

Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan Threatens Nuclear War in Europe

Million March in Europe, Reformists Push Pacifism, Patriotism

Ronald Reagan would like to persuade himself and the U.S. populace that it's possible to annihilate the Soviet Union in a nuclear war fought entirely in Europe, specifically Germany, while middle-class white Americans watch it all on their color TV sets (made in Japan). A couple of weeks ago he said as much. Asked by reporters if there could be a "limited exchange of nuclear weapons" between the United States and the USSR, he replied: "I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button" (*New York Times*, 21 October).

The aim of Reagan's massive arms build-up is to achieve first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Former CIA deputy director Herbert Scoville made this clear in the *New York Times* (8 October): "President Reagan's decision on the MX missile suggests that the United States is now firmly and publicly embarked on a first-strike nuclear policy." At the same time, in a showdown with Russia he is quite prepared to sacrifice his European imperialist allies to preserve Fortress America.

With Reagan provoking the Soviets all over the globe at every chance he gets, his talk of nuclear war "limited" to their homelands naturally scared the hell out of many Europeans. NATO governments tried to explain away this chilling "nuclear gaffe," but the next weekend up to a million peace marchers, mainly youth, took to the streets of London, Paris, Brussels and Rome. The week before 300,000 marched in Bonn. "No annihilation without representation," said the British. "Ohne uns" (Leave us out of it), said the Germans. "Anything that gets 150,000 on the march has to be taken seriously," commented U.S. war secretary Weinberger, "but it doesn't change the policies of the government." And West Europe will be in the middle of it until the imperialists are swept away by proletarian revolution, or they destroy the world in a wave of mushroom clouds.

These were protests not against the anti-Soviet war drive as such, but against a war which sacrifices Europe: "Euroshima," they called it. Even more than pacifism, the dominant theme was European-centered nationalism. The speeches were almost as aggressively

anti-Soviet as anti-American. With retired NATO officers and bourgeois politicians on active duty in the speaker stands, the Euro-"peace" marches were popular fronts for imperialist détente. But while NATO social democrats and domesticated Stalinists appease their "own" bourgeoisies with their anti-"superpowers" posture, the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) drew a class line. "Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union! Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" read iSt banners and signs from London to Rome.

London, Paris, Rome

London: Speaking in Hyde Park on October 25, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) spokesman E.P. Thompson emphasized his "even-handed" opposition to NATO and the Warsaw Pact, demanding an unconditional halt to deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles. But Tony Benn best captured the atmosphere of Labourite "little England" chauvinism, demanding "no annihilation without representation" and equating the imperialist U.S. with the Soviet degenerated workers state: "The Poles have had the courage to stand up to the Kremlin. The British people must now have the courage to stand up to the Pentagon and close all nuclear bases here." The pseudo-Trotskyists went along with this nationalist pacifism and pro-NATO "neutrality," but the Spartacist League/Britain chanted: "Thatcher hates British workers—Thatcher hates Russian workers. Defend the workers unions—Defend the workers states!"

Spartacist banners attracted considerable attention. An official attempt to silence the SL/B contingent was defeated as our comrades chanted, "Troops out of Ireland now!" A woman who joined us in an argument with anti-communists declared, "If not for the Soviet Union I would have been killed by the Nazis." Members of the Euro-communist CP and the Kremlin-line New Communist Party sought out our salesmen to buy copies of the new iSt pamphlet, "Solidarność: Poland's Company Union for CIA and Bankers." For "ammunition" in internal discussions, some said. By the end of the day, the SL/B had hardly a single piece of literature left, having sold over 1,200 copies of the latest *Spartacist Britain* and 75 Poland pamphlets.



U.S. Army



LPI

Lance missile, London peace marchers.

Paris: The demonstration in the French capital, called by the Stalinist front group Mouvement pour la Paix, attracted mainly the ranks of the Communist Party (PCF) itself. Simultaneously the Socialist Party, reflecting the Mitterrand government's pro-Reagan stance, condemned "unilateral pacifist sentiment" in Europe. With discontent rising against the popular-front regime, the PCF wanted to cash in on peace sentiment while avoiding a confrontation with their coalition partners. So in order to preserve their governmental respectability, at the last

minute the Euro-Stalinists raised a gigantic banner in front of their youth group proclaiming, "Neither Pershings Nor SS-20s." Many Communist Party militants were visibly uncomfortable with their party's shameful anti-Soviet line. The two banners of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) calling for defense of the USSR against the Cold War drive and opposing capitalist restoration in Poland were widely noticed. A number of CPers told us they agreed with our slogans, and by the end of the day 260 pieces of Spartacist

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The Nyack Brinks Job

We Don't Know

Government/Media Launch Weather-Witchhunt

Last week U.S. rulers got their chance (or made it) to go on an "anti-terrorist" rampage on the home front. So far the Reagan gang has been shooting up Salvadoran peasants and shooting down Libyan planes. Now their cops are kicking in doors, brandishing their Uzis and Armalites, ordering dragnets, having high-speed car chases and fatally wounding (murdering) suspects all in the name of law and order. The signal was provided by the October 20 holdup of a Brinks armored truck in the Rockland County, New York suburb of Nanuet. A Brinks guard and two cops were killed in shoot-outs before a van was captured at the Nyack entrance to the NY Thruway. The next day the police revealed that among the arrested were Kathy Boudin, long sought as a leader of the Weather Underground, and Weatherman Judith Clark. Later a second Weather leader, Dave Gilbert, was identified as one of the occupants of a getaway car that didn't get away.

This was the green light for the cops to "bring the war home." A series of lightning raids was staged on a so-called network of safe houses and bomb factories throughout the New York metropolitan area. Whipping up a witchhunt atmosphere, they alleged cross connections of every conceivable and inconceivable sort: to the "May 19th Coalition," the Black Liberation Army, Black Panthers, Republic of New Africa, Puerto Rican FALN—the only ones they left out were that creepy bunch in Philadelphia, MOVE, and the Symbionese Liberation Army. They were officially agnostic on the involvement of a foreign power: as someone observed, the only reason they didn't accuse Libya was that then they'd have the CIA supplying the guns, via Wilson and Terpil. Now heading up their "most wanted" list are BLA leader and ex-Panther Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur) and Marilyn Buck, allegedly the BLA "quartermaster."

Within a week the cops had seized Nathaniel Burns, one of the NYC "Panther 21" who has been sought since 1968; Jeff Jones and Eleanor Raskin, prominent Weathermen wanted on an explosives charge from 1979; and Eve Rosahn, who had been arrested in September at an anti-apartheid demonstration at Kennedy Airport. In the most spectacular action, 150 cops, four Air Force SWAT teams using three tanks and two helicopters swooped down on a shack in rural Mississippi to seize Cynthia Boston, described as "minister of information" of the black nationalist RNA. Meanwhile the police worked over their

Police fire power in Nyack: their guns are aimed at radicals, blacks, labor militants.



prisoners: Boston was held incommunicado; three of the Nyack prisoners appeared in court with black eyes and bruises they didn't have on the night they were arrested; Nat Burns was beaten to a pulp so that he had to be admitted to the hospital 15 hours after his capture.

For the government it was an all-purpose bust to whip up a "terrorist" frenzy, with the full cooperation of the media. "Unleash" the CIA? The *Wall Street Journal* looked for the hand of Cuba and Russia. Repeal the Freedom of Information Act? The *New York Post* screamed, "Escaped Leader [Chesimard] Had FBI Files in Cell." Even the staid *Times*, which admitted that "no evidence has been put forward for some of the purported connections," played up the story and reported deadpan explanations by officials that "the groups share common purposes, including what one called 'the creation of a socialist state' and 'an end to the United States Government as we know it.'" Certainly the authorities derived much satisfaction from the involvement of Kathy Boudin, the better to get her father, Leonard Boudin, one of the foremost civil liberties and political defense attorneys in the nation. Above all, the "red terror" scare around the Nyack robbery is part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive internationally and the efforts to reproduce the McCarthyite climate of the 1950s.

Kenneth Walton, deputy director of the New York FBI office and head of a new federal-NYC joint Terrorism Task Force, announced that "we are looking at this as a major racketeering investigation." Why "racketeering"? Because they are using the draconian RICO ("Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations") conspiracy law to round up anyone they claim had the slightest connection with the

suspects. This "Untouchables" law has only the vaguest definition of racketeering, permits multiple prosecutions for the same acts, extends the statute of limitations, imposes increased criminal sanctions—lengthy imprisonment, fines—and allows the government to strip defendants of their assets to prevent them from hiring top lawyers. The key court decision declared "the RICO net is woven tightly to trap even the smallest fish," including people who don't even know what the alleged conspiracy is about. RICO has been used to put away Tony Scotto and the Hells Angels; now they want to extend it to political "terrorist organizations."

As the number of suspects grows daily it's clear the Reaganites want to use this case to launch a Weather-witchhunt. Marxists are of course for the complete protection of all the civil rights and liberties of those involved; we strongly protest the vicious beatings, the bonapartist laws, the arrests of unrelated individuals.

What about the Nyack Brinks job itself? It depends. A decade ago at a time when the bulk of the left was trying to wash its hands of the unpopular offshoot of SDS, we wrote: "As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend the Weathermen" while opposing individual terrorism as a strategy of despair ("Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist* No. 17-18, August-September 1970). But the Weather Underground has not been heard from since 1975, and many of its former leaders have surfaced. It's quite possible that some ex-Weathermen, long isolated from politics, could have degenerated through linking up with lumpen elements—this was the trajectory of the BLA, for instance. Was this then a political action or a bank robbery for profit? What was

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SL Answers the Wall Street Journal

30 October 1981

The Wall Street Journal
22 Cortland St.
New York, NY 10007

To the editor:

Twice recently the *Wall Street Journal* has referred unmistakably to the international Spartacist tendency insinuating that we are somehow Soviet surrogates and making some ominous implied threats. First, the lead editorial in your 29 September edition complained that when Polish Solidarność 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 preceding sentence referred to "broadcasts from the Soviet Union...denouncing Solidarity's American connection." Ergo, the Spartacist League, which called the protest, is parroting the Kremlin line. With this amalgam the *Journal* is saying that anyone who exposes Solidarity's ties to imperialist Cold Warriors and denounces the coun-

terrevolutionary threat behind their "free trade unions, free elections" calls (meaning "free enterprise" and the "free world"), is a Soviet mouthpiece or worse.

In a second instance, a report on the commentary page of the 28 October *Journal* about the ban-the-bomb movement in Britain states: "The Trotskyite group, for example, marched to the London rally under the banner 'Smash NATO and Support the Soviet Union'." It then quotes a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organizer dismissing "pockets of old-fashioned pro-Soviet groups." Of course, the notion of Trotskyists, in this case the Spartacist League/Britain, as Kremlin agents is quite ludicrous. Stalin drew the line in blood. And to set the record straight, our banners read "Smash NATO, Defend the Soviet Union." Trotskyists defend the Soviet bloc states against the threat of a restoration of capitalism because the collectivized economy which arose from the October Revolution represents an historic step forward for mankind. We are the most intransigent opponents, however, of the

bureaucracy's treacherous policies which endanger those foundations—from mortgaging Poland to Western bankers, to illusions of détente with imperialism to backing Third World despots like Sadat.

But it's not mainly the distortions which bother us—it's the threats that lie behind them. You write that, "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" American labor leaders' fronting for Washington "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching." And in case they persist in this "very dirty business," you warn, "they should not be allowed to do so easily." What does the *Journal* have in mind? These are not idle words—for the capitalist class, in whose behalf you write, has at its disposal all the instruments of state repression (courts, cops and more) to carry out such threats. Maybe it's the new executive order to "unleash" the CIA to disrupt American radical organizations. Or perhaps the bill making it illegal to say that Irving Brown, who was invited to the Solidarność conference by Lech Walesa, is a notorious CIA "labor" operative. Or are you suggesting a red

purge in the unions to drive out anyone who opposes "solidarity with Solidarność"?

The *Journal* editorial is of a piece with the Cold War witchhunting coming from the Reagan administration, which labels everyone from Salvadoran peasants to Namibian blacks "Soviet terrorists." But Reagan's drive to break the tiny PATCO air controllers union has opened quite a few eyes to the "free trade unions" hoax. And your editorial confirms the unholy alliance of American friends of Solidarność—stretching from Albert Shanker's UFT offices to Langley, Virginia—now blessed by the *Wall Street Journal*, the intrepid defender of the rights of labor the world over. So what, you reply: "How easy it is to make lists of CIA connections..." How easy indeed. There's some dirty work going on here, but it's not the communists who are trying to cover it up.

Sincerely,

Jan Norden
Editor,
Workers Vanguard

Fake-Lefts Support Solidarność Counterrevolution

At its first national conference this September, Polish Solidarność crossed the Rubicon. Taken together, its provocative call for "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc, the demand for "free elections" to a sovereign parliament and the proposal for Poland to join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), along with the invitations to hardline Cold Warrior AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and to long-time CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown indicated that Solidarność had consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program. It has become a pro-imperialist Trojan horse within the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states. And unlike the Homeric original the danger it represents is quite obvious. A victory for Solidarność will be a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, for the Common Market and NATO. As Trotskyists who unconditionally defend revolutionary conquests against the threat of capitalist restoration, we say: Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!

We naturally expected an outraged response from our opponents who have enlisted in the forces of pro-NATO social democracy. As the Cold War has progressively heated up, the myriad British fake-Trotskyist groups have sunk ever deeper into Labourism, where they vie with each other in enthusiastic cheerleading for Tony Benn. For them support to Solidarność has become as much an instinctive political reflex as it is for Reagan or Mitterrand. Habituated to the NATO social-democratic milieu, Sean Matgamna, Alan Thornett, the International Marxist Group (IMG), et al. support any and every opposition within the Soviet bloc, no matter how reactionary. In their mouths "anti-Stalinism" becomes social-democratic anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (8 October) quotes lengthy excerpts from our article (*Spartacist/Britain* No. 36, October 1981) without polemical reply and then concludes: "These sectarians end up on the side of the Stalinist counter-revolution, against the developing workers' political revolution." In their youth press they dispense with this wishful thinking and state their real position:

"Even if the demands of Polish workers were 'rightwing,' revolutionary social-



Lech Walesa pays homage to reactionary Catholic church in Gdansk shipyards.

Der Spiegel

From the Horse's Mouth

While fatuous fake-Trotskyists claim that Solidarność is leading a workers political revolution in Poland, we have maintained that behind the rhetoric about "democracy" is the program to restore the capitalist system of "free world" imperialism. Now, in a CBS television interview with Walter Cronkite (broadcast on 2 November), Lech Walesa has come right out and said this in a way that allows no misinterpretation. When

Cronkite asked, "Is there any country that you would see as a model for the kind of democracy you'd like to find in Poland?", the Solidarność leader replied:

"Quite a lot of things from the States and other countries fit as well.... But, of course, things are better in your country, and generally, your system has passed the test.... You have been achieving democracy and all that for years now."

Tell that to the air controllers!

ists would stand with such a real workers movement, however misguided, against the Russian army's bloodletting."

—*Class Fighter*, July-August

The small centrist Workers Power group is squeezed between the various Labourite pseudo-Trotskyists on their right and the international Spartacist tendency on their left. Where Matgamna/Thornett think communist opposition to Solidarność can be dismissed with a nervous giggle, Workers Power attempts their typical confused polemic against our position ("Spartacist—Cheerleaders for the Kremlin," *Workers Power*, October 1981). True to form, Workers Power is critical of the central leadership of Solidarność. But what Workers Power criticizes Walesa for is *not* that he is a clerical-nationalist and anti-communist, *not* that he calls for American capital to penetrate Poland, *not* that he wants IMF to monitor the Polish economy. No, what Workers Power has against Walesa is that he is too conciliatory toward the Stalinist regime:

"What matter to the Spartacists that he [Walesa] fought the elections at the second part of the Solidarity congress on a clear platform of conciliation with, and respect for, the Stalinist authorities, that he has an explicit programme for, and record of, collaboration with the authorities."

In this particular criticism of Walesa, Workers Power has a lot of company—all of it bad. A large minority of Solidarność, quite vocal at the congress,

also criticized Walesa as too conciliatory to the authorities. The so-called "radical" wing of Solidarity consists of extreme clerical-nationalists, many of whom would welcome the chance to throw Molotov cocktails and shoot Russian soldiers. The *Wall Street Journal* (26 October), a great champion of Polish Solidarność incidentally, estimated that about a hundred of the 800-plus congress delegates were supporters of Leszek Moczulski's Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). The KPN is an openly anti-communist, Pilsudskiite nationalist organization, which even the *Journal* admits is "tainted by a history of anti-Semitism." If this is not a counterrevolutionary organization, what is? Reportedly it was KPN supporters who pushed through the resolution for "free elections" to the Sejm—not exactly a conciliatory gesture to the Stalinist regime (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1981).

Since Workers Power opposes Walesa mainly because he is conciliatory to the Stalinists, they would logically line up with the "radicals" of the KPN. If they had a delegate at the Solidarność congress, he would presumably give critical support to Walesa's most vitriolic "radical" opponent, Jan Rulewski, who denounced the "imperialist policy of the Soviet Union" and declared, "This union was not created to make compromises, but to smash the totalitarian system of our country" (*Time*, 12

October). Or perhaps they favor the "radical" head of the Szczecin chapter, Marian Jurczyk, who reportedly said "a couple of gallows would come in handy" for Communist officials who are "traitors to Polish society."

Basically Workers Power evades the question of revolution or counterrevolution by *denying* there exists any fundamental conflict between Solidarność and the Stalinist bureaucracy and generally *minimizing* the Polish crisis. Workers Power informs us that:

"The Solidarity Congress showed clearly that the tendency towards a working class anti-bureaucratic political revolution is, at present, far outweighed by a tendency—articulated in nationalist and Trade Union colours—towards accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy." [our emphasis]

In this fairy tale Solidarność, the Catholic church and the Stalinist regime are all one big happy (well, not so happy) family. According to Workers Power, the program of Poland's most prominent pro-Western social democrat, Jacek Kuron, "has been embraced as a lifeline and positively advocated by supposedly pro-Kremlin maverick Politburo member Olszowski."

We can safely say that not a single political person in Poland would take seriously Workers Power's rosy picture of Solidarność/Stalinist relations. Not a single political person in Poland thinks that the pro-imperialist social democrat Kuron and the hardline Stalinist Olszowski share a common program for governmental reform. When Olszowski talks about bringing Solidarność and the church into some kind of national

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Time Runs Out in Poland

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Speaker: George Foster
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m.

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BERKELEY

Social Democracy: Imperialism's Soft Cop in Central America

On August 28 the governments of France and Mexico submitted a joint statement on El Salvador to the UN Security Council, declaring that "the alliance of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FMLN/FDR] constitutes a representative political force." The declaration urged that "the alliance participate in the establishment of the mechanisms of rapprochement and negotiation necessary to the political solution of the crisis" in El Salvador. The two governments also called for "a new internal order," "restructur[ing] the armed forces" and "authentically free elections." It was the most notable international support to date for a negotiated settlement of the Salvadoran civil war. Predictably, the Franco-Mexican communiqué was seized upon by all the liberals and reformists who refuse to fight for military victory of the leftist insurgents over the bloody U.S.-backed junta.

It was an embarrassment for the Reagan administration. The *New York Times* (29 August) noted: "The Mexican-French statement has made public in a forceful way, officials said, the differences between Washington and some of its closest friends over El Salvador." Secretary of State Haig responded by cynically accusing FMLN guerrillas of engaging in "straight terrorism, the kind of activity which reflects their failure and frustration." Salvadoran junta leader José Napoleón Duarte exclaimed, "This has been the work of Castro." Washington even lined up nine of its Latin American client regimes, most of them military dictatorships, to condemn the statement for interfering in Salvadoran internal affairs. But imperialist liberals were interested. The *New York Times* coyly editorialized: "If France and Mexico are willing to assume the risks of promoting an international settlement, why not let them try?"

The Franco-Mexican declaration became the banner of the leaders of the Salvadoran opposition popular front and their allies. FDR/FMLN spokesman Salvador Samayoa proclaimed it "the most important and significant event since the deepening of the conflict" (*Noticias del Istmo*, 1-15 September). "A momentous event," concurred Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (*Barricada*, 30 August). And Fidel Castro lauded it as "a courageous and humanitarian initiative" before the Interparliamentary Union (*Granma*, 15 September). So armed with this "protective umbrella" from some respectable bourgeois governments, the FDR politicians launched a "diplomatic offensive," dispatching their forces to the cocktail circuits of Europe and North America to get other countries to come out for a "political solution" to the Salvadoran conflict.

Influencing the Cold Warrior in the White House, who wants to teach the Kremlin a "bloody lesson" by wiping out the FMLN guerrillas, is another matter altogether. And the FDR diplomats have not met with stunning success: so far they have only managed to sign up Austria, Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the Seychelles Islands. The only tangible support has come from the social democrats. At the end of September former West German chancellor



La Prensa Grafica



Ari Mintz

Two faces of FDR leader Guillermo Ungo: With the first "reform" junta, October 1979 (Ungo second from left); shaking hands with Socialist International leader, Willy Brandt, October 1981.

Willy Brandt presided over a meeting of the Socialist International (SI) which endorsed the Franco-Mexican declaration. The governing social democrats of Austria, Denmark, France and Norway are all members of the SI, with which Mexico's perennial capitalist ruling party, the PRI, maintains friendly ties.

So how come the *New York Times*, Fidel Castro, Willy Brandt and the Sandinistas are all nodding in agreement as U.S. allies Mexico and France voice support for the Salvadoran rebels? Is this General Haig's fabled international Soviet terror conspiracy at work? Hardly. Mexico's José López Portillo and France's François Mitterrand do not differ with Ronald Reagan over whether Central America ought to "go Communist." They're arguing over how to prevent it. European imperialists worry that Reagan's tactics could put the last nails in the coffin of détente. Mexico fears that they could backfire, threatening capitalist rule throughout what it now calls its "natural area of influence." From a different vantage point, this fear is shared by the FDR/FMLN, Nicaragua's FSLN and Castro, who all want to see El Salvador "stabilized" under a reformed capitalist regime. A military victory over the junta would require such a far-reaching struggle that it could spark a social revolution threatening the middle-class political figures of the FDR and provoking the showdown with Yankee imperialism they are vainly trying to avoid.

In the U.S., the former New Leftists of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) have made "Support Franco-Mexican Recognition of FDR-FMLN" their main demand. In France the barricade fighters of '68 are now cheering Mitterrand, who last month discreetly sent Régis Debray to the White House to convince National Security adviser Richard Allen that French policy in Central America is "more realistic." In Mexico "far leftists" who survived the 1968 massacre of Tlatelolco hail the French-Mexican declaration as "an indisputable victory of the Salvadoran Revolution" and call on López Portillo to "follow it up." Whatever their subjective intentions, with their policies of pressuring their capitalist rulers they are supporting the program of liberal "democratic" counterrevolution in Latin America. And that means more rivers of blood shed by

the Salvadoran masses who would be cheated out of the victory for which they have fought so heroically.

When U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders visited Nicaragua in August, he warned the Sandinistas that "his government would not tolerate a victory of the left in El Salvador, that they have the means to prevent it and that, in case of need, they would not hesitate to use them" (*Le Monde*, 1 September). The U.S.' European allies have been singing a very different tune. In fact, West German social democrats have sent considerable financial aid to the Salvadoran FDR, whose head, Guillermo Ungo, is a vice president of the Socialist International. *Business Week* (12 January 1981) noted that the already poor relations between Washington and Bonn "will not be helped by aid to leftist insurgents in Central America by the Chancellor's German socialists." More than half a million dollars were raised by left social democrats in West Germany in an appeal for "Arms for El Salvador" to be sent to the FMLN guerrillas.

The social democrats obviously have a very different view from Reagan of Western interests in Latin America. It's absurd to see "a Cuban or a Communist behind every bush," said Socialist International Latin American expert Pierre Schori (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20 February). And throughout the spring of 1981 the social-democratic international sought to promote a "political settlement" in El Salvador while Reagan was arming the junta. The SI's diplomatic initiatives were spurred by the election in May of François Mitterrand as president of France. In a post-election interview Mitterrand sharply attacked the Reagan/Haig line on Central America:

"The people of the region want to put an end to the oligarchies that, backed by bloody dictatorships, exploit them and crush them under intolerable conditions.... A tiny part of the population owns almost everything. How is it not possible to understand this popular revolution?... The West would be better advised to help these people rather than force them to exist under the oppressor's boot, because when they cry for help, I would like to know that someone other than Fidel Castro would hear them."

—*New York Times*, 2 July

Have the social democrats, such consummate reformists in Europe, suddenly become raving revolutionaries

in Latin America? Far from it. They simply recognize that revolt against the bloody U.S.-backed tyrants is inevitable in Latin America, and it is necessary to go with the tide. Following this line the social democrats created an "International Committee for Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution," including such luminaries as Brandt, Mitterrand, Sweden's Olaf Palme, Spain's Felipe González and Portugal's Mário Soares, which met in Managua in June pledging to stand with the Sandinistas against counterrevolution. But while they continue to support the Sandinistas (more than \$50 million in West German aid to Nicaragua to date and \$25 million pledged by Mitterrand's France) the Socialist International's enthusiasm for El Salvador has been cooling noticeably. The British *Latin American Weekly Report* (18 September) quoted a high-ranking German official:

"We are very exposed in Berlin, and we can't risk recognising the FDR as France and Mexico have done. It's not that we would not like to, just that we have not got the independence to do it."

The social democrats' move into Latin America is relatively recent. To be more specific, it follows directly from their heavy intervention in Portugal during 1974-75. At that time, the German SPD's Friedrich Ebert Foundation funneled millions of Deutschmarks to Mário Soares' Socialist Party in order to head off the threat of socialist revolution. This money financed a massive anti-Communist mobilization including the burning of CP offices. The chairman of the Ebert Foundation commented: "If we had not gotten engaged in Portugal, this front would have been lost" (*Der Spiegel*, 16 April 1979). What he didn't mention was that the social democrats' D-marks were really laundered CIA dollars.

If the SI and the CIA worked hand-in-glove in Portugal, why are they at loggerheads in Central America? In part, this conflict is a reflection of differing interests of the U.S. and West European capitalists. The penetration of the Socialist International in "Uncle Sam's backyard" is in many ways a side effect of the penetration of West German capital in Latin America. But it is not chiefly for reasons of economic competition that Washington and Bonn are at odds over Central America. The sticking point is divergent U.S. and European capitalist interests vis-à-vis

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Expropriate the Bourgeoisie — For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Nicaragua Heads for Showdown

NOVEMBER 3—On October 21, Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) capped a long period of deteriorating relations with the country's bourgeois opposition by arresting the leaders of the main business organization, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), on charges of violating economic emergency laws and mounting a "counterrevolutionary offensive." FSLN leader Daniel Ortega insisted that this step did not mean that the Sandinistas were abandoning their commitment to a "mixed economy" and "political pluralism" (*Barricada*, 22 October). Just to prove it, 24 leaders of the small dissident pro-Kremlin Communist Party (PCN) and its trade-union federation (CAUS) were also rounded up and charged with inciting strikes. To further drive home the point that the FSLN considers their left critics the greater danger, a Sandinista court sentenced three of the businessmen to nine months of public service work—and handed 29-month prison terms to four leftists.

The COSEP gentlemen earned the FSLN's wrath by opposing the national mobilization carried out during the early October "Halcón Vista" (Hawk's Eye) joint naval maneuvers by the U.S. and Honduras. At a mass rally October 9, minister of defense Humberto Ortega told a huge crowd that they should compile lists of "counterrevolutionary elements" for use in case of invasion or other emergency. Right-wingers claimed that Ortega said such elements could be "hanged along the highways" and COSEP spokesmen charged the government with preparing "genocide" against the capitalist class. A few days later they were in jail.

In an official statement, junta member Daniel Ortega tried to justify the arrest of the leftists by saying that they "accused the government and the Sandinista Front of surrendering the country to Latin American and Canadian investors" (*Síntesis Latinoamericana*, 26 October). Two CAUS leaders were arrested as they were leaving the Council of State, from which they had just been expelled for "promoting division in the working class." This bonapartist repression against leftist half-critics of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN regime must be sharply denounced by revolutionary socialists everywhere! Yet the Stalinist fellow-traveling U.S. *Guardian* and the reformist anti-Trotskyist *Militant* support and excuse the arrest of PCN/CAUS militants, a measure aimed at shoring up the crumbling "national unity" with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie!

Whatever the particular excuse used to jail the COSEP leaders, it has been clear for some time that a showdown between the FSLN and the bourgeois opposition is coming, and sooner rather than later. Two years ago the bulk of the Nicaraguan capitalists felt that life under the rapacious Somoza dynasty was more unbearable than the risks involved in putting the Castro-inspired radical-nationalist FSLN in power. It was a political marriage of convenience that was rocky at best. Now, with the FSLN consolidating a monopoly of power and U.S. imperialism under Reagan applying heavy economic and military pressure on the Sandinistas, many businessmen have gone into increasingly open counterrevolutionary opposition.

Impossible "National Unity"

The Sandinistas' "middle course" is an attempt to steer a path between



Sandinista people's militia marches against U.S. intervention.

provoking U.S. military intervention by emulating the Cuban Revolution, and losing their popular support by protecting capitalist interests against the working masses. This attempt to balance between the fundamental class forces is doomed to failure.

The danger from the U.S. is quite real. Halcón Vista was a practice run for a blockade or invasion of Nicaragua. U.S. colonel Samuel Dickerson told the Honduran military rulers that the joint military exercises were "a demonstration that the U.S. is willing to give its support to Honduras in a war with Nicaragua" (*Barricada*, 8 October). Then there are the thousands of ex-Somoza guardsmen in camps in Honduras who, no doubt financed by the CIA, stage continual murderous raids into Nicaragua. And the training camps in Florida for a Bay of Pigs-style invasion (see "Sandinista Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns," *WV* No. 285, 17 July). To meet this threat the FSLN has mobilized the largest army and militia in Central America, well armed and with a fighting spirit incomparably superior to that of the drafted peasant armies of the neighboring dictatorships.

As was the case with Chile under Allende, the U.S. is tightening the screws to "make the economy scream." Reagan has cut off \$81.1 million in aid to Nicaragua. As imports fall due to lack of foreign exchange, production is declining and inflation is heading toward 50 percent a year. There have also been threats to embargo Nicaraguan exports, such as Eisenhower did with Cuban sugar. But with some important U.S. allies opposed to this policy of isolating Nicaragua (see accompanying article on facing page), this will not necessarily work. When Reagan cut off wheat sales to the FSLN a few months ago, the Sandinistas were able to obtain "wheat of dignity" not only from the USSR but from Canada, the Common Market and other Western countries. France, West Germany and the Socialist International are still backing the FSLN with money and propaganda in an effort to forestall another Cuba by buying them off.

But American pressure has had a profound impact on the Nicaraguan capitalists, a particularly weak branch-office bourgeoisie for whom ties with the U.S. are all-important. This genuine "fifth column" has the power to throw Nicaragua's economy into chaos. The

private sector retains control of 60 percent of the economy, including 75 percent of the crucial agro-export businesses: coffee, cotton, ranching. What they don't have is a real voice in running the country. With no confidence in the FSLN's commitment to a capitalist economy, they have refused to invest, sent capital fleeing to Miami and have been implicated in continual counterrevolutionary plots.

As a result, in order to keep the capitalist economy running, the Sandinistas have channeled fully 80 percent of all government credit and foreign exchange to private businesses. Nevertheless, the business organ *La Prensa*, with a circulation of 80,000 (far more than the FSLN's *Barricada*), has mounted an ever-more-shrill propaganda campaign against the government, for which it has been shut down half a dozen times in recent months. The church, too, reflects this bourgeois opposition and has tried to turn religious fervor against the FSLN, despite the government's attempt to equally embrace Jesus and Sandino.

From the other side, the FSLN is under increasing pressure from the workers and peasants who rose up in Somoza's final days to put "los muchachos" (the boys) in power. In recent months, the FSLN's own mass-based organizations (Sandinista Defense Committees, Sandinista Youth, Nicaraguan Women's Association, etc.) have repeatedly mobilized to press for a crackdown ("mano dura") against "los contras" (counterrevolutionaries), calling for shutting down *La Prensa*, banning opposition rallies and cheering suggestions of further nationalizations. In conjunction with this campaign, an "economic and social emergency" law was declared last summer, confiscating a few token parcels of land from absentee landlords and taking some businesses from "decapitalizing" capitalists.

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

But those emergency measures were directed as much, if not more, against militant trade unionists as at the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. The arrest of the CAUS and PCN leaders was hardly the first time that the FSLN has jailed its left-wing critics (see "New Sandinista Jailing of Leftists," *WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980). Yet the tepid reformists of the Communist Party with their Stalinist dogma of "two-stage"

revolution have vacillated all over the map, from calling strikes in early 1980 to joining a political front with the FSLN last spring. What worries the Sandinistas is rather that *any* attempt to mobilize the working masses could topple their delicate balancing job.

Referring to leading capitalist politician Alfonso Robelo, junta member Sergio Ramírez warned the bourgeoisie:

"The private sector is risking its neck. If it refuses to cooperate and things get worse, people would not turn to Robelo for a solution, but would demand something much more radical than the mixed economy now offered by the FSLN. And we would have to be at the head of it. We couldn't allow the Trotskyists to do it for us."

—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 August

But what is necessary in Nicaragua is precisely what "the Trotskyists" alone call for. And this doesn't refer to the reformist Socialist Workers Party which condemns the "ultra-leftist" PCN/CAUS for "appealing to the least politically conscious workers" in defending the right to strike (*Militant*, 6 November). Ramírez may not be an avid reader of *Workers Vanguard*, but he knows instinctively that Trotskyism calls for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and international socialist revolution. The international Spartacist tendency calls not for pressuring the petty-bourgeois FSLN, but for a Leninist vanguard party to mobilize the exploited masses *independently* of their bonapartist rulers, in establishing soviet power and a workers and peasants government. It is this program of permanent revolution, the heritage of the Russian October Revolution, which the Sandinistas (and reformists everywhere) seek to exorcise.

Even at this late date, as the bulk of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie goes over to open counterrevolutionary opposition, the Sandinistas vainly seek to maintain a "patriotic front" of all classes. Their response to the escalating provocations emanating from the Reagan administration and its Central American puppets has been essentially military—expand the militias and lock up some oppositionists (while letting the U.S.-backed Robelo go) in order to intimidate the rest. It is possible that the anti-Communist Cold Warriors in Washington may force the Sandinistas to consolidate a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model—and the pressures are building rapidly. But this is certainly not the aim of the FSLN, which leaves a powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie by maintaining and defending (anti-strike laws, etc.) a capitalist "mixed economy."

What's needed in Nicaragua is not a Castro-style Stalinist regime based on the impossible dream of "peaceful coexistence" with its neighboring dictatorships and U.S. imperialism ("socialism in one banana republic"), but a revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed workers and peasants *throughout Central America*. The Sandinistas' refusal to arm the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas is *criminal*. The only real defense against counterrevolution is socialist revolution to liquidate the capitalists within Nicaragua and aid the workers and peasants of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in overthrowing the strutting caudillos, bloody death squads, banana companies, absentee landlords and Sears & Roebuck affiliates that constitute Central American capitalism. For workers revolution throughout Central America! ■

THE SPIKE: CIA'S "DISINFORMATION" MERCENARIES



Crowe



de Borchgrave

Spike authors Robert Moss (left) and Arnaud de Borchgrave claim the My Lai massacre was a KGB-inspired propaganda hoax.

Ronald Haeblerle

"International terrorism," said General Haig in his first speech as Secretary of State, "will take the place of human rights as the chief concern of U.S. foreign policy." With this statement the anti-Soviet war drive launched by Carter became more direct, more ideological, more dangerous. A sinister new code vocabulary has spewed out of Washington aimed straight at a Cold War witchhunt: the source of "international terrorism" is the Kremlin, either directly or indirectly through Soviet "surrogates" who are everywhere. Particularly with the counterrevolutionary threat in Poland, these Cold War fanatics aren't satisfied with the New Left "terrorist" profile, less ideologically useful, and are itching for a domestic witchhunt against "pro-Soviet" types.

Who is a "Soviet surrogate"? And what do they do? According to the Reaganites' Newspeak they not only are the instruments of nearly all the terrorist acts in the world and all of the nationalist guerrilla operations (except Afghanistan's Islamic reactionary "freedom fighters"), they're also engaged in a massive propaganda campaign spreading "disinformation" for the Kremlin. The *prima facie* evidence of "disinformation," of course, is opposition to Reagan's Cold War policies. A recent document released by the State Department on October 9 indicates the scope of the Reagan/Haig/CIA "disinformation" thesis:

"The approaches used by Moscow include control of the press in foreign countries; outright and partial forgeries of documents; use of rumors, insinuation, altered facts and lies; use of international and local front organizations; clandestine operation of radio stations; exploitation of a nation's academic, political, economic and media figures as collaborators to influence policies of the nation."

—*New York Times*, 10 October

Of course, all the charges on this list have been proved...against the CIA.

The administration has tried to produce some hard evidence to back up its "disinformation/terrorism" Soviet conspiracy theory, but thus far they haven't been able to make any of it stick. There was the lying "White Paper" on El Salvador, which even the *Wall Street Journal* shot full of holes. Then Haig was infuriated by a CIA report on

"international terrorism" which earned a headline in the *New York Times* (29 March): "Finds Insufficient Evidence of Direct Soviet Role." They tried again. According to the *Times* (18 October) even his own State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research reported back to the boss that "there was no hard evidence to back up his assertions."

So it's not surprising that Exhibit A for the Soviet "disinformation" prosecution turns out to be a work of fiction, *The Spike* (Crown Publishing, 1980) by Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave. Its authors claim their book is really true.

While pretending to be about disinformation, *The Spike* itself is a piece of disinformation, packaged as a novel. It is not merely a lie, not even merely a big one. *The Spike* is practically every lie worked up by the fringe-right and tailored to suit the designs of these CIA-connected "black propagandists." According to *The Spike*, U.S. imperialism was defeated in Vietnam because of

Soviet-controlled media manipulation. The My Lai massacre was faked for the press. The Tet Offensive was really a Viet Cong defeat portrayed as a victory in the media. Watergate and the exposures of CIA/FBI dirty tricks were the work of KGB agents, part of a Communist plan to weaken the internal security of the U.S. The intelligence failures of the CIA are the result of KGB moles in the CIA. The Soviet Union is behind every stone thrown at every right-wing butcher in the world. In *The Spike* even the shah of Iran was brought down by the "bad press" he received. Most importantly, *The Spike* is unabashedly bonapartist in its conclusions and appetites. "Democracy" is a luxury that can be ill-afforded in the all-out war against the Russian "Plan."

The plot of *The Spike* is simple-minded and the real-life models for its composite characters and institutions obvious. As a young antiwar rad/lib at Berkeley in the late 1960s, *Spike* hero Robert Hockney (Warren Hinkle/

David Halberstam/Carl Bernstein, later transformed into Robert Moss himself) does a muckraking article on the CIA for *Barricades* magazine (*Ramparts*). He goes on to become an important investigative reporter in Vietnam and later with Watergate is a press conduit in exposing criminal activities of the CIA/FBI. But through a meeting with *Spike's* bounced counterintelligence chief Nick Flower (James Jesus Angleton), Hockney discovers that nearly everybody involved in the CIA exposures is a KGB agent, mole or mole's dupe.

Through Flower the hero learns that ex-CIA operatives turned CIA opponents like Phil Kreps (Philip Agee) are really KGB agents feeding disinformation to liberal dupes like himself. He learns of "The Plan": "Was it possible that there was some sort of overall plan directed from abroad, to expose the CIA and its secrets—a plan in which Hockney himself might have unwittingly played a part?" Hockney is converted from fond and foolish liberal dupe of Moscow to a figure who resembles the author's advertisement for himself as freedom fighter of the typewriter against the Russian terror network and disinformation plot.

"The Plan"

The "evidence" of disinformation that Haig is looking for is put into the mouth of *Spike's* Soviet spymaster Kramar, who explains "The Plan" to a KGB agent:

"We understood," he continued, "that, as in judo, the fulfillment of our hopes would depend on exploiting the weaknesses of our opponents. In a democracy, it is very difficult to mobilize support in peacetime for high levels of defense spending, or even for efficient internal security measures, let alone for military intervention in foreign lands. So a key element in The Plan we devised three years ago was to develop our capacity to influence public opinion in the West, through disinformation fed to governments and opinion formers and, above all, through media operations.... You have served The Plan, without perhaps being aware of its full dimensions."

To stop "The Plan" they need a massive witchhunt without all those cumbersome parliamentary trappings, most of which according to *The Spike* are the product of Russian influence meant to weaken the U.S.



The real terrorists: CIA-backed junta troops burn bodies of their victims in El Salvador.

UPI

The bonapartist theme of the need for a new McCarthyism in the U.S. to meet the "Russian menace" is struck with more primitive force as *The Spike* reaches its climax. And the real-life campaign to strengthen the U.S. secret police, dump the Freedom of Information Act, and get the CIA whistleblowers put away is given a fantastical twist. In a CIA dream sequence set in a "future America," KGB agent Barisov defects and comes to the U.S. to tell all. After Barisov names the names, the president of the United States, Billy Connor (an ineffectual wimp from the South who spends most of his time with a beer-guzzling buddy), demands to know from the CIA/FBI "what you've got in your files on the people this Russian has named." But alas for Uncle Sam he is given the following answer: "Sir, most of our personnel files have been delivered up under the Freedom of Information Act or destroyed to avoid further prosecution of FBI personnel for using illegal methods to gather intelligence." "We just don't have the agents to cover all the bases," the president is told. "Agents have been dismissed. They are demoralized. It's impossible to attract good new recruits."

But the purge goes through under *Spike* senator Seamus "Shame" O'Reilly (a former UN ambassador noted for outraging "Third World" nations with fancy insults à la Daniel Patrick Moynihan), who says with gusto: "If they can't be prosecuted, they can at least be exposed for what they are.... But we're also going to bring in a few laws through Congress to put some teeth back into our internal security set-up." O'Reilly spearheads a coup against the president. By threatening to expose Connor's political associates as KGB agents or dupes one and all, O'Reilly gets the lame-duck president to install him as new vice president and to put his fellow mole-hunters into all the top security and military positions.

Thus "The Plan" is foiled by the *Spike* heroes who put U.S. imperialism back on the Cold War/hot war track against the insidious Russians. Hockney joins all the right-wing think-tankers, anti-Soviet Congressmen, Russian defectors, unsullied CIA agents and right-thinking publishers to "clean up the mess." They expose and purge the Russian disinformation plotters, the KGB moles, the penetration agents and dupes. And in *The Spike* these are plentiful, including the vice president, CIA chief, two undersecretaries of state, a host of Congressional aides, and of course liberal editors across America, upon whose spike the "truth" about the Russian disinformation plan has been killed.

The Disinformers

For *Spike* authors Moss and de Borchgrave to make charges of "disinformation" is like Caligula accusing the Christians of sadism, points out Fred Landis in a very interesting article on their careers in *Covert Action* (August-September 1980).

What *The Spike* presents as fiction, Moss and de Borchgrave have tried to offer as news articles from Africa to Latin America to the Mideast. Basically they "see" the Soviets everywhere and then report what they "see." Moss reports uniformed Cubans in Shaba province during the Katangan intervention. When the lie is exposed, he cries *Newsweek* corroboration—the by-line, Arnaud de Borchgrave. Moss writes a 1977 *Daily Telegraph* article supporting racist South Africa, "Moscow's Next Target in Africa"; this is then placed in major newspapers around the world as an advertisement paid for by a mysterious "Club of Ten," a conduit for the apartheid regime. Ex-Nicaraguan dictator Somoza purchases *Visión* magazine to praise him in exile, picking Robert Moss as the perfect editor. De Borchgrave gets two \$10,000 Persian rugs from his friend the shah of Iran, thanks

to laudatory articles during the dictator's last days on the collapsing Peacock Throne.

But it's not just that they're flamboyantly right-wing journalist-sycophants, as Landis details: "It is the close coordination of disinformation with the other activities that warrants close attention to Moss and de Borchgrave and 'The Spike.'" The key question is the uses to which the imperialist secret police put disinformation, its part in the organization of counterrevolutionary terror. Indeed the CIA's plans make liberal use of the sort of disinformation about a "Soviet threat" developed and dished out by Moss and de Borchgrave. It ain't just lies. Landis points to "Moss's central role in forming three intelligence-connected think tanks in Santiago, London and Washington."

Although Pinochet and his generals hardly needed much prodding from the CIA to make their coup, nonetheless the destabilization/disinformation campaign, in which Moss played such a central part, did its part. *This* is Moss's glorious "success," a piece of disinformation bound up with one of the most terrible counterrevolutionary actions of the past quarter century.

Britain: After Moss's heady adventures in Chile, Landis reports, the disinformation mercenary "became a speech-writer for a then little-known member of Parliament, Margaret Thatcher. Moss wrote her speech attacking the 'Sovietization of Britain,' which gave Mrs. Thatcher the nickname 'the Iron Lady.' Moss became a leading light in the Institute for the Study of Conflict. Like IGS, ISC served as a way

widely retailed by what the Church Committee described as "cooperative news sources." The CIA owned or subsidized directly over 50 newspapers, radio stations, and magazines, both abroad and in the U.S., revealed the *New York Times* (25 December 1977), while reporter Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame estimated that over 400 journalists were collaborating with the CIA (*Rolling Stone*, October 1977). As for *Spike* authors Moss and de Borchgrave, they are two of the biggest free-lance disinformation mercenaries around.

The Spike is important not as a piece of fiction, but as a masterwork of "black propaganda." In one book Moss and de Borchgrave synthesize all the major anti-Soviet themes developed by the right-wing think tanks over the past five or six years. It is important because it has become the gospel of the New Right and every CIA-influenced newspaper. It was released last year in five countries simultaneously to a splashy publicity campaign including full-page ads in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Important because it reveals the deep yearning for an American bonapartism to meet the Russian "menace" in a growing and influential sector of the bourgeoisie. Perhaps what is most important about *The Spike* is that this outrageous big lie is so close to governmental policy.

Some intimations of domestic McCarthyism to go along with Cold War II are already in the works. Indeed, Reagan and Haig have already instituted the first steps of the *Spike* Plan. Convicted FBI/CIA agents have been pardoned. Philip Agee's passport has been revoked. The Freedom of Information Act gate is being cranked shut. Bills to authorize the CIA to infiltrate domestic left groups are being pushed by the White House. And a new baby HUAC is stirring in Congress.

Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on "Terrorism and Security," is a true believer in the *Spike* scenario. The opening hearing of his committee this spring heard Arnaud de Borchgrave explain the Soviets really do have a master plan to take over the West through "above all, manipulation of the Western media." Another opening witness in the Denton hearings was Claire Sterling, whose book *The Terror Network* (Reader's Digest Press, 1981) is the other literary pillar upon which Haig's house of "international terrorism" is built. Hers is supposed to be a work of non-fiction, but its "proof" of Soviet evil-doing proves to be a mix of outright lies, innuendo and selective coincidence.

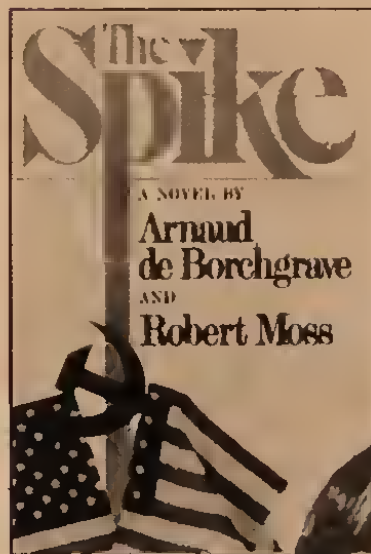
Sterling's deep throat for the evidence of a Soviet masterplot, her single piece of "hard" evidence, is General Jan Sejna. Sejna, who defected from Czechoslovakia in 1968 (one step ahead of a corruption investigation, according to Jiri Pelikan), apparently took *twelve years* to recall his information, in a conversation with "an American writer in 1980." This American writer was one Dr. Michael Ledeen, of the Georgetown Institute of Strategic Studies, another *Spike* "witchhunter" who spun his Soviet conspiracy theories for the Denton committee. While Moss didn't appear before Denton he did his bit by sending out a fundraising letter for "Accuracy in Media" (a right-wing pressure group funded, among others, by the Mellon Foundation and Mobil Oil), which stated:

"One of the biggest stories I have come across... is the story of how our news media have been used by the Soviet KGB and its satellite intelligence services to manipulate public opinion in the West in order to achieve Moscow's expansionist objectives."

In response, *Washington Post* columnist Stephen Rosenfeld angrily accused Moss and de Borchgrave of McCarthyite smear tactics, making

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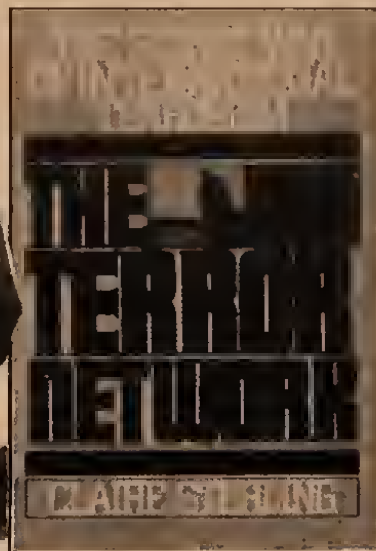
Blueprint for a New McCarthyism



Best-selling lies push Reagan/Haig "evidence" for Soviet "international terrorism." Claire Sterling (below).



Village Voice



Graduates of these think tanks now staff the governments of Chile and Britain and help to run the government of the United States.

Chile: It was in Chile that Moss really got the thrill of power, like *Spike* hero Hockney at novel's end: "...he was exhilarated. He was not merely a witness.... He, Robert Hockney, was helping to change world history. He felt like a surfer-riding, mastering, a tidal wave." Landis reports:

"The first open call for a *coup* in Chile appeared in March of 1973 on the front page of a CIA-funded magazine, *SEPA*. The cover story read, 'An English Recipe for Chile—Military Control' and was attributed to Robert Moss. The think-tank Moss worked with in Chile, the IGS, was a kind of disloyal opposition.... After the October 1972 truckers' strike, Moss put economists of the IGS in touch with dissident military officers.... The IGS did in fact provide all the civilian members of the military government after the *coup* of September 11, 1973."

Moss's role as counterrevolutionary disinformers did not end with the coup. He is the author of *Chile's Marxist Experiment* (1973) exposed by the *Manchester Guardian* as the product of a CIA propaganda front organization, the now-defunct Forum World Features headed by Brian Crozier. According to Landis the CIA determined the content of the book, picked Moss to write it, paid for his trip to Chile, "supervised the writing down to the last draft" and even picked the title. The *Guardian* (26 December 1977) reported: "Ten thousand copies of the books—worth £55,000—were then purchased by the Chilean military junta to be given away as part of a propaganda package."

of bringing CIA journalists and military officers together. Moss founded and became the president of a British version of the Chilean Comando de Acción Gremial, the National Association for Freedom.... The leaders of the NAFF then formed themselves into Conservative Shadow Cabinet that is today the Conservative government." Moss, along with his mentor and long-time CIA-contract agent Brian Crozier also served as advisers at a British school for troops going to Northern Ireland, teaching them they were really fighting the "Soviet threat."

Spike Goes to Washington

Disinformation is for the CIA a central part of its activities and its budget, intricately connected to its counterrevolutionary action programs. One analyst of Agency operations argues that the CIA has spent more money gathering and disseminating "news" than all the major international news services combined. The technique of the pre-emptive big lie is simple: accuse the enemy of what you are plotting yourself. *The Spike's* thesis that the KGB is engaged in massive "disinformation plots" around the world is exactly what the CIA/FBI were exposed as doing during the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence hearings in 1975-76.

It was the CIA that "contaminated" the news, as U.S. media picked up CIA disinformation—"propaganda fallout"—from foreign sources. The FBI's domestic disinformation—COINTELPRO and its smear campaign against Martin Luther King—were

The Spike...

(continued from page 7)

blanket accusations against all journalists as being guilty until proved innocent, and indignantly saying they should "name some names"—if they had any. De Borchgrave ripped back with poisonous coyness: "Does [Rosenfeld] really want to trigger a witchhunt and revive McCarthyism?" (*Washington Post*, 14 April). No—but Denton, de Borchgrave & Co. sure want to. So far the Denton Committee hasn't gotten around to publicly "naming names," but its purpose is clear: to create an atmosphere of intimidation and fear, to broadly smear everyone opposed to Reagan/Haig's policies as potentially KGB agents or terrorists.

Who Lost Vietnam?

The *Spike* is part of a wider attempt by the far right to gear up the U.S. for the anti-Soviet war drive. They recognize that particularly Americans who came of political age during the Vietnam War era have little or no positive ideological commitment to the imperialist war offensive. But the *Spike* "cure" for the "Vietnam syndrome" is not Jimmy Carter's "human rights" moral rearmament which paved the way for Reagan. It is a widespread and effective witchhunt aimed not so much at convincing opponents as silencing them through intimidation. The arguments and psy-war techniques employed by

Spike authors serve to justify such a proposed witchhunt and orient its propaganda troops to soften up the enemy for the main blow. It is in this context of a bonapartist solution to the Vietnam syndrome that the *Spike* thesis of disinformation and its attack on the media must be understood.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is the central fact that haunts the entire bourgeoisie and remains a point of dispute over the decline of U.S. imperialist power. Anti-Reagan liberals are quick to point out that anti-Soviet warmongering by itself will not bring back the "American Century." But the fringe right has its own version of this defeat for U.S. imperialism. During the war they argued that the U.S. was prevented from winning by a pusillanimous official policy which amounted to capitulating to the Soviets. The New Right has formed a "who lost Vietnam?" lobby pushing a "stab in the back" line against the defeatist bourgeoisie, particularly the liberal media. This they now claim is the cause of the decline in U.S. power. Their thesis is that the U.S. won the war in Southeast Asia, but lost it at home, on TV.

It was a simple step through the Cold War looking glass to offer the *Spike* thesis, one of the favorite paranoid themes of the far right: the media controls public opinion and the KGB controls the media. The "Vietnam lobby" joins the cause of right-wing populists generally who have for years

railed against their special villains—the "Jewish controlled media" of the "Eastern Establishment." The *Spike* bonapartists view the media as a considerable obstacle in the molding of public opinion to make the sacrifices for a nuclear World War III with Russia. This is despite the fact that the media has remained an ardent defender of imperialist policy. The liberal media was quick to suppress the truth about the Bay of Pigs invasion, for example. But they favored a different strategy for imperialism over Vietnam.

The psychological target of *Spike* is the liberal dupe who plays into the hands of the Russians. Robert Hockney is converted from anti-war rad-lib to a rightwinger along the Damascus road of anti-Soviet conspiracy. Hockney, who was an alienated "unconscious traitor" at the beginning of the novel, returns home at the end to the comfort of his military family, his class, his country. He marries the proper woman and has the KGB defector as his best man. As *The Spike* ends the reader is to assume they all live happily ever after fighting Soviet conspiracies. It is interesting to note in this regard that Claire Sterling also cultivates a posture of the liberal who became convinced by the "evidence" of Soviet-backed "international terrorism."

The *Spike*ites write about conversion and contrition, but this is merely their soft-cop program. They need a witchhunt of the "pro-Soviet" elements in America and they want it soon. But to

dream of the post-World War II period of loyalty oaths, McCarthy, Un-American Committees and Dulles "rollback" is not the same as getting it. The Vietnam syndrome is by no means cured as the recent protests over El Salvador demonstrate. And while anti-Sovietism is widespread, it is passive, without national sentiment to sacrifice for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade, nor for a McCarthyite witchhunt in the unions. In fact the Reagan regime has a narrow base for its policies, and it is getting narrower as the working class sees more clearly that they have an enemy in the White House. Nevertheless the *Spike*-right has The Plan, and as Reagan pursues his anti-Soviet war drive, their blueprint for a witchhunt becomes more ominous.

U.S. bonapartism will not come via TV or through media clean-ups. The *Spike*ites can accomplish their goal only on the field of class battle where they can be beaten. Unlike the view held by the far right and social-patriotic reformists, U.S. imperialism wasn't defeated in Vietnam on TV or in marches up Pennsylvania Avenue, but in the rice paddies, tunnels and cities of Southeast Asia. It is the truth of the class struggle, the heroism of workers and peasants fighting against their oppressors which most frightens the authors of *The Spike* and the bourgeoisie. And it is this truth which offers the basis for the fight to defeat the anti-Soviet warmongers from Kennedy to Reagan/Haig and their disinformation mercenaries. ■

Europe...

(continued from page 1)

literature had been sold by LTF comrades.

Rome: In order to prove its Euro-communist "independence" of the Kremlin (and subservience to NATO), the Italian Communist Party (PCI) has participated only half-heartedly in the European peace marches of the last year. Consequently the turnout of over 400,000 in Rome for the October 25 disarmament march caused general surprise. While the PCI controlled the march (in contrast to northern Europe where the social democrats are predominant), demonstration organizers carried a manifesto "against all armaments systems in Europe, East and West" to both U.S. and Soviet embassies. Sectors of the PCI, notably the so-called "Afghans," were disturbed by this "even-handed" policy and pleased to see someone standing for defense of the USSR, even if it was the Trotskyists. Despite the modest size of the Lega Trotskysta d'Italia, our comrades sold some 400 copies of the Spartacist Italian-language pamphlet on Poland at the Rome and Milano demonstrations.

Class Struggle Against Imperialist War

Contrary to the propaganda of Reaganite U.S. imperialism, the West European "peace" movement is not

"soft on Russia." The leading social-democratic "pacifists"—Tony Benn in Britain, Erhard Eppler in West Germany—aren't even proposing to leave NATO and go neutral. They oppose Reagan's Cold War military strategy, not his basic aim to roll back the historic gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution by reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism. Given the existing military balance of forces, the "NATO reformists" prefer to undermine the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states and to encourage *internal* counterrevolutionary forces such as have erupted in Poland and around Solidarność. Thus in one sense this European "neutralist" sentiment, despite leftist overtones, reflects *inter-imperialist* conflicts of interest. This accounts for its nationalistic—anti-American and anti-Soviet—character.

While sectors of the West European bourgeoisies have real differences with the Third World Warmonger in the White House, they also have a clear sense of the limits of these differences—which they impart in no uncertain terms to the organizers of the "peace" movement. Unilateral disarmament, ban-the-bomb, petting not Pershings—all this is fine, they say, but the line must be drawn at defense of the Soviet Union. And because the Spartacist tendency does not flinch in its class duty to defend the deformed workers states, we have been singled out for denunciation, out of all proportion to our relative political weight on the left.

Thus the London *Times* of 24 October, on the eve of the Hyde Park anti-nuke demonstration, spent fully *one third* of its article on the CND warning against the Spartacist spectre:

"One possible source of trouble is the intended participation of the Spartacist group, which has called for a Soviet invasion of Poland to suppress the Solidarity movement. The Spartacists intend to march under banners saying, 'Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!' and 'Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!' Monsignor Bruce Kent, general secretary of the CND, said yesterday, 'Ours is a peace march and the Spartacists are no part of CND. Indeed they are usually extremely disruptive. We are not capable physically of excluding anyone, but if they come anywhere near a breach of the peace this will be for the police to deal with.' Monsignor Kent said the police had cordoned the Spartacists off from a CND demonstration outside Chatham House earlier this week..."

In other words, after slandering us as

"disrupters" and distorting our position on Poland, the oh-so-peaceful CND spokesman threatens to call out the cops against leftists.

Reporting afterwards on the Saturday demonstration, the *Sunday Telegraph* (25 October) denounced "political splinter groups," in particular "members of the American founded pro-Soviet Spartacist group [which] attached themselves to the column." And as far away as West Germany the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (26 October) referred to the presence in the London protest of the "group of 'Soviet-Spartacists' founded by Americans."

As the anti-Vietnam War protests grew in the United States during the late 1960s, Democratic Party "doves" moved in to ensure that "the movement" stayed within the bounds of bourgeois pressure politics. Demonstrators were urged to be "clean for Gene" McCarthy and other capitalist "peace" candidates rather than fighting imperialism. Today the European imperialists are forcefully and unambiguously calling on the new "disarmament" movement to exclude communists who defend the Soviet Union. Their aim is to protect capitalism by witchhunting anyone who stands for a Leninist policy of *class* struggle against imperialist war.

In Britain the Eurocommunist turncoats flaunt their pathetic nationalism ("Defend Britain—Ban the Bomb") while unreconstructed Brezhnevites demand "Détente not Destruction" in the face of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The gutless French Euro-Stalinists, while hailing the Gaullist *force de frappe*, oppose Russian missiles which stand guard against imperialist nuclear holocaust. The nationalist logic of Stalin's "socialism in one country" leads his epigones to abandon any pretense of defending the conquests of the October Revolution. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, proclaim their proletarian internationalism: for unconditional defense of the deformed workers states, for communist unity against imperialism through proletarian political revolution from Moscow to Peking! Our comrades of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands protested the visit of warmonger Haig with the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union Begins in Berlin!" In Paris we proclaimed: "Down with Mitterrand's Force de Frappe—

Détente Is a Criminal Illusion." And against the threat of capitalist restoration in Poland we declare: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" As the social-patriots push "neutralist" rhetoric as a cover for refusal to oppose the militarism of their "own" bourgeoisies, we Trotskyists are guided by the revolutionary slogan of Leninism: the main enemy is at home! ■

Central America...

(continued from page 4)

the Soviet Union. Where Reagan & Co. want to wave a big stick in Central America and reassert a U.S. role as global gendarme, West German capitalists are more interested in maintaining détente, whether to maintain profitable trade with the Soviet bloc or to prevent Central Europe from becoming the first battlefield of WWII.

The social democrats' support for a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador is by their own admission a policy designed to *prevent* socialist revolution, by replacing unstable military dictatorships with governments capable of diverting popular discontent into reformist channels. These committed reformists are prepared to "pick up the gun" if necessary to preserve capitalist rule. It is appropriate that the chief means by which the SI intervenes in Central America is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Ebert ("I hate revolution like the plague") was the SPD leader whose government smashed the German revolution of 1918-19 and was responsible for the murder of German Spartacists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Today they attempt to export "democratic" counterrevolution to Central America.

The social democrats are no friends of workers revolution, in Europe or Latin America. Their recognition of the FDR/FMLN is an attempt to block the road to the communists and thus preserve capitalist rule. No "political solution" short of socialist revolution can free the exploited and oppressed masses of Central America from the domination of Yankee imperialism and the tyranny of its bloody puppet dictators. Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For workers and peasants governments throughout Central America! ■

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"Real Democrat" Barbaro No Answer to Racist Koch

Racist strikebreaker Ed Koch was nominated by both the twin parties of American capitalism, Democrats and Republicans, for mayor of New York City. But if this fusion candidate is NYC's "most popular" mayor with the banks and the backlash, he's also most hated by blacks and labor who have been brutally attacked by his administration. Liberals worried that he could turn out to be a "fission" candidate: if Koch's victims ever got together in the streets of New York, the whole city could blow. So they came up with a "real Democrat" as an escape valve—Frank Barbaro. Although losing to Koch by better than 3-to-2 in the September primary, Barbaro was endorsed by the AFL-CIO and carried virtually every minority district. In November he is on the Unity Party ticket, a refuge for Democrats who can't take the "mayatollah" of Gracie Mansion.

Signs at Harlem's Sydenham Hospital last fall protesting "Koch's Killer Kuts" expressed black outrage at the arrogant race-baiter who shut down essential services for minorities, then did a minstrel jig in an Afro wig at a fundraising ball. When hizzoner was whipping up anti-union sentiment on Brooklyn Bridge during the 1980 transit strike, he kept repeating his smart-ass "How'm I doing?" greeting with that idiot Howdy Doody smile. Koch got cheers from Park Slopers jogging to Wall Street, and a fist in the face from an irate Teamster. In September the union-busting mayor was roundly booed when he had the gall to show up at the Labor Day parade while trying to upstage the event by inviting Ronald Reagan for a counter-celebration. It's no surprise, then, that there has been a wide-open field for a "Dump Koch" candidate.

The pick of the pols was Barbaro, previously a Mr. Nobody of the Democratic Party. But suddenly he picked up endorsements from a wide range of NYC union and black leaders. The labor bureaucracy is so turned off on Koch that even crusty old machine Democrat Harry Van Arsdale mobilized the Central Labor Council to back Barbaro. He was also endorsed by the black establishment *Amsterdam News* and marched at the head of the annual Afro-American Day parade in Harlem. And it's not just the official leaderships—"Blacks for Barbaro" also included street demagogues like Rev. Herbert Daughtry; in the Transport Workers

Union, Barbaro was supported both by Local 100 president John Lawe and by leading dissident Arnold Cherry. But that was while Barbaro was running in the *Democratic* primary. Now that he is the "Unity Party" candidate, the "independent" black politicians like Daughtry pulled back and concentrated on Barbaro's former running mate (for Manhattan borough president), black DSOCer David Dinkins, who is on the "safe" Liberal Party ticket.

Who is Frank Barbaro? A traditional liberal ward heeler of the type found in Reform Democratic clubs around New York—"radical" enough in his youth to have once been a bodyguard for Paul Robeson, conservative enough to get elected for five terms in Albany as assemblyman from the Jewish/Italian



WV Photo

At rally against closing of Harlem's Sydenham hospital.

Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn. He's considered ideal to reestablish the old liberal/labor alignment having spent 15 years working on the docks while attending law school at night. While ex-"Silk Stocking" liberal Koch has kissed the FDR coalition goodbye, preferring to line up with Reagan reaction, "blue collar" liberal Barbaro runs as a "real Democrat." But the attempt to peddle him as a champion of labor and black rights is absurd. For Frank Barbaro has:

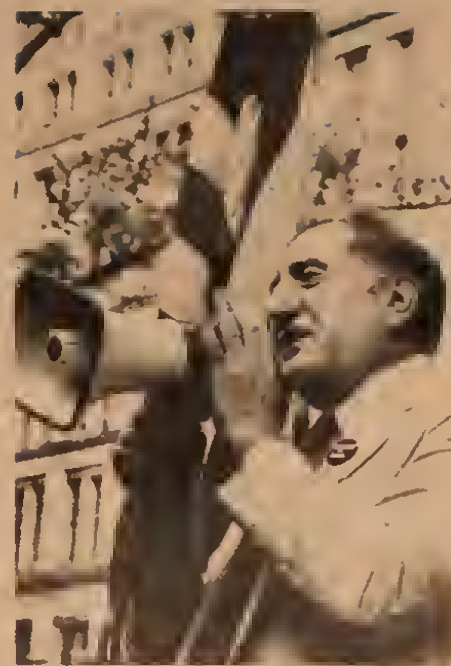
- in 1973 voted for an anti-busing bill to prevent school integration;
- in 1975 voted to create the Emergency Financial Control Board, which oversaw the axing of 60,000 city

- workers jobs and gave the bankers a veto over municipal union contracts;
- in 1980 voted against a bill to increase welfare payments;
- in 1980 voted for mandatory sentencing for firearms possession.

As for his election platform, Barbaro called for hiring 6,300 more cops, putting "riders not bankers" on the Transit Authority board and fighting "Koch's arrogance and insensitivity" which have "forced all the blacks and Latinos in high level positions in his administration to leave." So the Basil Patersons, Percy Suttons and Herman Badillos would return under Barbaro. But what about a program to fight Wall Street and the banks who imposed the ruinous anti-labor, anti-black austerity program on New York? Don't forget, this onslaught was carried out by "real Democrats" and phony "friends of labor" like Abe Beame...and Frank Barbaro. Barbaro even brags about his 1976 bill that forced union pension funds to sink \$13 billion down the rathole of MAC bonds. And he proposed to do it again. The only objection the *New York Times* (6 September) had to this scheme was that it was not "credible" to think that "employee pension funds can somehow be tapped on a scale large enough" to restore a ravaged industrial base.

Now Barbaro is the standard-bearer for the new "Unity Party" slate. Among the reformists the Communist Party (CP) is head over heels for Barbaro, lauding his campaign as a "wave of political independence sweeping NYC" (*Daily World*, 5 September). A CP commentary on "the fight to defeat Mayor Koch and his Reagan-like policies" proclaimed, "NYC Unity Party Rallies Labor and Community Support" (*Daily World*, 9 October). Also on the Unity Party ticket are ex-Democratic Puerto Rican councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, who called for Soviet aid to rebuild the South Bronx and launched the court suit against racist gerrymandering after Koch robbed him of his seat; and Miriam Friedlander, the CP fellow-traveling Democratic city council member from lower Manhattan.

For the CP, the Barbaro campaign is the embodiment of the "united peoples party" called for in a front-page editorial of their special edition distributed on "Solidarity Day" ("Why Not a New Party?" *Daily World*, 17 September).



WV Photo

Frank Barbaro

But Gus Hall's "Unity Party" gambit is just a cover for diverting workers' anger against Reagan back into the swamp of capitalist politics. And it isn't the first time. For example, in 1948 the CP "broke" with the Democrats to build the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, former Democratic vice president of FDR. This reflected the fact that Cold Warrior, strikebreaker Truman was not very credible as a channel for labor votes. So the Stalinists, who had derailed revolution throughout Europe with their treacherous "people's front" with a "democratic" bourgeoisie, jumped into the breach, providing the apparatus for the populist Wallace campaign. But after this brief fling with a bourgeois "third party," the CP was soon back to its usual tricks of supporting liberal Democrats in the name of lesser evilism.

What is the Unity Party? As labor mediator Ted Kheel put it, it's a place where "traditional Democrats" can cast their ballots. What's needed is not a phantom Democratic Party for liberals with queasy stomachs, but the political mobilization of labor in a class-struggle workers party. In 1974-76 when the capitalists and their politicians ripped up city workers contracts while sellout union bureaucrats did nothing; in 1980 when TWU transit workers were on the battle line against Koch, Carey and the courts—such a party would have led a mass struggle of all the oppressed against the bosses' austerity offensive. From dilapidated subways to closed ghetto hospitals, New York City is the victim of willful neglect and destruction by a profit-hungry ruling class. "Real Democrat" Barbaro is no answer to racist strikebreaker Koch! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

Brinks Job...

(continued from page 2)

the money to be used for? Left-wing terrorists usually produce manifestos explaining their acts, but the Nyack defendants have said nothing. Why?

This case is plenty murky. It's useful by way of comparison to recall two instances back in 1968 of the capitalist state's murderous vendetta against the Black Panther Party. The NYC Panther 21, arrested for conspiring to bomb department stores and the Bronx Botanical Gardens, were simply framed. They were eventually acquitted, but only after the cops had managed to destroy the New York Panther leadership at a crucial moment. (And today the *New York Times* is still using this indictment against Nat Burns as if they had been convicted instead of let go!) The Spartacist League strongly defended the Panther 21. But something seemed very wrong about the case in which New Haven Panther leader Alex Rackley was falsely declared to be a police informer, wired to a bed post and

tortured for three days before being shot. We did not take a position on the New Haven Panther trial, and subsequently FBI involvement in the killing of Alex Rackley was admitted.

The current case also has a strong smell of provocation about it. We have a number of questions. What was the role of Sam Brown, arrested in Nyack, who seems to be a professional criminal? Why would they use a car belonging to a recently arrested political activist (Rosahn)? How was a getaway car that got away "traced" to the East Orange, New Jersey "bomb factory"? The only "evidence" linking ex-Panther Nat Burns to the Brinks job was a mysterious license that keeps turning up on different cars in different places. The cops alternately reported it on a car at the scene of the crime and "on a maroon Ford sighted outside a suspected gang hideout in Mount Vernon, N.Y. just before [?] a police raid" (*New York Times*, 24 October). Two days later this plate is spotted on a grey Chrysler by a detective on the case who was "driving through Queens," leading to the capture of Nat

Burns. This was pretty tenuous, so two days later the cops reported finding a bullet in the pocket of Burns' companion (killed by the cops) which had been fired from the gun of one of the policemen slain in Nyack!

This string of supposed coincidences boggles the imagination. How did they manage to roll up all these people so quickly? Was the "suspected gang hideout" perhaps under *prior* surveillance? Was the Brinks holdup a botched job or a trap? And what about the alleged association of several underground groups? Could the police have noted an informal pattern of socialization among ex-Weathermen and ex-Panthers who hadn't quite surfaced and decided to round them up in one swoop? (For instance, Jones and Raskin are not alleged to have any connection to the Nanuet robbery—so what was their connection?) It may have been felt that in order to nab these people a little provocation would be useful, especially since they had never *done* anything. Perhaps it took place a bit prematurely; perhaps the authorities got more than

they bargained for.

So now the grand juries are going to go on fishing expeditions with the RICO conspiracy law to "get to the bottom" of the killing of the Nyack cops. As defense attorney William Kunstler noted, when five leftists were shot down in cold blood by KKK/Nazi killers in Greensboro, North Carolina there was no such outcry against "terrorism"; instead the authorities and the press let the murderers off and went after the victims. Now individuals who had nothing to do with Weatherman, Panthers or anything else are being seized by cops with shoot-to-kill orders acting on "tips"—like the young woman in Garden City, Long Island whose only resemblance to Joanne Chesimard was that she is black and wears glasses. As to the Brinks job itself, frankly we don't know. Certainly after a decade underground, Weatherman had diminished below the level of total irrelevance except in the wet dreams of prosecutors and other cops. But we would like to think that the old New Left went out with a bang instead of a whimper. ■

Militants Win Over 20% of Vote in L.A. Phone

MAC: "Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!"

LOS ANGELES—The class-struggle program of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) won impressive support from phone workers in recent local elections in L.A. Three MAC members ran for Executive Board in Local 11502 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and captured between 18 and 29 percent of the vote. These vote totals for Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgadillo and Barry Janus represent a solid core of workers who agree that militant labor action is needed to stop Reagan reaction.

The MAC candidates ran against two slates representing different wings of the incumbent Local 11502 bureaucracy. The Warren Downing/Janice Wood slate campaigned on its record of running the local into the ground. Ian McIntyre's "Platform for a Change" posed as an opposition that would democratize the local. But McIntyre shares responsibility for the sorry state of local affairs: he was the local's executive vice president. Significantly, MAC candidates ran better than several McIntyre people in the elections for Executive Board East.

A high point in the campaign was a debate between the candidates attended by some 65 local members. MAC debated McIntyre and Wood on an equal basis. Janus told *Workers Vanguard*, "We stressed that Reagan has to be brought down through labor action, that you can't fight Reagan with Democrats. Even people who were nominally supportive of the other slates came up to us afterwards and told us that what we said about the labor movement fighting the Klan and Nazis, and how labor has to stop the war drive, made a lot of sense to them." The debate was organized by a black worker who called up afterwards to say she was

going to vote for the MAC because it was "the conscience of the union."

Against the record of betrayal chalked up by the bureaucratic groups, the Militant Action Caucus ran on its proven record of struggle. Last February the CWA National ordered Local 11502 members to cross picket lines of another CWA local on strike against

local's endorsement of a local union right-to-strike amendment submitted to the CWA national convention.

The MAC campaign pointed to the dangers threatening the union under AT&T's plans for reorganization and automation. While CWA president Glenn Watts accepts the loss of up to one half of all phone industry jobs, the



Manuel Delgadillo, Barbara Britton, Barry Janus.

Western Electric. The 300 phone workers who courageously honored the picket lines were given suspensions and final warnings. MAC fought to overturn this victimization and betrayal by agitating for an L.A.-area phone workers strike to defend those victimized for upholding the essential union principle that picket lines should not be crossed. In the aftermath of the Western Electric walkout MAC campaigned for the

MAC has fought for a program to prevent AT&T's impending assault of downgrades, forced transfers and firings. MAC calls for a drive to organize "the entire communications industry, from Ma Bell to IBM to the Silicon Valley," backed by demands for union control of hiring, a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and no layoffs or demotions. "To wage this fight," says MAC, "we need a class-struggle

leadership—a leadership that relies on labor's power and knows that our rights are won on picket lines."

Unlike union parochialists whose nearsightedness blinds them to events outside their own industry, the MAC fights for working-class solidarity. When Reagan fired the air controllers, MAC put forward a motion that Local 11502 organize a one-day strike, call on the rest of the city labor movement to join it and shut L.A. airport down tight. And MAC is the only caucus in phone that has raised the issue of the civil war in El Salvador, the front line of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. MAC members participated in one of the first demonstrations nationally against the deportation of Salvadoran refugees back to near-certain death.

The Caucus has also fought for years demanding the CWA break all ties with the notorious CIA labor front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which is instituting a "land reform" program in El Salvador that the peasants appropriately call "reform by death." The MAC election campaign included an open house, where the documentary on El Salvador, "Revolution or Death," was shown. MAC calls for the victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador, and says, "We must stand with the workers of Russia and Cuba against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive."

Manuel Delgadillo told *Workers Vanguard*: "We are going to hammer home the fact that the local leadership stands for what the National stands for—dependence on the Democratic Party. You know, the crawling instead of standing up and fighting to beat back the company's attacks. We are fighting for a class-struggle leadership, and we're not going to relent until we get it." ■

Solidarność...

(continued from page 3)

front, he is talking about window-dressing similar to the appointment of a Catholic deputy premier last fall. But Kuron is actually calling for a new government in which "moderate" Communist officials would be a minority. "The moment the council is formed," he said, "it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government."

Poland is now descending into utter economic chaos with conditions becoming desperate. There are mass protest strikes throughout the country. The regime is deploying troops for the purpose of "suppressing street provocations and enforcing respect for the rule of law." The secretary of Solidarity's Warsaw region has threatened: "If the party continues confrontation, it will be worse than anyone can imagine. It will simply mean something like civil war in the future" (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 October).

Where would Workers Power stand in a civil war between the clerical-nationalist Solidarność and the bureaucratic regime? Their polemic is an elaborate attempt to avoid this question. But at a Spartacist meeting at Coventry on October 9, a leading Workers Power spokesman admitted they would stand with the Pilsudskiite nationalists and clerical-fascists against the Soviet army:

"In the case of a military intervention by

the Soviet Stalinists into Poland to crush Solidarity, we would say, openly, clearly state, that we would be for a military united front, we will be for the arming of the workers—that is, against the invasion. And that would mean that if Solidarity is under its present leadership, we will be for a military united front with that leadership against the Soviet invasion. Let us be quite clear on that point, because we will be on the opposite side of the barricades from the Spartacists."

This is not the first time that Workers Power has come out for a "military united front" with counterrevolutionary forces. Like the rest of the opportunist left, Workers Power supported the Khomeiniite opposition against the shah in Iran, albeit with the proviso that "the Bazaar and Shi'ite clergy are and can be only temporary military allies of the Iranian working class" (*Workers Power*, February 1979). Khomeini certainly saw to that. Significantly, Workers Power now links our position on Poland to the ISI's "refusing to support the mass movement which overthrew the shah in Iran."

Under the slogan, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" we warned that if the Khomeiniite Islamic fanatics took power, they would be just as reactionary and just as bloody as the Pahlavi monarchy. Who today will deny this? The Khomeiniites are executing a hundred of their left opponents a day, far more than the shah did. In fact, the September 1981 *Workers Power* has a

front-page article, "Defend Iranian Left," which concludes, "Solidarity with those fighting the Khomeini dictatorship's repression!" Well, we don't want to see a *Workers Power* article two years from now saying "Defend Polish Left—Solidarity with those fighting Walcsa or Moczulski dictatorship's repression!"

In *Workers Power* we see opportunists who maintain in both Iran and Poland that counterrevolutionaries can lead workers revolution, at least in its initial stages:

"It is not the responsibility of the Polish workers that the brutal Stalinist regimes have handed to the forces of reaction the possibility to initiate struggle for elementary working class demands."

Their line is to tail the masses in motion, even under the most reactionary leadership and program: support the most militant opponents of the status quo, even when these are clerical-fascists.

And in Poland the historic stakes are far higher even than in Iran. The Warsaw bureaucrats with their corruption and mismanagement, their lies and suppression of democratic rights have driven a majority of the Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican, the IMF and NATO social democracy. That is the Stalinists' great crime in Poland. But an even greater crime would be tailing the workers behind a counterrevolutionary mobilization. As we wrote in "Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!":

"What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed

to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the program and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

—WV No. 289, 25 September

And we will! The creation of a neo-Pilsudskiite Poland subservient to Reagan/Haig on the Western border of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped! ■

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Air Controllers...

(continued from page 12)

self-serving chief of the 800,000-strong IAM. "Finally I said, 'Hell's bells. Sure they made mistakes. But our job is not to Monday-morning quarterback the situation'." Winpisinger tried to blame his failure to call out IAM mechanics on the refusal of the airline pilots association to back him up. "That pretty well leaves us helpless," concluded this big-talking sellout artist.

Such cynicism in the service of the bosses' Democratic Party would be bad enough if Winpisinger didn't try to masquerade as a self-styled "seat-of-the-pants socialist." But the IAM chief is a leader of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). In point of fact, "Wimpy" also sits on the Democratic Party's National Committee. And he certainly hasn't gotten off his butt to aid the air controllers.

For decades the labor bureaucrats have sold their Democratic Party alliance by pointing to the crumbs it has brought to the families of working people. Under Carter there were no crumbs, and now under Reagan they are taking them back. What does our "socialist" advocate? A.H. Raskin (*New Yorker*, 7 September) cites Winpisinger's argument in the AFL-CIO executive council "that the federation assume no activist role in trying to block the Reagan program... because it would be desirable, in Winpisinger's estimation, to let the rank and file learn through bitter experience the consequences of the policies that many of them voted for in November!"

Belatedly, even some social democrats are saying they are disappointed over Winpisinger's refusal to come to PATCO's defense with strike action. Winpisinger piles one excuse for his own paralysis upon another: the IAM would be sued if it struck, laws forbid solidarity strikes, non-IAM airlines would capture the market, *ad nauseam*. All this, despite the upcoming expiration of major IAM contracts covering some 32,000 mechanics in the airline industry! William Winpisinger—DSOC leader, IAM president, Democratic National Committee member—is a classic example of what Daniel De Leon called a labor lieutenant of capital.

For Class-Struggle Leadership

Class-conscious workers seeking a fighting alternative to such sellout bureaucrats won't find it in the reformist Communist Party (CP). Throughout the PATCO strike the CP has given its uncritical endorsement to the do-nothing response of the Kirkland/Winpisinger bureaucrats. Its *Daily World* regularly prints headlines portraying ever-growing support for PATCO. This is an opportunist lie in the service of the bureaucrats whose backstabbing has paved the way for PATCO's destruction. Now the CP is pushing for the AFL-CIO convention in New York City on November 16 to adjourn long enough to allow delegates to get some free PR by demonstrating at Kennedy Airport. Like the CP's "flying is scabbing" campaign, this is just another diversion from real labor action. Even at this late date, the AFL-CIO convention could easily organize a powerful and solid nationwide airport shutdown that could win the PATCO strike in short order.

On September 19 the CP-supported Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) came out with a special Solidarity Day issue of *Labor Today* (October), which failed to mention PATCO even once—but did manage to fit a speech by Lane Kirkland on its front page! Among the CP/TUAD's Solidarity Day demands was: "Control imports." That's "solidarity" all right—

SWP Transit Forum Excludes Transit Workers

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has a funny idea of workers democracy. On October 16 two NYC Transport Workers Union (TWU) activists were forcibly kept out of a New York SWP forum on... the attacks on transit workers! The SWP claimed the workers were "disrupters" because they defended the right of Spartacist supporters to attend SWP "public" events.

Back in 1980, when New York transit workers were on strike, the SWP wasn't so picky. In fact, the SWP's *Militant* one week featured a front-page picture of one of these same transit workers on the picket line! They were happy to use transit workers' militancy to sell *Militants*, but that's as far as it goes.

On October 24 Ed Kartsen, a black TWU member running for Local 100 president, was excluded, along with three of his supporters, from an SWP rally ostensibly called to "defend black, latino, labor rights." More than 1,200 TWU members have signed Kartsen's nominating petitions, but to the SWP he's some kind of non-person.

SWP supporters in the TWU have good reason to fear democratic political discussion with transit militants. When a motion for shutting down the "Train to the Plane" was passed at a car maintenance division meeting of Local 100, one SWP supporter was put on the spot for abstaining. She felt compelled to explain her program for "defending" PATCO, which was to give money and invite a PATCO speaker, period—the same as Lane Kirkland's backstabbing program which is helping Reagan destroy PATCO. She was booted down.

solidarity with the U.S. capitalists and against the workers of Japan, Germany and the Soviet Union!

The CP's efforts to cover for the labor bureaucrats were weakly echoed by a score of fake-revolutionary groupings. Some said there should be a consumer boycott, others advocated honoring non-existent PATCO picket lines, while still others called for a "general strike" in the sweet by-and-by. Yet even journalists from the big business press knew what real labor solidarity meant. Over and over they prodded Winpisinger et al.: "Why don't you call solidarity strikes to shut down the airports?" It was so basic!

Throughout the PATCO strike, the Spartacist League (SL) and class-struggle militants were the only ones to fight consistently for labor to shut down the airports. In New York, transit union militants agitated for a shutdown of the city's "Train to the Plane" to defend the right to strike and support PATCO. In Los Angeles and San Francisco members of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus struggled for their Communications Workers local to take the lead in organizing a one-day citywide strike and airport shutdown in defense of PATCO. When fake socialists in the Bay Area began mouthing this slogan, SL supporters called for setting a date.

Photo essay on SWP hypocrisy: Bottom photo shows SWP excluding TWU members from recent transit forum. At extreme right is TWU militant who actually appeared on *Militant's* front page during 1980 strike (top photo, on left).



The PATCO strike has underscored the crisis of revolutionary working-class leadership in the U.S. While the reformists preach "solidarity" with the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops and their masters, the SL fights to forge a Marxist vanguard, to break the shackles of the capitalist parties and use all the weap-

ons at labor's disposal—from sympathy strikes, hot-cargoing, sitdowns, mass picket lines to the general strike—in deeds, not just threats. That is how a class-struggle workers party must be built, by mobilizing the workers movement to bring down Reagan and establish a workers government. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!

Air Controllers Shafted

The air controllers strike has been stabbed in the back!

Sure, Ronald Reagan is going all-out to bust the tiny Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). The phony "friend of labor" Democrats predictably went along. This just shows that the government is an instrument to enforce the interests of the corporations, the capitalists who run this country. But who is letting Reagan get away with it? The PATCO strikers have certainly stuck to their guns in the most critical strike since the miners' strikes of 1978 and 1980. It is the misleaders of labor who have sabotaged this key strike from the start. They have the power to win it at any time, by *shutting down the airports*, which they have *refused* to do.

The betrayers have names: Kirkland, Fraser, Winpisinger, Williams. And labor militants won't forget.

Reagan's attempt to crush PATCO is a blow to the entire workers movement. It must be met with resolute determination to *bring Reagan down through labor action*. And that means throwing out the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, forging a class-struggle leadership of labor with the will to fight and the program to win.

Otherwise, we're all next.

"An Injury to One..."

On October 28 a federal court upheld the Reagan administration's decertification of the air controllers union in punishment for its "illegal" strike. Since walking off the job on August 3, the 12,000 air controllers have borne the brunt of the most intense union-busting assault since pre-CIO days. First they were all summarily fired by Reagan. Then the government rounded up thousands of scabs from the air force and elsewhere to man the control towers. PATCO strikers have been jailed and fined; some still face felony charges. The capitalists tried to starve them out by denying unemployment benefits in most states and by revamping federal food stamp restrictions to exclude strikers from coverage. Decertification is intended as the *coup de grace*.

Over a century ago the Knights of Labor coined the union slogan, "An injury to one is the concern of all." Yet, the conservative London *Economist* summed up the air controllers strike in its headline, "Solidarity Is Not a Word America's Unions Know." In spite of the fact that well over 300,000 unionists marched in Washington in the AFL-CIO's September 19 "Solidarity Day" demonstration, not one American union lifted a finger. Except for brief actions by *Canadian* and *Portuguese* air traffic controllers which temporarily disrupted trans-Atlantic service, the PATCO strike has received no significant labor support. Not once have the union officials in the U.S. who claim to represent airline mechanics, baggage and freight handlers, flight attendants and other airport workers attempted to



PATCO strikers march on Labor Day in New York City, September 7: We said, "Labor must shut down the airports!"

shut down air traffic.

Union president William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), which covers some 40,000 airline mechanics, alibis his own inaction by whining that anti-labor laws deny "the right to help your fellow worker," as if workers should wait around for the capitalist government to legalize militant action! In place of solidarity strikes, the AFL-CIO officials have coughed up some bucks and have emphasized calls for an impotent consumer boycott of air travel. Much of the left has tailed this diversionist boycott rhetoric, letting the union tops off the hook for their treacherous failure to shut down the airports.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland even gave backhanded support to Reagan's latest union-busting move, saying the decertification order "does, at least, remove the last semblance of an excuse" for the government not to rehire some of the strikers! Belcaguered and betrayed, PATCO has offered to return to work and submit to arbitration. "No way!" retorted the government. Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis pledged to stand by his scabs: "The people who have been working with us don't want them back.... We can't let them down." To make sure the blacklist would stick, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) subpoenaed news photos of PATCO activities back in August so it could identify the strikers.

The current rulers of American

capitalism don't even bother to pretend. As a result, for the first time in decades the average rank-and-file worker rightly regards the government as a government of, by and for the wealthy. This creates tremendous pressure for working-class action to bring Reagan down.

The General Strike That Wasn't

Yet the labor bureaucrats recoil in fear of such action. The PATCO strike came at a time when labor organizations are losing more representation elections than they are winning and bosses are successfully demanding pay cuts and benefit "givebacks" from powerful unions. Reagan's program to obliterate PATCO is every boss's model for handling recalcitrant unions. And it's not just Neanderthal Reaganite Republicans who are dishing out the PATCO treatment to public workers. In Philadelphia this fall Democratic mayor William Green tore up the city's contract with the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) in order to cancel a 10 percent pay raise and lay off 3,500 teachers. Several weeks into the teachers strike, the Philadelphia AFL-CIO regional council issued a call for a one-day general strike to defend the PFT on October 28, but immediately began backpedaling like mad. As the date approached, union leaders leaked hints to the press that they would not call their members out on the 28th. They cited federal laws against sympathy strikes, referred to no-strike clauses in union

contracts, or simply denounced the teachers. Even as he was announcing the "general strike," labor council leader Ed Toohey cynically winked, "I'm not interested in shutting the city down.... It doesn't bother me if all the union members don't show up."

A last minute back-to-work injunction gave the bureaucrats the excuse they needed to call the whole thing off. PFT president John Murray ordered the teachers into the schools with their contract torn in half by the courts, their pay raise trampled underfoot and the fate of 53 strikers suspended for picket line "violations" left hanging in midair. The "general strike" threat did lead the judge who issued the injunction to temporarily abrogate the mass layoffs the city had imposed. Nevertheless, the outcome is a defeat for the teachers union and the Philadelphia labor movement. A real citywide general strike could have forced the Democratic city administration to abandon its attack on the PFT and pointed the way forward against Reagan's austerity drive.

"Wimpy"—Labor Lieutenant of Capital

"My idea was to shut the air carriers down," claimed William Winpisinger in an interview with the *New York Times* (5 October). So why didn't he? Oh, everyone else at an AFL-CIO executive council meeting on August 4 just complained about PATCO, said the

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