

Down With Anti-Soviet Sanctions!

Cold Warriors Weep  
for Solidarność

JANUARY 5—Ronald Reagan and General Haig are fit to be tied. Last summer Reagan proclaimed that the Polish crisis represented "the beginning of the end" of Communism. And he wasn't speaking as the host of the "General Electric Hour" now; as commander in chief of the most powerful imperialist army in the world, he's prepared to do something about it. In their drive to "roll back" Communism, the Reagan boys are staging provocations around the globe—shooting down Libyan planes over disputed waters, threatening blockades of Cuba and Nicaragua. But Poland was key. With the eruption of the pro-Western anti-Communist Solidarność, NATO ruling circles saw a historic chance—the best, they said, since World War II—to drive Soviet power back to Russian borders. Liberal commentator Ronald Steel laid out the stakes involved in the Solidarność bid for power:

"Had Solidarity achieved its most sweeping demands, broken the Communist Party's monopoly of power, and taken Poland out of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet control over the rest of East Europe would have been threatened. The other satellites might have followed suit.... The Iron Curtain could have been cracked."  
—New York Times, 3 January

Ever since the onset of the Cold War, Western imperialism has aspired to reconquer the Soviet sphere of influence (the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states) diplomatically recognized by the 1945 Yalta Agreement. Now NATO politicians are openly talking about repudiating and reversing Yalta. Meanwhile the Reagan administration has used the bugbear of a "Soviet threat to Poland" in order to gain popular support for a trillion-dollar arms build-up and its nuclear first-strike strategy. Aiding (more than \$350,000 via the AFL-CIO alone) and egging on the West's Trojan Horse Solidarność to challenge the Soviets ever more directly, making contingency plans for and repeatedly playing what one administration official called "the Soviet intervention game," the U.S. was doing everything it could to provoke Russian military intervention in Poland.

Now with the crackdown against



Warsaw, December 15: Jaruzelski regime's counter-coup checks clerical-nationalist Solidarność.

Solidarność by the Polish army, U.S. imperialism's plans for a "free world" Poland on the Soviet border, or at least of a bloody battle between the Soviet military and the Polish masses, have been greatly frustrated. From Wall Street to the White House, America's ruling class feels frustrated and angry. If the Reagan administration's initial response was "low key," it was only because they had been counting on a Russian takeover and, like Carter over Iran and Afghanistan, they had been caught out (while hiding from alleged Qaddafi hit squads). But under pressure from the right, not least of all from the rabid Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, Reagan has revved up the "freedom for Poland" campaign. In his Christmas message the U.S. president denounced the "forces of tyranny" in Poland for denying the "basic right of its

people to form free trade unions and to strike."

This from the man who destroyed the air controllers union by firing the *entire membership* for daring to strike! And this is the same "freedom fighter" who is sending millions of dollars in weapons to the death squads in El Salvador which *every single night* murder at least four times as many people as have been killed in Poland since the beginning of martial law! The same U.S. imperialism which hailed (and helped prepare) the bloody 1973 coup in Chile that murdered 30,000 leftists and which slaughtered more than a million peasants and workers in Vietnam. When Reagan & Co. talk of "free trade unions" they mean what existed under the Hitler-lovers Marshal Ky and General Pinochet.

Under criticism that he was all talk

and no action, Reagan resorted to economic sanctions, first against the Poles (canceling LOT airline's landing rights in the U.S., denying fishing rights off Cape Cod, cutting off some food shipments), and then against the Russians (prohibiting export of capital goods for the oil and gas industry and high-technology electronics, suspending Aeroflot landing rights). As long as West Europe and Japan don't follow suit—and they adamantly say they won't—these sanctions will end up hurting American capitalists more than the Russians. The American business community remembers Carter's Afghanistan grain boycott and other "punitive" measures as a case of shooting oneself in the foot. But regardless of the quantitative effect of Reagan's actions, all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist economic warfare against the USSR. Down with the anti-Soviet sanctions!

With Allies Like These...

U.S. rulers' attempts to make Poland the *casus belli* of Cold War II have run into resistance and even outright

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## Black Outrage in Signal Hill

# Bring Ron Settles' Murderers to Justice!

LOS ANGELES—Several thousand students and workers, mainly black, gathered in Signal Hill Saturday, December 5 to protest the brutal police murder of black college football star Ron Settles in a local jail cell last June. A Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) contingent was the biggest and most visible left-wing group in attendance, our banner calling "For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!" Also present was a group of militant Los Angeles phone workers from CWA Local 11502. While rally organizers denied the SL/SYL a speaker at the rally and enforced a ban on literature sales during the protest, this anti-communist sentiment was clearly not shared by the crowd, for altogether some 160 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold at the demonstration.

Mounting race terror in Reagan's America, both from the killers in blue and their friends in white sheets, must be met by mass mobilization of labor and blacks. Yet at the rally the liberals such as the NAACP could only call for a boycott of Signal Hill businesses during Christmas rush. Long Beach State College black nationalist activist Amen Rahh called for replacing the Los Angeles County attorney general and for the L.A. County board of supes (where the police have the highest murder rate in the USA) to take over the Signal Hill cops!

The futility of the NAACP boycott strategy and of Rahh's appeals to the racist capitalist state was underscored when Victor Deane, a black youth and participant in Saturday's rally, was



WV Photo

Los Angeles, December 5: Mass rally protests racist police brutality.

picked up Saturday night by the Long Beach cops. His crime? Wearing a "Justice for Ron Settles" T-shirt! Deane was told he could expect the Ron Settles treatment, was brutally beaten, is now in a wheelchair and

urinating blood.

At the rally long-time ILWU activist and supporter of the Communist Labor Party David Arian urged labor to get involved. What's needed, though, is not token bureaucratic "involvement"

but a mobilization of the integrated black, white and Latino labor movement in the area, particularly Longshoremen, OCAW and Teamsters in the Long Beach-San Pedro harbor. Jail the killers of Ron Settles!

## Who's Redbaiting, Joe Conason?

"Workers Vanguard"  
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New York, N.Y. 10116

To the editor:

It's too bad that George Crawford's letter, published in your last issue [WV No. 295, 18 December 1981], didn't make it into the *Voice*. Since you put it in your paper, I may as well try to respond.

All reporters make errors, and I admit mine in getting Mr. Kartsen's first name wrong. Perhaps I should have referred to Arnold Cherry as the only significant black candidate for TWU Local 100's presidency. I never saw Kartsen's literature, though I did read about his campaign in your paper (where I saw no picture of him). His effort struck me as not so different from similar efforts in other unions, and probably worthy of less attention than I gave it. Does any of this constitute "red-baiting"?

Or was it red-baiting to identify the Spartacist League as a Trotskyist splinter group? I don't think so. Red-baiting is to write, as Crawford did, that the Communist Party "hustled votes" for Frank Barbaro. Had Ed Koch said the same thing during the campaign I'm sure you would see my point. It's also red-baiting when the same thing is said about Arnold Cherry, as it has been so many times by the cronies of John Lawe. I never accused Kartsen or anyone else of being

"controlled from the outside." And as for Crawford's "Murdoch-baiting" remarks at the end, I don't recall any such recriminations when I wrote about Jane Margolis, about your position on the Greensboro massacre (in "Press Clips") or about Marjorie Stamborg's Assembly campaign. As I now recall, your attitude then toward this Murdoch employee was—to put it delicately—very solicitous.

Yours, etc.,  
Joe Conason

WV replies: Joe Conason wrote in the *Village Voice* (2-8 December 1981), in his piece "TWU Reformers Split Again":

"Finally, Arthur Kartsen, a new face supported by the Trotskyist splinter group known as the Spartacist League, is running a token campaign denouncing Lawe and the dissidents." [your emphasis]

The *Village Voice* didn't want to print our letter in reply without massive editing. We protested and withdrew our letter and printed it ourselves along with our covering protest to the *Voice*. The *Village Voice* almost simultaneously printed our original, unedited, unexpurgated reply. Then Joe Conason sent us his letter printed above.

As Conason makes rightly clear in his letter, he has done decent and honest work in the past, surely not least—from our standpoint—coverage of the Spartacist tendency. But that begs the question of what he did this time—distortions of the verifiable and obvious truth of the Transit Workers' recent election struggle—in which he gored our ox. Brother Conason, reflected within the union are many political programs and feelings which one also finds in organized public political groupings and organizations. Yet you singled out the Spartacist League solely. You called another

"the only black candidate for president." And you described Kartsen's as "a token campaign." Brother Conason, in writing a campaign puff piece you twisted the facts all to hell.

So we called you on it. Your defense is akin to (a) before the girl's ax murder the defendant was an honor student; (b) (more grandly) Benedict Arnold had been a brilliant American officer. More to the point, while government and bureaucracy are prone to commit great evil, "Absence of Malice" in the press can hurt too—especially if the target is a small group, made terribly vulnerable to repression by extremely unpopular, hard-bitten Marxist views. With the *Wall Street Journal* threatening us, we don't need misrepresentation from the *Village Voice*'s Joe Conason, too. ■

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# Anti-Red Front Over Poland

U.S. imperialism is on a straightforward course for war with the Soviet Union, and "freedom for Poland" is now the main battle cry. The American ruling class has had its problems whipping up popular fervor for the new crusade against "godless Communism." Reagan/Haig's attempt to draw the line against "the red menace" in El Salvador by arming its kill-crazy junta has evoked fears of another Vietnam among U.S. liberals. Washington's enlistment of South Africa as its front-line force in Angola is not likely to strengthen what little loyalty American blacks still have toward the "free world." And with Qaddafi and Khomeini running around, it's not been easy to generate enthusiasm for the Afghan "freedom fighters," a collection of feudal cutthroats who pray to Mecca five times a day to keep their women enslaved. Oh yes, and then there's that all-but-forgotten paragon of "human rights": Pol Pot's Kam-puchea—which made Stalin's Gulag look like a country club—backed by the U.S. against the Soviet-allied Vietnamese.

But in the Poland of Solidarność, NATO commanders and Wall Street financiers saw the perfect anti-Communist cause. In fact, knowing their direct military options there are limited, Washington did its best to *provoke* Soviet intervention. For Poland, the Reagans and Haigs call for freedom, democracy, national independence, even workers' rights. Hard-bitten capitalist reactionaries, men whose basic gut instinct is to smash any strike they encounter, are suddenly champions of militant trade unionism—of course, only in Poland. Perhaps unconsciously borrowing from Stalinism, the imperialist bourgeoisie is seeking to build the broadest "people's front" in defense of Solidarność. A *Wall Street Journal* (16 December 1981) editorial declares: "If the coup succeeds in crushing Solidarity, we capitalists will join the democratic socialists in mourning."

## Social Democracy Shows Its Ugly Face

Having gotten their orders from the capitalists to march in defense of Solidarność, the "democratic socialists" have been doing just that. And look who they're marching with: Ukrainian and Lithuanian collaborators of the Gestapo, Batista's torturers, Afghan feudalists who shoot school teachers for teaching young girls to read. In the U.S., pro-Solidarność demonstrations have been dominated by East European emigrés, many of whom fought on the losing side in World War II and then fled to "the land of the free" one step ahead of the Red Army's vengeance.



"News media have field day with anti-Soviet protests" (headline in the *Militant*, 25 December). Like the one the SWP marched in at the Polish consulate in San Francisco, December 14.

Immediately after the Warsaw crackdown, December 13, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and Albert Shanker's Social Democrats, U.S.A. set up the Committee in Support of Solidarity along with a veritable rogues' gallery of defeated counterrevolutionaries: the Polish-American Congress, Coalition for a Free Russia, Ukrainian Democratic Alliance, Abdala Cuban Movement, Solidarity Council of Afghan Freedom Organizations. A leaflet distributed by the AFL-CIO, Social Democrats and the "captive nations" scum at their December 19 demonstration at the Polish consulate in New York was headlined "Stop Soviet Killers!" and underneath depicted a Red Army soldier with his teeth around a bloodied Poland. One wonders how come Omega 7 and the Croatian Ustashi didn't make this one...or quite possibly they did.

One also wonders if the heavily Jewish membership of Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) realized they were making common cause with East European emigrés who long for the "good old days" of Pilsudski, Horthy and the Iron Guard when those anti-Semites could vent their anger with an old-fashioned pogrom. But then anti-Communism makes strange bedfellows. And Shanker is an anti-Communist's anti-Communist. He's been attacking Reagan up and down for "playing it soft" over Poland, demanding a complete break of economic relations with the Soviet Union. It says volumes about Solidarność that last fall it opened an office in New York in the headquarters of Shanker's UFT.

Unlike Shanker's outfit, the more liberal wing of "State Department socialism," Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), would prefer not to associate itself with the rabid right. But the predominance of the "captive nations" brigades in the pro-Solidarność protests makes such a dissociation impossible. For example, on December 16 at the New York Polish consulate there was a continuous all-day demonstration with a gradually shifting political composition. When DSOC and some of its "third camp" satellites showed up late in the day, one newscaster understandably asked, "Now, this is a demonstration by a coalition of left- and right-wing groups?" When the Harringtonites held another protest at the consulate on the 29th, they were joined by Polish supporters of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), a strong faction within Solidarność. The KPN is an openly anti-Communist, Pilsudskiite group, which even the *Wall Street Journal* (26 October 1981) admits is "tainted by a history of anti-Semitism."

There are other "democratic socialists" as well who have joined the capitalists in mourning Solidarność, notably the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). True, even more so than the Harringtonites, the SWP would like to distinguish itself from the rightists. An article in the 25 December *Militant* was headlined, "News Media Have a Field Day with Anti-Soviet Protests." *Militant* readers would never know that elements of the SWP participated in at least one of these anti-

Communist protests, in San Francisco's United Nations Plaza on December 14. The demonstration was called by the ultra-capitalist Libertarian Party, followers of economist Milton Friedman, mastermind of starvation and union busting, from Pinochet's Chile to Begin's Israel to Thatcher's Britain. "Socialism is Tyranny," said the Libertarian protesters. Yet marching with them were members of the SWP as well as Clara Kaye's ragtag Freedom Socialist Party. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (15 December 1981) neatly captured the nature of this seemingly unusual united front:

"The Libertarians were there because they hated socialism. The Socialists [SWPers and others] were there because they thought the Polish government was giving socialism a bad name."

Members of the SWP's youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), found out about their party's united front with the Libertarians only through a Spartacus Youth League (SYL) leaflet distributed to their conference in Philadelphia this weekend. A newspaper photo in the SYL leaflet of prominent SWP spokesman (and opponent) Nat Weinstein marching in front of a sign saying "Smash the Communist Tyrants" caused quite a stir. After SWP honcho Malik Miah held up a copy of our leaflet, saying this shows how you can get in trouble by marching in the right-wing Poland demos, SYL leafleters were swamped by YSAers wanting to get the goods. Since the S.F. incident the SWP/YSA has abandoned the Poland protest scene, tacitly admitting that the American friends of Solidarność are overwhelmingly open counterrevolutionaries. But was Weinstein out of step with the SWP?

## SWP, RWL: Shametaced "State Department Socialists"

It is no accident that SWP members joined with the Friedmanite Libertarians in defense of Solidarność, just as it is no accident that the Pilsudskiite KPN joined the Harringtonite demonstration. This is not Hungary '56, where Trotskyists backed the workers councils calling for anti-Stalinist proletarian political revolution while anti-Communists demonstrated for capitalist counterrevolution led by Cardinal Mindszenty. In Poland '81, social democrats, the AFL-CIO, ultrarightist emigrés, the *Wall Street Journal* and Ronald Reagan all call for "solidarity with Solidarność." You've made your bed, SWP. Now sleep in it!

But the SWP cannot effectively compete with DSOC for the mantle of America's "democratic socialists," especially in the climate of renewed Cold War. Increasingly it is becoming an irrelevant and idiosyncratic sect. For as long as the SWP remains formally "Trotskyist," abstractly claiming to defend the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against counterrevolution and "democratic" imperialism, this will remain a fundamental obstacle to bourgeois liberal respectability. In practice, of course, the SWP has long since abandoned Soviet defensism. The 18 December *Militant* headline—"Defend Polish Workers! Stop U.S. War Threats Against Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador!"—is pure "third campism."

In Poland the SWP claims the clerical-nationalist counterrevolutionary mobilization around Solidarność is a proletarian political revolution. Quite



"State Department socialists" join hands with anti-Communist rightists. Left: Harrington's DSOC with Pilsudskiite KPN in New York, December 29. Right: Sollenberger's RWL with Meanyite Cold Warriors in Detroit, December 18.

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## Italian Workers Balk at Eurocommunist Treachery

# "We Won't Strike for the Madonna of Czestochowa!"

MILANO, December 31—The preventive coup launched by the Warsaw regime to stop counterrevolutionary preparations by Polish Solidarność is leading the Italian Communist Party (PCI) to the brink of internal rift and perhaps to an open split. PCI tops immediately issued a condemnation of the crackdown in Poland, and party chief Enrico Berlinguer declared categorically on national TV, "The forward thrust originating in the October Revolution has been spent." But at the base, in the factories, Italian workers overwhelmingly refused to heed the Eurocommunists' call for strikes and demonstrations in "solidarity with Solidarność." A worker in Bologna expressed the sentiment of many, replying to union organizers, "I don't strike for the madonna of Czestochowa."

For the Communist Party leadership what is posed is a final break with Moscow, crossing the Rubicon in the process of social-democratization which in varying degrees has taken its toll among the Stalinist parties of West Europe. Long since become reformist, the Eurocommunists are looking to ensconce themselves in the capitalist state by swearing *undivided* loyalty to their "own" bourgeoisie. In a televised press conference on December 15, Berlinguer pronounced his verdict on the "real/existing socialism" of the Soviet bloc:

"The forward-moving capacity of renewal in the societies of East Europe has been exhausted. I am speaking of the forward thrust which has its beginnings in the socialist October Revolution.... Today we have reached a point in which this period is at an end."

—*L'Unità*, 16 December 1981

The PCI leader also went out of his way to praise Pope Wojtyla's statements on East Europe and said that "today the question of Italy leaving the Atlantic Pact [NATO] must not be raised."

In case there was any ambiguity about his aims, on the 17th Berlinguer delivered a hard speech against martial law in Poland before the Common Market "parliament" in Strasbourg, for which he received the applause of the assembled bourgeois and social-democratic statesmen. Speaking to journalists there, he compared the present moment to the collapse of the Second International and the birth of the Communist International, saying that the PCI's "third road" meant constructing socialism "respecting the values and rules of democracy" (*L'Unità*, 18 December 1981). That same day he held a four-hour meeting with Willy Brandt, chairman of the German SPD and of the social-democratic Second International, on the prospects for a "Euro-left." And on December 18 Berlinguer met with Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo to map out a joint Eurocommunist offensive.

### Rebellion in the Factories

This campaign was rapidly spread throughout the PCI apparatus. There was reported dissension in the meetings of party activists, but in the factories opposition to Berlinguer was massive. When the three union federations called a one-hour strike "in solidarity with Solidarność," the strike was a failure all over the country. In Genova, the secretary of the powerful PCI-led dock workers union admitted "there was massive resistance when we distributed

the leaflet with the party line on Poland" (*L'Espresso*, 27 December 1981). At FIAT's Mirafiori works in Torino, where the PCI and union tops sabotaged a hard-fought strike in late 1980, workers noted that it was strange that "a union that nine months ago did not agree on anything internally, all of a sudden decided to go all out for Poland." In Milano a local party leader



Italian workers in solidarity with Fiat strike in 1980. But they wouldn't go out for Walesa and Wojtyla.

admitted that not only hard Stalinists but also "the others don't want to demonstrate together with [Christian Democratic leader] Piccoli." In Milano and Torino, only a few hundred workers showed up for trade-union-called demonstrations over Poland.

An article in the "far-left" daily *Il Manifesto* (18 December 1981) reported on the situation in Bologna under the headline: "'Walesa Is a Provocateur, We Don't Strike for the Black Madonna.' Difficult Atmosphere in the Factories." There was a real "upsurge against Solidarność in the factories and in the [PCI] branches themselves," the article noted:

"Some Communist branches refused to distribute the national leadership's document. A couple of officials, workers at SIP, said: 'We won't join the strike, so obviously don't ask us to organize it.' At the GD metal plant, a 'historic' stronghold of the Bologna FLM [Metal Workers Federation], two departments with a Communist majority, after reading the agenda for the factory council which declared for Solidarność, took out pen and paper and wrote a counterdocument. They circulated it in the factory and began to collect signatures. At Wrapmatic, another metal plant, a long discussion ended with the decision to stay in the factory. 'We won't strike for Walesa,' they announced. The list could go on."

At the Weber plant in Bologna a group of workers overran a picket line formed by union delegates. Both strikers and non-strikers were predominantly members of the PCI.

At a demonstration by metal workers on December 17 in Milano's Cathedral Square, strikers vociferously heckled a student speaking for Solidarność: "They're talking too much about Warsaw. Talk about unemployment in Italy." Communist Party leaders have tried to explain away this opposition from their ranks as a reflection of Italian parochialism. No doubt this is an element, along with a healthy dose of anti-clericalism. But usually the workers' anger is directed at their leaders'

failure to do anything about the devastating layoffs and inflation at home. And there is also widespread mistrust of Walesa & Co. One worker was quoted as saying of Solidarność: "Some of its choices seem to demand a return to capitalism." In Bologna, so-called *Kabulisti* (PCIers who supported Soviet intervention against CIA-backed Islamic reaction in Afghanistan) in left-wing

Rivoluzionaria (LOR—formerly GBL, associated with Alan Thorne's TILC) outrageously compared the crackdown in Poland to the bloody 1973 coup in Chile, even referring to "the Pinochets of Warsaw." Nowhere does the LOR even mention defense of the social and economic gains of the degenerated/deformed workers states against counterrevolution, and these "socialist" friends of Walesa label anyone who opposes (or is "indifferent" to) Solidarność "deadly enemies of the international working class." (What does that make Reagan?) In fact, virtually the only organized tendency to oppose the power grab by Walesa & Co. is the Lega Trotskysta d'Italia (LTd'I), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. But despite its small size, the LTd'I has a wide audience. In little over a month our comrades sold more than 800 copies of a 32-page pamphlet, "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution."

### PCI: Burning the Last Bridges to the Kremlin

Berlinguer aspires to attain political acceptability so that his party, like the social democrats of Scandinavia, Britain and Germany, can alternate in office with bourgeois formations as the executive committee of finance capital. This has been the aim of all his political gambits, from the "historic compromise" and "Eurocommunism" to the "third road." But to achieve this status, the PCI must, to use the words of Leon Blum, show that it is prepared to act as "loyal management of capitalist society." And here mere reformism is not enough. While the bourgeoisie has been willing, *in extremis*, to resort to "popular fronts" with Stalinist parties as a means of heading off revolution, for the ordinary running of the state it insists that its labor lieutenants cannot serve two masters, both the Kremlin and Italian capitalism.

Carrillo's Spanish CP has already crossed this bridge on the path of social-democratization, and Berlinguer has been looking for the right occasion. Recall his famous 1975 interview with *Corriere della Sera* where he said that "to achieve socialism in freedom it is better that Italy remain in NATO, because this way there is no danger of military intervention by the USSR." Together with Carrillo the Italian CP threw away phrases like "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "Marxism-Leninism," which are empty rhetoric for a party committed to upholding the capitalist system. And since August 1980 the PCI has warned of the

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On December 14 thousands marched together in Paris for pro-imperialist Solidarność: Gaullists (left), Social Democrats (center) and fake-Trotskyist OCI (right).

## From Fascists to the "Far Left"

# Mitterrand's "Sacred Union" Over Solidarność

PARIS, January 2—Alone in West Europe, France has witnessed a mass anti-Soviet, anti-Communist mobilization in response to the Polish military takeover. When 50,000 marched in Paris on December 14 to show "solidarity with Solidarność," it was a veritable *union sacrée* ranging from the fascists and Gaullist opposition to the ruling Socialists and the so-called far left—embracing every major political force, in fact, except the Communist Party (PCF). The fact that the right denounces "communism" in the name of Christian civilization while the leftists do so in the name of socialism can't hide their common front in support of NATO-backed Lech Walesa's Solidarność capitalist counterrevolution.

The motor force of the Poland protests has been the Socialist Party (PS) of French president François Mitterrand and social-democratic union bureaucrats. Ever since taking office six months ago Mitterrand has rivaled Reagan himself in anti-Soviet rhetoric, emphatically supporting Afghan and Polish counterrevolutionaries. In the absence of mass resistance in Poland, the shock waves are now dying down in France. But with the first popular-front government since the post-war years, including PCF ministers in the cabinet, the anti-Soviet unholy alliance could prove an explosive mixture. Polish events could lead to a deep rupture and far-reaching political upheaval in the French left and workers movement.

The day after Jaruzelski's preventive coup, the Parisian press went wild, particularly the pro-Socialist *Le Matin* and the ex-New Left *Libération*. No rumor was too implausible, no accusation too outrageous for their anti-Soviet ravings. The alleged torture of dissidents Kuron and Michnik, the claim that 45,000 had been arrested—charges that the rest of the bourgeois press wouldn't touch—became front-page news. The French radical petty bourgeoisie went berserk—joggers ran ten kilometers for Poland on New Year's eve, feminists proposed dumping garbage in front of PCF headquarters; masses, sermons, candlelight processions "for Poland"; non-stop Chopin on all the radios, especially his funeral march!

The PS-led outcry in France over the Polish crackdown far exceeds anything seen in the U.S. While Reagan was banking on Soviet intervention to whip up anti-Soviet fervor, Mitterrand & Co., ideologues of "democratic socialist" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc, were bound to mobilize more actively for Solidarność. In the Second

International and the Common Market, the French social democrats opposed their German brethren, who are insistent on preserving "détente" at all costs. Mitterrand is unenthusiastic about announced U.S. sanctions against the USSR, but not for being "soft on Communism." Denouncing Jaruzelski's action as Kremlin-inspired, Paris is calling for an "offensive application" of the Helsinki Accords and taking aim at the Yalta Agreement which divided Europe into Soviet and American spheres of influence after World War II.

### Eurostalinalists Up Against the Wall

At home, the Socialists see a chance to crack the PCF, and they are putting the screws on Georges Marchais and his lieutenants, so far with mixed results. So an anti-Communist union cartel—including the CFDT (which pushes Mitterrand austerity under the guise of "self-management"), Force Ouvrière (a Cold War "socialist" creation of the CIA) and the official Catholic trade-union federation—called for a one-hour strike on December 21 to support Solidarność. Their aim was clear: drag the ranks of the Stalinist-controlled CGT, France's major union body, into the hysterical Cold War campaign. It was undoubtedly the first time that the ultra-reactionary daily *Le Figaro* had ever supported a strike! Meanwhile the government announced that striking state employees would be paid for the lost time (some private employers did the same).

But in spite of heavy backing from the state, the press and the bosses, this reactionary strike failed to achieve its goal. No more than 5 percent of the French workforce went out—heavily concentrated in white-collar sectors like banking, teachers, etc. Not surprisingly, the greatest turnout was in heavily Catholic Brittany and Alsace. In contrast, in the CGT bastions of heavy industry, such as Renault auto factories, the strike was decidedly a non-event. No thanks to the Communist Party/CGT tops, who only complained of reactionary maneuvers to drive the PCF out of the government and did little to mobilize their ranks against this strike in support of counterrevolution.

While the Stalinist CGT bureaucrats were trying to temporize and "cool things down," and the "far left" was cheering on the social democrats' strike for counterrevolution in Poland, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) issued an appeal headlined "No Strike for the Pope, NATO and Mitterrand!" The LTF leaflet ended

with a call to: "Break the pro-imperialist strike! Break the minutes of silence with the slogan 'Military defense of the USSR!'" Distributed at the Renault auto plant near Rouen and at several postal centers in Paris, the leaflet was well received by CGT militants. With a gut impulse to defend the Soviet Union against the imperialists, the mass of PCF/CGT militants rejected the strike.

The presence of four PCF ministers in the cabinet is still a means for Mitterrand to pressure the Eurostalinalists to keep in line... or else. Last June, after the PCF's electoral losses had rendered it more malleable, the Socialists accepted some ornamental Communist ministers in order to purchase labor peace from the CGT. In return they exacted a declaration in which Marchais had to endorse the PS' Cold War line on Afghanistan, Poland and the Euromissiles (including the Soviet SS-20s). When Jaruzelski ordered out the troops, the PCF initially tried to have its cake and eat it too. They echoed the line of the Polish bureaucracy, that repression of Solidarność was strictly an internal affair, while PCF ministers publicly supported Mitterrand's statement.

But under pounding from the PS, the French Communist bureaucrats had to resort to some fancy footwork. CGT leader Séguy called for freeing any "genuine" unionists in Solidarność imprisoned by the military regime. Marchais sent a letter to Jaruzelski urging an early end to martial law and suggesting that Soviet intervention would be denounced by the PCF. When that didn't stop the social-democratic pressure campaign (which is echoed by Eurocommunist softs inside the party and the CGT apparatus), the PCF tops did another pirouette. At the end of December the Stalinists' No. 2 labor faker, Krasucki, issued an open letter to the PS warning Mitterrand to call off his dogs. It was just a cynical renegotiation of the deal made in June: Don't give us trouble on Poland, say the PCF/CGT, and we won't give you trouble in the plants.

On December 30 Marchais flatly declared that Solidarność had made a bid for power and had to be crushed. (Earlier the Communists tried to downplay this—after all, when Walesa visited Paris in October he met with CGT leaders.) No doubt the PCF tops have followed closely the disintegration of the Spanish Eurocommunists. In its present weakened condition, if the French CP adopts the SP position on Poland it runs the risk of being eaten alive by Mitterrand & Co. But the Eurostalinalists' reluctant defense of Jaruzelski has nothing in common with

genuine communist defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against capitalist counterrevolution. This requires the ouster of the Stalinist bureaucrats who have mortgaged Poland to the imperialist bankers and who in France (and not only there) have sabotaged every serious struggle for workers revolution.

### What Next for the "Far Left": Pilsudski Brigades?

When the *union sacrée* marched in Paris on December 14 in support of Polish Solidarność, the French fake-Trotskyists found themselves in the same demonstration, in fact, shoulder to shoulder with the Gaullists and fascists. As the rightists chanted "Communists, assassins!" the exposure of the revolutionary pretensions of the "far left" was just too glaring. So they eased their consciences by the cheap expedient of barring the Gaullist contingent from the procession. This empty gesture was not only useless (the Gaullists merely took a parallel side street), it could not hide the existence of the rotten anti-Soviet bloc. Meanwhile, riding the anti-Communist wave, degenerate remnants of the French New Left embarked on a series of provocations—sitting in at the Polish consulate at Lyons, occupying a Polish freighter at Rouen, firebombing Soviet-model cars in Perpignan.

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert was only mildly discomfited by the bloc with the bourgeoisie in the name of counterrevolution. When an OCI student honcho at one of the Paris campuses read off a list of groups who

*continued on page 10*

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist League Wins...

(continued from page 12)

discredited Smith Act and "Criminal Syndicalism" laws.

The California Organized Crime Bureau and the Deukmejian report are part of a burgeoning government "anti-terrorist" apparatus which includes the RICO ["racketeering"] laws, witchhunting grand juries, and a beefed-up secret police—all aimed at searching out and ultimately destroying political opposition as "terrorism." Labeling Marxists as political "terrorists" is an excuse to deny the most basic democratic rights and legal due process.

Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime" is an especially sinister document. It whitewashes the race terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, claiming the real danger of these fascists lies "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left." This is a

classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and the labor movement.

We vigorously opposed our inclusion in the 1979 report not simply because the allegations about us were false but especially because the report claimed we were vicious outlaws, terrorists and criminals. We were falsely labeled as dangerous people, to be dealt with militarily, mad dogs to be shot down. It was a murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party.

In fact, as Deukmejian has been forced to admit, we are not outlaws, terrorists or criminals. We are Marxists who have been politically active in California and other states for more than 15 years. We struggle to politically organize the American working class, to bring workers to the understanding that they need their own class party, a workers party, to fight for their immediate and ultimate interests. Such a perspective excludes substitutionist means such as terrorism, which is a futile, despairing strategy that turns away from the working-class struggle to abolish capitalism. Our victory today is

a vindication of the right of the working class and its party to organize.

In the radical movement we have a history of campaigning for workers democracy, opposing those who attempt to subordinate it to bourgeois norms of rule. The rule of the bourgeoisie is ultimately based on terrorism. Despite its protestations to the contrary, the American bourgeoisie is no exception. Examples abound: the Palmer raids, the unseating of socialists elected to the New York State Legislature, the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, the suppression of the Watts rebellion, the Vietnam War.

In issuing his 1979 report Deukmejian willfully tried to confuse Marxist education with terrorism. In forcing a retraction of the false allegations leveled at us we have won a victory for free speech. Socialists who believe the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, who maintain Polish Solidarność is not an agency of proletarian political revolution but a counter-revolutionary company union of the CIA and imperialist bankers, have a right to say so without being called terrorists.

Gubernatorial hopeful Deukmejian was forced to retract his wrongful and vicious smear of us because our court suit was becoming a political liability for him. The case has been gaining increasing support from public officials, civil liberties activists and others who, while not sharing our Marxist views, nevertheless know by experience and reputation that we are neither "terrorists" nor "criminals."

The case evoked particular sympathy and concern from black spokesmen, including Congressman Ron Dellums, Northern California NAACP counsel Oliver Jones, Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. and Alameda County Supervisor John George. Such support is not surprising given the targeting of blacks and minorities by Reaganite reaction.

We would like to thank all those who supported us in pursuing this suit to its successful conclusion. Our victory is a blow against the resurgent McCarthyism of Deukmejian and Reagan. We will continue to exercise and defend our rights, organizing the workers party which will struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class and all the oppressed. ■

San Francisco Chronicle

Suit Dropped

Spartacists Off Terrorist List

Los Angeles

A Marxist political group, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the state attorney general after the office admitted that the group is in a list of organizations published

Guardian

Spartacist League: Civil liberties victory

In an important civil liberties victory, the Spartacist League (SL) recently won a suit against the California attorney general's office, which had labeled the small Trotskyist group as a "terrorist" organization.

In a 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California," California Attorney General George Deukmejian stated that the SL, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party and the Communist Workers Party had emerged as "yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal."

The report, which was distributed to law enforcement officials and newspapers throughout the state, said the groups attempted "to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible." It also said that their "literature is highly inflammatory" and that they urged "violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings."

Last summer the SL filed suit against the attorney general's office, arguing that the SL was a Marxist political organization and not a "terrorist" group. The suit stated that the report interfered with the organization's "legitimate exercise of constitutionally protected rights" as well as provided "the rationale for government surveillance, infiltration and disruption."

The attorney general's office could not back up its charges, and as part of an out of court settlement on Dec. 15 it sent letters to law enforcement officials in the state saying that the inclusion of the SL in the 1979 terrorism report "was in error." However, no official retraction has yet been made of the listing of the other groups as "terrorists."

SL spokesman Al Nelson said that "labeling Marxists as political 'terrorists' is an excuse to deny the most basic democratic rights and legal due process." Nelson added, "right-wing zealots hope to silence their opponents by creating a new McCarthyism, an atmosphere of intimidation and anticommunist hysteria. They want to muzzle free speech. They must not be permitted to do so."

Oakland Tribune/TODAY

SATURDAY

Group's Designation as Terrorists Voided

By PATT MORRISON, Times Staff Writer

A California Marxist group announced Friday that its lawsuit against state Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian has been settled out of court with the distribution of a letter from Deukmejian's office admitting that the group's inclusion on a 1979 list of terrorists "was in error."

The Spartacist League had sued Deukmejian earlier this year, claiming that because it and the Spartacus Youth League had been listed in the 1979 report, "Organized Crime in California," they had become "targets... for harassment and persecution and intimidation by law enforcement and right-wing organizations." They said they were "Marxists, not terrorists."

The report, one of the first such ever made public, listed right-wing and left-wing groups, from the Ku Klux Klan to the Revolutionary Communist Party. It included the

Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League with several left-wing organizations and said that all of them were committed to an "advocacy of violence... urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings."

In the retraction letter sent to the 27 federal, state and local law enforcement agencies who receive the annual organized crime report, Charles E. Casey, chief of the state's bureau of organized crime and criminal intelligence, wrote: "This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League on Page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication... was in error."

"The agreement was basically that we'd retract what was in the 1979 report," said Justice depart-

Los Angeles Times

Continued from First Page

ment spokeswoman Gina McGuiness. "When we researched our files after they filed suit, we didn't find enough substance to justify what had been said (in the report)."

Spokesmen for the Spartacist League said Friday they also intend to distribute copies of the retraction letter to members of the Legislature, who are also on the distribution list for the report.

"We vigorously opposed our inclusion in the 1979 report not simply because the allegations about us were false," said a Spartacist League statement issued Friday, "but especially because the report claimed we were vicious outlaws, terrorists and criminals... It was a murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party."

The statement by Al Nelson of the league's central committee claimed the retraction was a "small but very important victory for the real majority of the American people—labor, blacks, Chicanos, Jews, Asian-Americans."

The retraction represents "a victory for free speech," Nelson said. "Socialists who believe the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, who maintain (that) Polish Solidarność (Solidarity) is not an agency of proletarian political revolution but a counter-revolutionary company union of the CIA and imperialist bankers, have a right to say so without being called terrorists."

The New York Times

MARXISTS DROPPING SUIT IN CALIFORNIA

State Official Admits Error in Putting Group on '79 List of Left-Wing Terrorists

By ROBERT LINDSEY Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 25 — A Marxist political organization, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the California Attorney General's office after the office acknowledged that it had been wrong to include the group in a list of left-wing terrorist organizations published in 1979.

The organization had contended that the state had wrongfully depicted it as prone to violence. The Spartacists had charged that the action was part of "renascent McCarthyism" and a "murderous effort to set us up for the same kind of campaign of Government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party."

In a 1979 report to the Legislature, George Deukmejian, the California Attorney General, listed the Spartacist League and a related group, the Spartacus Youth League, together with the Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Workers Party, the International Committee Against Racism and the Revolutionary Communist Party as left-wing groups operating in California.

Attempts to 'Incite' Charged

The report said that the organizations shared a "radical ideology and advocacy of violence," asserting: "They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible; their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counterdemonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occu-

pation by force of Federal office buildings."

Officials of the Spartacist organizations responded by describing themselves as "not terrorists but Marxist revolutionists." And, last summer, they filed a suit against the state, arguing that Mr. Deukmejian had defamed the organization and was trying to suppress constitutionally protected dissent in a "classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and the labor movement."

Rachel Wolkenstein, a lawyer for the organization in New York City, said in a telephone interview:

"The Spartacist League is not a violent group by either program or by principle."

A spokesman for Mr. Deukmejian said that the Attorney General's office had decided to withdraw its characterization of the group after a review of its files determined that it was not justified. As part of an out-of-court settlement, an official of the agency sent letters to government agencies that had received the 1979 list and said its report on the two organizations was erroneous.

The Spartacist League and its youth organization are among a handful of political organizations in this country whose members, professing adherence to the principles of Communism described by Karl Marx, say that they are opposed to capitalism in this country and establish a "workers party."

Al Nelson, a member of the Spartacist League's central committee, depicted the league and its youth group in an interview as Trotskyist factions that, while believing "in the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism," had renounced Stalin's police state tactics. He said that the two groups had "several hundred" members.

Noting that several leaders of the black community in California had sided with the organizations in the dispute with Mr. Deukmejian, Mr. Nelson asserted that there was concern "among blacks and liberals" that the Attorney General "and the Reagan Administration" would attempt to suppress political dissent under the guise of fighting terrorism. "They are willfully confusing legitimate Marxist education and leftist activity with international terrorism," he asserted.

San Francisco Examiner

State digest

Compiled from Examiner news services

Marxists, not mobsters

THE STATE BUREAU of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence has issued a letter saying a Marxist group mistakenly was included in a 1979 report on organized crime, according to the Spartacist League-Spartacist Youth League. The state attorney general's office retracted the inclusion of the group under an out-of-court settlement of the Spartacist's civil suit, and a letter will go to federal, state and local agencies, said Keith Douglas of the group's central committee. Gina McGuiness, a spokeswoman for state Attorney General George Deukmejian confirmed the retraction today, saying the inclusion of the group in the terrorism report "was an error." She said officials had checked the files and there was "no substantiation" for the terrorist label.

Marxist group taken off

By Robert Lindsey New York Times

LOS ANGELES — A Marxist political organization, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the California attorney general's office after the office acknowledged that it had been wrong to include the group in a list of left-wing terrorist organizations published in 1979.

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# Marxists...

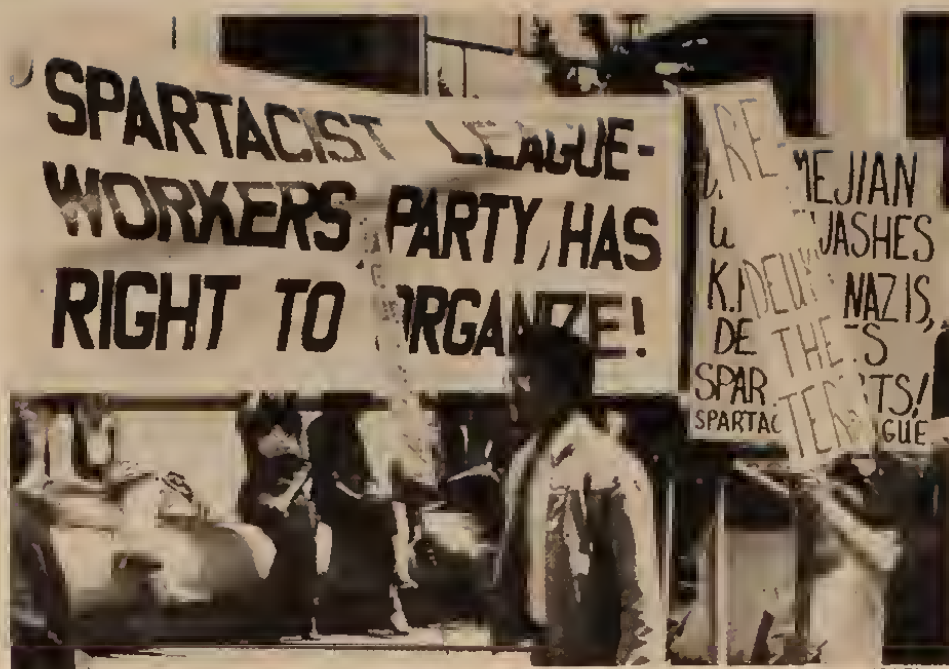
(continued from page 12)

importance of a victory in our case, particularly by blacks and including black elected officials as well as civil libertarians. Alameda County Supervisor John George wrote in a November 25 fundraising letter in support of the case:

"I find Deukmejian's characterizations of the SL/SYL to be totally unfounded. Personally, I welcome the opportunity to support this case which I see as part of the fight against right-wing attacks on civil liberties and the threat of a new McCarthyism in this country."

As support for the case began to build, and the court deadline approached for the attorney general to actually present some evidence for the charges against the Spartacist League, Deukmejian's office renewed contact with the SL's lawyers for an out-of-court settlement. A representative of the attorney general's office, Gina McGuinness, later told the *San Francisco Examiner* that after a search of their files they could not find "substantiation" for the charges. But earlier they had claimed that the SL was deleted from the 1980 "Organized Crime Report" not because of the court suit, but its inactivity in 1980. Yet 1980 was the most active year in the SL's 15-year history of political work in California. In fact, as Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson noted at the press conference:

"We became conspicuous earlier that year [1980] when the Nazi Party of San Francisco said that on April 19th they were going to celebrate Hitler's birthday at the Civic Center. We initiated a counterdemonstration at the same time and the same place as the Nazis had promised theirs. We received endorsements from officers from 22 local unions, and nine local unions themselves. The demonstration took place;



WV Photo

SL demonstrated in four West Coast cities July 23 against the Deukmejian witchhunt. San Francisco (left), Los Angeles (right).

some 1,200 people showed up, primarily from labor unions, blacks and other minorities and socialists. The Nazis did not show up, and furthermore have not been seen in San Francisco since then."

Our protest of this witchhunt raised the banner: "Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" We are known for what we do—for actions such as our demonstration that stopped the Nazis on April 19 in San Francisco. We want to be known for our record in support of labor and militant class struggle; known for our defense of blacks, increasingly under attack by Reagan reaction, and our defense of the oppressed and democratic rights for all—for our Trotskyist program of socialist revolution internationally. We ran a candidate for Board of Supervisors in San Francisco in 1980 to bring our program to a

wide audience in the Bay Area. Diana Coleman said workers must break with the capitalist political parties, and build a party of their own which can oppose the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive and fight for a workers government.

But Deukmejian wants us to be known for what we don't do: for terrorism. The would-be McCarthys hope to squash those who call upon the workers and oppressed to act in their own interests. They willfully confuse Marxism with terrorism in order to create the atmosphere and legal apparatus to harass, repress and wipe out the Marxists.

## Punching a Hole In the RICO Net

We were included on a government legal hit list without our knowledge. We

found out about our inclusion in the California "Organized Crime Report" when a red baiting letter to the University of California (Los Angeles) *Daily Bruin* referred to it to allege the SL was a group of criminals and terrorists. We had not seen the document because this sort of information circulates only to police agencies, legislators and the press. Moreover, the California "Organized Crime Report" is used as an authoritative "source" on terrorist groups.

We were targets in a new style of witchhunting. The California "Organized Crime Report" of 1979 was not simply a "subversives list." The largest left organizations like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party were not included while the KKK and Hell's Angels were. In the McCarthy period the government tried, convicted and jailed communists for their ideas; prosecutors read selected passages of Marx and Lenin as "evidence." But after the Vietnam War and given the miserable economic and social failure of the "American Dream" it has not been enough to simply brand people as communists to put them in jail. Statutes for legal witchhunting like the Smith Act have become generally discredited. Black Panther Party leaders were simply murdered in their beds.

The Reagan/Haig Cold War II of the 1980s goes beyond simple red scare, to the "red-terrorist" scare, under the slogan of combating "Soviet-inspired international terrorism." A series of measures has been taken in the name of this new form of "red menace" including a new legal license for the CIA to spy on and infiltrate domestic left groups, pardons for convicted secret police agents, Congressional cries for a new HUAC and squeezing off the Freedom of Information Act.

The case against our inclusion in the California "Organized Crime Report" confronted the new legal witchhunting apparatus. Prosecutors are using an act passed by Congress in 1970, the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), which gives them sweeping legal powers. The Partisan Defense Committee pointed out the ominous connection between the California "Organized Crime Report" and RICO in a fund appeal letter of November 25:

"The danger goes beyond California. Deeming organizations 'terrorist' is the government's justification for sending military troops to arrest alleged Brinks robbery conspirators and precluding lawyers from representing clients. A new federal-New York City joint terrorism task force is launching a 'major racketeering investigation' using the draconian RICO conspiracy laws. This law has only the vaguest definition of 'racketeering,' permits multiple prosecutions for the same act, extends the statute of limitations, imposes

continued on page 8

# When the Secret Service Apologized

In July 1979 a well-known member of the CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) executive board and spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus, Jane Margolis, was dragged off the union's convention floor in Detroit by the U.S. Secret Service right before Jimmy Carter was scheduled to speak. She was manhandled, interrogated, threatened with being held incommunicado—to politically shield the president from the voice of militant unionism.

The Secret Service's open invasion of the CWA convention was a flagrant and highly unusual provocation. It sparked protests by hundreds of unionists, socialists and civil libertarians who joined the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) campaign.

The Spartacist League, which fights to build a class-struggle opposition in the labor movement, endorsed and actively built the UCASSH campaign. Eventually Secret Service deputy director Myron I. Weinstein (now acting director) was forced to send a letter of "regret" to Margolis, along with a check for \$3,500, which Margolis turned over to the union (see *WV* No. 259, "Jane Margolis Wins!" 27 June 1980).



DEPT. OF THE TREASURY

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

JUN - 79

Ms. Jane Margolis  
475 Alvarado Street, #3  
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention  
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service's involvement in this misunderstanding, which is obviously regrettable, arose from our agent's confusion over why you were actually being arrested. It was his belief that he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest. At the same time, the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for a violation of federal law. In any event, it is now apparent that no arrest should have been made under the circumstances.

It should be noted that there is no indication whatsoever that there was any political motivation to these actions.

Following your initial removal from the floor of the convention, the law enforcement personnel on the scene began questioning why, in fact, you had been removed. As soon as it became apparent that you had not violated any law, but rather that an error in judgment had been made, you were released.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

*Myron I. Weinstein*  
Myron I. Weinstein  
Deputy Director



# Marxists...

(continued from page 7)

increased criminal sanctions, and allows the government to strip defendants of assets to prevent them from hiring top lawyers. The scope of this RICO 'net' is now consciously being extended to political 'terrorist' organizations. And it is Deukmejian and the California BOCCI [Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence] which is credited with pioneering the redefinition of organized crime to include political organizations (see *Fordham Law Review*, Vol. 49, p. 170, SN 18).

Barry Tarlow notes in the *Fordham Law Review* that the Organized Crime Control Commission of the California Department of Justice has "urged a broad definition" of RICO including "terrorist" organizations. This commission has not only shown prosecutors how to use RICO to go after the left and labor organizations; they even compiled a "list" in the form of a report that would designate left-wing organizations as "terrorist." And Deukmejian put the SL on that list until we forced him to take it off. Everyone may know that the SL is a group of "Marxists Not Mobsters," to quote the *San Francisco Examiner*, but we were labeled "terrorists" under the general rubric of "organized crime," in part to set us up for RICO. And who was the vice chairman of the commission which produced the pioneering California "Organized Crime Report" which tries to redefine political terrorism as organized crime? None other than Reagan's adviser Edwin Meese III, then Alameda County DA.

With the ominous RICO net spreading out after the Nyack Brinks bank job, it is no wonder San Francisco's black newspaper *Metro Reporter* (14 December 1981) warns that witchhunting RICO grand juries could begin wide-ranging probes of "respected black organizations." To prove "association in fact" under RICO is easy. The National Lawyers Guild newspaper, *Blind Justice* (December 1981), reports that "recent statements by the FBI and the United States Attorney indicate that 'the association in fact' which gives rise to the 'enterprise' being investigated by the current grand jury may be a common belief that socialism should be established in the United States and/or a belief in 'the destruction of our form of government as we know it'."

As the old labor motto said, an injury to one is an injury to all, and the SL victory in this case can be shared by all those who are targeted by the witch-hunters, all those who want to strike a blow against the new McCarthyism. ■

## The Price of Victory

The successful conclusion of the SL/SYL suit against California attorney general Deukmejian is a victory not only for socialists, but for all who oppose attempts to muzzle free speech through McCarthyite intimidation. The Partisan Defense Committee undertook to support this case financially and now has outstanding debts of approximately \$4,000. Throughout this case we faced the resources not only of the State of California, but of right-wing tycoons who call the tune for the new witchhunters. This small but very important victory is a setback to the Reaganite attempts to set up the left and all political oppositionists as "terrorists." Please support the fight against renescent McCarthyism by sending a generous check to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

# Gold Warriors...

(continued from page 1)

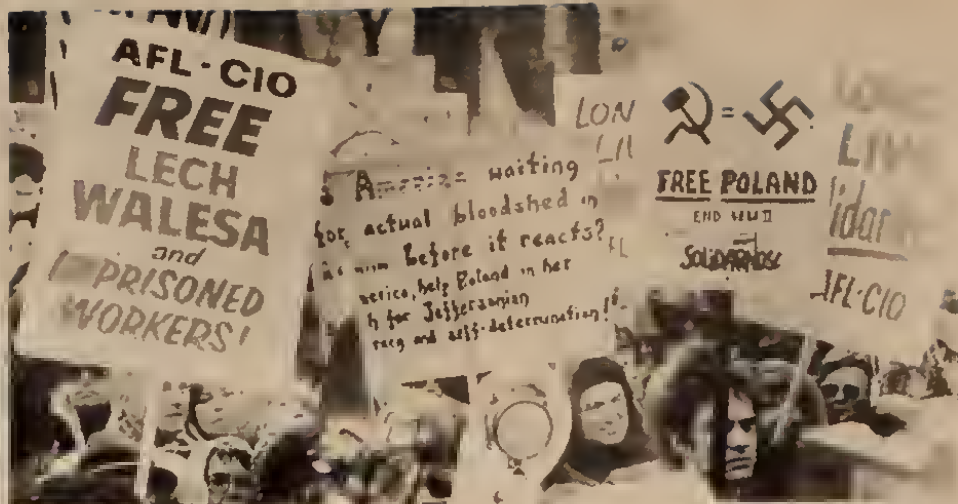
opposition from their West European allies, especially the most powerful one, West Germany. When asked about Bonn's reaction to the Polish crackdown, government spokesman Kurt Becker replied bluntly, "There are no implications for the West. Next question, please." Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's reaction, while visiting East German leader Erich Honecker in the DDR, was to regret that martial law in Poland had been "necessary." And the initial statement on Poland by the Second International, penned by German social-democratic chairman Willy Brandt, refused to condemn the coup. Meanwhile, Schmidt has been sitting around on a Florida beach mouthing off against Reagan's sanctions to James Reston of the *New York Times*, longtime confidante of *Democratic* presidents.

An incensed and bewildered *Wall Street Journal* (4 January) complained that "something powerfully strange is taking place in the German psyche." The *Journal* is right in the sense that the West German masses want no part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Observers have compared the 350,000 who marched in Bonn last fall against more NATO missiles with the tiny pro-Solidarność protests, the largest of which were about 6,000. There is, in fact, a direct connection. As the influential liberal *Der Spiegel* (4 January) editor Rudolf Augstein put it:

"If, however, you hold dear Konrad Adenauer's 'rollback,' to be accomplished economically and by armaments; if you want to revive the policy of Dulles, which was abandoned by the inventor himself, of driving Soviet power back behind Russian borders; then go to it—if you want the capitulation of your opponent, then you choose war."

The German people do not want to be involved in Reagan's "rollback" war in which *their country* will be the main, and perhaps only, battlefield.

But Schmidt and Brandt are no pacifists, and they are not "patsies for the Russkies" as the reactionary Republican right would have it. German imperialism has a long-term strategy for regaining Prussia and Saxony (East Germany)—not to mention Silesia and East Prussia—and dominating the rest of East Europe, centrally by subverting the region economically and then making a deal with the Kremlin. The hawkish correspondent for the *New York Times* (3 January), John Vinocur, understands the core of Bonn's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy) as "the search for a level of continuing accommodation with Moscow that could some day permit German reunification, and the real eradication of the consequences of World War II." German finance capital, having failed to take East Europe and



NYC, December 19: AFL-CIO bureaucracy spearheads Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

break the USSR militarily in the last war, prefers for now to undermine the Soviet bloc from within.

If the German social democrats have played it very cool over Poland, their French counterparts have sought to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy. So the German social democrats are now anti-Reagan "détenters" while the French social democrats have become pro-Reagan Cold Warriors, challenged on this score only by the Italian Eurocommunists who are gearing up for a definitive break with Moscow. These sharp divisions are dramatic evidence of how the reformists defend and express, above all, the interests of their *own* bourgeoisie. German capital sees its interests in national reunification and further economic penetration of East Europe; Mitterrand's program is one of protectionism, austerity and anti-Soviet militarism, while serving as the ideological spearhead of "democratic socialist" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

## Solidarność Has Friends at Chase Manhattan

The imperialist bourgeoisie supported Solidarność as long as it looked like it had a chance of taking power. But now that Walesa looks a loser, some bankers are looking to Moscow to pay Poland's debts. Call it compensation for not winning the big prize in Poland: capitalist counterrevolution. The house organ of international financiers, the *London Economist* (28 December 1981) explained: "Russia now controls Poland again and does not want a Polish default either." Reportedly the Jaruzelski regime has come up with \$350 million in interest payments just in time, and informed opinion thinks it's really Russian gold.

There is nothing new in this. The Soviet Union has long been subsidizing the Polish economy. Since the mid-late-1970s, in fact, Poland has functioned as an intermediary for Western finance capital to extract economic surplus from the Soviet workers and peasants. This is particularly egregious since the standard of living in Moscow and Kiev is distinctly lower than in Warsaw and Gdansk. In 1977, for example, Poles consumed 65 pounds of red meat a year, almost as much as West Germans, while Russians ate only about 50 pounds a year. Yet the Soviet Union has been exporting thousands of tons of meat to Poland in order to keep the Polish masses quiet.

A lot of liberals and radlibs, in order to justify their support to Solidarność, are fabricating the notion that Western bankers are supporting Jaruzelski's crackdown. Recently Cold War liberal James Wechsler, in a column entitled "Bankers' Battle Hymn" in the *New York Post* (23 December 1981), claims there is a cahal of "Western bankers and American Communists and Trotskyists, incongruously united in apologia for the ruthless crackdown by the Polish commissars and their Kremlin sponsors." By Trotskyists he means the Spartacist League and cites the headline of the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, "Solidarność Counterrevolution Checked." Contrary to Wechsler's prediction, the consortium of Western

banks holding the Polish debt refused Warsaw's request for an additional loan to cover their interest payments, expecting the Russians would now pay. The *London Economist*, as usual, expressed the policy of imperialist finance: "...a Poland without a free Solidarity is not worth rescuing."

As for the \$27 billion in Polish debt to the West, these loans have been so profitable that many banks would come out ahead even if they got not another red cent. The *Wall Street Journal* (7 December 1981) admitted: "And some bankers boast privately even were they forced to write off their Polish loans now they might show a profit on their loans to the nation over the past decade, so lucrative have been these deals."

It is outrageous that the Polish and Soviet workers should be milked by the profit-hungry bankers of Zurich, Frankfurt and New York. A revolutionary workers government in Warsaw would immediately *cancel the imperialist debt*. But it is not our task, as a Trotskyist vanguard fighting for proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc, to advise the Warsaw bureaucrats, who have ruined the Polish economy, how to get out of the hole they're in. To be sure, should the Stalinists default, all class-conscious workers must defend Poland and the USSR against retaliation by the bloodsucking financiers and their political hirelings.

## For Polish Trotskyism

Encouraged by Radio Free Europe and the Polish pope, it was clear that Solidarność was moving to overthrow the Warsaw regime and break with the Soviet Union. As we pointed out last issue, Jaruzelski's counter-coup came at the last possible moment as a move from a position of power. Secret government-sponsored polls in 1980-81 showed that only 3 percent of the population would vote for the Communists in free elections; another 20 percent for socialists of various sorts, and 43 percent for Christian Democrats—i.e., for capitalist counterrevolution in the name of the pope and (bourgeois) democracy. For those who couldn't see the logic of Solidarity's progression, Solidarność leaders spelled it out in a closed meeting in Radom. The tapes, which have become known as "Radomgate," stripped off Lech Walesa's mask of a simple trade unionist. More extensive excerpts of these tapes have now appeared in the Western press, including this revealing excerpt from Walesa:

"After all, let us realize that we are bringing this system down. Let us at last realize this. If we agree to have private storekeepers, buy up state farms and ensure complete self-management, this system will cease to exist."

—*Washington Post*,  
20 December 1981

The international Spartacist tendency drew the conclusions last September as Solidarność took up the Cold War propaganda themes of "free elections" and "free trade unions" throughout East Europe. "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" before it is too late, we said. And, for now, the power grab by this "company union for the bankers and the CIA" has been blocked. After the initial methodical roundup of Solidarity lead-

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# Friends of Lech Walesa, Inc.

So Lech Walesa is *Time* magazine's "man of the year." "Lech Everyman," they dubbed him, "the courageous little electrician from Gdansk" who "led a crusade for freedom." In addition to a lengthy personality profile (during his frequent drives to Warsaw, Walesa reportedly spent his time "tuning in to rock played by Radio Free Europe") and history of Solidarność, *Time*'s year-end special tried to milk the Polish crackdown for all it was worth with a nine-page essay on the Communist Danger. It was the usual "free world" propaganda fare: while playing up seven strikers killed by the Polish army, the entire issue has not a word or picture about El Salvador, where the U.S.-backed junta murdered more than 20,000 during 1981.

But it's the story behind the "Man of the Year" story that's most interesting. A letter from the publisher says the piece was based on "several sessions between Walesa and *Time* this year, including a question-and-answer breakfast for the *Time* Newstour in October at Charles de Gaulle airport outside Paris." That's the first time this tête-à-tête has been mentioned in the American press, and there's more to it than *Time* lets on. The "common man" from Gdansk got together with some

uncommon friends in the West, it seems. For meeting with Walesa along with *Time* editor Henry Grunwald at that October 18 breakfast in a posh airport restaurant were a host of top American corporate executives.

Not a word was breathed about this confidential get together between the leader of Polish Solidarność and leading Western capitalists until two months later, after the crackdown which checked Solidarity's counter-revolutionary bid for power. The well-informed French muckraking weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné* (16 December) just published an account, entitled "A Wink from the Americans," which noted the secretive arrangements:

"Early in the morning their [Solidarność delegation] bus takes the *autoroute du Nord* [heading for a scheduled meeting in Vaudricourt], but barely outside of Paris it takes the cutoff leading to Roissy airport. Arriving at their destination, the Polish unionists reach Maxim's airport restaurant deserted at that hour. It's 8:30 a.m. In front of the restaurant, a cordon of CRS riot police. Inside, at tables laid for breakfast, 20-odd Americans receive Walesa and his friends.

#### Discretion and Mum's the Word

"These businessmen arrived two hours earlier, by a special airplane.... Here's

some wonderful dirty laundry—expensive, too. Philip Caldwell, president of Ford; Robert Tirby, president of Westinghouse; David Lewis, ditto for General Dynamics; Henry Heinz representing the food/agriculture group of the same name, and Thomas Watson, an IBM bigwig. Plus a TWA v.i.p. and several potentates of only slightly lesser importance, banking and life-insurance chairmen....

"All this crowd for Lech Walesa, considered a veritable head of a shadow government. The introductions are rapid and discussion begins. A system of simultaneous translation is in place, proof that on the American side in any case the interview was not totally improvised."

Among the questions asked by these hardheaded captains of industry and high finance: "Are you prepared to give up your Saturdays off?" "Do Polish workers know how to work and are they ready to?" "Is it the end of Marxist-Leninist ideology in Poland?" "Do you wish the Communist party to remain in power?"

During Walesa's Paris visit our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) demonstrated denouncing Solidarność as a company union of the Western bosses. When an LTF reporter asked the Solidarity leaders at a press conference about their call for

the International Monetary Fund to take over Poland's economy, the haughty *Le Monde* became indignant that "some of our colleagues seemed determined to make them admit a secret penchant for capitalism." So now it is revealed that while *Le Monde* was denouncing a Trotskyist slam against Walesa's "simple trade-unionist" credentials, the latter was engaged in hush-hush talks with U.S. capitalists to offer better terms than the discredited Stalinist regime!

For Trotskyists it did not take such spectacular revelations to show what the pope's little Polish "freedom fighter" was up to. Already at the time of its first congress last September, when Solidarność took up the Cold War propaganda themes of "free elections" and "free trade unions," inviting such sterling "free trade-unionists" as long-time CIA agent Irving Brown and opening a U.S. "press bureau" in the offices of "State Department socialist" Albert Shanker's UFT, we warned: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" For a Marxist analysis of Walesa's course to counterrevolution, read the Spartacist pamphlet, *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*.

ers, the flurry of resistance has died down. The general strike or armed resistance which would have forced a bloody confrontation, hardening the present disastrous lines of division, fortunately did not occur. The immediate danger of counterrevolution has been checked, but the fundamental crisis of Polish society has not been resolved.

The Polish masses are undeniably infatuated with the capitalist West, with American jeans and flags and German cars. They should know that Poland cannot break from Russia without a major new war which would again mean their ruin. After World War II, the entire country was forcibly transferred 200 miles to the West, taking land which the Germans took 1,000 years to absorb. And the Germans are not generous with their *Lebensraum*. Counterrevolution in Poland would mean a capitalist reunification of Germany, creating a powerful imperialist juggernaut in Central Europe with no room for the Poles, except perhaps as agricultural laborers. As the soldiers in those funny helmets start marching east again, Poles would necessarily embrace Russian army boots for protection. Those who

think that General Jaruzelski's counter-coup is the same as Nazi, or even Frederick the Great's rule would be brutally disabused of this notion.

It has been reported that some Solidarność militants, and even a few leaders, have been asking, "How did things go so wrong, so fast?" Well, you were *against* many of the right things, but what were you *for*? The *forms* of the movement frequently suggested proletarian political revolution, but tragically the *content* was dominated by the Catholic church and Western imperialism. The program of Walesa & Co. would have meant disaster for Polish working people. So everything important is learned the hard way, and Poland 1980-81 is no exception. What's needed now is a period of underground regroupment, a *political* reckoning with Solidarność. Only the Trotskyist program of ousting the sellout bureaucrats through political revolution, in order to *defend* and *extend* the historic gains of socialized property, can show the way forward. A genuine Leninist vanguard of the Polish working class, part of a reborn Fourth International, can be built only through uncompromising struggle against counterrevolution. ■

## Save Turkish Trade Unionists from Gallows!

On December 24 Turkey's military junta began the mass show trial of 52 leaders of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), the 500,000-strong militant union federation banned since the generals' coup of September 1980. Jailed for over a year with virtually no legal rights, the defendants—much of DISK's top leadership—face execution if convicted. They are charged with organizing, before the coup, May Day rallies and demonstrations against anti-labor laws and protesting assassination of union leaders by fascist hit squads like the "Grey Wolves." The junta, which overthrew a constitutionally elected government, now charges the trade unionists with having violated the constitution! According to their lawyers, the trial was delayed because the military authorities tried to gather evidence linking DISK with the pro-Moscow Turkish Communist Party (TKP), which itself has been outlawed since 1923.

When the military took over, vowing to crush political terrorism and end economic chaos, DISK's activities were banned, along with all strikes and collective bargaining. Some 600 union officials were arrested. Although the junta feigned evenhandedness in crushing "extremists" of both the left and right, the fierce repression has fallen much more frequently and brutally on the left, the organized labor movement and the oppressed Kurdish minority. Hundreds of Guevarist guerrillas, especially members of Dev Yol (Revolutionary Way), have been murdered outright by the army and police. Torture of political prisoners is so widespread and savage that even West European bourgeois govern-

ments that originally hailed the coup are telling the generals to clean up their act if they want to keep getting their loans.

Not so the Reagan gang. Although the Turkish junta rounded up more than 10,000 in the first week after the takeover, the U.S. State Department indicated its "sympathy" with the generals, and the *New York Times* benevolently termed it a "bloodless coup." But when it comes to Poland today, Reagan howls as if the crackdown in Warsaw was genocide! Recently, only a few weeks before the DISK leaders went on trial, U.S. defense secretary Weinberger met with the junta to "enlarge and improve defense cooperation" to the tune of \$403 million in military aid alone during 1982. For U.S. imperialism, Turkey is strategic as a military bastion on the Balkan flank of the USSR, especially so since the "loss" of Iran, and Greece's threat to boycott the military wing of NATO. While union leaders are in the dock facing the death penalty, and even Nobel Prize winning poets are denied passports to travel abroad, Weinberger praises the junta for having "embarked upon the course that will bring a democratic government" (*New York Times*, 6 December 1981).

The left and labor movement internationally must demand immediate release of the DISK leaders and all prisoners opposed to the junta and the ultrarightist gangs. Labor should reject Reagan's anti-Soviet Solidarność sanctions and start hot-cargoing all military aid to the junta as an act of international solidarity with the Turkish workers and peasants under the gun. Free the 52—Unchain DISK! Down with NATO!

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# Anti-Red Front...

(continued from page 3)

the opposite. Expressions of support by Solidarność leaders for Western imperialist "democracy" have been clear and numerous. For example, on American television, broadcast on November 2, Lech Walesa was asked by Walter Cronkite: "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... your system has passed the test." Does the SWP think Reagan's America is a model of workers democracy?

If the SWP does a bad imitation of DSOC, Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) does a bad imitation of the SWP. A fake-Trotskyist grouplet largely limited to Ann Arbor/Detroit, the Sollenbergerites try to present themselves as the left wing of "movement" radicalism. And since at this juncture radical/liberal opinion is strongly anti-Soviet, so are they. In mid-December the Sollenbergerites' trade-union group at Ford's River Rouge plant put out a leaflet, "Victory to the Polish Workers!" which, like the SWP, claims that pro-imperialist Solidarność stands for "workers democracy." In typical "third camp" fashion it declares: "We are against intervention by the U.S. or the Soviet Union."

In practice the RWL stands to the right of even this declared "third campism." The SWP and even DSOC have sufficient concern for their "socialist" image not to participate in the AFL-CIO's "Stop Soviet Killers" demonstrations. But when the Detroit union bureaucracy called a pro-Solidarność rally on December 18, Sollenberger's people answered the call. Like all such AFL-CIO Solidarność rallies this one attracted a lot of East European clerical-nationalists or worse. The most prominent slogan was, "We Support Strong U.S. Actions," while a large banner next to the Sollenbergerites proclaimed: "Freedom for Poland—Blessed Mother and Pope Are With Us." There is a name for self-styled leftists who participate in this kind of demonstration: "State Department socialists."

## The Bankruptcy of Stalinism

It's a dog's life being a Stalinist hack. If the *National Lampoon* had tried to parody the response of the U.S. Communist Party (CP) to the crackdown in Poland, it couldn't have come up with this one. It's beyond parody. The *Daily World* (15 December 1981) headline reads: "Poland Heeds Unity Call—Nation Goes Back to Work." Maybe the CP was hoping no one would notice the martial law, mass arrests, later some shootings. General Jaruzelski's regime, which doesn't have the luxury of indulging in such fatuous nonsense, admits strikes in a number of important industrial locations and widespread slowdowns.

The danger of a counterrevolution in Poland—a Kronstadt on a massive scale—was very real, and it had to be stopped. It was real because it was not just the machinations of a handful of "extremists" in Solidarność, as the Stalinists try to pretend. Three decades of Stalinist misrule and mismanagement have, for now, driven the mass of the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican and NATO imperialism. That is a monumental crime of Stalinism.

While the official Kremlin apologists in the U.S. blandly state that General Jaruzelski commands the loyalty of the Polish masses, the fellow travelers, such as Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Irwin Silber's Line of March (LOM) group, express pious hopes that

the general and his colleagues will regain this loyalty in the future. A long article by Marcy on "The New Polish Crisis" (*Workers World*, 18 December 1981) is utterly devoid of any socialist program or perspective save a rhetorical question as to "whether the military under present conditions can, is capable of, or is fully united in, resuscitating Poland on a socialist basis." Likewise, at a New York City forum on December 15, Line of March spokesman Bruce Occeña expressed "the hope" that the Jaruzelski regime "can successfully break the backs of the anti-socialist elements." He opined, "This cannot be done unless the Polish party persists and deepens the legitimate reforms and rectification of the party line in practice vis-à-vis the working class."

To speak of reforming and resuscitating Polish Stalinism is especially grotesque. Here is a bureaucracy so discredited, so corrupt, which has so ruined the economy that millions of Polish workers now think they would be better off under Western-style capitalism. Certainly the mass of the Polish proletariat can be won away from their current infatuation with Pilsudski's memory, Wojtyła's Vatican and Reagan's America. But it will only be through uncompromising struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy, which is ultimately responsible for the counter-revolutionary eruption around Solidarność. The future of socialism in Poland lies not in restoring a Stalinist police state but in the development of a genuinely communist (i.e., Trotskyist) vanguard. As a Spartacist spokesman told the December 15 New York forum:

"Unlike the LOM, we do not want to see the Stalinist party gain stronger control, but in fact seek the recrystallization of a truly international proletarian grouping that can lead a political revolution."

Under Trotskyist leadership the rich communist tradition of the Polish proletariat will be renewed—Polish Stalinism never! ■

## Italian Workers ...

(continued from page 4)

"irreparable consequences" which a Soviet intervention in Poland would have for its already tenuous ties to the Kremlin. Now, in the context of Cold War II, with the most anti-Communist administration in Washington in decades, Berlinguer thinks he sees his big chance over Poland. If the PCI can prove its worth to the imperialists, attacking the Soviet Union as vehemently as the social democrats, perhaps it can overcome the veto on PCI participation in the government.

Berlinguer & Co. seem ready to jump. But can they take their base with them intact? They are caught in a contradiction between reformist desires to support "independent" European imperialism and fear that this could severely weaken their organizational weight: 12 million voters (30 percent of the total, far more than the Socialists and Social Democrats); control of the most powerful union federation, CGIL, with 5 million members, and strong peasant cooperatives; 1.8 million party members, with 200,000 or so activists and an apparatus numbering tens of thousands. Already they have control of city governments in the most important cities (Rome, Milano, Torino, Genova, Naples, Florence, Bologna, etc.) And they don't want to risk that. So even the bureaucrats must take notice when faced with such vocal opposition from the membership.

In early 1980 there was significant protest within the PCI against the party's condemnation of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. This time five PCI city councilors in Milano broke party discipline by refusing to vote for an otherwise unanimous motion (sup-

ported by everyone from the fascists to New Leftists!) which condemned the coup in Poland and "Soviet imperialism." But so far these "Afghans" or *kabulisti* do not seem to have undertaken any kind of organized opposition to Berlinguer's line. No wonder; for the "pro-Soviet" elements in the PCI and union bureaucracy have no real alternative program to counterpose to the Eurocommunist treachery of Berlinguer & Co. They are united by their fundamental reformism, as the bitter defeat of the FIAT strike demonstrated so vividly (see "Italian CP Knives Fiat Strike," *WW* No. 270, 12 December 1980).

Yet if there is a country in West Europe where a revolutionary opposition to the class collaboration of the Stalinist/Eurocommunist betrayers could gain very significant support in the working class, Italy is it. If the PCI leadership is going slowly in making the final rupture with its past, it is for fear that precipitous movement could spark a major split. Now more than ever, with the dramatic events of the Polish crisis and the capitalists' mounting attacks against the conditions of Italian workers, the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism and counterrevolution, of workers political revolution in the East to oust the treacherous Stalinist bureaucrats and socialist revolution in the capitalist West could appeal to the militant proletariat of Italy. ■

## Mitterrand's "Sacred Union" ...

(continued from page 5)

would be present on the 14th he listed the fascist student organization without batting an eye. The Lambertists habitually flee from defending the Soviet bloc against imperialism by claiming that the Stalinists and capitalists formed a holy alliance against the working class at Yalta in 1945. Today they cynically claim Washington, the Vatican and Moscow are all allied against Solidarność! So Reagan didn't impose sanctions on the USSR, Wojtyła isn't calling for freeing Walesa and the *Wall Street Journal* didn't back Solidarity?! To justify its treachery, the OCI simply denies reality.

As for the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the French section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat," its posture as the militant builders of Mitterrand's popular front has taken it very far indeed from anything resembling Trotskyism. The LCR outrageously compares Poland to Chile, accusing Jaruzelski of using "methods which are in no way preferable to those of Pinochet"! And then they condemn the French government for appealing to the "sacrosanct principle of non-interference": "The 'non-interference' of which [Prime Minister]

Mauroy speaks today necessarily leads to capitulation, or complicity...[as] in 1936, when the government of Léon Blum refused to take the side of the Spanish masses against the Francoist uprising..." (*Rouge*, 18-23 December 1981)

Scandalous! Here the pseudo-Trotskyist LCR attacks the imperialist French government for non-interference in a deformed workers state, then compares Stalinism to fascism. Pinochet equals Jaruzelski, Spain equals Poland—there is not an ounce of class criteria in these outrageous comparisons; or rather, the LCR, in the course of its own social-democratization, adopts the criteria of bourgeois democracy. And apparently demonstrations are not enough to defend Solidarność. What does the LCR want—for Mitterrand to threaten to bomb Moscow with the French nuclear strike force (*force de frappe*) in order to free Walesa?! In the Cold War hysteria whipped up by the Socialists, the Mandelites have abandoned all pretense of Soviet defensism—the hallmark of Trotskyists even in the darkest days after Stalin's assassination of Trotsky and as the Kremlin dictator was opening the way for Hitler's invasion.

The LCR, also, tries to peddle the fairy tale that the imperialists are hostile to Solidarność. And now they borrow another leaf from the Lambertist book by vituperating against the Yalta Agreements, which supposedly united imperialists and Stalinists forever in partitioning the world. Actually, the LCR is tailing after Mitterrand, who said in his New Year's message that "everything which allows us to get out from under Yalta is good." (Another of the LCR's new allies who want to "roll back" Yalta turns out to be none other than Carter's Dr. Strangelove, Brzezinski!) In reality, the Yalta Agreement rapidly broke down under the impact of the Cold War. When today social democrats (and the fascists) talk about "getting out from under Yalta," they mean capitalist restoration in East Europe. Of course when Stalinists talk about Yalta they mean détente with imperialism paid for by beheading proletarian revolution in West Europe.

Contrary to the OCI and LCR, there is an unholy alliance directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state... and they're part of it. The powerful Western friends of Solidarność who sit in the Elysée Palace, the White House and the Vatican are united in their aim of restoring capitalism in the Soviet bloc. The task of authentic Marxists is to defend the historic gains of the international working class, inherited from the October Revolution of 1917, against Solidarity's counterrevolution. The masses of the French working class must be won away from the disastrous misleadership of the reformists, Stalinists and social democrats alike. One thing is the same in East and West Europe and the rest of the world: the key to revolutionary victory is the construction of Trotskyist parties in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

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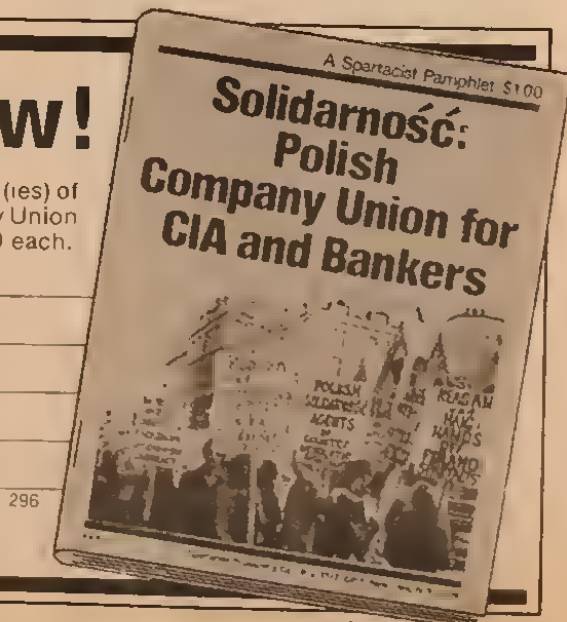
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# Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps!

While Ronald Reagan welcomes counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* and Polish defectors with open arms in order to foment anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, black refugees from the Haitian dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier are not wanted in racist America.

The miserable plight of Haitian refugees has touched off growing protests, as occurred in New York on January 2. Carrying signs such as "Fort Drum—America's Auschwitz for Haitians," more than 2,000 people, predominantly Haitian immigrants, marched down Brooklyn's Eastern Parkway demanding freedom and political asylum for over 2,500 Haitians being held in government detention centers. A Spartacist League contingent chanted, "A bas Duvalier—Pouvoir ouvrier!" (Down with Duvalier—Workers power!), which was picked up by enthusiastic marchers. SL signs read: "Free Haitians from Reagan's Concentration Camps!" "Reagan Welcomes Gusano

Scum, Deports Haitian Blacks," "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers!" and "No Deportations!"

Inside the horrid camps where Haitians facing deportation are kept, they have been staging protests of their own. On December 24, some 600 refugees at the Krome Avenue Detention Center in Miami started a five-day hunger strike to demand their release. The strike ended on December 28, after black demonstrators stormed the front gate of the Krome camp demanding freedom for their brothers incarcerated inside. Cops and riot guards used tear gas and clubs to drive back the protesters. Nevertheless, during the ferment over 100 men managed to escape over the barbed wire fences at the rear of the compound.

Despite the desperate militancy of the incarcerated refugees, the policy of the Haitian support movement has been to pressure the U.S. government to guarantee "basic human rights." There can be no "human rights" under capitalist butchers like Duvalier, while



New York City, January 2.

Reagan hates everybody from PATCO air controllers to Salvadoran guerrillas and blacks from Haiti. What's needed is workers revolutionary struggle to smash the Duvalier

dictatorship and internationalist defense of Haitians who have escaped to the U.S. International labor solidarity is key to defeating Reagan and his puppet Duvalier!

## Elections in NYC Transit

# TWU Under Koch's Guns

New York City transit workers are facing a vicious ruling-class offensive, with Mayor Koch leading the charge. While indictments mount against Transit Authority brass for corporate kickbacks on faulty equipment, Koch blames the *workers* for the disastrous state of NYC subways. He threatens to fire workers who don't meekly submit to the TA's productivity drive. Meanwhile, editors at the *Post* and *Daily News* are working overtime to scapegoat Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and its members for the "Doomsday Express." The subways are indeed a disaster waiting to happen, for riders *and* workers. Just last week another transit worker, Edward Szebut, was crushed beneath the wheels of an express train. And if the New York banks and politicians have their way, TWU members will get a very raw deal when their contract expires March 31.

Local 100 recently held its elections under the shadow of this threat. For the more than 20,000 TWU members who cast ballots in December, the election was in large part a verdict on the 1980 strike and the role the "dissidents" played in contributing to that defeat. The 1980 contract was one of the worst ever, and every striker was stung with whopping fines under New York's anti-labor Taylor Law. After first voting to strike, the "dissident" executive board majority authorized Lawe's giveback negotiations and did nothing to keep the strike going until the union had won amnesty. At no time did they put forward a program to *win* this crucial strike, by mobilizing the working-class, poor and minority population of New York behind the leadership of the powerful TWU.

So incumbent John Lawe was returned to a third term as Local 100 president with an absolute majority of 11,732 votes. His "dissident" opponents, Arnold Cherry and Mike Warren, received 5,272 and 3,228 votes respectively. The lopsided pro-Lawe turnout was not so much an enthusiastic endorsement of his no-strike, giveback

policies as it was a massive vote of no confidence in the "dissidents." Given their role in the 1980 strike, Cherry and Warren are correctly seen as being incapable of leading strikes that *win*. Thus Lawe made significant inroads among subway workers who had provided Cherry his main base of support in the last election. Despite the anti-strike backlash, a core of militants voted for two class-struggle candidates. Ed Kartsen received 136 votes for president, and David Brewer got 106 votes from his co-workers in car maintenance for exec board.

New York City is a test case for Reagan's racist austerity. The TWU is under the gun because it is a largely black and Latin union in a city of minorities and foreigners, a city to which both Democrats and Republicans in the White House say: "Drop Dead!" From the Sydenham Hospital shutdown to the skyrocketing cost of a subway token, the TWU has the power to lead black and white in the fight against killer cuts. But the present union leaders are more interested in toting the line for Reagan's anti-Soviet war buildup than fighting the cuts in social services that are being used to fuel it. John Lawe marched at the Polish consulate in support of Solidarność' drive to "give back" Poland to the Western bankers, but refused to attend the funeral last July of black motorman Jesse Cole, a victim of the TA's maintenance cuts.

Lawe has done his best to wipe out all traces of militancy in the TWU. The Transit Workers used to lead city labor with their longstanding policy of "no contract, no work." The Local 100 chief has trashed that tradition. He has given up the union's right to strike in favor of binding arbitration, which means some pro-capitalist lawyer will dictate contractual terms to the TWU. Lawe's program of retreat means slow death for the TWU. With the dues checkoff being revoked in reprisal for the 1980 strike, the very existence of the union is now at stake.

Arnold Cherry, black two-time presidential contender and darling of the reformist left, offers no alternative. He claims to oppose binding arbitration, but his Cars and Shops Team voted with Lawe at the TWU convention in September to eliminate the "no contract, no work" policy and "establish procedures for impartial resolution of collective bargaining disputes." Like Lawe, Cherry supported "real Democrat" Frank Barbaro against Koch. Barbaro's Unity Party was in part the brainchild of Ted Kheel, "impartial" arbitrator for the TA and TWU! What's a "militant" doing in bed with Kheel, whose job is to maintain the class peace that is strangling transit workers?

During the campaign Cherry sought to prove his "respectability" (to the bosses) by resorting to a crass red-baiting smear against Kartsen and Brewer. He issued a leaflet calling them "strike happy," "ultraleft Spartacists" (sic) who would "put our people out on strike to make them martyrs for someone else's cause"! Since when is the right to strike *someone else's* cause? While Cherry denounced Mike Warren for feeding the vicious anti-TWU campaign of Rupert Murdoch's *Post*, he said not one word about running to the bosses' courts. No accident—for Cherry, too, has used the courts as a substitute for mobilizing the ranks of the union to fight. Warren nearly aborted the local elections when he sued Lawe over the production of 10,000 extra ballots. (It should come as no surprise that Warren's attorney is David Lubash, who once ran Joe Carnegie's legal drive to get the TWU decertified under the Taylor Law!) Kartsen and Brewer slammed the "dissidents" for their union-busting suits in a leaflet to the membership that said, "Let's be clear, the government is the tool of big business, and the courts serve their interests. Keep the government out of our union. Drop the court suits! We can clean our own house!"

Kartsen and Brewer have a consistent record of defending the union. When

motorman Jesse Cole bled to death in his crumpled cab, these militants fought to shut NYC transit down and make the funeral a massive walkout. When Lawe renounced the right to strike, in response to Reagan's union-busting attack on PATCO, Kartsen and Brewer called for shutting down Koch's "Train to the Plane" in protest. They were the only candidates to insist it will require mobilizing the power of the union through strike action to win anything this time around.

Not surprisingly the reformists of the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) tailed after Cherry. After the vote, the CP's *Daily World* hypocritically warned transit workers not to give up the tradition of "no contract, no work." They didn't mention that CP supporters in Cherry's entourage voted along with him to scrap the policy at the convention. Apparently the Stalinists' "class-struggle" politics come out only when the struggle's over! The SWP's *Militant* avoided the elections altogether. It's obvious the SWP wouldn't support Kartsen, since they excluded him from their public forums on transit! Some of the SWP supporters in the shops claimed they supported Cherry and even sported Cherry Team buttons on occasion. The SWP has never been shy about supporting sellout union "reformers" like Arnold Miller and Ed Sadlowski in the past. So how come their endorsement of Cherry didn't make it into print?

The TWU is up against the wall. No matter how much the leadership tries to conciliate and retreat, the attacks on the union will continue. The TWU has the power to lead city labor, Harlem, the poor and even sections of the middle class in a fight to save New York from Reagan and Koch. Under the blows of the class struggle, transit workers sooner or later must realize it is better to fight. When they do they will look to militants like Kartsen and Brewer and to the class-struggle program of the Spartacist League. ■



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Deukmejian Takes Back "Terrorist" Charge

# Spartacist League Wins California Smear Case

The following is a statement read by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at a press conference in Sacramento, California December 18. Press conferences were also held in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, Marxist political organizations, have successfully concluded a suit against California Attorney General George Deukmejian, obtaining a retraction of the charges made in the attorney general's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California" where we are characterized as "terrorists" and a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal."

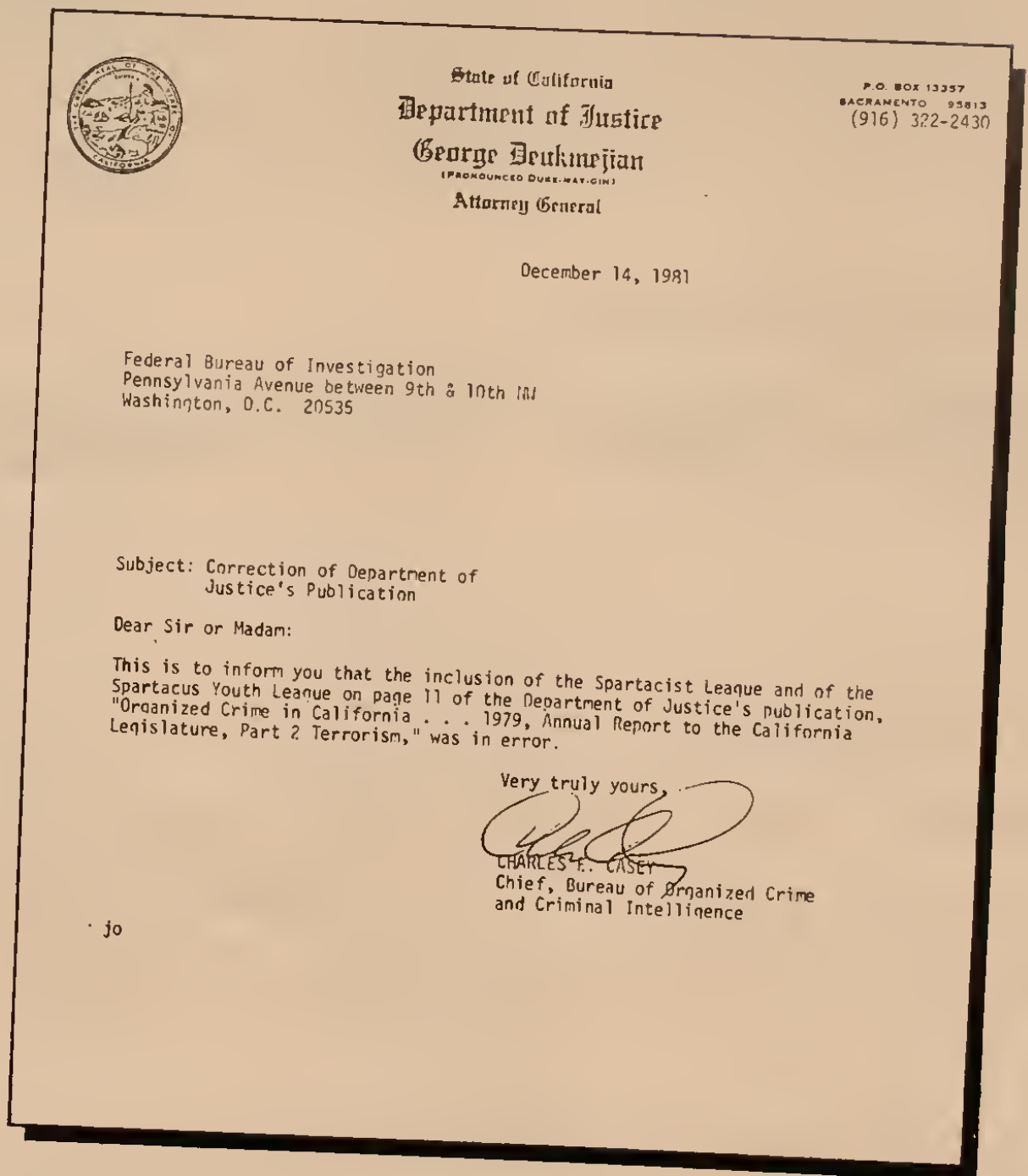
Yesterday we obtained from the San Francisco Office of the Attorney General an affidavit affirming that Charles Casey, Chief of the Bureau of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence, has sent a letter to major federal, state and local law enforcement agencies stating that our inclusion in Deukmejian's 1979 report was in error. This confirms our contention that our absence from the 1980 "Report on Organized Crime" was a shamefaced admission by Deukmejian that we are not "terrorists" or "criminals."

Following a press conference today in Sacramento we intend to deliver a copy of Casey's letter to all members of the California Legislature.

This is a small but very important victory for the real majority of the American people: labor, blacks, Chicanos, Jews, Asian Americans—everyone targeted by the right-wing policies of Ronald Reagan and George Deukmejian.

Right-wing zealots of the Reagan/Haig/Deukmejian stripe are intently preparing a third world war aimed at the Soviet Union. They hope to silence their opponents by creating a new McCarthyism, an atmosphere of intimidation and anti-communist hysteria. They want to muzzle free speech. They must not be permitted to do so. Deukmejian, Reagan's man in California, hopes to obtain a new lease on legal witchhunting, with charges of "terrorism" replacing the old "advocacy to overthrow" of the legally

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## "Marxists Not Mobsters"

It's not every day that revolutionary Marxists are able to back down a McCarthyite witchhunter like California attorney general George Deukmejian. But on December 17 Deukmejian's office acknowledged that letters of retraction had been sent admitting they made an "error" including the SL/SYL in the "Terrorism" section of the 1979 "Organized Crime Report" (see Spartacist League statement above). In just five months from when the SL suit was filed, Reagan's man in California—the state's top cop and

likely Republican candidate for governor—had taken it back. The SL victory has received wide press coverage with substantial articles in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and other West Coast papers.

"We were determined that no matter what it took we were going to continue our efforts until we had our name retracted" from the list, said Al Nelson for the Spartacist League at a Sacramento press conference on December 18. The SL's determination to fight the "terrorist" set-up/smear meant not

only a lawsuit, but a concerted effort to raise the issues and political consequences at stake in the case. Protest demonstrations in four West Coast cities proclaimed: "Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" With the Partisan Defense Committee, which provided legal co-counsel, members and supporters of the SL/SYL raised funds, solicited endorsements and began to publicize the case. There was quick recognition of the danger posed by Deukmejian's smear and the

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