pro-capitalist line of the American labor bureaucracy. The article ends with an unmistakable threat: "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's crusade for "political freedom" "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching."

The threat is no less ominous because it leaves implicit the mechanisms of repression envisioned by the editors. Is the editorial's title, "Communists and the AFL-CIO," intended to evoke an intensification of McCarthyite witch-hunting against communists in the trade unions? Nor should anyone miss the sinister import of the *Wall Street Journal's* suggestion that our demonstration was inspired by the Russian Stalinists. The notion of Trotskyists as some kind of Russian agents may be ludicrous, but you can be sure the social democrats will not be far behind the *Wall Street Journal* in painting us as sinister Stalinist spies, the better to cement their own united front with the CIA.

What is perhaps most interesting about the editorial is that it makes no attempt to claim that the accusations about the "AFL-CIA" are anything but true. "How easy it is," says the *Wall Street Journal*, "to make lists of the CIA connections: the parallel aims, the instances of collaboration, the communications and shared acquaintanceships." And how easy it is! Irving Brown was American imperialism's main man in Western Europe after World War II, where he used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire goons to split, smash and subdue combative unions. And talk about "parallel aims"—Albert Shanker's outfit, "Social Democrats, USA," was an unashamed Vietnam hawk after even Nixon gave it up as a lost cause; Shanker now joins with Kirkland in the right-wing militarist "Committee on the Present Danger," whose program is a nuclear first-strike against the USSR.

Simply put, the *Wall Street Journal's* line is: CIA? Sure, but so what? Albert Shanker, in his "Where We Stand" column in the October 4 Sunday *New York Times* "Week in Review" section, takes the same tack. Shanker quotes Radio Moscow's charge that Shanker's union "annually receives \$100,000 from the CIA for international contacts and activities." "Totally false," says Shanker, who goes on to boast of the money he gets from the Agency for International *continued on page 9*

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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London Edition

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1981

Price: 10¢ per copy

Communists and the AFL-CIO

Poland's Solidarity movement is holding the second stage of its national convention in Gdansk without the presence of one of its best known invited guests: Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Kirkland had prepared a speech to deliver to the Solidarity meeting, but at the last minute the Communist government of Poland refused to grant visas to him and his AFL-CIO delegation. This is no big surprise, really; American labor's support for Solidarity has gravely embarrassed Warsaw, and the Polish government keeps trying to discredit the effort. It is also sadly unsurprising that the Polish Communists are getting help here in the U.S.

You can get an idea of how the anti-AFL campaign is working by taking a look at a recent issue of *Counterspy*, a Washington-based magazine that proclaims itself devoted to exposing the nefarious work of the CIA and its agents of American imperialism wherever they roam in the world. An article in the magazine is straightforwardly titled "AFL-CIO: Trojan Horse in Polish Unions." A special editorial introduction to the article put the thesis just as straightforwardly: In country after country, "AFL-CIO aid has invariably had the ulterior motive of establishing, securing and expanding U.S. corporate and strategic interests."

How do we know this is true? For one thing, says *Counterspy*, we have before us the record of American labor's reactionary efforts in Latin America. In Guatemala, George Meany worked with CIA-connected organizations to undermine the properly progressive, truly "labor-oriented" forces in the country. In the Dominican Republic, the AFL-CIO set up an organization that "ran propaganda units as well as goon squads against the legitimate unions."

And, comrades, this is no accident. *Counterspy* tells us that AFL-CIO officials have always denied working with the CIA or taking CIA money for their activities, but these denials "ring hollow." After all, do we not have the testimony of a former CIA official who says he actually handed over bucks to an AFL representative? Do we not know that the CIA read the mail of high labor personnel "in order to monitor their handling of CIA money"?

So when we see American labor at work in Poland, we should know that we're not viewing anything like an expression of genuine solidarity among the working classes. Instead, what we've got is just another variation on a decades-old American capitalist plot.

Counterspy was not the last source to strike this theme. Just a little while ago, broadcasts from the Soviet Union could be heard denouncing Solidarity's American connection and cutely referring to Lane Kirkland as among the "chief stockholders" in the Polish dissident movement. Over on this side of the ocean, when Solidarity recently opened an office in New York, a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented.

American labor is indeed aiding the Solidarity movement, openly and unashamedly. It has a long history of fighting Communist domination of labor movements. It learned early in the game that Communist parties and free unions are natural mortal enemies, more violently so because free unions, more than any other free institution, threaten Communist claims to legitimacy. When American labor goes head to head with Communists, the obvious counterattack for the Communists is to claim that American labor is an arm of the American government, manipulated by the CIA. How easy it is to make lists of the CIA connections: the parallel aims, the instances of collaboration, the communications and shared acquaintanceships. How easy to use the list to try to discredit the AFL-CIO enterprise in Poland, and more important, to try to expunge the colossal embarrassment Solidarity represents to world-wide communism.

This is a very dirty business we are dealing with. American labor has been active on the international scene in order to further its own perfectly legitimate purposes. One result of its activities has been to expose, time after time, the gulf between Communist interests and worker interests. This exposure has often worked to the benefit of an activist U.S. foreign policy, and opponents of such a policy have reason to want to tarnish the whole connection.

But they should not be allowed to do so easily. While the American labor movement has at times in recent years identified itself too closely with political parties and administrations for our liking, on the whole it remains a free and independent force pitting its weight against state power both in the U.S. and abroad. Its efforts on behalf of political freedom are thus significant. Anyone seeking to delegitimize its performance in this realm should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching.



"State Department socialists" flank zippered-lip Solidarność spokesman.

SL Protests Solidarność...

(continued from page 1)

attend his congress in Gdansk! "It is well-documented that Brown is a notorious CIA operator who has disrupted militant European unions with gangsterism and corruption since the 1940s," said the release, adding:

"The Spartacist League warned that Solidarność is making a bid for power in Poland and offering itself as an agent of counterrevolution throughout East Europe on the Cold War platform of 'free elections' and 'free trade unions.' These are standard CIA propaganda ploys under the guise of which the U.S. has crushed labor unions and overthrown leftist governments from Chile to Indonesia."

The Spartacist demonstration caused a stir among journalists arriving at UFT headquarters. A *Time* magazine reporter shouted, "Long live the counterrevolution!" as she went in the door. Upstairs a group of Poles was buzzing about "Trotskyists."

This was a demo with a sharp, angular message: "Polish Solidarność—Running Dog of Imperialism" and "Reagan, Haig: Hands Off Poland!" Two slogans directed against Polish nationalism received particular attention: "Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!" and "600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell Liberating Poland from the German Nazis!" Walesa & Co. would have *opposed* that historic Soviet victory, which laid the basis for tremendous social and economic progress in post-war Poland, as anti-Communists did at the time. Polish reporters noted the sign, "Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!" Luxemburg and Jogiches, Polish internationalist leaders of the Communist Party in Germany, were murdered by the Social Democratic government in the "Spartacus uprising" of 1919; the "three W's" were the founders of the Communist Party of Poland, later dissolved (and its leaders shot) by Stalin on charges of Trotskyism. Another placard read, "Waryński, Not Wojtyła"—for the father of the first Polish socialist party, Proletariat, not the present anti-Communist Polish pope. A sign in Polish said, "Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność." Another in Russian proclaimed: "For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc Against Imperialism!"

At the press conference, Solidarność American representative Zgmunt Przetakiewicz quickly managed to alienate virtually the entire NYC press corps by refusing to answer any substantive questions. *WV* asked for a comment on the fact that:

WV: American socialists are demonstrating and saying that Solidarity is counterrevolutionary.... How do you explain Solidarity's close ties with known CIA men in the labor movement like Irving Brown?

Przetakiewicz: I would like just a question concerning the opening of the office.

WV: Reagan is attempting to break the American air controllers union PATCO...for striking against the government. Why has Solidarity been silent on this?



Spartacist slogans (some in Polish and Russian) at September 24 demonstration:

No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!
Polish Solidarność—Agents of Counterrevolution
Social Democrats and the AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!
Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność!
Reagan and Haig: Hands Off Poland!
For Class Struggle Workers Parties—in Poland and America!
Don't Sell Poland to the German Bankers!
Polish Solidarność—Running Dog of Imperialism
600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell Liberating Poland from the German Nazis
For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc against Imperialism!
Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!
Waryński, Not Wojtyła!
Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!
Stalinism Undermines the Workers States—For Trotskyist Workers Parties to Power!
For Rebirth of the Trotskyist Fourth International!

Przetakiewicz: I don't know, but I might ask, in your name, if you like.

When another reporter asked about PATCO, he too was rebuffed. And when they did ask about the opening of the office, Przetakiewicz said it did *not* represent Solidarność, he himself was *not* a spokesman for Solidarność, that he could make *no* comment on the Polish situation, nor could he talk about the U.S.

The Solidarność non-representative had good reason to be cagey, it turns out. According to his statement, the NYC office will be a "wholly independent" "self-governing" non-profit corporation called "The Friends of Poland's Independent Trade Union, 'Solidarity,' Inc." with Przetakiewicz as president. On its board are Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Tadeusz Waldendowski of the Poland Watch Center in Washington, D.C. Rustin has long been a spokesman for Freedom House, a CIA-associated propaganda outlet for anti-Soviet liberals. As for the shadowy "Poland Watch," nobody seems to know which nest of "captive nations"

Polish emigrés it is associated with. To repeated questions about where the money for his office was coming from, Przetakiewicz talked of the cheap \$290-a-month rent from the UFT, made vague references to "student contributions" and spoke of a "start-up loan" from the AFL-CIO. But as Peter Kihss noted in the *New York Times* (25 September), the Solidarność operation here will cost about \$15,000 to \$18,000 a month just for the telex communications. All from "subscriptions"?

Przetakiewicz made a special point of thanking a number of people for their "support and help and advice during these first difficult days in America." He singled out:

"Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO and his assistant, Tom Kahn; Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, and his wife Edie and secretary Yetta Barsh; Susan Glass, UFT director of public relations; Bayard Rustin...."

It sounded like a "Who's Who" of the social-democratic Meanyite Cold War brain trust. If you don't know the players without a scorecard, Kirkland is also a member of the anti-Soviet militarist Committee on the Present Danger; Kahn is a top leader of SDUSA and editor of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News*; and Yetta Barsh is the widow of Max Shachtman, who broke with the Trotskyist movement in 1940 refusing to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and ended up in the morass of "State Department socialism." In the end, Przetakiewicz needed a good deal of help from his "AFL-CIA" friends. Silver-tongued Rustin tried to smooth over the rough spots ("what Ziggy meant to say...") and chairman Sue Glass repeatedly tried to end the fiasco, finally warning her Polish protégé, "don't you dare" take another question.

As reporters streamed out of the non-conference there was commotion on the

sidewalk. Here was something to report about: socialists, in fact Trotskyists, protesting Polish "Solidarity." The Shachtmanite ladies of the UFT apparatus with their Solidarność buttons stomped around complaining about the press attention being given to the SL demonstration. Several TV channels shot film clips and statements were given to the *New York Times*, the *Post*, *Daily News*, UPI, Reuters and other agencies, and several radio stations. But from all this, virtually nothing about the demonstration came out in print or on the air. Outside the U.S. it was news: the *Toronto Globe and Mail* printed two paragraphs; the London *Daily Mail* also carried it. Inside the U.S., however, there were only a couple of lines in *Newsday*, a brief interview on a small independent NYC television channel. They obviously didn't get the word, because this story was spiked.

U.S. imperialism has gone all out to build up Solidarność as a "democratic" opposition to Stalinism. With its "press" offices, its U.S. dollars funneled through the AFL-CIO, its echoing of Cold War propaganda; Polish "Solidarity" has become an instrument of the capitalists' crusade, more than six decades old, to overturn the social and economic achievements won by the Russian October Revolution. And they don't want any Western socialists fouling up the works by exposing the counterrevolutionary danger for what it is. Newsmen reported that, on more than one occasion, references to the Spartacist demonstration in stories on the opening of the NYC Solidarność office were cut out by the editors. That was a blackout. That is, until five days later, when the *Wall Street Journal* published its threatening editorial, "Communists and the AFL-CIO." That made it clear who the American friends of Polish Solidarność are. ■



The demonstration the bourgeois press blacked out.

Wall Street...

(continued from page 1)

break the power of the trade unions. The result: a collapse in industrial production worse than the Great Depression of the 1930s. Last summer this hated Tory government was shaken as thousands of jobless youth, black and white, battled with cops and set impoverished neighborhoods aflame in almost every major city in England. Retreating into a bunker mentality, Thatcher has since purged her cabinet of the so-called "wets," who want to relax the economic austerity and pump a little money into the blighted neighborhoods. She is now setting out for a decisive showdown with the labor movement and her legion of enemies among the British people. Britain's capitalists are deeply pessimistic, not only fearing that Thatcher's unrelenting monetarism will further depress production, but that it will trigger a social conflagration of which the burning of Liverpool 8 was but a small prelude.

Across the Channel the Paris bourse was reacting to a very different sort of government. Years of economic austerity and ever-mounting unemployment under the *haut bourgeois* Giscard produced a landslide victory last May for social democrat Francois Mitterrand, who promised Keynesian measures to stimulate the economy and an ambitious program of nationalizations and other economic and social reforms. While no one questions Mitterrand's commitment to capitalist rule and to NATO anti-Sovietism (he's building nuclear weapons like a small-time Reagan), the French bourgeoisie believe his economic policies are highly inflationary and are displeased at the extent of the nationalizations. Thus, French capitalists are quite capable of going on strike, i.e., not investing, under a government they regard as too radical. Shades of Allende's Chile.

While capitalists are for different reasons unhappy with the right-wing crusaders Reagan/Thatcher and the reformist Socialist Mitterrand, neither are they happy with the Bonn government, long considered the most stable, pragmatic and effective government in the Western world. For the past twelve years the coalition led by Brandt/Schmidt's Social Democrats (SPD) has overseen the rise of West Germany as the dominant country in capitalist Europe. But now a severe and prolonged recession threatens to rip the coalition apart. The small bourgeois-liberal Free Democratic Party wants to slash West Germany's relatively high social-welfare benefits à la Reagan/Thatcher, while the SPD wants to increase public spending to reduce unemployment, even if this means raising taxes. The West German press is full of anticipatory obituaries for the Schmidt/Genscher regime and speculations that the FDP will switch partners to form a new government with the right-wing Christian Democrats on a program of economic austerity.

The respected bourgeois economist Edward Bernstein, one of the men who in 1944 designed the Bretton Woods international monetary accords, saw in the panicky selling on the world stock markets "renewed fears of a worldwide depression" (*New York Times*, 29 September). Bernstein is surely right about that. The basic conditions which produced Blue Monday will not go away—two years or so of stagflation and declining profit rates in West Europe and the U.S. with no recovery in sight, record-high interest rates devastating long-term capital investment, Washington's unrestrained military expenditure destabilizing the entire world economy. The capitalists are in trouble.

"Highest Interest Rates Since Jesus Christ"

Reagan promised to restore military superiority over the Russians, to cut

income taxes by 30 percent, to do nothing to hurt "the truly needy," to achieve full employment, to reduce inflation to a trickle and still balance the budget by 1984. How was this miracle of the loaves and the fishes to be accomplished? Some call it voodoo economics; Reagan calls it "supply-side" economies. Cut taxes enough, he claimed, and this would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and capital investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more.

Wall Street erities, Sam Nakagama, put it: "When you are trying to have a massive rearmament program and are facing Social Security entitlements for an aging population, someone has to pay for this" (*World Business Weekly*, 21 September). Nakagama and his colleagues would be quite happy to see the MX missiles and B-1 bombers paid for by black school children going without their lunches, but alas the ghetto poor don't have enough money to be soaked. So America's capitalists understand that one way or another



John Branch
San Antonio Express-News

Of course, no banker in the world believed this patent nonsense and (even as they were praising the new "pro-business" president) interest rates on Wall Street shot up anticipating the great "Reagan inflation" to come. These record-high interest rates sucked in speculative capital (e.g., Arab oil money) from financial markets throughout the world. Thus, Reaganomics produced an excruciating dilemma for West European governments, one aggravated by recessionary conditions on the continent. If they do not raise interest rates correspondingly, they will suffer massive capital flight, enormous balance-of-payments deficits and a rapidly depreciating currency which will generate domestic inflation. If they do raise interest rates to New York levels more or less, this will choke off new investment, none too robust in any case.

This dilemma is especially acute in West Germany, which has a relatively low rate of inflation by international standards (about 6 percent over the past year). If the Bundesbank jacks up interest rates high enough to prevent a capital outflow to New York, West German industrialists and consumers will be paying an extraordinary *real cost* (interest rates minus the rate of inflation) on borrowed funds. We now have "the highest rates of interest in Germany since the birth of Christ, as far as real interest rates are concerned," exclaimed Helmut Schmidt in one of his numerous tirades against Reagan's policies (*New York Times*, 21 July).

The one-sided "interest rate war" quite dominated the international economic summit in Ottawa last July. Reagan smiled prettily and basically told his European critics they would have to eat it. The ritual summit declaration conceded that "interest rates in one country can make stabilization policies more difficult in other countries," but didn't indicate the U.S. would do a damn thing about it. While Reagan could tell Thatcher, "I love you, Maggie" (and Schmidt, I don't love you, Helmut), back home Wall Street could neither be charmed, bullied nor ignored.

The Wrath of Wall Street

One thing bankers understand very well is that there is no such thing as a free lunch. As one of Reagan's more acerbic

they're going to have to pay for part of this.

If the Federal Reserve keeps its foot hard on the monetary brake, the massive government borrowing will certainly "crowd out" corporate bond offerings, not to speak of mortgage loans. Reputable and profitable businesses will have to pay interest rates traditionally associated with Mafia loan sharks. If, on the other hand, the Fed reverses its tight money policy (and the betting is that it will), then the rate of inflation will once more spiral up toward Latin American banana-republic levels, devaluing money capital. Small wonder the financial community has proved to be the strongest obstacle to Reagan's economic policies.

The Wall Street vs. White House feud has some of the stuff of political satire. Right-wing Republicans now sound like William Jennings Bryan-style populists as they denounce Wall Street cabals and threaten the big money men with punitive taxation. In turn, Democratic Party national chairman Charles Mannatt invites the country's bankers and stock brokers as the latest oppressed group to join the grand anti-Reagan coalition: "The nation's financial community has joined women, minority members, labor, and conservationists in being jolted to the full implications of an unrestrained Reagan administration" (*New York Times*, 11 September).

In their glee at finding Wall Street denouncing their arch-enemy, Reagan, many liberals (and even reformists) overlook the "small point" that the financiers are opposing the right-wing president *from the right*. In general, America's bankers and industrialists have no quarrel with Reagan's drive toward nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, only with how it is to be financed. Chemical Bank vice president Thomas Johnson, for example, is calling for cuts in Social Security programs to balance the budget. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that without further cuts, Reagan will run a \$160 billion deficit by 1984. Wall Street is talking in terms of trimming military expenditure around \$30 billion. To balance the budget then will require cutbacks in social-welfare programs approximately *three times* the savage cuts Reagan has already made!

In just eight months Reagan has managed to enrage everyone from the Kremlin to the West German Social Democracy to the AFL-CIO to Wall Street and the National Association of Home Builders. Not even Adolf Hitler antagonized so many centers of power, domestic and foreign, in his first months in office.

A Return to the Gold Standard?

No one believes Reagan will balance the budget ever, and everyone thinks the U.S. and world economy is set for a new surge of inflation. But cultists and con men are used to dealing with a loss of public credibility. The "supply-side" quacks, like Arthur Laffer, are now peddling a return to the gold standard as the latest cure-all for the capitalist world's economic ills. Reportedly Reagan, who seemingly learned his economies in Disneyland, is sympathetic to a return to gold.

What would the restoration of the gold standard, if it were possible (which it isn't), mean? The *primary condition* for the pre-World War I gold standard was a labor movement *too weak* to resist periodic cuts in money wages. In the nineteenth century if Britain or France ran a balance-of-payments deficit, the central bank lost gold. The central bank would then automatically call in loans, contract the money supply, raise interest rates, etc. Some firms would have to cut back production, others would go bankrupt. In the absence of strong trade unions, increasing unemployment or even the threat of it forced workers to accept a cut in money (and real) wages, in this way restoring the country's international competitiveness and gold. That is how the gold standard worked.

World War I basically destroyed the gold standard not only because all the combatants financed the unprecedented military expenditure by running the printing presses, but also because their working classes, in part inspired by the Russian Revolution, emerged as a contender for power. Traditional deflationary wage slashing became too politically difficult and dangerous. Enumerating the main changes in the world economy in the post-World War I period the liberal American economist Charles Kindleberger singles out "an increased reluctance by labor to accept wage decreases after about 1921, making for an irreversibility of wage and price increases" (*The World in Depression 1929-1939* [1973]). Since the 1920s and especially since World War II capitalists have generally intensified the rate of exploitation by holding money wage increases *below the inflation rate*. This, incidentally, is a key element in the so-called Keynesian revolution in bourgeois economic thinking.

A return to the gold standard could work only if it produced a depression so deep and prolonged the trade unions would not resist a large cut in money wages, thus allowing a lower price level. The gold standard is one form—an extreme form—of deflationary monetarism. This is clearly understood by the high priest of right-wing monetarism, Milton Friedman, who dismisses the gold standard as irrelevant in the real world:

"It may well be that in order to stabilize prices you will have to go through a recession. That has been the experience of most countries that have stopped inflation. If it is not politically possible to accept that cure without a gold standard, it will not be politically possible to do it with a gold standard." [our emphasis]

—*Business Week*, 21 September

Milton Friedman's "Cure": Pinochet's Chile, Thatcher's Britain

We can see what political conditions he's talking about in that first living laboratory of Friedmanite economies, General Pinochet's Chile. Not long after the 1973 coup in which 30,000 workers and leftists were massacred and the labor movement beheaded, Friedman

WORKERS VANGUARD

Poland's Company Union...

(continued from page 6)

Development, frequently a conduit for CIA "counterinsurgency" which has financed operations from Guatemala to Thailand. For Shanker, there's nothing unholy about an alliance between the American labor tops and the American

When Karl Marx urged workers to unite, he never dreamed they'd do it against communism.

See "Specter Haunting Communism: Polish Workers" on **Ben Wattenberg At Large** Fri., Oct. 2, 9:30 pm, Channel 13

Made possible in part by a grant from



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Counterrevolutionary friends of Solidarność.

government; it's a legitimate anti-Communist united front stretching from the UFT office to Langley, Virginia and blessed by the *Wall Street Journal* to boot.

American social democracy stands in the front line of a broad counterrevolutionary chorus of Solidarność fans. An intimate of Shanker's Social Democrats, USA, one Ben Wattenberg, hosted

an October 2 public television special titled "Specter Haunting Communism: Polish Workers." The ad for the program in the October 2 *New York Times* gloated: "When Karl Marx urged workers to unite, he never dreamed they'd do it against communism." And who paid for the TV show? DuPont's Conoco oil company, product of the world's biggest capitalist merger. This friend of Solidarność is, among other things, one of America's big coal companies. A comparison of its safety record with that of the Polish coal mines should explode any idea that Solidarność and its American patrons are supporters of workers' rights!

The spectacle of the *Wall Street Journal*, a main ideological voice of the U.S. bourgeoisie, posturing as a partisan of a "free and independent" American labor movement is certainly obscene. But no more obscene than a Polish "union" which looks for salvation to the U.S. imperialist-led "free world," the pope...and now even the International Monetary Fund! Is there a union leader anywhere else in the world who would dare to so openly make common cause with the international bankers' cartel? If the IMF ever gets a chance to implement its program for Poland, it will surely begin by starving most of the Polish population. American workers may not understand the toll in human suffering and death contained beneath those initials, but workers all over the globe know what the IMF means. Pinochet's bloody coup in Chile was for the purpose of making the country "safe" for the IMF. If Conoco and the IMF ever get their hands on Poland, Polish miners will be lucky to live long enough to get black lung. Lech Walesa's affection for the IMF is the clearest possible demonstration of Solidarność' real role as a *company union* for the CIA and the bankers.

The Spartacist League's defense of the workers movement demands the most vigorous protest against the pro-capitalist American labor tops' witting collusion in Solidarność' imperialist-

backed counterrevolutionary enterprise. Our aim is not merely to expose the unholy alliance between the U.S. government and the American labor officialdom, but to break that alliance through the forging of a class-struggle union leadership which will militantly oppose U.S. imperialism's sinister schemes to export counterrevolution. ■

U.S. Arms Afghans...

(continued from page 2)

U.S. and Saudi Arabia did most of the bankrolling. "The Egyptians have provided training for the Afghan guerrilla fighters and serve as the major source of arms—supplying weapons obtained from the Soviet Union during the years of Egyptian-Soviet friendship, and tons of replicated Soviet armaments, turned out in factories on the outskirts of Cairo." Pakistan, with the personal approval of President Zia, allowed the weapons to be transshipped into Afghanistan. The role of China, in particular, was hushed up. When Carter's war secretary Harold Brown visited Peking, writes Bernstein, "the secret part of his agenda dealt primarily with Afghanistan.... 'We let it be known we were going to do certain things. They let it be known they were going to do certain things. There was an implicit agreement'.... The Chinese agreed to permit overflights of their territory for planes carrying arms bound eventually for Afghanistan. The Chinese also would help supply the SAM-7s [anti-aircraft missiles] and RPG anti-tank rockets."

"The Reagan administration has since reviewed the clandestine operation and ordered it expanded," the article reports. But no matter how fanatical the nuclear sabre-rattling of the Republicans, they inherited this operation from the previous *Democratic* administra-

tion. Carter/Brzezinski's role as a bridge between post-Vietnam imperialist paralysis and Reagan/Haig's wild anti-Soviet warmongering was most clearly exposed in Afghanistan like El Salvador, points where the Cold War is running hottest. The Kremlin bureaucracy, meanwhile, which still clings to illusions in "détente" with "peace-loving" imperialists, is reaping the rewards of past betrayals. Arms squandered upon capitalist Egypt to buy Anwar Sadat's favor are now being used to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. And the Chinese, similarly following the nationalist logic of Stalinism, have thrown themselves into an increasingly overt anti-Soviet military alliance with Washington. This counterrevolutionary axis, which threatens the existence of the Chinese deformed workers state as well, is engaging in provocations which could plunge the world into nuclear holocaust.

Today, General Haig again demands a Soviet pullout from this region vital to the defense of the USSR as the price for a "working relationship" with the West. In a recent speech he alleges that, "The Soviet Union still prefers to promote a bizarre theme: that the United States is unwilling to negotiate about questions of critical international concern; that the U.S. wants a return to the Cold War; that the U.S. is the source of the trouble in Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 12 August). Bizarre indeed! Slipping Klashnikovs across mountain passes to mullah-led feudal clericalists in Afghanistan is only part of the imperialists' drive to "roll back" social revolutions that have wrenched a third of the world from the grip of capitalist exploitation. While the bulk of the left marched to Carter's tune, the iSt proclaimed that in the military confrontation pitting Soviet soldiers backing the left-nationalist regime in Kabul against imperialist-backed counterrevolutionaries, Marxists side with the Russian tanks. Now more than ever: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! ■

himself visited Chile to explain his economic "shock treatment" to its new leaders. Friedman counseled Pinochet to harden his heart to humanitarian concern:

"Don't worry about your international image any more, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more."

Here is how the *New York Times* (21 March 1976) described the Chilean economy after more than two years under Friedman's cure:

"Last year the gross national product declined by more than 12 percent,... Unemployment, which is climbing above 16 percent, has reached its most dramatic level in three decades. Malnutrition is widespread in the urban slums."

Even *Business Week* (12 January 1976), scarcely a voice of liberal protest, recognized that only a brutal military dictatorship could fully impose the Friedmanite economic model: "Countries that try the cold-turkey approach to inflation therefore tend, like Brazil and Chile, to be regimes that use police power to contain the social fallout of these economic policies."

And what of the second living laboratory of Friedmanite economics, Thatcher's Britain? As in Chile, there is a collapse in industrial production and mass unemployment. In the past two years manufacturing output has fallen 17 percent, a *steeper fall* than in the worst period of the 1930s. Over a million manufacturing jobs have been lost, almost one in seven of those employed and more than all the jobs lost in the previous twenty years. What of the declared goal of Thatcher's great depression, to squeeze the inflationary pressure out of the economy? When Thatcher took office in May 1979 consumer prices had risen 14 percent over the previous year. Today, despite the enormous unemployed productive capacity, despite the bankrupting of hundreds of firms, despite the impoverishment of whole sections of the population, the inflation rate is effectively unchanged at 12 percent (*Economist*, 26 September).

But unlike Chile, the British trade unions have not been broken through mass terror. Unlike fellow Friedmanite Pinochet, Thatcher (and Reagan) can-

not supplement monetary policy with the executioner's bullet and the torturer's electric shock, much as they might like to. Here then is the critical difference between the right-wing regime in Chile and Britain or the U.S. Those British workers who have held their jobs have kept their money wage increases roughly in line with inflation. At the shop floor level militants have prevented speed-up, attacks on safety rules and other means of intensifying the rate of exploitation. Between Thatcher's relentless monetarism and a still-strong labor movement Britain's capitalists are in a sorry condition indeed. Excluding North Sea oil, the rate of return on British industrial and commercial capital has been halved, from an anemic 6 percent in 1978 to a marginal 3 percent in 1980 (*Economist*, 4 July). Given this pitiful rate of return, Britain's industrialists would just as well spend their money at the race track (as many do).

Socialism or Barbarism

Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's America represent the dramatic decay of the capitalist system, which has

nothing to offer the working people except impoverishment, oppression and war. The British working class hates Thatcher, as increasingly the American working class hates Reagan. These despised and isolated right-wing regimes can and must be brought down. But this will prove no real victory for the working masses if they are only replaced by the same Labourite social democracy and Democratic Party liberalism which paved the way for the right-wing fanatics.

As capitalists throughout the world talk of a second Great Depression and the imperialist powers, led by the United States, drive toward nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the words of Leon Trotsky in 1938 retain all of their force: "Without a socialist revolution, in the next period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind." What is needed for the victory of that socialist revolution is the leadership of a Leninist vanguard. Under revolutionary leadership the international working class can sweep away the Reagans, Thatchers and Pinochets forever. ■

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)			
1. Title of Publication: <i>Workers Vanguard</i> .	7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.); unincorporated association Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.	11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete	(Signed) Jan Norden, (editor)
1A. Publication No. 098770	8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities. (If there are none, so state.): None.	12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Jan Norden, (editor).	
2. Date of filing: 1 October 1981.	9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.		
3. Frequency of Issue: Bi-weekly (skipping an issue in August and a week in December).	10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run): 13,240; B. Paid Circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales 8,146; (2) Mail subscriptions 2,670; C. Total paid circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 10,816; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies 97; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D) 10,913; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing. 2,327 (2) Returns from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2 should equal net press run shown in A). 13,240.		
3A. No. of Issues Published Annually: 25.			
3B. Annual Subscription Price: \$5.00.			
4. Location of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.			
5. Location of the headquarters or general business offices of the publishers: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.			
6. Names and complete addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Editor—Jan Norden, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Managing Editor—None.			

Fremont GM Militants Say:

"We Need a Sitdown!"

We reprint below a September 24 leaflet distributed by the Militant Caucus and other members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 calling for a sit-down strike to prevent the loss of 1,500 truck production jobs at the Fremont, California General Motors plant.

In response to the massive permanent layoff, Local 1364 officials organized two "informational" meetings to prepare members for training in "new careers" at local junior colleges. Over 600 turned out in an angry mood for the first of these sessions (see "Maoists Pimp Off Unemployment" on this page). At the September 16 meeting, members in attendance applauded and solidarized with the call by a Militant Caucus member to "hold the plant hostage for our jobs!" The Fremont *Argus* (17 September) reporting on the meeting said "union leaders were more receptive" to a petition by the Maoists' Concerned Autoworkers Movement (CAM) "urging GM to establish an 'inverse seniority' clause." This anti-union proposal would allow the company to rip up the hard-won seniority system which provides a minimum of protection against arbitrary management victimization.

But union officials presented a solid front against a sitdown at the "careers" meetings and effectively convinced the frustrated members that their union would do nothing to defend their jobs. A Local 1364 meeting three days before the layoff went into effect drew only 50 or 60 members, with most of the shop committee and executive board boycotting the meeting. Of the officials present, some said vote Democrat, others said sitdowns were illegal, and *all* opposed a real fight against the layoffs. This time the Peking Stalinists rushed to their aid with a substitute proposal to "fight" the layoffs by holding a demonstration... *after* the layoffs were to take place! You might call it the CAM-shaft.

While the organized efforts of Local 1364 leaders and their Maoist junior partners succeeded in shepherding union members out of the plant without a fight, the program raised by the sit-down militants remains the only way to fight layoffs and plant shutdowns in auto.

* * * * *

GM intends to throw 1,500 more UAW members out on the street October 2. Truck second shift was already laid off two years ago. Now GM says it's going to rip out the entire truck line and ship it to St. Louis! If we let this happen it will be a *disaster*, not only for

the 1,500 facing permanent unemployment now, but for the remaining 3,900 in passenger and skilled trades. We had better understand that without truck production, Fremont becomes solely dependent on passenger car sales. That means *total plant closure* becomes a real possibility. Fifteen years seniority will mean nothing. There are no jobs out

ING! All we've gotten is bullshit about "retraining" for "new careers" and how the "flow" will go from truck to passenger. Their position is whatever GM wants, GM gets. So since GM's announcement August 26 the "stunned" union officials have simply been acting in open collusion with the company. As the September 3 "retraining" meeting

Maoists Pimp Off Unemployment

OAKLAND—A few years ago pro-Peking Stalinist Liz Stanley used to repeat a Maoist saying, "The future is bright." She must have meant her own. She now heads a joint United Auto Workers/community college committee as well as the UAW Local 1364 (Fremont GM) Education Committee and makes a career out of "educating" her fellow union members to go look for new "careers." "Your future in the auto industry isn't the best," chirped Stanley to 600 auto workers at a union meeting, called to shepherd them out of the plant and onto the unemployment lines. But as an article, "Angry Auto Workers Confront Union Leaders," in Oakland's *East Bay Today* (4 September) reported, black auto workers among the 1,300 facing permanent layoffs didn't much like Stanley's advice to find a new job: "Why weren't we notified?" about the shutdown of the truck assembly line, asked five-year GM employee Danny Jackson at the meeting.

"The company would not give us your addresses," Stanley replied. "The union has our addresses!" Jackson shouted. "What are you talking about?" Others joined him, accusing the union of collusion with the company."

WV readers may recall some of the exploits of Liz Stanley, Charlotte Casey and supporters of the CP-ML/Call at the Fremont GM plant. They were endlessly willing to sell out for a

post on a union committee, a spot on a bureaucratic slate or a column in the local union newsletter. First they joined one longstanding faction in the Local 1364 bureaucracy (the Brotherhood) and later the other (United Independents). Then in 1977 when these same bureaucrats led a richly justified local strike for the first time ever, and GM fired them for it, Stanley said they should stay fired! When GM workers were threatened with mass layoffs, the Maoists' answer was the seniority-busting 1974 women's lawsuit against the union. When militants in the plant agitated for a sitdown that same year, Stanley and her friends opposed a sit-down strike and perversely dubbed themselves the Stand Up caucus.

No doubt, for someone who has defended Stalin's anti-Bolshevik purges and murders, Pol Pot's genocide in Cambodia and China's invasion of Vietnam, it is no sweat to stand before American auto workers and defend the UAW's refusal to fight layoffs. Liz Stanley may feel she's got hers, but black auto workers know what "future" awaits them in Reagan's America where minority youth unemployment is more than 50 percent. "Bullshit" was the response of the angry Fremont UAW members to their careerist misleaders, who have proved themselves capable of doing just about anything *except* what's needed: hard class struggle.

there, especially for banged up ex-autoworkers. Shop Committee Chairman George Nano admitted this to the Fremont *Argus* (September 17). "If they don't sell cars, I think they're going to close the plant."

So what is the union leadership proposing to do about this? NOTH-

was only a week later, it's hard to believe the union had no prior knowledge of the shutdown. With the local leadership groveling, GM is reported to be demanding contractual take-aways on PPH's [paid personal holidays], 63B transfers, absentee control, line speed and revisions of guidelines and forced layoffs for skilled trades. But all we're being told is "tough luck"—learn basket weaving or go on welfare.

We have a union and we should use it to fight for our jobs. We need a sitdown strike demanding that THE TRUCK LINE STAYS IN FREMONT! The UAW was built by sitdown strikes during the depression in 1936-37. Properly organized it has proved to be the most effective strike tactic ever devised. Because the strikers are on the *inside* occupying the plant and the management and other usual strike-breakers are on the outside. Big stockpiles and low sales can weaken a regular strike but not a sitdown. With the strikers holding GM's sacred property hostage, all production, including passenger startup, comes to a halt. With no production and the ensuing publicity we could force GM to reverse its decision. They get their plant back when we get our jobs back.

The brothers and sisters on layoff now facing loss of their jobs would support the sitdown. They and the families of all union members could organize mass picket lines outside the plant to defend and support the sitdown. The sitdown would inspire the support of thousands of UAW members industry-wide across the country who are themselves facing layoffs or already on the street.

The Local 1364 officials have already said such a strike would be "illegal" and they *oppose* it. Let them say that to our faces at the Union meeting. They don't have the right to give our jobs away. From [UAW president Doug] Fraser down to [Local 1364 leaders] Mays, Scrempo, Nano, Martinez, Gus Billy, and the rest, *all* accept GM's "right" to make a profit by laying us off. International President Fraser sits on the Chrysler Board of Directors and enforces wage cuts and speedup for Chrysler. Their job is to *prevent* union action and keep the membership "in line."

The clearest expression of this pro-company policy was revealed by the remarks of ex-vice president Sam Marsh at the September 16 "flow" meeting. When people applauded the idea of a sitdown strike he said, "It might sound good, but it's not going to work." Instead, he said, we should "launch a voter registration drive and work through political channels." In other words, don't strike to save your jobs—*wait four more years* and vote to put the Democrats back in. That means to hell with our jobs now! The Democrats as well as the Republicans are strikebreakers and unionbusters. This policy of sacrificing the jobs and working conditions of autoworkers to the interests of the political parties of the auto companies is what has crippled the UAW and led to thousands of layoffs without a fight.

We better fight now or we will be facing the same grim future as the UAW brothers and sisters from the shut down GM Parts plant: lost homes, ruined lives, minimum wages, welfare or worse. If we *don't* fight it's guaranteed we lose. But many UAW members learned the hard way what did *not* work in the fight to save the Parts plant: politicians didn't work; concerned citizens didn't work; Fraser didn't work and the leadership of Local 1364 didn't work. The one thing that *will* work to stop the truck line from leaving GMAD Fremont is a sitdown strike.

It is urgent that every member of Local 1364 show up at the Union meeting 12:00 noon, September 27. Call every member you know, working or laid off, tell them about the sitdown strike and make sure they show up. We know the Local leadership is opposed to strike action, but they are not the union, the membership is. If the membership decides to take action, no sabotage by the officers can stop it. Be there!

UAW Militant Caucus

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All-Peoples Circus...

(continued from page 12)

against feminists over abortion; gays against Chicanos in SF's Castro district. Now Reagan has killed sectoralism: he hates *everybody*. What's needed is certainly not a new sectoralist federation but a Leninist vanguard party of the working class, a tribune of the people leading the struggles of the oppressed.

The Cobo Hall confab is being run as a typical Stalinist front group. For the uninitiated it seems like a grab-bag of welfare rights groups, community organizations, etc. One local union official said he was assured that "no communist groups" would be involved. But lo and behold, at the center of it all is Marcy's WWP, which has developed a veritable waterfall of cascading fronts (YAWF/PAM/APC). Heaven forbid that anyone should openly espouse communist politics here instead of this elaborate con game. And now Marcy has a problem: Poland. It isn't going to be so easy to tail the Kremlin bureaucrats, as he has done for the past quarter-century, and also chase after virulently anti-Soviet American liberals and union misleaders. So the WWP tries to keep the Cold War out of its hot appetites. El Salvador? Nothing to do with Cuba or the USSR. Budget cuts? Nothing to do with the anti-Soviet war drive. Poland? Marcy admits that Solidarność is counterrevolutionary, but don't expect it to come up in Detroit.

Then there are the tagalongs—reformists and centrists like the CWP, RSL, RWL who tried to cash in on the



Solidarity Day, September 19: APC feeds illusions in the Democrats.

fleeting popularity of Marcy's would-be popular front. The CWP complained that El Salvador had been dropped as a focus and "national minorities" were slighted. (This is a cheap shot that the cynically "Third Worldist" Marcyites richly deserve.) The RWL complains about the lack of "democratic structures and bylaws" so that they can fully participate in this popular-frontist scam. Perhaps there will be others preaching slightly more militant policies to prettify the WWP's sucker bait for the Democratic Party, like the social-democratic IS used to do in the NPAC Vietnam antiwar pop front a decade ago. But the Trotskyists say no to treacherous popular-frontism: not class collaboration but class struggle!

Marcy & Co. have reportedly secured

some union endorsements, particularly from Michigan AFSCME locals. But what does the "All-Peoples Congress" offer labor? Among the Democratic Party endorsers (John Conyers, Bella Abzug, Ron Dellums, etc.) is that of Irma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council and close ally of Mayor Young. Coleman Young, in turn, is the black Democratic bosom buddy of Henry Ford II who welcomed Reagan's Republican Party convention to town last year by busting an AFSCME city workers' strike. Some "ally"! Or take the crucial PATCO strike. The Spartacist League called on labor to *shut down the airports* to beat Reagan's union busting. The WWP *refused* to call for solidarity strikes with the air controllers; their program was

the bureaucrats' September 19, as a first step...and the APC. Lots of good that will do PATCO strikers! This circus is an attempt to tie labor to the class enemy, not to win workers' struggles. Any unions that have endorsed the anti-peoples circus should withdraw *now*!

Reagan has declared war on all fronts. Along the way he has antagonized other elements of the ruling class, from the Democratic Party to sections of the Pentagon. Now the Marcyites (and other reformists) want to build a popular front extending from welfare mothers to Wall Street. The Marcyites' first attempt at an anti-Reagan pop front was the May 3 El Salvador march on the Pentagon. With Democrats Abzug and O'Dwyer on the platform they appealed for a "political solution," brokered by the Kennedy liberals, with Reagan's blood-drenched junta. Meanwhile they used PAM "marshals" to keep marchers from attending an Anti-Imperialist rally, sponsored by the Spartacist League, which called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. Then on June 6, when the SL demonstrated against Marcy's bloc with Bella and Teddy, the WWP chose to seal its alliance with the bourgeoisie in blood... and got beat.

If you are for solidarity strikes with PATCO to shut down the airports; if you call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans, to build a workers party; if you fight to oust the labor lieutenants of capital, for a class-struggle leadership of the unions; if you oppose the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive and want to fight for socialist revolution—the Marcyites' anti-peoples circus is no place for you. The Spartacist League says *bring down Reagan through labor action!* ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

massive rearmament of U.S. imperialism and the Cold War drive that paved the way for Reagan/Haig and the U.S./South Africa axis. It is only to retain a little "human rights" hypocrisy that representatives of the party of Jimmy Carter, Mayor Koch and KKKer Tom Metzger are sponsoring this conference.

The conference call states:

"We know that billions of dollars invested by U.S. multinational corporations like IBM and General Motors in the apartheid economy would be better spent on improving the lives of U.S. citizens than on enhancing white privilege and reinforcing black oppression in Southern Africa."

Capitalism works for profits, not philanthropy. Black workers in Detroit thrown onto the streets through plant closures know that. Who really believes that IBM profits made selling computer systems to the Pentagon will be spent on "improving the lives of U.S. citizens" except for those who own a piece of the Fortune 500? This patriotic appeal to U.S. finance capital to "improve lives" here is just as ludicrous as pretending it could have a "democratic" mission in Africa.

Rather than pushing "divestment" schemes and appealing to the corporations' "conscience," SL/SYL supporters

have fought, especially in the unions, for labor action against apartheid terror and to force multinationals to grant full union rights to black workers in South Africa. Labor and its allies must be mobilized to give concrete aid to the South African black proletariat, the motor force for liberation in southern Africa, to organize themselves to expropriate the tremendous wealth that *they*, not the imperialists, have created.

Just as the CP yearns for "people's unity" with liberal bourgeois politicians at home to "ban the Klan," internationally their program is for alliances with "progressive" Third World capitalist regimes and "peace-loving" imperialists—the global popular front. But these days the reformists are hard-pressed to find any Democrats willing even to pay lip service to "détente" with the USSR. For the U.S./South Africa racist axis, like Reagan's onslaught against leftist rebels in El Salvador, is part of the anti-Soviet war drive. And while some liberal politicians may protest Reagan's open embracing of the despised Botha regime, *all* support the global imperialist offensive to "roll back" Soviet power, beginning in Poland. This question can't be ducked.

When threatened by imperialism, Moscow will sometimes fight the forces of social reaction (Afghanistan, Vietnam). But in maneuvering to protect its privileged position, the bureaucracy is also capable of supporting genocide by tinpot dictators in Ethiopia or backing reactionary strongmen like the late Sadat of Egypt, who later turned to U.S. imperialism and now supply Russian arms to Afghan mullahs who use them to kill Soviet soldiers. The only way to protect the gains of the October Revolution, liberate the black masses of southern Africa and put an end to race terror in the U.S. is through powerful class struggle.

Republicans and Democrats alike are enemies of workers and oppressed peoples of the world: Reagan must be brought down by labor action! South African black workers: fight for proletarian revolution through smashing apartheid! Russian workers must oust the bureaucracy, to restore Lenin's

soviet democracy so that the Soviet Union can once again become a beacon for socialism! This is the program of the Trotskyists who fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, the party of the Russian October and world socialist revolution. ■

RWL...

(continued from page 4)

They never heard of it. The article is also very resolute in not telling workers what they should have done in the French presidential elections. But their international mentors, who brokered the RWL/SL-DC fusion, Alan Thornett's British Workers Socialist League (WSL), called for a vote to Mitterrand's anti-Soviet popular-front candidacy in the May elections. And shortly after, the WSL shut down its paper to go underground in the social-democratic Labour Party, where they support anti-nuke pacifists (who attack "both super-powers") without ever raising defense of the Soviet bloc.

The RWL's silence on the Russian question in *Workers Struggle* is no oversight. When Jimmy Carter launched a Cold War blitz over Afghanistan, the then-RWG couldn't decide if it was for or against Soviet intervention to crush CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries. (The SL proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!") Last fall the RWG co-sponsored a forum on Poland with Shachtmanite groups who hold that the Soviet bloc countries are "state capitalist." Sollenberger refused to uphold Trotsky's unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against counterrevolution (see "Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit," *WW* No. 264, 19 September 1980). Over the May 3 El Salvador march in Washington, the Bryants' *Labor News* attacked the SL as "sectarian" for our slogan: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And to announce their fusion, last May the RWL and SL-DC held a joint forum with a WSL speaker under the "Third Camp" title, "The Fight Against Imperi-

alism and Stalinism." Again they refused to take on the Russian question, even when repeatedly challenged by SL supporters.

As Reagan/Haig threaten to plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust in order to wipe out the social gains of the October Revolution, Trotskyists insist that the call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers is part of our program to unconditionally defend and extend those revolutionary conquests. Today the Russian question is the central issue dividing revolutionaries from reformists. The RWL has long tried to present itself as a blurred carbon copy of the SL, but as they come out into the open they are rapidly defining themselves as left social democrats over the Soviet Union. It is no accident that on the eve of Reagan's inauguration, the long-since ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) should repudiate *any* support to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And it is no coincidence that the RWL, which seeks to carve out a niche between the deeply reformist SWP and the Trotskyist Spartacist League, takes the fifth amendment on the Russian question. ■

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?

Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash Apartheid! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan's Cold War Axis in South Africa

For the first time ever the Springboks—the rugby ambassadors for South African apartheid—recently toured the U.S. The tour came on the heels of the murderous South African invasion of Angola and was followed by the Senate's repeal of the Clark Amendment, intended to unleash the CIA again in Angola (and elsewhere). Apartheid South Africa is becoming a central part of the "free world." Reagan/Haig want a bloody showdown by proxy with the Soviet Union in Southern Africa, in the first place Angola. Here the South African army is to play the role of surrogate for direct U.S. military intervention. The Springboks' tour was intended to build support for Washington's Cold War alliance with the Pretoria racists.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League actively participated in anti-apartheid protests against the Springboks tour, demanding "Drive Springboks Out! Military Victory for SWAPO! Independence for Namibia! Smash U.S./South Africa Cold War Axis!" In contrast, various liberals and reformist lefts including the Communist Party (CP) responded with the demand, "Wire Reagan: Cancel Springboks Visas." The only visas Reagan is going



Chicago, September 12—SL/SYL said: Drive Springboks Out! Reformists asked Reagan to cancel their visas.

to cancel are those for Soviet scientists and artists, Salvadoran refugees fleeing junta terror, Haitians fleeing Baby Doc's savage repression and ravaged economy. And the only reason racist politicians like New York mayor Koch and Chicago's mayor Byrne canceled

Springboks games was their fear of militant protests.

The CP, together with these same liberal forces and Democratic Party politicians, is sponsoring a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern

Africa" in New York this weekend. The stated purpose of this conference is to "intensely pressure on the U.S. government and the corporate sector to end their relations with the apartheid regime." This is reminiscent of the CP's support to the demand raised at a National Anti-Klan Network conference that Reagan "declare a state of emergency concerning the rise of Klan and racist violence." To call on the racist, warmongering Reagan, elected with KKK endorsement, to act against the South African apartheid racists or to stop American race terrorists is as grotesque as calling on Hitler to save the Jews from Holocaust!

The sponsors of this conference are attempting to create the illusion that the blood-drenched racist U.S. government can be "pressured" to be a "democratic" imperialism that fights racism at home and abroad. That was the motivation behind the liberals' and reformists' appeals to Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" campaign. But under that hypocritical slogan the U.S. brokered the bloody Duarte junta in El Salvador, launched the CIA intervention in Afghanistan, imposed a boycott on the Moscow Olympics and began the

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Sam Marcy Tries to Fool All the Peoples All the Time

All-Peoples Circus: Front for the Democrats

The "All-Peoples Congress" to be held this month in Detroit will be a three-ring circus of class collaboration. Every conceivable constituency and single-issue group is supposed to be represented. Various left groups will vie for a say in running the show, which is controlled from behind the scenes by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP). Above all, this "anti-peoples circus" is a Democratic Party trap—an attempt to sucker radicals, labor and black militants into bringing in a new Jimmy Carter. But the last Jimmy Carter set the stage for Ronald Reagan, through the Cold War drive against the Soviets, dismantling the busing program, and economic policies which gutted workers' paychecks. Who needs another one?

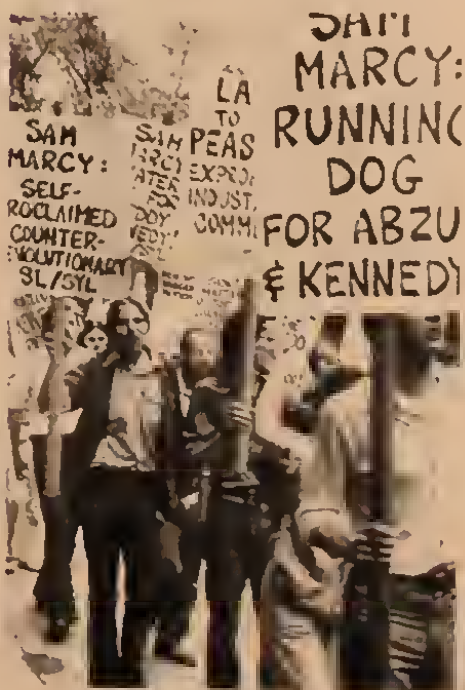
With a nakedly big business

administration in Washington that viciously busts unions and tells ghetto school children, "Let'em eat ketchup," mass hatred of Reagan is escalating daily. Up to half a million, mainly unionists, demonstrated in Washington September 19 to express their outrage. But like the sellout union tops, Marcy & Co. want to channel this anger back into the Democratic Party of war and racism. This is a program for defeat. The hundreds of thousands who marched through the streets of the capital have the power to bring the capitalist government to its knees. To use it they must break from the phony "friend of labor" Democrats, dump the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, and build a workers party. If the unions shut down the airports to support the PATCO strike, where would the Conyers and the Kennedys be

then? Or, for that matter, the Marcys?

The program of the Marcyites' "congress" is summed up in its slogan, "fight Reaganism." "Overturn the Reagan Program of Cutbacks, Racism, & War!" says their brochure. What this translates into in practice is "make the Democrats fight." But the Carters and Kennedys are no less strikebreakers, budget-cut killers and anti-Soviet warmongers. The real program of the "APC" was stated in an official September 19 placard: "Carter's Peanuts Were More Nourishing Than Reagan's Jelly Beans." No way. *Capitalism* is the problem.

This "all-peoples" get-together is a lame attempt to amalgamate a hundred different sectors on the level of traditional (bourgeois) constituency politics. There's supposed to be something-for



New York City, June 6—Marcy's class treason in El Salvador civil war exposed.

everyone. "The Congress is for women who don't want their lives endangered by anti-abortion laws," for undocumented foreign workers, for Viet vets, for anti-nuke and anti-draft activists, for everyone from Dykes Against Racism Everywhere to the Grey Panthers. In the '70s, the heyday of sectoralism, it was black nationalists

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