

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Avenge Black South African Martyrs!

At daybreak on Thursday, June 9, the savagely racist South African regime lynched three militant anti-apartheid fighters of the African National Congress (ANC). Thelle Mogoerane, 23 years old, Jerry Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Motaung, 27, were sentenced to death for their participation in attacks on police stations as part of the recent ANC campaign of carefully selected and effective attacks on institutions of apartheid repression. The widespread support for the ANC and these militants among South African blacks was demonstrated when two hours before their execution bells pealed across Soweto. This massive black "township" southwest of Johannesburg with a population of one and a half million was the focus of the 1976 black rebellion which swept across South Africa. Now the Soweto bells toll not only for these heroic anti-apartheid fighters but will sound the death knell for the hideously oppressive system they seek to overthrow.

The death sentences and hangings by the apartheid regime evoked outrage and protest throughout South Africa and the world. Braving the bloody machinery of repression 700 black students at the University of Zululand battled police and burned a police car. In a country where blacks have been stripped of every right, including symbolic expressions of national pride, where carrying the ANC emblem is an act of treason, 400 students marched through the streets of Durban carrying the banner of the ANC until they were scattered by the police. Fearing the spread of these protests to the black working masses, the South African government banned a rally in Soweto and subsequently prohibited all protests throughout the country for 48 hours.

For in the black "townships" like Soweto—virtual prison labor camps—there is concentrated a brutally oppressed but increasingly powerful black proletariat. In its hands are the means to break the shackles of apartheid. As Marx observed, capitalism creates in the industrial proletariat its own gravedigger. Nowhere is this more true than in South Africa. In its aspiration to develop a modern capitalist economy and to be a regional imperialist power, South Africa's white ruling class has been forced to recruit and train a concentrated black proletariat, thereby undermining the very institutions of apartheid (migrant labor laws, pass laws, the hantustan system) through which five million whites dominate, oppress and exploit 21 million blacks. The dramatic upsurge of the black trade-union movement in the past few



AP PHOTOS

Jerry Somano Mosololi

Thabo Marcus Motaung

Thelle Simon Mogoerane

Emergency demonstration called by SL and Labor/Black League in San Francisco, June 8, for heroic anti-apartheid fighters (left).

UPI

years has shaken this racist police state to its foundations.

Understanding that South Africa can easily explode, its bloody imperialist allies in the UN Security Council and European Common Market appealed to the Botha regime to stay the lynchings of the ANCers. It was certainly not out of concern for "human rights" but for the survival of the apartheid state that Reagan and his dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick at the UN mildly rebuked their allies in Pretoria. The Washington-Pretoria axis has increasingly become an important part of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. South Africa's

top military man, General Constand Viljoen, claims that Russia has "hijacked" the region's "freedom movement." Certainly General Viljoen and the rest of South Africa's white rulers keenly remember that in 1975-76 Soviet-backed Cuban troops turned back their attempt, actively supported by Washington, to conquer Angola. If Soviet-backed Cuban troops can hold South African imperialist ambitions at bay in Angola, imagine what a few divisions of the Soviet Army could do. The South African failure to take Angola was an important blow against the apartheid state. And every such blow contributes

to unleashing the power of the South African black proletariat, the powerhouse for socialist revolution throughout the continent.

The Botha government and its imperialist allies have, of course, tried to brand the ANCers as "terrorists." But one need only contrast the recent actions of the ANC with the indiscriminate bombing in Maputo (Mozambique) and massacre in Maseru (Lesotho) by the apartheid butchers in Pretoria to see who are the mass murderers and who fights for human dignity and freedom. Unlike many other

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Ernest Mandel's "Solidarity" with NATO Social Democracy

Ernest Mandel is competing with Ronald Reagan as the most vocal champion of Polish Solidarność in the Western world. They are "the best socialists in the world," he proclaimed recently to an audience in Australia. In the name of "anti-Stalinism" this fake-Trotskyist is putting himself forward as the left wing of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. He is going around preaching the unity of NATO-loyal social democrats and Catholic activists against the bureaucratic "bosses" in the Soviet bloc (see "Ernest Mandel: The Pope's 'Trotskyist,'" *WV* No. 331, 3 June). To square this with his professed Trotskyism, Mandel claims that the counterrevolutionary bid for power by the clerical-nationalist Solidarność was a proletarian political revolution against Stalinism.

The European-centered Mandelites have thrown themselves whole hog into the "solidarity with Solidarność" campaign of NATO social democracy, especially in Mitterrand's France. However, their American bloc partners and rivals, Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have been more circumspect about *openly* demonstrating their membership in the pro-Solidarność unholy alliance, perhaps so as not to give Fidel Castro too great displeasure. In one of his polemics against the Barnesites (who also support Solidarność), Mandel tries to paint them up as Spartacists, who openly proclaimed: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution." He writes:

"The answer given by people like the 'Spartacists,' who capitulate to Stalinism, is clear: one cannot apply the united front tactic to the defence of Polish workers rights when their aggressor is the bureaucracy of a workers state.... They say we must not apply the workers united front tactic for the defence of trade unions, trade unionists and the workers right to strike in Poland because these workers are, in their great majority, reactionary ('pro-imperialist'). Their trade union is a 'scab' one, and their strikes are 'counter-revolutionary.' It does not matter much if the Spartacists add: all this is the product of 35 years of 'Stalinist madness.' But since the 'Stalinist madness' (that is, the bureaucratic dictatorial regime with all its political, economic and ideological byproducts) is hardly an affair



Ernest Mandel: the pope's "Trotskyist."

of the past, such an 'analysis' necessarily represents a rejection of any political revolution and of any defence of workers in Poland or in the other 'Peoples Democracies' and in the USSR until an undefined future (when Stalinism's crimes stop producing 'regrettable effects')."

—"Effective Solidarity with the Polish Workers and the Struggle Against Imperialism," [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, No. 6, September 1982

This attempt by Mandel at a polemic against the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is an exercise in confusionism, in part deliberately so since his main purpose is to tar Barnes' SWP with the brush of Spartacism. In the first place, as any reader of our material on Poland knows, the iSt has never maintained that Solidarność is the only and inevitable popular reaction to Stalinist rule. (It is Mandel who

holds up clerical-nationalist Solidarność as a *model* for the workers movement everywhere.) From the 1979 Gdansk-centered general strike we have emphasized the radical *differences and discontinuities* between the present Polish crisis and the previous crises of Stalinist rule in Poland and elsewhere in East Europe.

Thus in 1956 the overwhelming majority of the Polish working class and intelligentsia genuinely wanted and believed in "the broadest socialist democracy" promised by liberal-national Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka. It was the endless broken promises of reform by all wings of the Polish bureaucracy which caused much of the working class to look toward the Catholic church and "free world" imperialism for salvation. Equally obvious and striking are the differences between Solidarność and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian workers councils were for the most part led by long-time Communist cadre who were breaking from Stalinism in various directions. The forces of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively weak and widely despised among the urban proletariat and intellectuals.

By contrast, Solidarność was led from the outset by hardened anti-Communists trained and nurtured in the social-democratic and clerical-nationalist "dissident" circles which flourished in Poland in the late 1970s under the protection of the Catholic church. When Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing sparked the Gdansk-centered August 1980 general strike, was asked by Western journalists if she was a socialist, she replied, "I am a believer." The first national congress of Solidarność *voted down* a proposal to include socialism as part of its program. The term "socialism" is never mentioned in its 43-page program. Perhaps that's why Mandel calls them "the best socialists in the world." Every workers movement in Europe claims socialism as its ultimate goal, a necessary concession by the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies to the anti-capitalist consciousness of their ranks. But Solidarność was characterized by an *anti-socialist* consciousness, the ideological predominance of clerical-nationalism and strong illusions in the "liberating" role of Western, especially American, imperialism.

Far from relegating political revolution in Poland (not to speak of elsewhere in the Soviet sphere) to some

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Solidarność Night at the SDUSA: A Company Affair

To describe the Social Democrats, U.S.A. (SDUSA) as "State Department Socialists" would provide a left cover for these rabid pro-imperialist warmongers. They are "company men" down the line. So it was not surprising when they got together on June 2 at midtown Manhattan's Sheraton Centre for a night of celebration for Solidarność and Reagan reaction. The official reason for the SDUSA fête was to hand their "Eugene V. Debs Award" to John H. Lyons, AFL-CIO Executive Council Member and president of the Ironworkers' union. Lyons' notable "service" was on Reagan's Scowcroft Commission on "arms control" where he was helping to figure how best to get U.S. imperialism ready for nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

Most of the whole rotten gang was there. Bayard Rustin of the CIA-associated Freedom House was emcee. AFL-CIO prexy Lane Kirkland of the Rockefeller cover-up committee on the CIA, the Trilateral Commission, the AIFLD and Radio Free Europe made the presentation. Carl Gershman, for many years the executive director of the SDUSA and now special counsel to Jeane Kirkpatrick, and a host of other "labor advisers" to "free unions" and mass murderers in Central America were also on hand. But the real "working-class" hero of this gang of reactionaries is, of course, Lech Walesa, head of Polish Solidarność. Ronald Reagan's favorite company union. Walesa was represented by guest speaker Mirosław Dominezyk, a Solidarność regional chairman now in exile.

For these labor-hating Cold Warriors inside the labor movement, Walesa is indeed an appropriate hero. It was Walesa who prayed for the election of Reagan so he could get tough on the Russians. "His election is a very good sign for the world and for Poland," he was quoted in an Evans and Novak column (*New York Post*, 9 December 1980). Denounc-

ing American workers for "too much affluence and laziness in the West," Walesa condemned "too many concessions," adding that "Reagan seems to understand that." It was with Solidarność that Reagan and his "SD-CIA" saw its chance for counterrevolution. No wonder that the Solidarność rep had plenty of friends among the celebrants.

Up on the dais was Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in whose quarters Solidarność opened a New York office in October 1981. In response, the Spartacist League (SL) organized a protest outside the inaugural press conference and proclaimed the simple truth: "Polish Solidarność, Agent of Counterrevolution." We noted that Lech Walesa had invited both Kirkland and notorious CIA "labor" operator Irving Brown to Solidarność's first national congress in September 1981. While the rest of the left was waving Solidarność's red and white banners, the SL pointed out: "Reagan smashes PATCO American union, loves Solidarność."

Since then things haven't gone so well for Reagan's favorite "union." In December 1981, Solidarność counterrevolutionary hid for power in the name of the cross, the eagle and the dollar sign was checked by Stalinist general Jaruzelski's counter coup. Just before the crackdown, Zygmunt Przetakiewicz unceremoniously abandoned Solidarność's New York operation and set up shop in Toronto in offices provided—along with \$18,000—by the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). Now it seems that Przetakiewicz is even too rabid for the CLC tops. They didn't mind his anti-Soviet diatribes, of course, but drew the line at his meetings with openly anti-labor politicians and his screaming support for Reagan's El Salvador policies (*Toronto Sun*, 19 April). Amid charges of anti-Semitism and financial shenanigans, the CLC gave Przetakiewicz the boot. Yet such are the friends of SDUSA.



Lane Kirkland of Radio Free Europe, the Committee on the Present Danger...and the AFL-CIO.

Previous winners of the Debs award include sellout Steelworkers' president Lloyd McBride, Kirkland and George ("I never walked a picket line") Meany. So Mr. Lyons, a member of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, is in good company. All previous recipients have been presidents of national unions. So we have a suggestion. Since the present commander in chief of U.S. imperialism was once the redhaired president of the Screen Actors Guild, why doesn't the SDUSA rename its award for Ronald Reagan. Then at least Gene Debs can rest easy in his grave. As for Shanker, Kirkland, SDUSA and Solidarność, Langley's labor traitors are known by the company they keep. ■

Stop Death Cargos to El Salvador!

Defend Stan Gow— Beat Back Witchhunt in ILWU!

SAN FRANCISCO—On June 11 militant longshoreman Stan Gow was hauled before a witchhunting trial staged by the fakers who run Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Gow, 55, is a 24-year veteran of the docks, a member of the Local 10 executive board since 1974. He publishes the "Longshore Militant," a class-struggle newsletter widely respected on the waterfront.

The ILWU bureaucracy is going after Gow because of his fight for concrete labor action to stop Reagan's aid to the bloody Salvadoran dictatorship. Gow's call for a one-day West Coast shutdown to support the Salvadoran workers and peasants was signed by dozens of ILWU members, and a resolution to that effect was recommended to the April ILWU Convention by the Local 10 executive board. Two weeks before the convention Gow organized a picket line that attempted to halt the loading of the Salvador-bound freighter, the Lafayette. At the convention Gow made a minority report in favor of the coast-wide shutdown. At the Coast Caucus immediately following the convention his resolution won a strong show of support from longshore delegates (see "Stan Gow: 'Stop Death Cargos to Salvador!'," *WV* No. 331, 3 June).

The Local 10 leadership is acting like a caricature of a Teamster machine stamping out any serious opposition to their sellout policies. They are succeeding in making many union members angry. And Gow isn't backing down. When the South African apartheid regime announced its plan to lynch three ANC guerrilla fighters, Gow and Militant Caucus members from Local 6 organized an emergency picket of the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. The bureaucrats haven't gone after Gow for this action for fear of alienating the substantial black membership of Local 10.

San Francisco longshoremen in particular have been victims of decades of reformist treachery. Redbaiting is "bad" in Local 10, unless it's the Stalinists redbaiting their opponents. Solidarity is "good," as long as it's got the liberal Democrats' seal of approval and doesn't stop their war machine. The class-struggle traditions of the '34 General Strike are honored—once a

year at Bloody Thursday memorials, but never, never on the docks. As the Stalinists, social democrats and business unionists compete to line up workers for imperialist slaughter, Stan Gow's class-struggle program points the way to victory for Salvadoran, black South African and American workers.

The following is reprinted from "Longshore Militant" No. 60, 14 June 1983.

Dump the Verdict! Defend Stan Gow!

Last Saturday a witchhunt purge trial acting on charges by the Executive Board found Stan Gow "guilty" of "conduct unbecoming a union member" and voted to suspend him for 30 days and place him on 6 months "probation." During this "probation" if Stan engages in any activity that [Local 10 president John] Carr and [secretary treasurer Bill] Bancroft don't like he will be hit with more severe penalties—not specified. Also not specified is what union body, if any, will decide these more severe penalties.

What the Local 10 bureaucracy is really after, acting as puppets for [International president Jimmy] Herman and the International, is to railroad Stan Gow out of the leadership of the union. That was revealed when the trial "prosecutor," the notorious Carl Smith, demanded, in addition to the 30 day suspension, that Stan be thrown off the Executive Board and *be barred from union office for 5 years!* Herman, Carr, Bancroft & Co. didn't get all that they wanted out of this phony trial, but they aren't finished yet. Carr has indicated he is in no hurry to have the results of the trial come before the membership as mandated. Carr told Stan that in the meantime he will not be allowed to appeal the verdict at the union meeting. "You're dead!" Carr said.

The union tops are after Stan because he is a leader. The charges were a direct result of the substantial support Stan received in the recent Longshore Caucus for his efforts to organize a 24-hour coastwide port shutdown against Reagan's bloody war in El Salvador. He was charged with "conduct unbecoming..." and "jeopardizing the welfare of the union" because he and other union members tried to stop the loading of the El Salvador-bound Lafayette on March 29. Two days before the trial Stan and other union members set up a picket line to stop the loading of the South Africa-bound *Nedlloyd Kimberley* to protest the racist lynching of 3 black anti-apartheid fighters. The dispatcher, at Carr's initiative, took the microphone at the hiring hall, called it "illegal" and ordered members to work the ship. That same night the Executive Board voted down Stan's motion that Local 10 carry out a 24-hour Bay Area port shutdown against the U.S. war in El Salvador. If anyone is guilty of anything it's the officers who haven't done a damn thing to defend our union or our class brothers struggling against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador or South Africa.

The "trial" was a bureaucratic circus orchestrated and directed by Secretary Treasurer Bancroft for the International. He started the day by refusing to



Port of Oakland, March 29: ILWU militants picket El Salvador-bound freighter; Stan Gow (right).

allow Stan to call as witnesses members of Local 6 who picketed the Lafayette, calling them "outsiders." When he lost that one he said the witnesses couldn't sit there and threatened to call the cops if they didn't leave the "courtroom." Next he ordered Stan's attorney from the room, which left Mr. Bancroft the only trained lawyer in the "court." Stan's union defense counsel was Brother Roy Bowie.

Bancroft then directed the trial committee to make the following rulings: Stan couldn't speak while his union defense counsel was in the room; no one else in the room was allowed to consult with Stan or his defense counsel; Stan and his counsel could not get a recess when they needed to confer. There was no lunch break. Except for 2 or 3 arbitrary 5-minute recesses, they were trapped in the room, where they couldn't caucus.

During jury selection Bancroft directed the trial committee chairman to disallow Bowie's questions about the jurors' views of the war in El Salvador, which was why the Lafayette was picketed in the first place—it carried Salvadoran-bound cargo. Bancroft advised prosecutor Carl Smith what questions to object to. Stan's counsel, Roy Bowie, was continually harassed by Smith and the trial committee during his attempts to question jurors and wit-

nesses. While the trial was still in progress members of the trial committee shouted, "Guilty! Guilty! Let's get this thing over with!" Bowie was threatened with a \$25 fine for asking "disruptive" political questions. For Bancroft this was all "mundane, petty bullshit" as he put it. For him what was important was getting Gow banned (like in South Africa) from union office for his friends in PMA [Pacific Maritime Association] and Reagan and Kirkpatrick. When asked how much the CIA or Reagan was paying him to do this job on Stan, Bancroft replied he was "working for nothing."

After the prosecution had called all their witnesses, Smith and the trial committee then said *none* of Stan's witnesses from Local 6, including 2 General Executive Board (GEB) members would be allowed to testify! One witness, GEB member Pete Woolston, was physically ejected from the room after having been called in to testify. Bancroft then called in the *SF cops* to have all the Local 6 members arrested for trespassing! Bancroft was so determined to get his guilty verdict and his apartheid-style "banning order" that he was willing to bring the bosses' cops into the union.

Recent battlefield victories by the leftist guerrillas threaten the final

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Richmond Ordered to Cough Up \$3 Million for Victims of Killer Cops

OAKLAND—In one of the largest awards ever made against a U.S. police department, a federal jury granted \$3 million on June 3 to the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, two black men murdered by the cops in Richmond, California. Both Roman and Guillory were gunned down in their own bedrooms, in 1980 and 1982, when Richmond police kicked in their doors with guns blazing. The verdict climaxed a dramatic four-month trial that repeatedly made headlines throughout the Bay Area. Over 150 witnesses testified, not only about the cold-blooded executions of Roman and Guillory, two of six Richmond blacks killed by the cops since 1980, but also on the long-standing pattern of racist police terror targeting the city's nearly 50 percent black population.

Throughout the trial, blacks testified in gruesome detail about repeated examples of unprovoked cop shootings and jailhouse beatings, of heads and bones broken in the administration of "street justice," and about a group of white cops called the "cowboys," who specialize in brutalizing blacks. In the wake of the trial, even the big business *San Francisco Chronicle* was forced to conclude what black Richmond residents have known for years: "The city has come to stand for widespread police brutality."

In a sweeping indictment of police terror in Richmond, the federal jury of four whites and two blacks cited not only the kill-crazy cops who pulled the triggers, but also top police department officials whom they held responsible for the acts of their henchmen. The jury also held that the city council was "deliberately indifferent" to the history of reports of police violence. Police chief Leo Garfield hastily resigned after the verdict came in, but the city council voted 7-2 to appeal the verdict. Jury foreman Carole Moy indicated the city got off light: "I didn't want to bankrupt the city. A larger fee was considered, but we compromised it down. Let me put it to you this way: two white boys in Danville [the white Contra Costa county where Moy lives] would not have been shot in their bedrooms."

Last January, the judge in the case declared a mistrial after jurors allegedly saw news reports about a proposed \$750,000 out-of-court settlement that was rejected by the city. A new trial was ordered. We wrote then: "We're all for the families of Roman and Guillory squeezing every cent they can out of the city of Richmond" (*WV* No. 323, 11 February). Last week's verdict is a symbolic victory against racist cop terror, one which the city is trying to reverse.

But no amount of money can bring Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory back from their graves. The real outrage is that their killers are still freely walking the streets: the county D.A. ruled both shootings "justifiable homicide" and declined to press criminal charges. And what about the cops who strangled Willie Lee Drumgoole to death in the Richmond jail last fall? Or the racist cop who blew away Donald Kizart on January 25 with two shotgun blasts to the chest, again in the victim's own bedroom. Not one of these murderers has ever spent an hour behind bars for their heinous crimes. We say: jail the killer cops!

SL and Labor/Black League protest killer-cop terror in Richmond, California, April 23.



The Spartacist League (SL) and the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense (L/BL) have been active in the fight against Richmond's racist thugs in blue. We have marched in demonstrations, spoken out at public hearings, and distributed our literature against cop terror to Richmond blacks at supermarkets, banks and in black neighborhoods. We showed the videotape of the successful SL-initiated demonstration that stopped the KKK last November in Washington, D.C., drawing the obvious link between the race-terror of the white-robed KKK and their blue-clad brethren. Throughout we have stressed that the racist capitalist state and its front-line defenders—the cops—cannot be reformed to "serve and protect" the exploited and oppressed. It is their purpose to do exactly the opposite: serving and protecting the capitalist system which requires the repression of the working people and, in racist America, especially the black masses.

However, in the uproar caused by the trial's revelations and the now-

undeniable record of pervasive police violence, some of Richmond's city fathers harbored deep fears of a "long hot summer" if some cosmetic changes were not made. Hence, there is talk of bringing in a new chief from outside the city's ranks. (Police Officer Association top Tony Zantelli—linked to the "cowboys"—denounced "bloodsucking attorneys" and black officers who testified as "puppets for the NAACP." He does not seem a likely candidate for the top spot just now.) And there is now talk of actually implementing some of the 20-plus reforms mandated in a 1981 out-of-court settlement of an NAACP suit over police brutality. The center-

And the cops are the front-line fighters in the war against black America in particular and the working people in general. Sometimes the issue of a civilian review board becomes a referendum on the subordination of the police to civil authority vs. police bonapartism. Then it becomes imperative to critically support such a board while pointing out that it will do nothing to change the fundamental character of the police.

On April 9, Richmond's Human Relations and Housing Commission held a public hearing to discuss formation of a police review board. The SL and L/BL mobilized supporters to attend the meeting and Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman testified: "What I want to know is what citizen's review board has ever stopped one death? They are impotent schemes which can only build illusion in the reformability of the police. They have one in New York, but they still shoot blacks in Harlem every day of the week. In Chicago—segregation city—under Jane Byrne, they had a review board, too, and it's part of the police department. And guess what? They always go along with whatever the police do... so we say, 'Jail the killer cops!'"

One commission member responded that jailing the cops "doesn't sound terribly realistic" and wanted an "immediate measure." If he really wants one, how about starting with taking the guns away from the Richmond police? There would be a precipitous decline in the number of murdered Richmond blacks and it would even up the odds on the street considerably.

Real justice for the Johnny Romans, the Michael Guillorys—for all the victims of racist cop terror will not be found in the capitalist courts or in do-nothing review boards. We need a fighting labor movement and a class-struggle workers party to wage a real fight based on the power of labor and minorities against racist cop and Klan terror. The Labor/Black League has been formed as an organization of militant class-struggle defense of the black working people on the road to socialist revolution. Down with the racist capitalist state and its cop assassins once and for all! Jail the killer cops! For black liberation through workers revolution! ■

picce of the cleanup (read "cover-up") proposals being boosted by liberals and most of the left is to create a civilian review board.

Civilian review boards, tried and tested in many U.S. cities, do nothing to curb cop violence. This is not just because they are usually staffed with hand-picked whitewashers, given no real power, and begin their "investigations" after the black corpses are already in the morgue. More fundamental, it is because the capitalist state needs its killer cops to preserve the "law and order" of racism and austerity, all the more so in this period of economic decay. As Lenin explained in *State and Revolution*, the core of the capitalist state power is its "armed bodies of men."

Political Asylum for Héctor Marroquín!

On June 16, the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the case of Héctor Marroquín. Formerly a student activist in Mexico and today a prominent spokesman for the American Socialist Workers Party, Marroquín faces deportation at the hands of the notoriously racist Immigration and Naturalization Service on a trumped-up 1974 murder charge in Mexico. If Marroquín is sent back to Mexico he'll be lucky even to get a trial. Two others accused of the murder were killed by police and right-wing death squads on the streets of Monterrey. A third was "disappeared," one of more than 500 such victims of government/rightist terror in Mexico.

Since fleeing Mexico nine years

ago, Marroquín has been persecuted for his leftist politics by the U.S. authorities. According to the Reagan administration, America has plenty of room for Nazi war criminals and Cuban gusanos but none for the desperate victims of right-wing terror in El Salvador, Haiti, Chile, etc. It is imperative that the workers movement and all those who defend democratic rights take up this case. The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee demand: Drop the deportation proceedings! Political asylum for Héctor Marroquín!

Protest messages should be sent to: Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

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Iranian Left In Turmoil

PARIS—In Iran Ayatollah Khomeini's savage reactionary terror has forced the left and radical movements to debate the "Islamic revolution" which they uncritically hailed before becoming its victims. The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was unique in warning at the time that Khomeini's ascent to power would produce a regime no less bloody and no less reactionary than the shah's. We called for: "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" At the time, self-styled Iranian leftists abroad denounced our slogan as manufactured by the CIA and SAVAK (the shah's secret police) and attempted to break up our meetings on Iran, chanting "Long live Khomeini!" Now these very same militants chant "Death to Khomeini!" and "Khomeini is another shah." Today, even the deeply opportunist pro-Moscow Stalinist Tudeh (Masses) party, so servile to the mullahs' rule as to be dubbed "assistant ayatollahs" by the rest of the left, has been imprisoned and tortured *en masse* by Khomeini's secret police (recruited overwhelmingly from ex-SAVAK agents). But every Iranian left-wing tendency either upholds its original support to Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" as a "step forward" or denies it, claiming it only supported the "popular movement."

In this context a forum by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), French section of the iSt, held in Paris on May 7 and entitled "For a Trotskyist Party in Iran" was an important and timely event. In attendance were a dozen Iranian leftists including supporters of the populist-guerrillaist Ashraf group, a former militant of the now-dissolved Stalinist-Maoist Peykar, and several women supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist Tendency (RST), a recent left split from the Fedayeen minority. Although Paris is the exile center for many Iranian groups, this was the first time a significant number of these militants attended a forum of the LTF. Of equal importance was the attendance of a number of non-Iranian Kurdish militants. The Kurdish nation is not only balkanized and oppressed by Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq (where Kurds make up a significant section of that country's proletariat, and where much of its oil reserves are located in Kurdistan), but also extends into the USSR. The iSt is the only socialist tendency that defends the right of the Kurds to

their own nation-state, because that means wrecking four capitalist countries. Furthermore, since the Kurdish nation extends into the Soviet degenerated workers state, self-determination must mean a soviet democratic republic of Kurds within the framework of a region-wide socialist revolution.

The speaker Miriam, an Iranian comrade of the LTF, stated that the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party was primarily responsible for Khomeini's ability to place himself at

Comrade Miriam stressed that there was nothing inevitable about the victory of Islamic reaction. The left's tailing of Khomeini was a direct outgrowth of the Menshevik/Stalinist dogma of the "two-stage revolution" to which all sections of the Iranian left and radical movement are wedded, from Tudeh to Peykar and the Fedayeen. This dogma posits a "first stage" in which the national bourgeoisie is placed in power to carry out the "national democratic revolution" while the proletarian social-

theocracy was still unconsolidated, it was possible to rally the working class against the mullahs. One such opportunity was the demonstrations by women who refused to put on the veil:

"At the beginning the Fedayeen supported these demonstrations, but after a few days abandoned them. Why? Because it was necessary not to destroy unity with Khomeini."

Another issue capable of splitting the masses from Khomeini was the trial and execution of the hated SAVAK agents:

"You know, comrades, that after a short time Khomeini abandoned this. Why? Because he wanted to reconstruct the SAVAK! What would a revolutionary party have done? Build revolutionary tribunals to judge and condemn these SAVAK agents."

Populism vs. Leninism

The Iranian leftists who attended the forum have their roots in the petty-bourgeois radical tendencies which emerged in the 1960s, predominantly in the student milieu. The Fedayeen derived from a series of splits from the pro-Moscow Tudeh in the direction of Maoism and Third Worldist guerrillism. While more militant than the reformist Tudeh, these tendencies largely consisted of young petty-bourgeois nationalist intellectuals and embraced an essentially populist world outlook. Akin to the Russian *narodniks*, the Fedayeen carried out a number of heroic but futile efforts to ignite "people's revolution" by robbing banks, executing police informers and bombing multinational corporate headquarters and the embassies of the U.S., Britain and Oman. In 1975 the Fedayeen split into the Ashraf group, dedicated to guerrillism, and a minority which sought a "proletarian political orientation" by returning to the fold of Tudeh. After Khomeini came to power the pro-Tudeh Fedayeen experienced a sizable left minority split.

While many Fedayeen founding cadre had their origin in Tudeh Stalinism, from which they never really broke ideologically, Peykar originated in the Muslim Mujahedin, which in turn grew out of the religious wing of the old National Front. Peykar at first oriented toward Maoism until Peking's support to the shah drove it into the political no-man's land of homeless Stalinist-nationalists whose only common denominator is virulent hatred for "Soviet social imperialism." As we wrote in our article "Iran and Permanent Revolution" (*Spartacist* No. 33, Spring 1982), Iranian left-wing groups like Fedayeen and Peykar are "at best bourgeois-democratic liberation tendencies in 'communist coloring,'" such as Lenin warned against.

The various Fedayeen organizations and Peykar, even when they are virulent critics of Tudeh's opportunism, find in the "two-stage revolution" a congenial ideology to champion the national bourgeoisie, whose sons and daughters they are. The notion of a "national democratic revolution" also serves as a justification for Great Persian chauvinism which pervades the Iranian left. And here the Iran-Iraq war is an acid test. Only Peykar came close to revolutionary defeatist and internationalist positions toward its own ruling class. However, its anti-Sovietism unites it with this ruling class and with the mullahs in Afghanistan where Khomeini is sending material aid to the CIA-backed counterrevolutionary insurgent movement. In the name of the "national

continued on page 13



Kazemi/Stern

Khomeini's killers attack student leftists in April 1980. Iranian leftists who hailed Khomeini have the blood of their own comrades on their hands.

the head of the insurgent masses and to channel the universal opposition to the shah into clerical reaction:

"Khomeini took power without any resistance on the part of the left and the working class. Furthermore, never, but never, in the history of the workers movement have we seen the left support somebody so reactionary. And that's demoralizing. At the very least demoralizing, if not worse. Above all for the people that supported him, who have direct responsibility in his taking power, who have the blood of their own comrades on their hands.... It's necessary to draw the lessons from this historic defeat. Otherwise, generations of Iranian leftist militants will be demoralized or they'll end up in 'Marxist study groups'."

And, in fact, we've seen a tendency toward "study group" scholasticism among Iranian leftist exiles in the West, many of them in and around the academic milieu.

ist revolution is postponed, in effect, indefinitely. But in the imperialist epoch the national bourgeoisies are dependent on imperialist domination and the perpetuation of feudal-derived backwardness (e.g., state-imposed religious obscurantism, the enslavement of women). Generalizing from the experience of the only successful socialist revolution, the Russian October, Trotsky counterposed to the "two-stage revolution" dogma the theory of permanent revolution: the tasks of revolutionary democracy, agrarian revolution and national emancipation could only be completed under the dictatorship of the proletariat leading the oppressed masses.

Under the banner of the "two-stage revolution" Tudeh strangled insurrectionary proletarian upheavals in the tumultuous period from 1946 to 1953, thereby paving the way for the CIA-backed coup which stabilized the rule of the shah and ushered in his 25-year reign of ruthless white terror. Likewise, under the banner of the "two-stage revolution" Tudeh was joined by the rest of the Iranian left in paving the road for Khomeini. The LTF speaker noted: "The left, in its search for a Persian Kerensky, found itself tailing the Persian Black Hundreds." In doing so, she pointed out, the Iranian leftists and radicals betrayed the insurrectionary strike wave, centered upon the oil workers, which in 1978 brought the shah's regime to its knees:

"There was the oil workers strike, their general strike which paralyzed the world. And what happened? Khomeini sent Bazargan to Iran to break this strike. The response of the Iranian workers was that they hadn't gone on strike for Khomeini so that Khomeini could break their strike. What would a revolutionary party have done at this time? Separate, distinguish the working class from the shah and from the mullahs. But no, this wasn't the case. The left said it was necessary not to destroy unity with Khomeini...."

Even after Khomeini took power, the speaker continued, but while his Shi'ite



Le Bolchévik

French Trotskyists say: Down with Islamic reaction in Iran and Afghanistan!

For Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

THE EAST GERMAN WORKERS UPRISING OF 17 JUNE 1953

TRANSLATED AND
ABRIDGED FROM SPARTAKIST
NO. 47, JUNE 1983

The June 17 uprising was the first rebellion against the bureaucracy in a deformed workers state. It was an uprising for a red soviet Germany, for the revolutionary unity of the German proletariat, and not an anti-Communist revolt as the revanchist German bourgeoisie and the apologists for the suppression of June 17 would have us believe. It was no pro-capitalist "peoples uprising" on "Day X," but rather a rebellion almost exclusively waged by East German workers in East Berlin and the industrial workers around Halle-Bitterfeld. The 17 June 1953 revolt was not *Solidarność* Poland: it struck neither religious nor anti-Soviet/nationalist tones, nor did it appeal for support from imperialist West Germany and the U.S.A. Rather, the class-conscious workers, who did not want a return to capitalism, demanded among other things a "metal workers government." The June 17 uprising could have led to a revolutionary reunification of Germany, thus putting a Socialist United States of Europe on the agenda. But in order to win, the workers uprising required a Trotskyist leadership, which would have armed the East German proletariat with the clear program of political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, and mobilized the West German proletariat for the defense of the achievements of the East German workers state and for socialist revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

When the uprising broke out on June 16/17, the German bourgeoisie likely feared the unleashed power of the East German proletariat, which could also have led to the overthrow of their class rule in the West. The same was true for their social-democratic agents within the workers movement. The SPD [German Social Democrats] followed the orders of their paymasters in the CIA and didn't raise a finger in order to mobilize the West German workers in support of their East German class brothers against the reactionary capitalist Adenauer regime. All that the bourgeois falsifiers of history can do is to attempt to rebaptize June 17 as a "German unity day," as a holiday of German imperialism on which it blatantly proclaims its claims to the eastern regions lost in the Second World War, "from the Maas [in the Netherlands] to the Memel [formerly East Prussia, now in the Soviet Union]."

But 17 June 1953 belongs to the working class, not the bourgeoisie! It is our task as Leninist revolutionaries to draw the lessons of the failed uprising in



German workers confront Soviet tanks on the streets of East Berlin, 1953. Uprising could have sparked proletarian political revolution throughout East Europe and the USSR.

order to prepare the workers in East and West for a new, victorious June 17.

Stalin—Gravedigger of the Revolution

In early 1945 the Soviet Red Army freed East Germany from Hitler fascism. But the Red Army had come as the armed fist of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which was exclusively interested in securing its borders with buffer zones against a new imperialist "Operation Barbarossa." The only possibility for an effective defense of the USSR would have been the *extension* of the revolution to all of Europe. It was a crime of the Stalinists, with their conception of "socialism in one country," that capitalism was reconstructed in West Europe and that the German working class was divided. Hiding the fact that in addition to the cowardly social democracy, the Stalinist KPD and Comintern as well had delivered the workers without a fight into the hands of Hitler fascism, the lie of the "collective guilt of the German people" was born.

The workers in the Soviet-occupied zones were not encouraged to take the factories into their own hands. Rather the East German factories served exclusively as a source of supply for reparations demands. Just as in the Western occupation zones all begin-

nings of spontaneous working-class organization were smashed, because Stalinism also feared revolution. All genuine attempts at uniting SPD and KPD workers were bureaucratically dissolved and replaced in 1946 by a unification led from above and tightly controlled in the SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—German Socialist Unity Party]. Later, the active anti-Soviet German policy of U.S. imperialism forced the Stalinists to carry out a revolution from above, and in 1948 the East German workers state was born along with the other deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc as an outcome of the Cold War.

Standing at the head of a deformed workers state, the SED is not a bourgeois workers party, but rather a bureaucratic caste which defends its parasitic rule against the workers. Yet the real power was not in the hands of the bureaucrats in Pankow [Berlin suburb, seat of the East German government], but rather in the Kremlin. In a maneuver to secure the status quo, and a last-minute attempt to prevent West Germany from joining NATO, in 1952 Stalin proposed the reunification of Germany on a "neutral" basis. That would have meant counterrevolution in the DDR [Deutsche Demokratische Republik—German Democratic

Republic], the return of the Prussian junkerdom, the traditional elite of German imperialism, which had been driven out through the bureaucratic extension of the conquests of October. But [West German Christian Democratic Chancellor] Adenauer made integration into the West a precondition for reunification and turned down the offer.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 threw not only the Soviet Union but also the other states of the Soviet bloc into a crisis of uncertainty. The new party leadership under Beria and Malenkov attempted to obtain a breathing space and to moderate the economic crisis through diplomatic agreements with imperialism (for example, with Israel and over Turkey and Korea) and through economic concessions to the petty-bourgeois layers of the young bureaucratically deformed workers states.

"Socialism" in Half a Country

In 1953 the DDR bureaucracy was confronted with (for it) insoluble problems, whose appearance were largely its own responsibility. The "generous" American Marshall Plan aid, which created far more favorable starting conditions together with a higher living standard in West Germany, in addition to the mistaken Stalinist policies (such as the forced collectivization), resulted in a massive flight of hundreds of thousands of East German workers to the West. The arbitrarily planned emphasis on heavy industry and a financial crisis made the five year plan unattainable.

On 14 May 1953 the Central Committee of the SED issued a resolution against destructive activities "of bourgeois elements and of the whole gang of agitators, Trotskyists, Zionists, freemasons, traitors and morally degenerate individuals," and called on the Council of Ministers to raise labor piece-rate norms by at least 10 percent. The Soviet party leadership watched this policy of desperation in the DDR with concern. Semyonov, who since the end of May was the head of the Soviet High Commission in Berlin, reported to Moscow and received the reply that, first of all, no aid would be forthcoming from the USSR, which due to the devastation of World War II had its own problems in feeding its population. Secondly, a "New Course" policy should replace [East German leader] Walter Ulbricht's line of forced "socialist construction" and "sharpened class struggle." The liberal Stalinists Zaisser and Herrnsdorf, opponents of Ulbricht in the Central Committee, who favored a more conciliatory policy toward imperialism, pushed through a communiqué by the Politbureau of the CC of the SED on June 9 according to which, "shortly ... a series of measures will be carried out to correct the errors committed and

to improve the living conditions of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, artisans and other middle layers."

In the typical method of Stalinist zig-zag policies, cuts were now to be made in the heavy industrialization plan in favor of encouraging the consumption goods sector. The most extensive concessions were toward the peasants, who were encouraged to return to their land and who were promised credits along with a reduction of their current delivery quotas. There were concessions to the church, for example raising the state taxes for support of the church. The East German writer Stefan Heym, a critic of the regime, captured well the mood of the workers in his book *Fünf Tage im Juni* (Five Days in June):

"Everything was just a mistake, I learn, and we have a new course; everyone will get a little present, the peasants their farmyards, the shopowners their ration cards, there is something for everyone—except for the workers, for them the piece-work rates will be raised...."

The economic measures of the SED bureaucracy against the workers became unbearable: on June 12 *Neues Deutschland* published a front-page article praising workers who overfulfilled their norms not merely by 10 percent but even 20-40 percent.

June 16: Stalinallee Construction Workers Hit the Bricks!

Construction workers from Friedrichshain decided to send a delegation to Prime Minister Grotewohl and party general secretary Ulbricht to negotiate over their reduced wages. Three hundred construction workers from Building 40 on Stalinallee [Stalin Boulevard—the showpiece project of modern government ministries]—the entire workforce—also hit the bricks in order to support their co-workers. They dispatched delegates and after a short time 2,000 were under way: "Down with the increase of piece-rate norms!" Soon there were 10,000: "Ulbricht must go!"

The SED bureaucracy was paralyzed. Heinz Brandt, today a prominent anti-Communist and Solidarność lover who on June 17 was himself a Stalinist functionary, wrote:

"The Party and State officials were overtaken by the events and increasingly paralyzed. Something monstrous, incomprehensible took place before their eyes: the workers arose against the 'workers and peasants state'."

—Heinz Brandt, *Ein Traum der nicht erfüllbar ist*

Ulbricht and Grotewohl hid out in the building of the Council of Ministers. Only Fritz Selbmann, the minister of industry, had enough courage to come out. "You are no worker—just look at you!" "We want Ulbricht and Grotewohl!" "We, not you, are the true Communists!" thundered the crowd. Confronted with a powerful, immense



Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands calls for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, key to a Socialist United States of Europe.

mobilization of the East German proletariat, the SED bureaucracy at first took a wait-and-see attitude.

The news of the march of the East Berlin construction workers spread like a prairie fire. When one of the workers got the opportunity to speak over RIAS (the American sector radio station)—the Western propaganda station against the DDR—he did not speak in an anti-Communist vein but called for a strike in all Berlin! Beginning with an economic struggle against the piece-work norm increases, the workers very quickly raised political demands. This is only another expression of the fact that the bureaucracy is not a capitalist class. The workers could not achieve any economic demands without ripping the control of the economic administration out of the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

June 17: The Uprising

On the morning of June 17 workers in almost all East Berlin factories gathered and strike committees were elected. Not just in East Berlin, in all East German industrial cities there were spontaneous workers' assemblies, demonstrations and the formation of factory committees. At the Leuna-Works, 28,000 workers; 18,000 in Buna, 12,000 in Wolfen, the 12,000 from Hennigsdorf and workers in Halle, Bitterfeld, Merseburg, Leipzig, Jena, Gera and Görlitz. Demonstrations were held with the singing of traditional workers' songs. Part of the lower and middle layers of party cadre went over to the side of the rebels. That vividly demonstrated the character of the Stalinist bureaucracy as a parasitic caste, not a class, which is based on the proletarian property forms of a workers state. The bureaucratic party apparatus went into a death

agony, threatened with collapse, and began to polarize into its proletarian and pro-bourgeois components—as happened to an even greater degree three years later in the Hungarian Revolution.

While many local strike committees were elected, it became clear in the course of the uprising that it was a spontaneous and leaderless rebellion against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Attempts to extend and centralize the strike committees were of an unplanned and uncoordinated character, rather the exception than the rule. No attempt was undertaken to occupy the crucial traffic and communications centers with the exception of Dresden where workers stormed the main post office.

Altogether there were strikes in 272 East German towns and cities; 350,000 workers out of a total of 5.5 million participated. In Berlin there were 150,000 on the streets, in Halle between 60,000 and 80,000 people participated in the mass demonstration in the market square—workers, their families, skilled workers, white-collar employees. But the uprising was above all a rebellion of the workers in the key industries. The events in East Berlin culminated in a mass meeting of 15,000 metal workers from Hennigsdorf and East Berlin in the Walter Ulbricht stadium. There were calls for the resignation of the regime: "Pankow is bankrupt—new people—today!" And they raised the demand for the formation of a metal workers government, based on strike committees and factory councils. But even before they could go into action the SED regime—after six hours of paralysis—declared a state of emergency.

The SED leadership declared straight-out that the people had lost the trust of the government and denounced the uprising as a "fascist provocation." But the few anti-Communist lumpenized elements who infiltrated from West Berlin and mixed in with the uprising in East Berlin played only a marginal role and could have been easily isolated. The Stalinist bureaucracy had to resort to mudslinging slander—a victorious uprising would have swept away its parasitic rule. Finally Soviet tanks showed up and quelled the uprising. The then-revolutionary American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) declared:

"The counterrevolutionary role of the Kremlin troops consisted in their confronting the unarmed working class with a display of overwhelming force, which saved the shattered regime from decisive defeat. The revolution was thereby blocked, and the workers who entered the political arena were compelled to retreat."

The role of the Soviet army was counterrevolutionary, but the uprising was put down without a bloodbath. This fact shows that it would have been possible for the rebels to challenge their Russian class brothers in uniform to

struggle together with them against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The revolutionary unity of German and Soviet workers is indispensable for the victory of the proletarian revolution in the DDR and its extension to the east. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet soldiers fell freeing East Germany from the Nazi beasts. Lenin was counting on revolution in Germany as the best help for the isolated Soviet workers state. A soviet Germany would be a powerful bulwark for the defense of the Soviet Union and the East European workers states.

But that required a decisive leadership such as the Bolshevik Party provided in 1917. On June 17 what was lacking was just such a leadership with a program to turn the strike committees from organs of a workers' uprising into organs of state power, to smash the Stalinist state apparatus and replace it with workers councils. Not bourgeois democracy but soviet democracy, which should include all the parties, elected by the workers, which stand for defense of the socialist order. In its program a Trotskyist party would have demanded: For unions independent of bureaucratic control, based on defense of the socialist property forms. For the right to strike. For workers control of production, prices, distribution and foreign trade. For the collectivization of agriculture. For international socialist economic planning.

Social Democracy—Vehicle for Counterrevolution

For the German proletariat, the defeat of June 17 consolidated its division. But even though the German bourgeoisie makes every effort to falsify this day, trying to turn it into a revanchist pro-capitalist revolt, it was a

THE SOLUTION by Bertolt Brecht

After the uprising of June 17 the secretary of the Writers Union had leaflets distributed along the Stalinallee in which one could read that the people had frittered away the trust of the government and only through redoubled labor could they win it back. Wouldn't it then be easier for the government to dissolve the people and elect another?



In 1945 the Red Army smashed Nazi fascism, but the Stalinist bureaucracy refused to mobilize German workers to take power.

Moonie Libel...

(continued from page 16)

which works: militant black and white workers and other oppressed people in mass mobilization to stop the fascists. The militant and orderly demonstration of black people from the Washington area backed up by a segment of the labor movement was the largest and most effective anti-fascist action in decades. And it struck a direct blow against growing racist terror in the U.S. What more outrageous example of that terror than the recent killing of Patrick Mason, a black child of only five who was gunned down in his own home while watching TV—shot by an Orange County killer-cop who has gone free. Had the Klan marched in Washington on November 27, it would have meant more shotgun blasts in the night, more burning crosses, more black families' homes firebombed.

It won't be easy to fight the Moonies in court. Sun Myung Moon, a multimillionaire from a South Korean munitions plant with connections to the Korean CIA, is driving for respectability and increased influence in America. With his plans for Armageddon against "Satanic Communism" he has found some friends in high places, particularly among those who are planning thermo-nuclear holocaust against the Soviet Union. The same right-wing fringe of the Cold War which has cultivated the growth of the Klan and Nazis also fertilizes the Moonies.

Moon is establishing a publishing empire to use as a weapon in his "holy war." The Moonies' News World Communications, Inc. operates a daily newspaper in New York City and Washington, D.C., a weekly directed at black people in Harlem and another at Hispanics. Following the axiom that in capitalist society freedom of the press belongs to the man who owns one, Moon spent an estimated \$75 million to found the *Washington Times* last year as a daily "alternative voice" of the extreme right in the nation's capital. Besides their two other newspapers, the Moonies recently changed the name and format of their New York City paper which achieved its first notoriety as a scab sheet during the NYC newspaper strike in 1978. Their *New York Tribune* vowed to "rise up in a crusade" against Communism and to "liberate especially the Russian people." But this Moonie "liberation," as the *New York Tribune* puts it, "must not stop with commu-

The Ladies' Lunch and the things they talk about 1B

Economist warns bigger deficit will kill recovery 7B

Fauntroy identifies provocateur group in noting 3B

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1982 WASHINGTON, D.C.

Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot

By Isaiah J. Poole
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

from the Socialist Workers Party in the 1950s
D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy publicly accused the Spartacist organization
13 ounces — enough to put a dent in somebody's head
The Spartacists were handing project...
handed the volunteer the bolt wore a black beret.
The volunteer, who...
wanted them

nism, but embraces every country and creed." Every country and creed is a lot bigger target than the Spartacist League. And some of the various creeds had better know what Moon has in mind for their Moonie "liberation."

Who is this supremely arrogant Moon who calls himself "Lord of the Second Advent," better than Jesus Christ? Financially dubious, his "religion" holds him above mere mortal laws and the truth. His "Unification Church" systematically destroys families because only he is the "True Parent." Thousands of young lives are ruined by this extremist cult as the Moonies work round the clock like zombies peddling flowers for their "messiah," who resides on a \$600,000 estate, owns two yachts and manages a corporate empire which spans three continents. His victims/followers are married by the thousands in Madison Square Garden as designated couples and consummate the act only at the behest of Unification Church authorities.

Moon wants to get rid of the elementary democratic principle of separation of church and state, to establish an "automatic theocracy" in America in which he says: "my words will almost serve as law." The Moonies have made headway among the fanatics of the theocratically inclined New Right and Moral Majority. Even the mainstream Republican Ripon Society is "disturbed" by Moon's "three-pronged campaign to influence the highest levels of our government. The resurgent 'New Right' political movement, elements of the Republican Party, and the media are all in danger of being manipulated by Reverend Moon" (*Ripon Forum*, January 1983).

This racist Moon says that Asians are "spiritual," whites "analytical" and "black people can contribute in the physical area" (*Master Speaks*, 29 July 1974). Jewish people, Moon writes, dredging up the anti-Semitic filth of the Nazis, suffered the holocaust "to cleanse all the sins" because of "killing one man,

Jesus."

So you don't have to be a Marxist to get on the Moonies' hit list, but it sure helps. As a small socialist organization with limited resources we are suing this dangerous cult reluctantly and in self-defense. The Moonies sit atop a corporate empire with legions of lawyers, big money and political connections. The Spartacist League has the truth on its side, but we know it takes more than the truth to do battle in the courts. Nevertheless we are cornered. And we will fight with all the political, moral and legal resources we can muster.

The Spartacist League has a proud

sent to police agencies throughout the country.

The Moon cult hopes to use the power of its publishing empire to silence and intimidate its opponents. We say: *the working class and the workers party have the right to organize*. Socialists have a right to speak and to organize for their views without being set up as cop-killers, terrorists and criminals by the Moonies or anyone else. In particular, we Marxists must have the right to organize the power of labor to defeat fascist terror on the streets. If the Moon cult prevails in their libel of us, any group or individual in the lead of



Moonie mass marriage in Madison Square Garden, 1 July 1982: Arranged marriage of more than 2,000 couples can be consummated only at behest of Moon and Unification Church authorities.

record of successfully fighting for its reputation against slander and set-up. In 1981 we sued the then-California Attorney General George Deukmejian for including the Spartacist League among a list of "terrorists... with which law enforcement would have to deal." The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League obtained a retraction which the California Attorney General

struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction.

The SL/SYL has been politically active in the U.S. for twenty years. We are well known for our controversial political views and we want to be known for what we do. Over the last three years in which the KKK and Nazis have staged provocations in major urban centers we have initiated five mass labor/black mobilizations against the fascist threat. Many thousands of blacks, unionists and defenders of black rights in Washington, D.C. and around the country rallied behind our calls for labor/black anti-fascist action, and countless more have embraced these victories as their own.

As a genuine Marxist internationalist organization dedicated to a future socialist America, we have more than enough enemies. We are now going to court because we know this: if the Moonie cult prevails, the cops will have a reason and an excuse to shoot on sight. And we are a precious resource. As capitalism spins off toward World War III we are America's last, best hope. The future may pose the choice between proletarian revolution and some kill-crazy dictator to the liking of Sun Myung Moon. Those who disagree with our Marxist aims should understand that we are being attacked by sinister forces hostile to the democratic political and cultural values prized by a wide spectrum of the American people. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. ■

We Need Lots of Money To Fight Moonie Libel

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is launching a fund-raising campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. The SL/SYL suit against the Moonie libel deserves your support.

The SL/SYL faces the most dangerous kind of lie—the kind that can kill. But it will take more than the truth to win against this dangerous cult in the courts. It will take hard cash. The SL has very limited financial resources, while the Moonies are made of money. They've got the high-priced lawyers, the big bucks, the New Right connections in high places. And we are going to need your help to win.

The Moonie training manual says,

"Messiah must be the richest." And the Moonies seem to draw their money from a bottomless well. Many people think Moon's sole source of income is bilking his victims/followers—that army of glassy-eyed, vacantly smiling creatures who try to sell flowers in airports. The Moonies are a world-wide corporate giant. The multimillionaire "messiah" started piling up his vast wealth with a munitions plant in South Korea under the protection of the Korean government. Now his business and financial interests include dozens of enterprises: big-time real estate speculation, a host of slave-labor operations in the fish and produce industries, ginseng tea imports, karate schools, and much more.

Moon's publishing empire, however, is not a money-making hut an

influence-making operation. The cult uses its newspapers as weapons in its war on the "Satanic" world—a world which includes Christians, Jews, blacks, labor, and especially the left and all those who struggle against oppression—from South Africa to El Salvador to the streets of Washington, D.C. The *Washington Times* is the Moonies' most important and expensive thrust into American political life. That is why this case is so important to so many. This lawsuit can strike a blow against the Moonie threat. Everyone on the Moonie hit list—every parent who has seen his child twisted by the cult, every clergyman and professor who has been used in the Moonies' "heavenly deception," every decent American who wants to see the race-terror of the Klan and Nazis stopped—has a stake in this case. Your financial support and endorsement is urgently needed to win this lawsuit.

Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Legal Complaint...

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engages in constitutionally protected activity, including running candidates for public office. As Marxist political organizations, the SL and the SYL seek to attract new members and to persuade non-members of the correctness of their political beliefs. In addition, the SL and the SYL seek to work in alliance with other political and labor organizations regarding particular issues or events. The SL and the SYL frequently sponsor and engage in legal political demonstrations and rallies to build support for their organizations and the issues they support.

3. Defendant NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC. ("NEWS WORLD") is, upon information and belief, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of New York, and maintains its principal place of business at 401 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. NEWS WORLD is the sole owner of *The Washington Times*, a daily (except on weekends) newspaper published and distributed in the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, NEWS WORLD, which also owns and publishes the *New York Tribune* (formerly *The News World*), is owned and/or controlled by members of the Unification Church, a purportedly religious cult, and/or by associates and adherents of Sun Myung Moon, founder and leader of the Unification Church. Sun Myung Moon and the Unification Church are expressly anti-socialist and anti-Marxist in their political views. *The Washington Times*, which was founded in or about May 1982, is the eccentric organ of this powerful, purportedly religious cult and is also expressly and maliciously anti-socialist and anti-Marxist, and has described its purpose as being the adequate representation of the political right-wing in the daily print journalism of the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, when it commenced publication, approximately one-third of *The Washington Times'* editors and reporters were members of the Unification Church.

4. At all times relevant herein, upon information and belief, defendant ISAI-AH J. POOLE ("POOLE") is and has been employed as a reporter for *The Washington Times* by NEWS WORLD, in which capacity he prepared and authored the article of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof which is described more fully below. Upon information and belief, POOLE was at one time a member of the Unification Church.

BACKGROUND

5. On November 27, 1982, the Ku Klux Klan ("the Klan"), race terrorists who are avowedly racist, anti-black, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic, planned to hold a public march from the Capitol

Building to the White House. To protest and oppose the Klan, the SL and SYL initiated and organized the "Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27" (the "Labor/Black Mobilization"), which was endorsed and sponsored by over 70 union locals, leaders and executive boards.

6. The focus of the planned Labor/Black Mobilization was a rally to be held at 10:00 AM on November 27, 1982 at Constitution Avenue and First Street, N.W. near the Capitol Building and the beginning of the Klan's route of march. A permit for the rally was secured from the appropriate police authorities on November 22. During the next four days, the SL and the SYL posted thousands of placards and distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets in the District of Columbia and elsewhere announcing the Labor/Black Mobilization and rally.

7. In addition to the SL and SYL Labor/Black Mobilization, other rallies to protest the Klan were also held on November 27 in the District of Columbia. Upon information and belief, such other demonstrations included a rally which occurred across Constitution Avenue from the Labor/Black Mobilization rally near the Capitol Building, and two other rallies which occurred near the White House, in the vicinity of Lafayette Square, the planned destination of the Klan march. One of these latter rallies was staged in McPherson Square, the other rally commenced in the Ellipse.

8. The SL and SYL Capitol Hill rally began at about 9:30 AM on November 27 and continued until about 12:40 PM. Approximately 5,000 people attended the rally, the vast majority of whom were, upon information and belief, residents of the District of Columbia area. During the course of the rally, hundreds of placards were freely distributed to demonstrators at the rally. The three-hour rally consisted of speeches and chants by the demonstrators while they awaited the planned march of the Klan.

9. In order to maintain an orderly and controlled demonstration and to insure that there would be no provocative attacks against the police, numerous monitors, both SL and SYL members and union members, were present at the rally. The monitors, SL and SYL members and unionists, wore red armbands and no other distinctive article of clothing. During the course of the rally, an SL spokesman warned the demonstrators against provoking violence between the police and demonstrators and against provocateurs of such violence, and requested the demonstrators to inform the rally monitors of any such provocateurs.

10. The rally was entirely controlled and orderly and passed without any incident of violence whatsoever.

11. In anticipation of the Klan's march, large numbers of police lined the Constitution Avenue side of the rally



Lane/Newsweek

Moon: "I will conquer and subjugate the world."

site for approximately one and one half hours. The police and the demonstrators were in close physical proximity throughout this time. No acts of violence occurred.

12. At approximately 12:40 PM, the rally was informed that the Klan march had been cancelled and that the Klan marchers were transported by motor vehicle to Lafayette Park. The police withdrew, and the demonstrators spontaneously entered Constitution Avenue, and ultimately proceeded to march up Constitution and then Pennsylvania Avenues to Lafayette Park, a distance of approximately 1.7 miles. The march proceeded without violence or incident.

13. Prior to and at the time that the demonstrators entered Lafayette Park, on the opposite side of the park, police operations, including the use of tear gas, were in progress with the apparent purpose of clearing a street adjacent to the park of people. No members of the SL or the SYL were in the area of the police operations.

14. The arriving Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators were directed by monitors to the center of Lafayette Park, away from the police and the tear gassing. The Labor/Black Mobilization then held a brief rally, without incident. At the end of the rally, an SL spokesman requested the demonstrators to avoid injury and violence by dispersing quickly and peacefully. The Labor/Black Mobilization led the demonstrators away from the police and the tear gassing and out of the park, and the demonstration ended. The demonstrators dispersed without incident.

15. News reports in *The Washington Post* state that on the afternoon of November 27, a number of incidents occurred, a number of commercial stores in the vicinity of McPherson Square were damaged, and a number of arrests were made by the police. No

member of the SL or the SYL was involved in said reported events, nor did any member tell or urge others to initiate or participate in these reported events.

THE DEFAMATIONS

16. In its November 30, 1982 edition of *The Washington Times*, defendant NEWS WORLD caused to be written, published and disseminated an article entitled "Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot", carrying the by-line of defendant POOLE. A copy of this article ("the article") is annexed hereto as Exhibit A and made a part hereof. The article, as a whole and by the specific passages and headlines set forth herein, falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied that the SL and the SYL and the members thereof:

(a) incited others, including "even children", to commit crimes and acts of violence, including specifically provocative acts of violence against the police;

(b) committed crimes and acts of violence, including specifically provocative acts of violence against the police;

(c) are para-military, violent and criminal organizations;

(d) are exclusionary, insular and manipulative organizations that discourage political action by non-members; and

(e) are organizations that, by virtue of their criminal means of operation, are outlaw rather than political groups that are properly excluded from First Amendment protections, and are properly the subjects of continuous attention by criminal law enforcement authorities.

17. The article falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the following false and defamatory statements, allegations, themes, innuendos and meanings of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof:

(a) that "[t]he Spartacist [sic] Youth League" was "a key element in provoking violence" at "the anti-Ku Klux Klan rally Saturday [November 27];"

(b) that "the members of the league carried containers of heavy metal bolts and other missiles to be handed out in the crowd for throwing";

(c) that the "Spartacist organization" was "the group that played a provocative role in starting a melee of brick-throwing and sporadic looting in the vicinity of Lafayette and McPherson squares in downtown D.C.;"

(d) that a staff volunteer in the office of Delegate Walter Fauntroy "was handed a large metal bolt Saturday" by a member of "the Spartacist organization" "from a container filled with rocks, bottles and broken chunks of bricks taken to the demonstration to be thrown", which bolt "was 12 or 13 ounces—enough to put a dent in somebody's head";

(e) that "[t]he Spartacists were handing projectiles to anyone who wanted them, even children";

(f) that "[t]he Spartacists" told the persons to whom they were distributing "projectiles" that "When the cops come we're going to throw these [projectiles] at them";

(g) that members of the "Spartacist [sic] Youth League" can be readily identified by "their attire" and that said "members wear blue, black or red herets according to their rank within the organization," thereby implying that the SL and the SYL are insular, para-military, violent and criminal organizations;

(h) that the SYL and/or the SL

continued on page 10



WV Photo

Washington, D.C., November 27: Anti-Klan protesters charge up the hill to site where Klan threatened to begin its march. The Moonies' libel targets militant anti-fascist action.

Legal Complaint...

(continued from page 9)

refused requests from non-members for protest signs to carry and/or display, thereby implying that the SL and SYL are exclusionary, insular and manipulative political organizations that discourage and are hostile to political action and expression by non-members;

(i) that the SL and/or the SYL offered Delegate Fauntroy's staff volunteer "a rock to throw";

(j) that the "Spartacist [sic] Youth League" told the Black Student Union at the University of Maryland that "a peaceful demonstration was not in order," thereby implying that the SYL and/or the SL intended to provoke and/or engage in violence against the police and provoke and/or engage in riots and looting;

(k) that "the Spartacist [sic] Youth League incited the crowd to loot and throw bricks at police officers";

(l) that "some people came to the march with the specific purpose of instigating violent confrontation", thereby implying that the SL and/or the SYL planned to and did incite and commit violence on November 27;

(m) that "[t]he Spartacist [sic] Youth League refused to comment", implying that the SYL was requested to comment upon the allegations contained in the article and declined to do so, thereby implying that the SYL and/or the SL did not deny, and therefore admitted, the allegations;



Washington, D.C., November 27 struck a blow against racist reaction.

(n) that "people were carrying large metal bolts in shoulderbags and were handing out the bolts to people in the crowd Saturday", thereby implying that the SL and the SYL handed out large metal bolts to people in the crowd, and did so for the purpose of provoking violence;

(o) that "some group that had a lot of money came intentionally to the rally to cause violence," implying that the SL and/or the SYL was said group; and

(p) that "the violence wasn't just a spontaneous action. It was a planned action," thereby implying that the SL and/or the SYL had planned to and did incite and commit violence on November 27.

18. The headline for the article—"Left-wing group linked to D.C. riot"—falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the false and defamatory meaning that the SL and/or the SYL and the members thereof instigated, provoked and/or participated in violence against the police and civil disturbances causing injury and property damage to others. Said headline, when read together with the article, was of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof.

19. The first page of defendant NEWS WORLD's edition of *The Washington Times* of November 30, 1982 carried the statement, prominently displayed and highlighted in association with a picture of police wearing riot

gear, "Fauntroy identifies provocateur group in rioting". A copy of the relevant portion of this page is set forth in Exhibit A hereto. Said statement was followed by a reference to the page upon which the article appeared, and when read together with the article, was of and concerning the SL and the SYL and the members thereof. Said statement and picture falsely, recklessly, negligently and maliciously stated, conveyed and implied the false and defamatory meaning that the SL and the SYL and the members thereof instigated, provoked and/or participated in violence against the police and civil disturbances causing injury and property damage to others.

20. Upon information and belief, defendants knew or should have known at the time of the publication of the article that the statements and implications listed above were false, misleading, inaccurate and defamatory. Upon information and belief, defendants proceeded to publish said statements and implications with knowledge of their falsity, or in reckless disregard of their truth or falsity.

21. Upon information and belief, defendants' conduct in connection with the preparation and publication of the article and the statements and implications set forth above grossly departed from usual and normal standards of journalism.

22. Upon information and belief, defendants published the aforesaid false and defamatory statements and implications with the intention to injure the SL and the SYL and the members thereof by branding the SL and the SYL as violent, para-military, criminal and exclusionary organizations which attack police forces, and targeting the SL and the SYL as outlaw organizations

— Black Press Covers Anti-Klan Victory —



properly excluded from First Amendment protections and properly subjects for continuous law enforcement authority surveillance, infiltration, harassment, prosecutions and violent action.

23. The aforesaid false and defamatory statements and implications of defendants have injured and would have the effect of injuring the SL and the SYL in their activities and business as Marxist political organizations, in that said statements and implications have and would have the effect of:

(a) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals to refrain from joining or being members of the organizations;

(h) causing a loss of membership financial support resulting from the loss of members and potential members;

(c) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals and other organizations to refrain from participating in activities sponsored by or associated with the SL and the SYL;

(d) creating fear and apprehension, causing individuals and other organizations to refrain from giving financial support to the SL and the SYL;

(e) encouraging police and other law enforcement authorities to engage in surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment and/or prosecution of the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof;

(f) causing police authorities and personnel to fear and dislike the SL and the SYL, thereby increasing the potential for violence against the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof;

(g) encouraging and causing extreme right-wing groups or individuals to commit acts of harassment and/or violence against the SL and the SYL and the members and supporters thereof; and

(h) discrediting the SL and the SYL as Marxist political organizations.

24. By reason of the aforesaid acts of defendants, the SL and the SYL have and will suffer a loss of probable members, a loss of income from the loss of probable members, and a loss of income from the loss of contributions by individuals and other organizations, all to the SL's and the SYL's special damage in the sum of not less than \$5,000.

25. By reason of the aforesaid acts of defendants, the SL and the SYL have been grievously injured in their good name, reputation, character, and standing as Marxist political organizations; branded as violent, criminal, paramilitary and insular organizations; characterized as outlaws existing outside First Amendment protections, all causing the SL and the SYL and the members thereof to be isolated, stigmatized and targeted for law enforcement and/or extreme right-wing surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence, and all to their general damage in the sum of \$10,000,000.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs demand judgment against defendants in the amount of not less than \$10,005,000 as compensatory damages and \$10,000,000 as exemplary damages, with interest thereon, together with the costs and disbursements of this action, including counsel fees and other lawful expenses, and such other and further relief as to the Court appears just and appropriate.

Dated: Washington, D.C.

June 14, 1983

TIGAR & BUFFONE

By: Samuel Buffone

COHN, GLICKSTEIN, LURIE,

OSTRIN, LUBELL & LUBELL

By: Jonathan W. Lubell

and

RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN

Marcyite Splinter Caught in APC Pop Front

Trapped in McPherson Square

Five thousand black workers and youth, led by the Spartacist League (SL), ran the KKK out of the nation's capital on November 27. The sight of blacks and labor, mobilized in action and led by communists, is what the American ruling class fears most. It's not surprising, then, that this victory has been the subject of attack from the Capitol to the capitalist media and down to the reformist left. The All-Peoples Congress (APC), a creature of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), put out a brochure "How the People Drove the KKK from D.C." to claim credit for the mobilization that stopped the Klan. They hope to steal in newsprint the victory we won in the streets. But thousands of black militants, not just the SL, know the real score because they made it happen. While the APC organized a diversionary demonstration to rope in the Democrats, held many blocks from the scene of the showdown, the SL initiated and led the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan.

Further testimony to this comes from somewhat unexpected quarters. The tiny Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), a handful of ultra-Marcyites in New Haven, got caught in a strange contradiction on November 27. The RCLI has little reason to want to build the credentials of the SL, especially since they say in their paper, "Above all, we would like to join the WWP." Their description of events on that day probably comes too close to the truth for the handful of hapless RCLers to get their fondest wish. Yet they seem genuinely repelled by what they saw and participated in as part of the APC-organized diversion. They write, "The Left organization that played a crucial role in actually stopping the Klan from marching was the Spartacist League (SL). This is because it energetically mobilized for where the Klan were actually scheduled to begin their march, on Constitution Avenue and 1st Street NW."

The RCLI's account in *Internationalist Worker* (January 1983), titled "Lessons of McPherson Square," is a graphic condemnation of the WWP/APC actions in Washington that day:

"Fully expecting to become a member of WWP, and committed to demonstrating at McPherson Square, I was frankly struck by how on Nov. 27 the emphasis on building cross-class coalitions worked at the expense of the anti-capitalist struggle and of the building of the Party. As late as 1:00 pm disoriented All Peoples Congress (APC) security guards could be heard telling demonstrators not to leave McPherson Square to confront the Klan, because 'It's a police trap.' ... As these oppressed youth fought the cops 100 yards from the speakers platform (!), bourgeois speakers grotesquely droned on about the need to ask Reagan for an end to the cutbacks. A WWP spokesperson[s]... conclusions were confined to the need to demand, rather than plead, from Reagan...."

This eyewitness account certainly gives the lie to the Marcyite claim that the APC rally was "a strip of liberated territory" and a center of a "people's rebellion." By their own account the RCLI admits that at the place where the SL's Labor/Black Mobilization was called "5,000 people gathered to stop the Klan.... They defied the scare tactics of the highest level of the capitalist state and held their ground." In the words of the RCLI it was "a triumph." But where the APC called its rally: "they even caught leftists gathered at McPherson Square, locked as we were into coalitions with bourgeois forces, unprepared to offer the revolutionary class-struggle answers...."

So how does this more-Marcy-than-Marcy clot explain why there was class struggle on Constitution Ave. and class collaboration in McPherson Square? They try to make it seem like it's just a tactical question of location, and offer the comradely criticism: "We believe WWP should have marched on Constitution Avenue, where the SL marched, as part of a *Labor-Black-Left* united front." For the RCLI this all-purpose "united front" is the answer to every-



Marcyite goons trap anti-Klan protesters in McPherson Square.

thing. Yet from the outset, the WWP/APC made it clear that their rally would be a platform for the Democrats—not the Leninist tactic of a united front for joint action, but a Stalinist-style "popular front" for subordinating labor and blacks to their oppressors, as the wide-eyed account in the *Internationalist Worker* vividly shows. The RCLI shares the Marcyite opposition to a genuine Bolshevik vanguard—witness its lament that "the SL could mobilize D.C. residents under its exclusive leadership"—while grudgingly admitting that "the SL's penchant for 'angular positions' at least led it to march at the correct place."

It was a fundamental programmatic/strategic counterposition, not a tactical difference that led to the different policies of the WWP and the SL, the difference between reform and revolution. Workers World admits they didn't organize those forces who showed up to stop the Klan. They claim, "What stopped the Klan was the spontaneous turnout of the determined people by the thousands." Not only did the WWP/APC not play a role in the mobilization that stopped the KKK, they intended to let the Klan march! That's why they chose a site two miles from where the Klan said they would step off. But after hearing the numerous radio announcements, seeing the thousands of posters and quarter million leaflets distributed by the Labor/Black Mobilization, 5,000 people, overwhelmingly black, showed up at its site at the foot of Capitol Hill, three times as many as at the WWP/APC diversion in McPherson Square.

Marcy & Co. wanted to curry favor with the black Democratic politicians and to channel black outrage into the anti-Reagan popular front drive to put a Democrat in the White House in '84. That's why they gooned their own demonstration when black youth split off to go get the Klan; and that's why they squirmed when the violence-baiting began in the wake of the cop riot against anti-Klan protesters. They were determined not to be anywhere near the

demonstration to stop the Klan, even when offered speaking time from our platform. The Spartacist League was the only group to provide the Leninist leadership and organization that made it possible to do what the most politically conscious black militants knew had to be done.

The Marcyites are making their bid for the reformist big time. Their Peoples Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) front group showed their eagerness to act as

waterboys for the Democrats by excluding the reds of the Spartacist League from El Salvador protests because we call for "Military victory to the leftist rebels" and defense of Cuba and the USSR against imperialism. Now they work hand in glove with the Democratic pols to derail militant struggles against fascist provocations. The RCLI seems to think this is aberrant behavior for Marcy, who broke from the SWP in the 1950s in favor of accommodation with counterrevolutionary Stalinism and opposing the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising. In fact there is a line of class collaboration and political support to the Stalinists and "Third World" nationalists from 1948 when the Marcyites urged support to the bourgeois Progressive Party of Henry Wallace through the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee in the mid-'60s and the CP's Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice a few years later to PAM at the Pentagon (May 1981) and the APC at McPherson Square. The reformists sell out the struggle against imperialist war and fascism to the class enemy—that is the real lesson of McPherson Square. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m. Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

East Germany...

(continued from page 7)

the demands of the East German workers was:

"We must not wait for the Bonn government to take the initiative for the real reunification of Germany. The East German government should start immediately by eliminating all barriers separating the two Germanys. The country must be unified by secret, general and free elections and a workers' victory must be won in these elections."

—Fourth International, March-April 1953 [sic]

However, these illusions of the East German workers, of achieving their socialist goals through the SPD, could have been destroyed by a Trotskyist party with a program of extending the struggle and the mobilization to the West German proletariat.

In 1951 Willy Brandt openly declared in his article, "What Will Happen on Day X?", the counterrevolutionary goals of social democracy. He proposed reunification through "free elections." These elections were not "initially" to be applied to the "German regions [!] to the east of the Oder and Neisse" [the boundary between East Germany and Poland established in 1945], although there could be "in no case recognition of the arbitrary Oder-Neisse line." But the East German workers did not come out on June 17 for the annexation of the "former Eastern regions" of the German bourgeoisie.

Brandt continued:

"There is hardly a doubt that the working people in the Soviet zone will just as decisively oppose a reprivatization of large-scale industry as they will also come out for a complete restructuring of the deprivatized factories. That the private economic sector will expand again, however, can be considered certain."

He then calls for the "reconstruction of the democratic parties and a free press," as well as for "the international aid which is probably widely seen as indispensable" in his plans for a "peaceful counterrevolution." The SPD certainly did receive the latter abundantly from the CIA and U.S. imperialism for its Ostbüro and its subversive machinations in the East German underground. But there can be no peaceful passing over to capitalism, a reformist model in reverse. If June 17 proved one thing, then it is that the working class will not let its conquests simply be ripped away from it, and that Brandt's dream at that time of smuggling capitalism in surreptitiously would not have led to success.

Acid Test for Trotskyists

"And where was social democracy?" was the disappointed call of the self-

The East German workers who took to the streets on 17 June 1953 against the Stalinist ruling bureaucracy of the DDR were avowedly pro-socialist. "We are the true Communists!" shouted demonstrators outside government headquarters. In the Halle train station strikers greeted travelers from the West with a banner reading, "Now sweep out your crap in Bonn—In Pankow [East Berlin] we're cleaning house." And the uprising was decidedly not anti-Soviet. In Halle tens of thousands of workers gathered in a square already surrounded by Russian tanks and infantry without incident. And the Bitterfeld strike committee sent a telegram to Soviet High Commissioner Semyonov asking him to lift the state of siege "so that we Germans can truly keep our belief that you are in fact the representative of a government of the workers, a friend of peace and international understanding." A Trotskyist leadership would have sought to fraternize with the Soviet soldiers in order to win their support in common struggle against the Stalinist bureaucrats.

And such a common struggle was possible. Even the defeated East German revolt sent shock waves to the Urals. In the Soviet Union, the 17 June 1953 uprising led to the downfall of the feared secret police chief Beria. In the prison camps ferment had been growing ever since the death of Stalin. Now rebellion broke out in the giant forced labor camp at Vorkuta. On July 21,

workers at two key coal pits laid down their tools and refused to leave their barracks; within two days the movement had spread to ten pits, totaling 30,000 laborers. Even though the initial strike committee was arrested, the general strike movement continued to grow, with sympathetic guard soldiers distributing leaflets for the prisoners. In early August Moscow responded by offering token concessions while liquidating the strike leadership. Eventually the movement was defeated, but some pits held out until November when supplies of food and coal ran out.

Most importantly, behind the Vorkuta strike was a dissident Communist opposition, the Istiny Trud Lenina (ITL—"Lenin's True Works"). Even though they reportedly had no direct ties to the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky, the coincidence of the program of this self-proclaimed "Communist resistance movement" with that of the Trotskyist Fourth International was remarkable. The ITL called for "a struggle against the system of government which rests on the bureaucracy and the army and which can be eliminated only by a political revolution"; and for "full democracy in the shape of a workers' and peasants' soviet government, the first stage toward the classless society" (see the article "Vorkuta (1950-53): Oppositional Currents and the Mine Strikes," by Brigitte Gerland, in George Saun-

ders, ed., *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* [Monad, 1974]). This was from a manifesto drawn up by a dozen Moscow students; within a few months the ITL counted hundreds of members. But after two years of activity, in a single night, hundreds of the Leninists were arrested and sentenced to 25 years of hard labor.

The student Leninists were the first to popularize the idea of a mass strike by the vast complex of 250,000 forced laborers at Vorkuta. Many of them had become brigade leaders, and it was at Pits No. 1 and 7, dominated by the Leninists and anarchists, that the July 1953 strike movement was centered. A victorious workers political revolution in East Germany, sweeping away the parasitic Ulbricht regime, would have set the whole bureaucratic superstructure of the USSR trembling. The Vorkuta strikers demonstrated that a successful East German political revolution could have set off a chain explosion throughout the Soviet Union, sparked by a huddling leadership who consciously looked back to the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. Thus the unity of German and Russian workers, arising out of the defeat of Hitler fascism by the Soviet Red Army, was key to success for the Berlin Uprising of June 1953. And a proletarian political revolution extending throughout the Soviet bloc would have been a powerful impetus to socialist revolutions in the West.

proclaimed Trotskyist leader of the hardly "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International [USec], half of which, represented by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), has since openly declared itself opposed to Trotskyism. The Trotskyist Fourth International was destroyed by "leaders" such as Ernest Mandel and Michel Pablo, who saw in Stalinism or in social democracy (in the case of a social-democratic-controlled working class as in West Germany) a shortcut to revolution. The answer of Pablo's International Secretariat to 17 June 1953 was a manifesto calling for the "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., bureaucratic self-reform.

Meanwhile Mandel, who then wrote under the pen name Wilhelm Sprenger in the left social-democratic journal *Pro und Contra*, sought to push the Eastern

workers directly into the arms of the counterrevolutionary SPD leaders: for him the illusions in Ollenhauer were positive, a guarantee that the workers uprising "pointed forward, toward democratic socialism, and not backwards toward capitalist 'freedom.'" And that is his program:

"It is in the realm of the possible and the achievable to turn the reunification of Germany into an overwhelming success for the workers movement and socialism. Free, secret, general elections in all Germany would mean, with the correct SPD policy, an absolute majority for German social democracy, the first purely social-democratic regime in German history."

—*Was Tun*, 29 June 1978

What this pseudo-Trotskyist refuses to say here is that there was another "purely social-democratic" government in Germany, the [1918-19] regime of Ebert, Scheidemann and the bloodhound Noske. And that regime ruled over the corpses of thousands of proletarians in order to return the power to the bourgeoisie. Trotskyists would have fought for the mobilization of the Western workers against the Adenauer government, and sought to use the spark of the East German workers' uprising to set all Germany aflame with a general strike. Mandel was opposed to unleashing the power of the West German proletariat: "Naturally it was not possible to proclaim a general strike in the Federal Republic on June 17: the objective preconditions were lacking" (*Was Tun*, 29 June 1978). Naturally the social-democratic Cold Warriors who helped after the war to turn West Germany into an anti-Communist bulwark against the Soviet Union feared nothing more than a general strike. For genuine Trotskyists the extension of the strike movement to West Germany would have meant freeing the West German proletariat from the stranglehold of its bureaucratic misleaders in struggle for its class interests.

On 17 June 1953 the workers suffered a defeat. But their struggle is a beacon

for the workers of Germany and all of Europe. In contrast to Polish Solidarność—the company union in the service of NATO and the German bankers—the East German workers fought for socialism. Only the international Spartacist tendency fights in the spirit of the workers of June 17 for the revolutionary reunification of West Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. The then-revolutionary SWP declared in 1953:

"To realize the great revolutionary possibilities opened up by these events the organization of a revolutionary party of the German proletariat becomes imperative. In outlining the conditions for a successful political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky said in 1934 'We must set down, first of all, as an immutable axiom—that this task can be solved only by a revolutionary party.' Today this is truer than ever."

—"The East German Uprising," by the Editors of *Fourth International*, May-June 1953 [sic]

In the tradition of Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) fights for the construction of a victorious communist party as a section of a reformed Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Stop Genocide of Kurds!

LONDON—May 25 saw another genocidal attack on the Kurdish people by the Turkish bonapartist military junta, in cooperation with the dictatorial Ba'athist regime of Iraq. Two elite units of the Turkish army were sent across the Iraqi border in order to shoot Kurds who were crossing into Iraq. The London *Guardian* (28 May 1983) commented that the "fighting may have begun...when 7000 Iranian Kurds are believed to have tried to cross from Iran into Turkey and travel from there into Iraq." A May 21 statement by the Association of Kurdish Students Abroad (AKSA) commented that "Heavy fighting is going on and...the Turkish army is said to be rushing more troops to its eastern frontier with Iraq."

The Turkish foreign office openly admitted the Turkish-Iraqi collaboration in this attack, stating that "consultations took place with our friend and neighbour the Iraqi government on the development." Meanwhile the right-wing Turkish bourgeois paper *Gunaydin* praised the operation with chauvinist hysteria as a "lesson" given to the Kurds.

This "operation" follows the Turkish junta's recent condemnation of 35 Kurds to death in Diyarbakir for establishing a nationalist movement. This is one of several mass trials where leftists, working-class militants and even bourgeois liberals are being



With signs in English, Turkish, Farsi and Arabic, Spartacist contingent protests at Turkish embassy in London, May 31, calling for the right of self-determination for the Kurds.

sentenced to life imprisonment and even death. Already the dungeons of the junta are full and torture is commonplace.

The Kurdish people are divided among four countries and deprived of their basic democratic rights in all of them. The largest concentration is in Turkey, amounting to one fifth of the country's 50 million population. Since the September 1980 military takeover the junta has intensified the attacks on Kurdish nationalists and leftists (attacks which also occurred under the previous civilian regime), denying that a distinct

Kurdish people even exists. Even using the Kurdish language in speech and literature is illegal and the junta's recent constitution further legitimised its repression, intimidation and murder.

Meanwhile in Iraq, deprived again of basic democratic rights, the Kurds live under the dictatorial repression of Saddam Hossein's regime and continuously face forced population transfers. In Iran since the coming to power of the Persian-chauvinist fanatic Ayatollah Khomeini genocide against the Kurds has intensified, forcing many to try and escape the country. But in this attempt

many fall into the murderous hands of the Ba'athists of Iraq and the Kemalist chauvinist military of Turkey. In Syria too, the Kurds suffer deep national oppression. Their very right to exist is denied from all quarters.

To protest the latest attacks on the Kurds, a picket of the Turkish embassy was organised in London on May 31, with participants from AKSA, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the Committee for Defence of Democratic Rights in Turkey, supporters of the "Leninists" of the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) and others. A contingent from the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) joined the picket, carrying placards in Farsi, Turkish, Arabic and English demanding "Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria" and "For the right to self-determination of the Kurds." While some other demonstrators (including supporters of the TKP "Leninists") chanted "United Nations—where are you?" the SL/B counterposed "United Nations, den of thieves, is no friend of the Kurds—Out of the Middle East now!" Other SL/B chants called for workers and peasants governments throughout the Middle East. At the end most of the Kurds sang their national anthem, while the SL/B and some Kurds sang the "Internationale."

It is the elementary duty of the international proletariat and defenders of democratic rights to come to the defence of the Kurdish people against the all-sided genocide. Down with the butchers of the Kurds! Stop the genocide of the Kurds in Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria! For the right of the Kurds to self-determination! ■

Iranian Left...

(continued from page 5)

democratic revolution" the Iranian left refuses to support the historic program of the national democratic revolution: the right of nations to self-determination, including separation; the emancipation of women; separation of church and state and freedom for religious minorities. Why? Because every task of genuine national democratic revolution challenges the social order upon which the national bourgeoisie rests.

The RST and the Lessons of Bolshevism

The Revolutionary Socialist Tendency is an interesting and important development. It split from the Fedayeen minority in mid-1982 over the character of the social revolution in Iran, which it asserted is *proletarian* as opposed to the "two-stage" dogma. Nevertheless, at the May 7 forum supporters of the RST claimed that the 1978-79 period in Iran was "not so clear." Yet that was the crucial moment for those who are genuinely struggling for proletarian revolution and not just in covering their own tracks! The RSTers reproached the iSt for polemicizing against the Iranian left thereby ignoring the "people." While paying lip service to the Leninist tenet that the granite foundation of the revolutionary party is *program*, in reality they envision the spontaneous creation of this party "born in the midst of the struggle of the working class." Lenin noted the parallelism between the Economists who worshipped the spontaneous and immediate economic struggles of labor and the *narodnik* terrorists who worshipped the spontaneity of the "people" and "the propaganda of the deed." The underlying theme of the RST supporters' interventions was the flight from any real discussion of the left's criminal prostration before Khomeini, while counterposing "immediate tasks" and tactical gimmicks to the basic questions of program and strategy. It is only by confronting the bankruptcy of the Iranian "left" in 1978-79—and today—that the crucial task of regrouping revolutionary forces to forge

a genuinely communist vanguard, the nucleus of the future Trotskyist party in Iran, can be accomplished.

The RST's current perspective of toppling the Khomeini regime simply through labor struggles and factory committees ignores the fact that in a semi-colonial country like Iran, this prison house of nations where women are enslaved in veils and sexual "deviants" are routinely shot, where the Shi'ite priesthood regulates every aspect of daily life according to laws that predate feudalism, where the agrarian question is a matter of life and death for millions of peasants and rural toilers, the struggle for democratic rights and against extra-class oppression is decisive for proletarian revolution.

That the RST has not really broken with nationalist populism is indicated by their agreement with the Ashraf guerrillaists in rejecting the Russian October as a model in the name of "national particularities." Ashraf group supporters at the forum argued that the Chinese, Vietnamese, Angolan and Mozambican revolutions had "followed their own way." However, the first two culminated in *deformed* workers states in which capitalism was expropriated but political power was monopolized by a parasitic and nationalistic bureaucratic caste. The tragic results of Stalinist nationalism can be seen in the present U.S.-China alliance, which is aimed at crushing Vietnam and ultimately overthrowing the gains of the Russian October. The Angolan and Mozambican revolutions "followed their own way" only to replace the colonialists with their own petty-bourgeois nationalist elite as the domestic intermediary of imperialist (including South African) domination.

ITF speakers unmasked the capitulation to Shi'ite Islam contained in the call for Iranian exceptionalism. Iran under the shah with its weak bourgeoisie, with an autocracy thoroughly corrupt, discredited and isolated, with a small but powerful proletariat, with an explosive mixture of national and agrarian questions, most closely resembled tsarist Russia. What is missing is the Bolshevik party at the head of the Iranian proletariat, a factor which combined with the egregious opportunism of the

left, allowed the reactionary Shi'ite clergy to place itself at the head of the insurgent masses.

Defend the Gains of the Russian October!

ITF spokesmen pointed out that Tudeh, which claims to defend the Soviet Union, backs Khomeini who arms the counterrevolutionary rebels in Afghanistan in killing Red Army soldiers. The contradiction between Peykar's attempt to approach revolutionary defeatism on the Iran-Iraq war, where it stood counterposed to its own ruling class, and its hysterical anti-Sovietism which in Afghanistan unites it with its own ruling class and all the imperialist powers no doubt contributed to the disintegration of that organization.

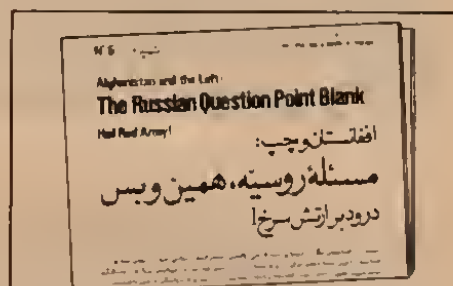
When we look at a group like the Organization of Communist Unity, which while moving in the direction of "state capitalism," has spent the last decade without an explicit position on the class nature of the Soviet state, or the Union of Communist Militants which gave up its agnosticism in order to fuse with Komaleh, which holds that the USSR is "social-imperialist," it is difficult to take these "theoretical" debates in the Iranian left seriously. Yet the "Russian question" is key to proletarian revolution in Iran.

One would think that leftists who are now all too well aware of the torture chambers of the Iranian "Islamic republic" would hail the intervention of the Red Army against Khomeini's brethren in Afghanistan. But here we touch the Persian nationalist heart of the anti-Sovietism of the Iranian left. The ex-member of Peykar posed the problem point-blank when he asked what our attitude would be in the event of the Soviet army intervening in Iran! Almost without exception the entire Iranian left, even those who think the USSR is some kind of "socialism," regard the Soviet Union as a menacing great power on Iran's northern border.

When threatened by imperialism, as in Afghanistan, the Soviet bureaucracy sometimes combats the forces of reaction. In those cases the Soviet army, even under bureaucratic control, is defending the social gains of the

October Revolution—the planned, collectivized economy. Trotskyists condemn Stalin (still a hero for many of these Stalinist-nationalists) not for occupying northern Iran during World War II but for *withdrawing* from Azerbaijan in 1946. Military aid to bourgeois-nationalist butchers like Mengistu in Ethiopia or the intervention against the proletarian political revolution in Hungary in 1956 is another matter altogether. In any military confrontation between the Soviet degenerated workers state and capitalist forces, we defend the gains of the October Revolution and call for proletarian political revolution against the parasitic bureaucracy. But anti-Soviet nationalism is the handmaiden of the Iranian left's populism.

The Spartacist perspective for proletarian revolution in Iran is an international one. It is also one of revolutionary optimism in the capacity of the Iranian proletariat. Both qualities are alien to the present organizations of the Iranian left. But not to those militants who will rally to the banner of a reborn Fourth International and build the party which will lead the Iranian October, thus giving shape to the aspirations of the "Internationale," sung in four languages, which closed the meeting. ■



Persian Translations

1. Fake Trotskyists Support Mullahs
2. Iranian Fedayeen In Search of a Progressive Clergy
3. Iran/Iraq Blood Feud
4. Iranian Left and the Test of War
5. Iran and the Left
6. Afghanistan and the Left: The Russian Question Point Blank

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South African Martyrs...

(continued from page 1)

nationalist organizations who act in the name of the oppressed, the ANC has been highly selective, choosing real targets of imperialist domination and racist oppression in which innocent victims are minimized: a nuclear power plant, police stations, air force headquarters.

These are the police stations which contain the thousands of blacks arrested every day for petty violations of the apartheid pass and migratory labor laws as well as the "political crimes" of supporting left-wing, labor, nationalist and democratic causes. In these police stations they are tortured, often to death, or sent to prisons where they are "found" hung like courageous white union organizer Neil Aggett. Further, the recent ANC actions were carried out with a sophistication that indicates a professional, highly trained cadre and wide support within South African society, including among elements of the white community, a fact which must really rattle the racist bigots of Pretoria.

The most important point is that made by Trotsky in a section of his essay, *Their Morals and Ours*, appropriately entitled, "Morality of the Kaffirs." In polemicizing against those renegades from Marxism like Max Eastman who claimed that applying different criteria to the actions of exploiters and exploited signified standing at the level of the "morals of the Kaffirs," Trotsky wrote:

"A Kaffir who has not been demoralized by missionaries to the marrow of his bones will never apply the selfsame abstract moral norms to the oppressors and the oppressed. Yet he will easily comprehend that it is a function of these abstract norms to prevent the oppressed from arising against their oppressors."

The lynching of the three ANC militants evoked an international outcry because South Africa is a hideous microcosm of the relationship of imperialist power to the oppressed nations and toilers of the world. Therefore the oppressed everywhere feel a special kinship with anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa. This is especially true for American blacks whose sense of identity



Los Angeles, June 8: At South African consulate Spartacist League protests against Botha's apartheid lynchings.

with the oppressed of South Africa has been deepened by the viciously racist administration in the White House.

It was no mere coincidence that on the same day that Reagan invited apartheid butcher Botha to meet him at the White House, last November 27, he also gave the Ku Klux Klan a green light to parade through the streets of Washington to the White House for the first time in 57 years. It was the power of the working class, demonstrated by the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League, that stopped the Klan on November 27 and then took over their parade route for a victory march against racist terror. Given the Botha visit, we like to think that a blow was struck against race-terror in South Africa as well.

The Spartacist League hails the courageous militants of the ANC. Even though the ANC does not have the resources to directly militarily defeat South Africa, nevertheless it is in a state of war with the apartheid regime. In that war we stand with the ANC militants against racist oppression. But their struggle is thwarted and subverted by the ANC's strategy, also promoted by the Stalinist South African Communist Party, of seeking to pressure "liberal" elements in the white ruling class such as gold and diamond magnate Harry

Oppenheimer, and the "democratic" imperialist countries, such as Reagan's America, into forcing the South African government to abandon apartheid. The apartheid regime cannot be "reformed," it must be smashed. Under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, the black working class mobilizing behind it all of the oppressed masses of South Africa will be the gravedigger of apartheid. And on that grave will arise a black-centered workers and peasants government.

Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!

The executions demanded an immediate outcry from all labor and socialist organizations and decent people everywhere. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) immediately swung into action, organizing emergency demonstrations and participating in protests against the lynchings, from New York to Chicago. Los Angeles and the Bay Area. Everywhere we brought the message: black unions are key in South Africa; labor/black struggle is the key in America to the liberation of the black masses.

In New York, what was originally announced as a "candlelight" vigil before the execution on Wednesday night, June 8, in front of South African UN offices, spontaneously turned into a predominantly black 700-strong demonstration. There were militant chants such as "Execution, No! Revolution, Yes!" as well as the usual reformist pap provided by the Communist Party and their Workers World fellow-travelers. A Spartacist contingent was well received and many demonstrators held up the *Workers Vanguard* headline, "Black Labor Shakes South Africa," as their placard.

In Chicago, the Communist Party (CP) through its front group, the "National Anti-Imperialism Movement for Solidarity with African Liberation," had called for two days of protest (June 8/9) outside the South African consulate. SL comrades arriving on site Wednesday night found a handful of protesters there, joined the picket line and began chanting, "Stop the Executions! Smash Apartheid in South Africa!" When it became apparent that only a half-dozen CP and Young Communist League (YCL) supporters

in all of Chicago were going to show up, they pulled out of the picket line to caucus, briefly rejoined the line, then spent the rest of their time standing about uncomfortably. When a Spartacist comrade urged them not to stand on the sidelines while ANC militants were scheduled to die, all the YCLers could do was snarl, "Get lost! We're having a meeting!" These Stalinist sectarians preferred to *abandon their own demonstration* rather than carry out joint action with the Trotskyists.

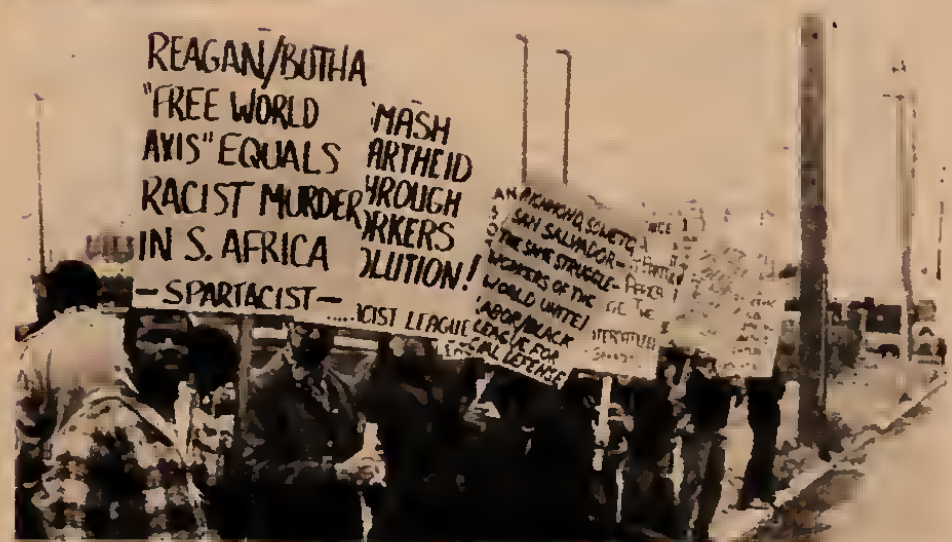
The next day the Chicago SL proposed a united front demonstration to Ted Pearson, Illinois CP state chairman. Yet Thursday was simply a repeat. Again, less than a dozen CP/YCLers cared enough about the executions to come out and protest. Pearson walked up to the line and then retreated to the side. So the Stalinists stood huddled, their backs to the wall, awkwardly watching the demonstration. When asked why they would not protest these apartheid lynch murders, they snarled, "Cop, FBI agent, police provocateur," sounding like the people who in August 1917 called Lenin a German spy. But the Spartacist picket line, with our call for "Vengeance for the ANC Three," was well-received by black passers-by who shouted encouragement and bought almost 100 pieces of our literature. A photo in the city's black daily, the *Chicago Defender* told the story.

Los Angeles Spartacist comrades built a demonstration outside the South African Consulate June 8 in less than a day. Our call for the emergency demonstration to "Stop the Hangings! Save the Anti-Apartheid Fighters!" went out in leaflets and a broadcast over a black radio station brought out six young black militants from Los Angeles Community College. An important factor in building the demonstration was that the Pretoria hangings recalled lynch terror against blacks in the American South. This is keenly felt in L.A., where a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, was shot to death watching TV in his bedroom by a kill-crazy racist cop. Some 30 people participated in the action which ended with speeches from the SL/SYL and militant phone workers (see box). A second protest that evening called jointly by the CP, ANC and SCLC drew some 250 people, predominantly black.

In the Bay Area, the Spartacist



Oakland, June 9: Protestling the South African-bound ship, Nedlloyd Kimberley. Longshore militants (left) appeal to co-workers while SL and Labor/Black League picket (below).



For Labor Action Against Apartheid!

Reprinted below is a resolution raised by Stan Gow at an ILWU Local 10 executive board meeting last September 9. It was "adopted" after being amended to death. Secretary treasurer Bill Bancroft's amendment knocked out the resolution's teeth: its call for Local 10 to "hot-

cargo" goods to and from South Africa. Stalinist bloc-partner Leo Robinson moved to delete the class line, i.e., its criticism of divestment and consumer boycotts and its call on South African black workers to break from the bourgeois liberals.

—Reprinted from the "Longshore Militant" No. 55, 12 September 1982

The racist, apartheid South African regime, which Reagan supports, is attempting to destroy the black trade union movement. The state-owned corporation, South African Transport Services, refuses to recognize the General Workers Union, which represents dockside workers. The GWU is already recognized by the stevedoring companies. In Port Elizabeth, 400 dockside workers were fired September 1 for conducting a slowdown to win union recognition. The government plans to deport the workers to the bantustans.

Apartheid, the system of capitalist rule in South Africa, can't be reformed. It must be destroyed. The black working class, leading the oppressed colored (mixed race) and Indian masses, while appealing to the white workers, has the power to destroy apartheid and replace it with a black-centered workers and peasants government.

It is important that U.S. workers, especially longshore and other transport workers, come to the assistance of the South African workers with concrete acts of solidarity. Consumer boycotts are ineffective token pressure tactics and divestment is a utopian scheme which depends on the racist multi-nationals "goodwill."

Therefore, ILWU Local 10 will not work any cargo to or from South Africa until the deportations are canceled, the 400 workers in Port Elizabeth are rehired and the General Workers Union is recognized by the South African Transport Services as the dockside workers representative.

Local 10 also calls on all other ILWU longshore locals and the ILA to take similar action.

We urge our brothers and sisters in South Africa to politically break with the liberal bourgeois reformers of apartheid and to instead struggle for a black-centered workers and peasants government.

League and the Labor/Black League for Social Defense called for protest outside the South African Airlines' office in San Francisco's Union Square. Again on less than 24 hours notice, the 5 p.m. Wednesday picket drew 75 people, from the SL/SYL, the Labor/Black League, the Democratic Workers Party, Revolutionary Socialist League, and black workers who had received one of the over 1,200 leaflets distributed the day of the demonstration. One popular chant was "Richmond, Soweto, San Salvador—Same enemy, same fight—Workers of the world unite!" This referred to the fight against racist cop terror in Contra Costa county, a fight in which the SL and Labor/Black League have been active. Signs included, "Reagan, Begin, Botha, Hitler—Brothers Under the Skin!" "Smash Reagan/Botha's Anti-Soviet War Drive, the Main Enemy Is at Home!" and "For a Trotskyist Party in South Africa!"

Speakers at the rally included a representative of the Democratic Workers Party; Peter Woolston of the Militant Caucus in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and General Executive Board member of ILWU Local 6; and Martha Phillips, recent Spartacist candidate for Oakland City Council. Woolston called for international labor solidarity against the apartheid executions, demanding the longshore union stop working all ships to and from South Africa. This would be a powerful demonstration of labor action, a show of solidarity that would have impact around the world, representing far more of a threat to the murderous apartheid

system than dozens of "vigils" and impotent protests.

ILWU militants have been fighting to put this program into action. On the eve of the executions, a South Africa-bound ship was due to arrive in the Bay Area. However, the ship anchored out in the Bay that night. When it docked the next morning, after the executions, it was met by a picket line of SL and Labor/Black League supporters. Militant Caucus members approached their union brothers calling on them to refuse to work the ship. One ILWU brother at the dock that morning was Stan Gow, Militant Caucus spokesman and ILWU Local 10 exec board member. Gow is a respected class-struggle union leader with a long record of fighting on behalf of the oppressed. In 1976 and again in 1977, following the Soweto rebellion, he put forward motions to implement a boycott of South African cargo, and ILWU militants joined with SL/SYLers and solidarity activists in protesting this very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. Yet at this moment, Gow is being railroaded by union bureaucrats because he has fought to stop military goods to the bloody Salvadoran junta (see page 3).

A UPI photo of the June 8 San Francisco demonstration, picked up by a Brooklyn daily black paper, showed the integrated crowd of blacks and whites, workers and socialists, voicing their outrage over the Botha/Reagan axis. Spartacist spokesman Al Nelson concluded the SF demonstration, saying, "These men are waiting to die. If we cannot save their lives, then one day we will avenge them, when the working class takes power." ■

For International Labor Action Against Apartheid Rule!

Remarks by militant phone worker Manuel Delgadillo at Los Angeles protest against the apartheid lynchings, June 8.

"We are here today to stand shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters in South Africa who fight against the brutal racist apartheid system. The need of the hour is an organized united movement of solidarity on a national and international scale. Workers everywhere must raise their voices in a mighty protest against the lynching of Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung. It is the working class, here and abroad, blacks and Chicanos, who are the allies of the anti-apartheid fighters. Black labor is the Achilles heel of apartheid. The five million black workers have the social power the white rulers cannot suppress purely and simply through police-state terror. That is why the apartheid butchers do everything in their power to struggle against the black workers of South Africa. That is why the masses of black workers remain unorganized. That is why organizers like Neil Aggett are systematically rooted out and murdered. Aggett was found hanged in his cell while under police custody. The labor contract system is at the heart of the apartheid



WV Photo

regime's reign of terror. Black citizens in their own country are forbidden to live with their families, forbidden to leave prison-like compounds. The revolutionary victory of the powerful black working class of South Africa will bring the torturers and hangmen of apartheid to justice."

Mandel...

(continued from page 2)

indefinite future, we have written that the near-bloodless suppression of *Solidarność* bid for power has created an opportunity to break a section of the Polish working class from the current infatuation with Wojtyla's Vatican and Reagan's "free world." Thus we have insisted that now is a critical moment to create in Poland underground Trotskyist cells of an educational and propagandistic nature.

As to Mandel's "workers united front" with NATO, Trotskyists do not make united fronts against the Stalinist bureaucracy with anti-Soviet social democrats whose purpose is to whip up Cold War hysteria. This was clearly explained by the then-revolutionary SWP of James Cannon when the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was crushed by the Soviet army. At that time the social-democratic Reuther regime in the United Auto Workers launched a "solidarity" campaign, demanding among other things that Washington initiate "a United Nations International Police Force to move in and resist aggression in such cases as that of Hungary." The SWP not only refused to support Reuther's campaign but sharply denounced it:

"...it isn't any principle of international working class solidarity that motivates Reuther and Meany's stand on Hungary. Their 'internationalism' appears on the scene only when it meets with the approval of the U.S. State Department and is always in tune with Big Business foreign policy promoted by the U.S. government.

"Indeed, Reuther went Secretary of State Dulles one better by proposing, Nov. 13, that the U.S. initiate a permanent UN army to intervene in Hungary. The aim of such intervention would inevitably be the restoration of capitalism in Hungary, something that is diametrically opposed to what the workers are fighting for."

—Militant, 24 December 1956

Today Mandel is striving for a united front with NATO social democracy in support of counterrevolution in Poland. But back in the mid-1950s, when East Europe was actually pregnant with proletarian political revolution, Mandel and his then party boss Michel Pablo

were leading advocates of Stalinist self-reform! In a resolution by the Pablo-Mandel International Secretariat of the Fourth International on the 17 June 1953 East German workers uprising, these liquidators called for "real democratization of the Communist Parties"—i.e., the governing Stalinist bureaucracy—and assured workers that "they [the Stalinists] have been obliged to continue along the road of still more ample and genuine concessions.... From now on they will not be able to stop halfway" (quoted in "Towards a History of the Fourth International," Part 4, Volume 3, [SWP] *Education for Socialists Bulletin*, March 1974). Moreover, in contrast to the then-Trotskyist American SWP, the Pablo-Mandel IS pointedly *refused* to call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops which put down the June 17 revolt. This conciliation of Stalinism, denying the need for an independent Trotskyist leadership, was a major factor in the destruction of the Fourth International by Pabloist liquidationism.

Likewise, in 1956 Pablo/Mandel hailed Gomulka's accession to power as a political revolution against Stalinism and *favorably contrasted* Gomulka's Poland to the *actual* political revolution in Hungary:

"In Poland, thanks to the leadership role which the workers party was able to play, taken over, transmuted by the Gomulka tendency, itself an expression, albeit deformed, of the true tendency of the masses, yet a centrist tendency nonetheless evolving to the left—the political revolution of the masses against the bureaucratic regime was able to do without wandering in uncertainty and confusion and avoiding the dangers inherent in such a situation....

"In Hungary, the absence of any centralized and however minimally clear leadership provoked, in contrast, after a certain point, exactly these shortcomings and dangers...."

—*Quatrième Internationale*, December 1956

In reality, Gomulka's accession to power *prevented* a political revolution and set into motion a chain of developments which led eventually to the counterrevolutionary eruption around *Solidarność*. By glorifying the Gomulka regime as the overthrow of Stalinism, Pablo/Mandel helped discredit Trot-

skyism in Poland and so strengthened the forces of clerical-nationalist reaction as the only perceived alternative to Stalinist rule. ■

Stan Gow...

(continued from page 3)

destruction of this blood-drenched Salvadoran army that has murdered 50,000 men, women and children since 1979. Reagan, determined to rescue his butchers, is making a hard push for a massive escalation of military and economic support to the junta. That's why on Sunday Defense Secretary Weinberger talked about sending more U.S. "advisers" to El Salvador. Despite all their rhetoric about "conditions" Reagan's getting most of what he wants from the Democrats.

Our brothers and sisters in El Salvador urgently need help from the American labor movement. Reagan's war in El Salvador must be stopped by labor action. Only the labor movement has that kind of power. This was the basis of our call for a 24-hour West Coast port shutdown.

The officers' purge trial was conducted not just to get Stan Gow, but to serve as a warning to the ILWU membership. To the hundreds of longshoremen who voted for Stan's anti-capitalist program in the last election, to the 42 ILWU members who signed his call for a coastwide port shutdown, and

to anyone else who wants the union to fight the bosses, the officers' message is, "Shut up or else!"

From Jimmy Herman on down, the ILWU officers are acting as the political cops for Reagan and the Democrats. They are demonstrating that they will do everything they can to stop the union from taking concrete action to stop Reagan's war in El Salvador, to stop the execution of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, or on anything else.

El Salvador is in the front lines of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Herman & Co. support the anti-Soviet war drive and have no answers to the massive attacks on the unions and minorities in this country. They support the Democrats who support Reagan. To help Reagan pay for the Moscow-bound missiles, the imperialist-bribed American trade union bureaucracy does everything in its power to prevent social struggle. That's why they are after Stan Gow. The officers' message is: no strikes/no struggle against the social cuts, givebacks and union busting; and no labor action to stop the rise of Klan and Nazi terror.

Brothers and sisters, it is up to you. You must not let the Local 10 officers tie your hands from fighting the bosses' austerity drive. If you want this union to get off its knees come to the Thursday union meeting and vote *against* the trial committee's verdict! Stop the witch-hunt! Defend Stan Gow! For Labor Action to Stop Reagan's War Drive in El Salvador! ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League

DEMONSTRATE!

For Labor Action to Stop the INS Ralds!
No Deportations!

No to the Racist Simpson-Mazzoli Bill!
Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Born Workers
and Their Families!

Asylum for Refugees from Salvadoran Junta Terror!

Federal
Building Plaza
Jackson and Dearborn

Friday, June 17, 4:30 p.m.
CHICAGO

For more
information:
(312) 427-0003

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Sue Dangerous Cult

Moonie Libel That Kills

We reprint below the statement of the Spartacist League Central Committee and the Spartacus Youth League National Committee on the SL/SYL libel suit against the Moonies' Washington Times.

* * * * *

Today, a libel lawsuit was filed by the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) in Superior Court of the District of Columbia against News World Communications, Inc., the publishing arm of Sun Myung Moon which owns and operates the *Washington Times*. The Moonies, a purportedly religious, but highly dangerous anti-Communist cult, have targeted the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League because the SL/SYL, Marxist political organizations, were the initiators and principal organizers of the successful Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27.

On November 30, 1982, this *Washington Times* published a feature article about November 27 with the headline: "Left-Wing Group Linked to D.C. Riot." This article viciously accuses the Spartacists of "provoking violence" against the police. This dangerously false article smears the Spartacist League as a violent, criminal, paramilitary, terrorist organization whose members wear "blue, black or red berets according to their rank." Spinning a web of grotesque fabrications out of whole cloth this libelous article accuses the Spartacists of handing out rocks and "heavy metal bolts" to "even children" to throw at the police, while refusing to hand out political posters to non-members.

The Moonie libel falsely brands the SL/SYL as would-be cop killers, to set us up for police harassment and violence, right-wing attack, and stepped-up secret police surveillance/disruption/provocation. The Moonies target us as outlaws who should be dealt with militarily and who can be denied the democratic rights of free speech and

political association. In short, we are being set up to be shot first and questioned later.

We are forced to bring this suit because these are libels that kill. The Moonies' vicious slanders are aimed at setting us up for the same kind of campaign of government slander, provocation and ultimately murder that

destroyed the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Especially now when the government's new FBI domestic security/terrorism "guidelines" promise increased infiltration and witchhunting of "violent" and "terrorist" groups, we must fight the Moonie libel. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can, with impunity, be blown away

in the dead of night.

The Moonies have more than the SL/SYL in their sights. Their libel goes after all those who endorsed and participated in the massive protest of 5,000 which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27. They want to destroy the leadership and discredit the strategy

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**"We stopped the Klan!"
Now the Moonies want to stop us.**



WV Photo

Washington, D.C., November 27: Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK.

We reprint below the text of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League legal complaint filed 14 June 1983 in Superior Court, District of Columbia.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
SPARTACIST LEAGUE and
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,
Plaintiffs,
against
NEWS WORLD COMMUNICATIONS, INC. and ISIAH J. POOLE,
Defendants.

COMPLAINT FOR DAMAGES
IN THE AMOUNT OF
NOT LESS THAN \$20,005,000

Spartacist Legal Complaint

Plaintiffs, the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, by their attorneys, TIGAR & BUFFONE, COHN, GLICKSTEIN, LURIE, OSTRIN, LUBELL & LUBELL and RACHEL H. WOLKENSTEIN, for their complaint, allege as follows:

NATURE OF ACTION

1. This is an action in damages for defamation concerning statements published in the newspaper *The Washington Times* on November 30, 1982, regarding anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrations held in Washington, D.C., on

November 27, 1982. Plaintiffs are the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, which are Marxist political organizations and were initiators and principal organizers of an anti-Ku Klux Klan rally. *The Washington Times* is a new newspaper, published daily (except on weekends), that is owned and/or controlled by members or followers of the purportedly religious cult of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon and is strongly anti-Marxist and anti-socialist in its political outlook. The statements at issue herein falsely accused the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE and members thereof, and, by implication, the

SPARTACIST LEAGUE, and members thereof, of provoking violence against police and rioting at the anti-Klan demonstration, and of being violent, criminal, para-military and insular organizations.

PARTIES

2. Plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE (the "SL") and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE (the "SYL") are unincorporated national membership associations, with principal offices in New York, New York. The SL and the SYL are Marxist political organizations. The SYL is the youth section of the SL. The SL has been politically active in the United States for almost twenty years and regularly

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