

Abolish Racist Death Penalty!



Bob Adelman

Speedup on Death Row

"Black Friday on Death Row" headlined the *New York Post*—three men murdered by legal writ in one day last August. "Louisiana Leads U.S. in a Surge of Executions" reported the *New York Times*—almost one a week during June and July. "As legal barriers fall, death sentences rise"—25 dead in only four months, already more executions than any year since capital punishment was restored after a brief respite a decade ago. Last April's Supreme Court ruling sanctioning open Jim Crow on death row has opened the sluice gates wider than ever for a "legal" racist bloodbath. The executioners are working overtime.

The speedup on death row not only continues but accelerates. The April decision in the McCleskey case is widely seen as putting an end to broad-based legal challenges to capital punishment. The death row population has topped 1,900—a record high. Nearly 200 are in California, which is now preparing for a wave of executions for the first time in 20 years, having recently dumped Chief Justice Rose Bird and two other liberal opponents of the death sentence from the State Supreme Court.

This ruling class doesn't just wade through blood; they wallow in it. Reagan gets off on his contra killers and rapists in Nicaragua; he salutes SS killers at



Jackson/Times-Picayune

Louisiana electric chair claimed a victim every week last June and July.

Bitburg. Washington tried to censor teaching about the Holocaust, insisting "the Nazi point of view" be presented. They want to see more men strapped to the chair, swung from the noose, locked

in the gas chamber or shot up with lethal injections. And they want the whole population to watch. Texas attorney general Jim Mattox wants executions televised to give the public "an under-

standing of what takes place." They long for the "good ole days" when "uppity" slaves were hung, drawn and quartered and their remains displayed publicly as a warning.

To top it off, the Reaganites tried to add Robert Bork to the "supreme" gang of butchers in black robes. Bork is a hanging judge if ever there was one. But one question that none of Bork's liberal and Democratic opponents seemingly considered raising in all the reams of Congressional testimony is his stand on the death penalty. Court-ordered racist murder is as bipartisan as flag-waving and Russia-baiting. They're rolling back progressive social legislation from equal rights to abortion. They want to steam open your mail, peer through your bedroom window, tell you who to screw, what to read, what to think. And blacks and minorities, as always, are in the cross hairs. That is the meaning of the hideous massacre of Philly MOVE, of the massive number of "extralegal" police executions on the streets, of the climate of racist terror which encourages the lynch mobs from Forsyth County to Howard Beach.

Reagan/Rehnquist/Meece want a population infused with terror, prepared to leap into the abyss of a thermonuclear holocaust on orders
continued on page 12

Shredded Bork

It's "legacy time" for the Reagan administration, so on top of everything else, they want to stick us with the racist pig Robert Bork on the Supreme Court.

Reagan is going for broke, hoping to get Senate Democrats to cry uncle. He's been trying the same "strategy" against the Sandinistas and the Soviets for years—with notable lack of success. But the Dems really are wimps. They weren't even going to block Bork until it became clear there was a groundswell of opposition from their constituencies. Anti-Bork demos hit the

campuses from Cal Berkeley to Cornell. Blacks, women, gays, unions started mobilizing heavily to beat Bork.

So Bork looks like he's gone through the White House basement shredder, and Reagan looks, again, like a jackass. "Over my dead body," insisted Reagan when asked if his nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court would fail in committee. Whatever the state of Reagan's body, his administration has clearly been brain-dead for a fair while. A day

continued on page 13



Kevin Gilbert

Two right-wing nuts going down the tubes.


Third Camp Over the Rainbow, Again "Sheilagate"

A spectre is haunting the American social-democratic group "Solidarity"—the scandal of "Sheilagate." In April, prominent Solidarity supporter Sheila Jordan was elected to the Oakland, California school board as a Democrat. Hardly a surprise to us, but this story is causing some people acute embarrassment.

In case you're not up on the couplings and uncouplings in the Trotskyoid milieu, Solidarity is a lash-up of sundry Shachtmanite "Third Camp socialists" plus some supporters of Ernest Mandel's dis-"United Secretariat of the Fourth International." They named themselves after the Polish pope's company union for the CIA and bankers as a sort of political neon sign flashing, "We hate Russia, we hate Russia."

Of course, the group's founding "Principles of Solidarity" state: "The capitalist parties, especially the Republican and Democratic parties, are fundamentally anti-working class, racist and sexist. We oppose any form of participation in or support for these parties." But what's a "principle" or two when a seat on the school board is at stake?

Sheila's sordid little saga began when she went down to the registrar of voters last February to change her official affiliation to Democratic Party. Previ-



☒ Democratic Party

Brux N.Y.

7 Political Party - Partido Político (check one) (Indique uno)
☐ American Independent Party
☒ Democratic Party
☐ Libertarian Party
☐ Peace and Freedom Party
☐ Republican Party
☐ Decline to State - Si niego a declarar
☐ Other - Otro (Specify) (Especifique)

9 Telephone (Optional) Telefono (Optional)
 Area Code ()

10 I prefer election materials in (Check one) (Indique uno)
☒ English ☐ Español

OFFICE USE
 FEB 05 1987

WARNING
 Perjury is punishable by imprisonment in state prison for two, three or four years §126 Penal Code
 encarcelamiento en la prisión del estado por dos, tres, o cuatro años §126 Código Penal

12 Signature - Firma
 13 Signature of person assisting (if any) Firma de la persona que le ayuda (si hay alguien)

Date - Fecha
 2/4/87

01 H 122271

Sheila Jordan's party registration form dated February 4: Democratic Party.

ously she was registered as Peace and Freedom Party, California's 1960s middle-class protest party, long a tiny sandbox for tired leftists.

Reportedly Jordan's campaign strategists advised her to keep her election material to the usual unctuous "Vote Me" pabulum, eschewing anything more "political" than "shifting" funds. This is even more trivial than Sylvia Weinstein of the Mandelite Socialist Action who ran for school board in San Francisco on the Crisco-instead-of-guns slogan: "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need, and the Navy has to hold a hake sale to buy a ship."

The Oakland Tribune (8 April) reported that Jordan had "received the lion's share of endorsements from

elected officials at the outset of the race." Among her moneybags were the Montclair Democratic Club and Republican city council member Dick Spees, vice president of Kaiser Aluminum, whose campaign committee donated \$500 (Sheilagate is a bipartisan affair.) The Oakland-based Clorox corporation kicked in another \$500.

Kaiser and Clorox, for decades Oakland's dominant corporations, have been on an anti-union offensive, shutting plants to kill union jobs. Kaiser defeated a 1985 ILWU warehousemen's strike, viciously slashing wages and benefits. All Clorox's bleach can't wipe out the stain of Solidarity's brand of sewer socialism.

Jordan won with 59 percent of the vote—a thrilling leap into the "big time" for the small-time reformists, to be sure. Unfaithful even to her newfound Democratic cohorts, Jordan re-registered again after getting elected, changing her affiliation to "decline to state."

The reptilian sensibilities of the creatures that lurk in the anti-Soviet cesspool are vibrating over their dirty little secret of Sheilagate. Even longtime denizen of the "Third Camp" swamp, the wizened gnome Sy Landy, is said to be worried about W/V breaking the scandal. Supporters of Mandel's frayed "United Secretariat" are said to have raised the affair in order to cut the number of USec affiliates in the U.S. from 3-1/2 to 3 (SWP, FIT and SA).

Jordan's companion Larry Cooperman, a supporter of the Fourth Internationalist Caucus (the Mandelite grouping in Solidarity), was reportedly up to his eyeballs in her campaign as a Democrat. And he just wrote a smarmy

article in the California Teachers Association October CTA Aeon rapturously describing his girlfriend as a "dream candidate." For this shameless betrayal, Cooperman suffered the ultimate penalty. The firing squad? No, he was reportedly reduced from full member to last alternate on Solidarity's leading body.

Solidarity wants to claim that "Sheilagate" was an isolated incident, a personal aberration. But at its Chicago confab where Sheilagate was such a bombshell, there was a big debate over supporting Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. A number of members want to support Jackson if only he would nominally separate from the Democrats. This is exactly the line of other denizens of the fake-Trotskyist swamp like the Morenoites and Jack Barnes' weird SWP, sometimes. Sheila just got on a souped-up skateboard to go where the rest of this bunch are heading.

Since for all these groups the sum total of their "strategy" is to seek to build "mass movements" of the sort that have always been politically dominated by the Democrats (e.g., the Vietnam era peace crawls), the posture of electoral independence from the Democrats is actually a somewhat illogical and for them sectarian shibboleth. Logically, they might as well join the Democratic Party outright like so many other respectable "socialists" from Michael Harrington to Peter Camejo.

Sheilagate is far from the first time that the mask has fused with the face. So after many years of pinning the "left" tail on the Democratic donkey, Sheila Jordan one day looks in the mirror and discovers she's grown long ears and big teeth. ■



TROTSKY

Abolish the Death Penalty!

Over a century ago Karl Marx attacked the London Times for upholding capital punishment as necessary for the defense of "civilization," i.e., capitalism. Communists, from Marx to Lenin to Trotsky, have opposed primitive retribution and sought to transform the social conditions which produce crime. Today, with bourgeois society in its death agony, the public executioner comes to the fore as the instrument of capitalist "law and order."



LENIN

...it would be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to establish any principle upon which the justice or expediency of capital punishment could be founded, in a society glorying in its civilization. Punishment in general has been defended as a means either of ameliorating or of intimidating. Now what right have you to punish me for the amelioration or intimidation of others? And besides, there is history—there is such a thing as statistics—which prove with the most complete evidence that since Cain the world has neither been intimidated nor ameliorated by punishment....

Plainly speaking, and dispensing with all paraphrases, punishment is nothing but a means of society to defend itself against the infraction of its vital conditions, whatever may be their character. Now, what a state of society is that, which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims through the "leading journal of the world" its own brutality as eternal law?

—Karl Marx, "Capital Punishment" (January 1853)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co. 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone 732-7862 (Editorial) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

No. 438

16 October 1987

Spartacist Events

Defend the Soviet Union
Through World Revolution!
Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

NEW YORK
Thursday, Oct. 15
7:30 p.m.

306A Barnard Hall
Barnard College

For more information
(212) 267-1025

AMHERST
Monday, Oct. 19
7:30 p.m.

(Room to be
announced)
UMass Amherst

For more information (617) 492-3928

BOSTON
Tuesday, Oct. 20
7:30 p.m.

(Room to be
announced)
Harvard University

Speaker Marjorie Stenberg, Spartacist League Central Committee
Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor, 1985

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

NFL Strikers Gotta Play Hardball to Win

Gene Upshaw, executive director of the striking NFL players, captured the enormous popularity of the current football strike when he said: "We all understand this is a fight about the working man in this country. If we fail, we drag them with us." Since Reagan smashed PATCO six years ago, as the labor tops stood by and allowed the 13,000 air controllers to be wiped out without a battle, working people have been itching for a chance to strike back at the contra-in-chief for the years of grinding Reagan reactinn And the very visihle strike of 1,600 National Football League athletes, 55 percent of whom are black, against the arrogant, greedy owners has captured their imagination.

Usually when there's a sports strike, the bosses' newspapers and TV feel free to take a vicious hard line against "overpaid" strikers, claiming sympathy for the poor working stiff denied his Sunday afternoon entertainment. But this time around the sports pages routinely label the scabs as just that, and deride the fake games. Unionists have showed up in the thousands to beef up the players' picket lines. A decade of givebacks, union-busting, bigotry and naked racist terror against labor, blacks, immigrants and just about anyone who doesn't "belong" in Reagan's America, has created a wealth of pent-up anger against America's rulers.

When the first scab games were played on October 4, in Washington, D.C. over 2,000 unionists showed up to join the Redskins' picket line—postal workers, Machinists, Teamsters, miners, stagehands, even a busload of Steelworkers from Newport News, Virginia—chanting "Scabs go home," and "We've got the real 'Skins, you've got the scabs." Workers snapped up hundreds of the *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," and many had them autographed by the strikers. But the AFL-CIO International bureaucrats there had no intention of stopping the game. Scab NBC television technicians got a lot of heat—they should have been given a real education about crossing picket lines.

In Philadelphia workers almost shut down the scab Eagles game—80 tractor-trailers carrying "Teamsters Don't Like Scabs" signs, and 3,000 unionists from 100 local unions, ringed Veterans Stadium.

Long before the NFL Players Association (NFLPA) struck on September 22, two weeks into the season, the owners were preparing to break the union.



Widespread union support for football players strike (clockwise from above): contingent of tobacco workers at Atlanta rally; TWA flight attendant in New Jersey; 2,000 unionists rally in Washington, D.C.; Redskins' linebacker Mel Kautman with WV "Hardball" supplement.



WV Photo



WV Photo

Sitting atop a \$500 million TV contract, and millions more in ticket revenues and concessions, the football barons began to hire scabs weeks before the strike began. Above all they want to maintain their literal ownership of the players: of 3,200 "free" agents in the last ten years, exactly one has been allowed to change teams. And to this involuntary servitude the owners want to add random, mandatory drug testing. It's their contribution to the "moral majority"—good "clean" sports heroes for the Reagan/Mcse gang to use as "role models" for the regimentation of American youth on the road to war. (Of course when the owners pump the players full of steroids and painkillers that's for the "good of the sport.")

The players are demanding an end to the compensation clause and real free agency after four years. This is hardly a radical demand given that the average player is injured or out of the sport in four and a half years (after playing for free for four years in the racket called "amateur" college football, where the networks rake in the cash and most players never get even a college degree). The players union gave up genuine free agency, won after a court ruled the NFL was an illegal monopoly, in exchange for a dues checkoff and the union shop

in 1977. Owners like Leon Hess of the New York Jets want to treat the players like the black workers at his oil refinery in St. Croix, who were locked out by Hess in a bitter yearlong struggle in 1984.

A black former player pointed to the reason for the owners' hatred of the union: "It's all part of that plantation mentality. You can see it in the caricatures of strikers in the cartoons. They're all black figurines and stick figures" (*Daily News*, 1 October). Sports in America is big business—and racist. From the onset of the strike, management has appealed to white players against the black leadership of the union. Gene Upshaw nailed the owners: "When all else fails, that's the next avenue that they'll take, to try and divide us along the lines of black vs. white." The handful of black athletes who "make it" in professional sports are supposed to be "cattle" for capitalist entertainment, not stand up for black rights or lead strikes.

Sports commentator Howard Cosell captured the racism inherent in American sports when he came down hard against the scabs:

"Moral bankruptcy is never pretty. I find it particularly distasteful when it's clad in shoulder pads and wearing a jersey that has scab written above its number."

"And perhaps I find it a particularly unattractive sight because I remember one young athlete who refused to take a step forward and be inducted into the Army. His name was Muhammad Ali. In so refusing to join the Army, which was against his religious beliefs, he was stripped of his right to fight, and he lost the best years of his career and his life fighting for his rights. He didn't even have a union to back him. He stood alone... "You could all learn a lesson from the courage of Muhammad Ali. "Instead you chose to line up with those who are called scabs. Rivers of blood and years of violence have been spilled so that Americans have the right to unionize and strike. You're one sorry bunch of men."

—*Daily News*, 27 September

As the players strike enters its fourth week, and the owners and networks hold the second "Scab Sunday," unionists across the country want to see a labor victory. There should be mass picket lines ringing every stadium, lines that choke off the scab games and teach the football barons a lesson in the power of labor. And next time St. Croix oil workers fight Hess, or Mayor Goode's cops lay siege to blacks in Philly, maybe some of the NFL strikers will remember who came to their aid. Victory to the players strike! ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
Address _____
Phone () _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____ 438

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

- ☐ \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
☐ New ☐ Renewal
- ☐ \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist*, edición en español
- ☐ \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- ☐ \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

Make payable/mell to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

Week Five of Six

Local	Quota (in points)	Week Five	%
Atlanta	160	200%	125
Boston	300	385%	129
Chicago	500	531	106
Cleveland	200	270	135
Los Angeles	150	230	153
New York	1,100	1,419	129
Oakland	700	1,023	146
San Francisco	320	532%	166
Washington, D.C.	150	178	119
National Total	3,580	4,769%	133



WV Photo

Picket Lines at Cornell

ITHACA, New York—Mass picket lines of striking maintenance and dining hall workers represented by UAW Local 2300 went up on October 7 and surrounded Cornell University in a determined fight to wrest a wage increase from this filthy rich Ivy League institution.

Strikers, sympathetic students, faculty and area unionists picked up the Spartacus Youth Club's chant, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" and blockaded the main entrance to Willard Straight (a main cafeteria and student center on campus) three days running. Some \$100 million in construction projects at Cornell ground to a halt as unionists honored UAW pickets. Teamsters dumped deliveries outside campus, and over 30 professors and teaching assistants canceled their classes or moved them off campus.

Like his ancestor, the racist colonial tyrant Cecil Rhodes, Cornell president Frank Rhodes has lorded it over "his" workers, over 200 of whom scratch out an existence below the federal poverty level. But on October 10, after surveying empty dining halls and buildings choked with garbage, and fearing the strike could spread to the 1,800 non-union clerical workers (several of whom walked and respected the UAW's lines), the administration backed down and offered a 10 percent wage increase for the lowest-paid workers.

The union ended the strike and accepted this agreement. Many workers walked out in anger over the settlement and say they're prepared to "play hardball" when contract negotiations reopen in February. A sop to the most militant workers was the promise that

state assemblyman Barharo would hold hearings on their plight. Beware of slick-talking Democrats! Barharo's real record includes voting against busing for school integration, giving New York

of the seahhy International Socialist Organization (ISO) on the grounds that this was "too much" to demand from students. As the SYC stated in a leaflet issued on the picket lines, "With friends

We have a steelworker in Llanwrn who crosses picket lines...." Since they trip over the class line on picket lines, it's no wonder they seah on the Soviet Union as well, calling the USSR "state capitalist" and refusing to defend the gains of the October Revolution against imperialism.

Students got an education on the picket line and in just a few days of hard struggle against seahs and the scabberding cops, many were won to the side of the workers and the SYC's principled stand. Even the campus paper con-

Student strike supporters join campus workers in mass blockade of Willard Straight Hall, October 7.



City's fat-cat hankers veto power over municipal union contracts and voting against a bill to increase welfare payments.

The Spartacus Youth Club earned the respect of union militants for helping to man picket lines and fighting to shut down all university business, including classes, in a solid campus-wide strike. At a meeting called to organize student strike support, the SYC put forward a motion calling for a boycott of classes. The motion was defeated with the help

like this, who needs seahs?"

The ISO ought to be called the "International Scabbing Organization." In August 1984, during the hard-fought British miners strike, their mentor Tony Cliff bragged to a London meeting about the number of his supporters who scabbed on the coal strike: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines.

cluded at the strike's end, "If the administration refuses to negotiate in good faith on the UAW's 1988 contract, there should be no question about what will happen. Students and faculty members should make it clear now that they will not come to work either, and that Cornell will be shut down" (*Cornell Daily Sun*, 12 October). We fight to win students to the side of the workingclass, to build a party that will lead all of the oppressed to victory against this racist, capitalist system. Join us! ■

Government Targets Longshore Union

Defend the ILA!

In an attack on the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the Federal Maritime Commission has struck down a provision of the union contract which gives the ILA jurisdiction over container work within 50 miles of union ports. As in their vendetta against the Teamsters, Reagan and the Democrats have the powerful and strategic ILA in their sights—they hate this beachhead of black and white union power in the Jim Crow South. Longshore unions on both coasts are the target of a massive assault on wages and union jurisdiction.

The "50 mile rule" was part of a deal with the shippers (along with "pay guarantees" and royalties) which the union made in exchange for the massive job cuts accompanying the introduction of containers and automation in the Atlantic and Gulf ports. It only saved a fraction of the jobs slashed, but has been repeatedly challenged by the capitalist labor boards and courts. Union jurisdiction over stripping and stuffing of containers was a focus of Georgia Senator Sam Nunn's 1981 Senate hearings on waterfront "corruption." From Robert Kennedy's "Get Hoffa" campaign to

the Reagan/Meese RICO witchhunt against labor, the hosses' government uses the cover of "mob influence" in order to break union power.

This latest assault on the ILA follows the 1986 contract, the first longshore agreement to break coastwise wage parity and institute a two-tier wage scale. Far from saving jobs, under the givehack contract the hosses' union-husting offensive has gained steam. In the Gulf, seah operations from Houston to Mobile pose a deadly threat to the ILA. The giant Crowley Maritime has shifted operations of its Coordinated Caribbean Transportation subsidiary in New Orleans and Miami to non-union ports in Lake Charles, Louisiana and Port

Everglades, Florida.

What's needed is a joint fight by all waterfront/transport unions to smash these seah operations, organize the unorganized, and fight for jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This means taking on the government's Taft-Hartley injunctions against hot cargoing and transport strikes. It means eliminating the remaining segregated locals. In the South, the ILA can be a powerful weapon against the race terrorists and anti-union thugs of the Klan/Nazis. Key to unleashing the power of labor is forging a class-struggle leadership that fights to break the labor movement from the twin capitalist parties and build an integrated workers party. ■

Shut Down Ports to Beat Union-Buster Crowley!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 13—After eight months, Crowley Maritime is threatening to hire seahs to replace hundreds of striking members of the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU) if they haven't returned to work by October 15. This assault on a division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union comes only a month after the Herman/Rubio leadership of the ILWU rammed through its rotten multi-tier givehack contract in a revolt

Waterfront unity is needed now to defend the IBU! But Herman wants the strikers to crawl back without a contract, and even paper motions passed by ILWU Locals 10 and 34 executive boards for an October 13 one-day Bay Area port shutdown were deep-sixed by the union tops with the acquiescence of the fake "militants." This strike could have been won a long time ago. Stop the seahing with mass picket lines that nobody crosses! For a coastwise waterfront/maritime strike!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Atlanta
Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston
Box 840, Central Sta
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland
Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

Detroit
Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Ithaca
Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

Los Angeles
Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

New York
Box 444, Canal St. Sta
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland
Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Save South African Black Unionist!

Free Moses Mayekiso!

The following article was adapted from *Workers Hammer*, monthly newspaper of the *Spartacist League of Britain*, No. 92, October 1987.

Charged with high treason, subversion and sedition, Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the newly formed National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), is scheduled to go on trial October 19. Four others are up on the same charges stemming from their political activism in the black township of Alexandra north of Johannesburg: Mayekiso's younger brother Mzwanele Mayekiso, Paul Tshabalala, Richard Mdakane and Obed Kopeng

township have made him a prime target of the vicious apartheid police state at whose hands he has suffered both imprisonment and torture. He was detained in 1984 following the mass strike by Witwatersrand miners and released a month later after action by South African unionists. He was arrested and released twice more in 1985. In early 1986, the cops raided and ransacked his home, dragging him off to the notorious John Vorster Square detention center once again. MAWU members went on strike to obtain his release and then elected him general secretary of the union.

The vindictive repression of the

recent merger conference Mayekiso's union NUMSA took a contradictory position: restating that it is committed to building socialism while adopting the ANC's Freedom Charter, which envisions a "democratic" capitalist South Africa, as the "first stage" of liberation of the South African masses.

Now, with the heroic black proletariat on center stage in the battle against apartheid slavery, the death sentence hanging over Mayekiso is a frontal assault by Botha & Co. against the whole of the black trade-union movement. It is the elementary and urgent duty of every enemy of the vicious racist regime to rally in defense of Mayekiso, regardless of political, programmatic differences on the course of the anti-apartheid struggle. The stakes in this case are very high.

For International Class-Struggle Defense!

The fight for the freedom of Moses Mayekiso can become a powerful international defense effort, backed up by the muscle of organized labor. But the case has precipitated some bitter wrangling in the British left and workers movement. The *London Observer* (13 September) published a garbled report that the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), backed by leaders of the African National Congress in London, was opposing the campaign to free Mayekiso on the grounds that it was based on "a personality cult" and "is run by Trotskyists." The newspaper printed a retraction of this claim on September 20, but did not retract its report that "The general secretary of the white-collar union NALGO, Mr John Daly, has written to all branches to tell them that the campaign is 'contrary to Nalگو policy'."

NALGO confirmed to *Workers Hammer* that it distributed a circular discouraging its branches from endorsing the Friends of Moses Mayekiso petition, whose organizers prominently include Tony Cliff's "state capitalist" Socialist Workers Party (SWP). NALGO's purported grounds were that the campaign did not consult with "recognised bodies" such as the ANC and the national AAM, and that Mayekiso was singled out "in personality cult fashion!" Reportedly, at a meeting in August called by the Hammersmith Trades Council and the local Anti-Apartheid group, there was an attempt to tear down a banner jointly showing Nelson Mandela and Moses Mayekiso. And recently, the SWP refused to participate in a "Free Mayekiso" rally October 10, saying it would "weaken" an upcoming pro-sanctions march in London.

Nonetheless, a number of NALGO branches did add their names to the petition demanding Mayekiso's immediate and unconditional release, and the national AAM has printed brief articles defending Mayekiso in its newsletter. Beyond the squalid infighting around Mayekiso's case, the AAM, British trade-union tops and various fake-lefts share a common program of pressuring the racist, imperialist British ruling class into enforcing sanctions against South Africa. At a recent National Union of Mineworkers-AAM conference in Sheffield, the Mayekiso case was buried while NUM leader Arthur Scargill spoke under the banner, "Ban South African coal now." This protectionist call channels anti-racist sentiment into a scheme whose main impact would be to



Socialist Organizer
Metal workers union leader Moses Mayekiso.

rob black South African miners of their jobs.

In the autumn of 1985, when the apartheid state prepared to execute ANC supporter Benjamin Molose, the Spartacist tendency in the U.S. and Britain initiated and participated in united-front mobilizations in an attempt to stop his execution. The PDC sent a telegram to key leaders of the U.S. longshore unions demanding: "Labor must immediately halt all South African shipping to stop the execution! Save Molose!" Presently, 19 top leaders of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front are standing trial on charges of treason; if convicted, they could be hanged. Another 32 courageous fighters against apartheid already convicted face execution, and hundreds of strikers charged during the recent miners strike await trial on various charges. *Free all victims of apartheid repression!*

It is urgent that the international workers movement be mobilized to demand freedom for Mayekiso and his four comrades now. South African miners have recently demonstrated anew their fighting mettle, while British miners who fought so heroically two years ago are again under Thatcher's guns. The solidarity and combativity of the working masses in South Africa, Britain and throughout the world must be linked together through a militant class-struggle defense campaign to liberate Moses Mayekiso and all anti-apartheid fighters from Botha's hangmen! Messages of support can be sent to: NUMSA (MAWU), AP Hing Building, 397 Kempston Road, Port Elizabeth 6001, South Africa. *An injury to one is an injury to all!* ■



Militant metal workers strike to free Mayekiso, March 1986.

Bagela. If convicted, these courageous fighters against apartheid face execution by Botha's murderous regime. Additionally, several dozen militants are already on death row in South Africa.

The fight to free Mayekiso and his comrades from Alexandra has struck a deep chord among British trade unionists. An advertisement by the Friends of Moses Mayekiso in the *London Guardian* (18 September) was endorsed by several top national union leaders and hundreds of locals from over 30 unions. We have called (*WV* No. 428, 15 May) for international workers mobilization to save these anti-apartheid fighters, and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has sent telegrams of support to South African metal and mine workers unions. What's needed now are militant labor actions on behalf of Mayekiso and all imprisoned unionists and anti-apartheid fighters—including mass mobilizations and strikes.

Moses Mayekiso is a member of the central executive committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Like countless others before him from the impoverished rural areas, as a young man Mayekiso left his "homeland" in the Transkei and became a migrant worker in the mines. He later went to work at Toyota where in 1978 he joined the fledgling Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). Targeted for his trade-union activities, he was fired in 1979. In 1980, as Transvaal secretary of MAWU he played a key role in building the metal workers union into one of the most powerful black trade unions in South Africa.

Mayekiso's effectiveness as a trade-union leader and his standing in his

Pretoria butchers extended to Maggie Thatcher's Britain; when Mayekiso visited there in 1986, he was detained at Heathrow airport for six hours during which he was strip-searched. Mayekiso was arrested in South Africa in June 1986 upon his return from a trip to Europe where he had been building international support for MAWU members engaged in a bitter dispute at the Sarmcol plant of the British Tyre & Rubber Co. When Mayekiso finally appeared in court in January of this year, 200 trade unionists including COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo and NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa picketed outside.

Mayekiso has been in detention since June 1986. But it was not until April that he was charged with treason for his political activities in Alexandra more than a year earlier where he had been elected chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee. The Committee had taken over running the township itself when the residents rose up in February 1986 and expelled police and government officials. Moses Mayekiso, his brother Mzwanele and the three others charged were all officials of the Action Committee. The charges laid against them by the apartheid police state are overtly political, including that Mayekiso and his comrades hold the view:

"... that the working class, including the unemployed, the youth and other members of the community, should be mobilised, organised and united against the capitalist system and the state."

—*Workers Press*, 26 September

Mayekiso, whose origins lie in the more "workerist" FOSATU union federation, has strongly held political convictions at times at variance with those of the African National Congress. At its

Women and Revolution No. 33 (24 pages)

Women and Revolution

Sex, Race and Class in the "American Century"

Free America's Class-War Prisoners!

International Women's Day 1987

\$ 50 single issue
\$2.00 4-issue subscription

Order from: Spartacist Publishing Co
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

For Revolutionary Reunification!

Divided Germany and Gorbachev's Glasnost

On September 11, Erich Honecker, the head of state of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), ended his state visit to West Germany. This was the first such visit in the 38 years of the DDR's existence—West Germany has never recognized it as a separate state. The Honecker trip once again highlighted the question of the *class division* of the two Germanys. The international Spartacist tendency and its German section, the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, have uniquely fought for the revolutionary reunification of Germany in a Socialist United States of Europe.

Recent events in both East and West Berlin, the divided front-line city of the Cold War, have underlined the centrality of the German question in European politics. Last June, some 3,000 to 4,000 East German youth gathered on the East Berlin side of the Brandenburg Gate in an attempt to hear music from a rock concert being held just across the Berlin Wall in the West. At one point they broke through East German police lines shouting, "The Wall must go!" but also "We want Gorbachev!"

Three days later Ronald Reagan's attempt to ignite a Cold War crusade against the Berlin Wall met ignominious failure. This was his first visit to West Germany since saluting the Nazi SS killer elite at Bitburg in 1985. West Berlin had to be put under police occupation so that he could safely make a provocative speech on the Western side of the Brandenburg Gate. The previous evening tens of thousands of West Berlin youth demonstrated against "Rambo



Oer Spiegel

Germany. Now, with the Reagan regime discredited, Gorbachev's renewed attempts at détente encourage the DDR bureaucracy (despite its distaste for Gorbachev's internal policy of *glasnost*) to relaunch its own policy of conciliating West German imperialism.

Triumphal over Honecker's visit, the East German Stalinist regime believes that there will be a positive, peaceful development of inter-German relations. However, West Germany remains the bridgehead for NATO's anti-Soviet

Berlin Wall. The Wall was a defensive measure, even if partial and bureaucratic, protecting the DDR's collectivized economy against imperialism, built in 1961 to prevent a massive hemorrhage of the East German skilled workforce to the West. Today, Honecker is nonetheless prepared to let some 1.2 million East German citizens below retirement age visit West Germany. Given superior East German social services for the elderly, pensioners have long been permitted to cross the border, since there is little risk they will remain in the West.

The DDR now ranks among the world's top ten industrial powers with a per capita income *higher* than France, Britain or Italy. As part of his visit, Honecker went back to his boyhood home in the Saar, a region ravaged by plant closures and a 15 percent unemployment rate. This is a striking indication that the DDR's collectivized planned economy—a historic gain for the proletariat—is closing the gap with the capitalist West. Honecker is in a position to relax border crossing restrictions since thousands of East German émigrés are returning disillusioned from the West, unable to find decent jobs or to integrate themselves into the "free world."

Nonetheless, an aide to CDU chancellor Helmut Kohl could declare that Honecker "was moving in what we regard as the right direction" because the West German bourgeoisie believes his détente moves will further their goal of economically penetrating the DDR. The fact that trade between the two Germanys has doubled in the past ten years can be an effective lever for pressure by the Frankfurt hankers. The CDU leaders, even the arch-reactionary Strauss, have taken up the *Ospolink* (eastern policy) of their Social Dem-



Gamma

East Berlin, June 8—Young rock music fans shouted "The Wall must go!" but they also sang the *Internationale* and chanted "We want Gorbachev!"

ocratic predecessors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, aiming to economically soften up the Soviet bloc for capitalist restoration. But ultimately any such attempt at capitalist restoration cannot be peaceful, and West Germany has one of the best-equipped armies in the world—not only *deutschmark* diplomacy—to further its revanchist aims.

Two Demonstrations in Divided Berlin

The class division between the two Germanys is expressed most sharply in Berlin. The mere existence of the West Berlin imperialist outpost in the middle of East German territory is a provocation in itself, and it is heavily subsidized in order to fulfill its role as a showcase of the "free world."

The June rock concerts organized by the West Berlin Senate as part of Berlin's 750th anniversary were thus not simply entertainment. They were held on the Reichstag grounds abutting the Wall and the loudspeakers were turned toward East Berlin. The performers, especially the Eurythmics (creators of the music for the anti-Communist horror film 1984) and David Bowie, also had a role to play. Bowie addressed himself particularly to East Berlin listeners.

Young East German rock fans carried radios to listen to the concerts and climbed up trees in Unter den Linden street (formerly Stalinallee and scene of the 1953 workers revolt) in a vain attempt to catch a glimpse of the bands. In their frustration, the youths began to shout, "The Wall must go!" Yet the attempt to provoke some kind of pro-capitalist political demonstration did not succeed. The protesters sang the *Internationale* and cries of "We want Gorbachev" were directed to the nearby Soviet embassy. The *New York Times*



Independent

East German Stalinist Erich Honecker (left) clinks glasses with West German imperialist chief Helmut Kohl.

Reagan" and encountered savage police repression.

Honecker Visits the Fourth Reich

The Honecker visit would have been impossible ten years ago, particularly under the auspices of the Christian Democratic Union. In 1984 a previous attempt was torpedoed by the ruling CDU and finally stopped by the Soviet Union, which disapproved of Honecker's mini-détente in the shadow of the U.S. Pershing missiles installed in West

rollback policies and maintains its goal of regaining the territories lost in World War II and restoring capitalist "order" in East Europe. For the industrialists of the Ruhr and hankers of Frankfurt, East Germany remains "Mitteldeutschland." Refusing to sign a treaty recognizing the postwar German-Polish border (the Oder-Neisse line), West German revanchism dreams of re-annexing parts of Poland and even subjugating the Soviet Union.

Honecker has long been reviled in West Germany as the architect of the

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

(10 June) was virtually alone in the international press in pretending that "the intent [in singing the *Internationale*] was apparently sarcastic."

East Berlin police remained calm and tried to avoid a confrontation, but when the youth began to break through the security line, tension escalated. Some protesters were beaten up and a few hundred were arrested. If the West German press made the most of this (at least insofar as its own reporters were manhandled), there was little more to exploit. The protesters were released the next day and no charges were brought against them.

The young rock fans, who had come from all over the DDR and apparently have no ties to the meager East German oppositional "peace movement," angrily labeled the policemen "cop pigs" and shouted "Kreuzberg." This reference to a cop riot the previous month against opponents of the West German census in the immigrant Kreuzberg quarter of West Berlin shows what East German youth really think of West German capitalist "democracy."

East German youth counterposed neither Reagan, Kohl nor Social Democrat Willy Brandt to Honecker. Instead, especially given the opposition of the DDR bureaucracy to *glasnost* (including censoring some of Gorbachev's speeches in the East German press), these youth look to the Soviet leader as a new hope for liberalization. The press reports an upsurge of interest in Soviet studies in the DDR as a result.

To listen to Western rock music as an escape from the bureaucratic drabness of life in a deformed workers state is hardly embracing capitalism. Even Western radio and TV, which West Germany intends to be a conduit for imperialist propaganda, can be a double-edged sword. The West German media are also a source of information about unemployment, racism, police brutality and fascist atrocities under capitalism. The fact that East Berlin youth identified with their counterparts in Kreuzberg led the liberal West German newspaper *Die Zeit* to question if youth fighting the police, even East German Vopos (*Volkspolizei*), were "freedom fighters."

Reagan—who polls show has less standing among the West German public than Gorbachev!—visited West Berlin a few days later intending to exploit the June 8 events in East Berlin to the hilt. He would respond to East German youth's "cry for freedom" by denouncing the Wall in the name of "democracy." The result was a fiasco as "free world" cop repression made the Vopos look like Boy Scouts.

Not only was the crowd assembled to watch Reagan's theatrics in front of Brandenburg Gate composed essentially of American soldiers, but only a few hundred looked on from the other side of the Wall. Reagan declaimed, "Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate!" from behind a double layer of bulletproof glass within a barbed-wire compound! The day before, U.S. embassy personnel had to whitewash embarrassing slogans like "Reagan go home!" and "Yankes out of Nicaragua!" from the Wall.

West Berlin was turned into a police



Reagan and Kohl salute Nazi SS war criminals at Bitburg, 1985.

fortress with 10,000 city cops mobilized and an additional 1,000 imported from West Germany. They completely sealed off Kreuzberg, and a police sweep lasted five hours. But the brutal beatings and mass arrests did not stop 50,000 youth from demonstrating against Reagan the day before his visit. West Berlin resembled a city under siege: the subway shut down; its main department store, the Kadewe ("Department Store of the West"), closed; sharpshooters stationed on roofs, helicopters hovering in the sky and the streets filled with police vans and armored cars.

The Berlin Wall and the Cold War

Although they did not associate themselves with Reagan's antics, Kohl and CDU West Berlin mayor Eberhard Diepgen are quite capable of screaming "Open up the Wall" themselves. In August 1986, under the eye of Reagan's ambassador, several hundred CDU youth were shipped to Berlin at government expense to hold an anti-Communist rally against the Wall. After the official CDU rally 200 fascist skinheads screaming "Hitler will be back" marched to the Wall and attempted to (unsuccessfully) provoke East German border guards to create an anti-Communist martyr. This year the sinister Moon sect attempted to repeat this demonstration with little success, and moreover ran into some West Berlin leftists.

Last year's anti-Communist campaign in West Germany around the 25th anniversary of the building of the Berlin Wall intersected the demagogic racist outcry over the so-called *Überfremdung* (invasion of foreigners)—that is, the racist terror campaign against Third World immigrant workers and refugees. German imperialism simultaneously demands that the Wall become more "permeable" for East Germans and that it be made watertight against dark-skinned Iranians, Tamils and others fleeing poverty and oppression.

What, then, is the Berlin Wall? It represents a defense, albeit in a bureaucratic fashion, of the DDR's collec-

tivized economy. That is why the bourgeoisie hates it and we Trotskyists defend it. The Berlin Wall was an economic measure to stem wholesale emigration. During the 1950s tens of thousands of skilled workers who had been trained in the DDR were seeking an easier life in the capitalist West, whose economy was at that time in full expansion. The exodus was instigated and organized in part by a CIA campaign. The leaders of the East German deformed workers state finally reacted to ensure their own survival. This is the other side of the double nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which must sometimes defend the collectivized property forms on which it rests.

The construction of the Wall thus represented a step back from illusions in the possibility of a deal with NATO imperialism. As Cold Warrior Eleanor Dulles wrote in *One Germany or Two* (1970), "The Wall was the inevitable result of the Soviet leaders' decision to limit the policy of détente and to maintain a separate socialist state between the Federal Republic and Poland and Czechoslovakia." For the imperialists, the Wall has become a symbol of the Cold War because it was erected as a barrier to a capitalist reunification of Germany.

The Berlin Wall has never been the totalitarian thought-control measure to

question of power was posed: a mass meeting of metal workers in East Berlin raised the slogan of a metal workers government based on strike committees. And they were avowedly pro-socialist. 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." (For an account of this historic event, see "The East German Workers Uprising of 17 June 1953," *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983.)

June 17 was an uprising for a red soviet Germany and not an anti-Communist revolt as the propagandists for "German unity day" pretend. It was the forerunner of political revolution against the DDR bureaucracy, requiring Trotskyist leadership in order to be victorious. Honecker, the would-be guardian of "socialism in half a country," is hostile to revolutionary struggle in the West German linchpin of NATO and pushes the dangerous illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists. But the Cold War status quo Honecker wants to maintain is ultimately untenable.

The fate of divided Germany will not be settled in national isolation. The revolutionary unification of Germany by socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East



17 June 1953—East German workers rise up against the Stalinist regime, call upon West German workers to "sweep out your crap in Bonn."

seal off the population of East Germany that anti-Communist propaganda portrays. How could it be, since practically the entire DDR receives West German TV? Even in the first years after its construction, during the mid-'60s, a million pensioners a year (out of a total population of 17 million) visited West Berlin, and a million and a half West Germans visited the DDR annually.

In the interests of imperialist *Ostpolitik* the Social Democrats have for some time muted their hostility to the Wall. Willy Brandt even declared that it "stabilized" the situation. The Christian Democrats are now following suit. Only right-wing CDUer Alfred Dregger was ready to draw a parallel between the 8 June youth protest and the 17 June 1953 East German workers revolt. In reply, the liberal *Die Zeit* declared the recent protest to be "an embarrassing faux pas in the German-German normalization," and that "reminiscences of 17 June 1953 are really far-fetched." *Stern* magazine even ran a headline, "Let's get rid of June 17."

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!

June 17 belongs to the German working class and not the revanchist bourgeoisie. It began with construction workers marching down Stalinallee to oppose piecework wages. They then raised the slogan "Ulrich must go," referring to Honecker's predecessor. The bureaucracy was paralyzed as the strike spread through East Germany. The

will only be possible in the context of a European-wide revolution. This was placed on the historic agenda by the defeat of Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union in World War II at the cost of 20 million Soviet dead. But the Stalinists strangled incipient proletarian revolutions in West Europe. Washington transformed the German zones under imperialist occupation into a separate West German state as a bridgehead for NATO's anti-Soviet rollback strategy.

East Germany, where capitalism was expropriated as a measure of bureaucratic self-defense, has since become of vital importance for the Soviet bloc. At the same time, Gorbachev's *glasnost* has awakened new hopes for a freer and better life among East German workers and especially youth.

If the social power of the industrial proletariats of the two Germanys is united as an axis for socialist revolution in Europe, it will find allies in the working classes from Portugal to Russia. A Soviet Germany will take its rightful place as the industrial core of a Socialist United States of Europe. A reunited Berlin will become the capital of a Soviet Germany, and the victorious proletariat will raze the Berlin Wall. A Trotskyist world party must be built to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the capitalist world and to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracies from East Berlin to Moscow and Peking. It is urgently necessary to build a German section of a reformed Fourth International! ■



Berlin Wall: bureaucratic measure to defend East German collectivized economy.

Lutte Ouvrière Censors Trotskyist Defense of the Soviet Union

In July 1986, the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (LO) jumped into the game of musical chairs occupying various fake-Trotskyists around the globe by reviving its international organ *Lutte de Classe/Class Struggle/Lucha de Clase*. This was to be a forum for international discussion, LO announced, open to contributions from "various international Trotskyist tendencies." LO reasons that since the Fourth International no longer exists, all claims to Trotskyism are equally valid. But when we of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) took them up on their offer, by submitting a document on the Russian question, LO's response was a philistine refusal. We reprint below LO's invitation, the document submitted by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France, French section of the iSt, and LO's reply.

The first issue of the new series of *Class Struggle* grouped together under the "Trotskyist" label everything from the parliamentary cretinist Militant group buried deep in the British Labour Party to Jack Barnes' American SWP, even as the latter formally renounced Trotskyism. LO is happy to engage in bloodless debates over the class nature of the USSR with the likes of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, which labels Russia "state capitalist." But when it comes to defending the gains of the October Revolution in Poland and Afghanistan, LO is just as rabidly anti-Soviet as the state caps. (The British SWP held up the iSt as the horrible example of what would happen to LO if it ever took seriously its own characterization of the USSR as a degenerated workers state.)

Characterized by workerist philistin-

national opportunism.

At the 1966 London conference of the International Committee, "Voix Ouvrière, LO's predecessor, dissented from the political bandit Gerry Healy's self-proclamation of the IC as the Fourth International, as did Spartacist. During the next two years, the Spartacist League/U.S. established fraternal relations with Voix Ouvrière, while criticizing its syndicalist prejudices. VO's workerism and semi-clandestinity rendered it incapable of dealing with the prerevolutionary situation in France in May 1968, ignited by radical students. It is precisely at such moments that LO's schema of patient (and patronizing) sub-minimal "consciousness raising" falls apart, as sharp class struggle shakes everything up at once, undercutting organizational loyalties and posing new questions and the possibility of revolutionary answers. After the '68 general strike, LO moved sharply to the right, attempting to form a lowest-common-denominator merger of the entire French far left.

LO's obscure American affiliate, Spark, originated in a factional struggle within the Spartacist League at that time. LO supporter Kay Ellens combined an apolitical workerist posture with capitulation to petty-bourgeois black nationalism. Thus LO and its American supporters opposed the 1968 New York City teachers strike when the liberal Democratic city administration abetted by various black demagogues sought to break the largely Jewish teachers union. In the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, LO militarily supported the Arab bourgeois states while the Spartacists called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides.

tion that "an International will be set up only when a leadership emerges because a section in a country, or in several countries, will have succeeded in leading important struggles...." LO's response to every major international question is, "build the party in France!" In the meantime, LO is content to organize vague international "discussions" and radical tourism to "ex-

pretense that these supposedly "politically virgin" workers are the easiest recruits, has led them to adopt a series of scandalous positions for which they are notorious on the French left. Thus LO opposed any act of concrete solidarity with the British miners strike in 1984 and characterized the miners' heroic defense of their picket lines as "dividing" the workers. LO defended the fact that

Robert Capa



Trotsky speaks
"In Defense of
the Russian
Revolution,"
Copenhagen,
November 1932,
in his first public
speech in exile.

change experiences." Thus LO's diplomatic relations with the followers of the late Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno simply disappeared after a delegation was dispatched to Buenos Aires to observe the Morenistas *in situ*.

Defending the basic Leninist proposition that "only an international organization can be bearer of an international ideology," Trotsky refuted in advance LO's notion of an arithmetical sum of opportunist national policies: "Those who believe that the International Left will someday take shape as a simple sum of national groups, and that therefore the international unification can be postponed indefinitely until the national groups 'grow strong,' attribute only a secondary importance to the international factor and by this very reason take the path of national opportunism" ("An Open Letter to All Members of the Leninbund," February 1930).

LO is quite simply opposed to the necessary programmatic political struggle, the *splits* and *fusions* essential to reforging a genuinely democratic-centralist Fourth International. LO's version of "peaceful coexistence" within the so-called "family of Trotskyism" represents the most naked expression of its fatalistic denial of the necessity for revolutionary leadership. LO's politics are a reversion to those of the Russian Economists, fought by Lenin at the turn of the century: the notion that revolutionary politics are the spontaneous outgrowth of the daily struggles of the industrial proletariat. This negates the necessity for a programmatically based vanguard party. LO hides behind the political consciousness of the "average worker," a consciousness transmitted by the current misleaders of the working class to cover their reformism.

LO's workerist orientation to backward sections of the class, under the

one of its "workers leaders" at the CKD auto parts plant at Rouen scabbed on a strike last year. LO refuses to advance a program to fight against racial oppression in the face of the wave of anti-immigrant racist terror in France and avoids the fight for mass workers mobilization to crush fascism by denying that Le Pen's murderous National Front is a fascist organization! And in 1981, LO capitulated to the popular front by calling for a vote, "without illusions but without reservation," to Cold Warrior Mitterrand.

It is not surprising that on the fundamental question dividing revolutionaries from reformists and centrists, LO comes down on the wrong side of the barricades whenever it's a question of defending the Soviet degenerated workers state and the bureaucratically deformed workers states from the imperialist war drive and internal capitalist restoration. LO admitted that the leadership of Polish Solidarność proclaimed "nationalist, clericalist and reactionary political ideas openly" and that "it finds its political model in the memory of the deceased dictator Marshal Pilsudski." Nonetheless, they concluded, "It goes without saying that even if the Polish workers struggle on the basis of a program which does not lead to their social emancipation, revolutionaries must be in complete solidarity [our emphasis] with their struggles" (*Lutte de Classe*, 22 December 1980).

LO is equally the "left" wing of social-democratic anti-Communist hysteria around Afghanistan, comparing the Red Army's intervention on the side of social progress to that of French colonialism in Algeria or U.S. imperialism in Vietnam! But of course LO only defends the "tradition" of the Russian Revolution and does not see any lasting social gains to be extended to Afghanistan or defended in Poland. After all, collectivized property forms are only



Spartacist League/U.S. demonstrated in September 1981, saying "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

ism and corresponding national parochialism, Lutte Ouvrière has disdained the struggle for a democratic-centralist International. From its inception, the refurbished *Class Struggle* was intended as an "internationalist" fig leaf while LO seeks out new non-aggression pacts. For fake-Trotskyists, the basis for making (and unmaking) a succession of international rotten blocs is an anti-Soviet consensus, frequently undercut by conflicting opportunist appetites on differing national terrains. Support to Islamic reaction in Afghanistan and clerical-nationalist counterrevolution in Poland is taken for granted; what remains for *Class Struggle* is to "compare notes" on their various brands of

In the almost 20 years of its existence, Spark has buried itself in a few plants in Detroit and Baltimore in order to churn out reams of apolitical shop newsletters. Of late, however, Spark has raised its head on campuses in an effort to recruit radicalized student youth. To would-be revolutionary youth attracted to Spark's stance as studious Trotskyists and hard-working militants, we warn: LO's workerist politics are a left face of Cold War anti-Communism. Witness the fact that all of the participants in its "international forum" have the State Department line on Afghanistan and Poland.

In the first issue of *Class Struggle*, Georges Kaldy put forward LO's posi-

"formal" and "juridical" since, in LO's view, the same institutions that constitute a workers state in the Soviet Union can be the basis of "state capitalism" in Vietnam, Cuba, Eastern Europe, etc. The absurd position that these deformed workers states remain bourgeois is now a rationalization—neither

intelligent nor consistent—of LO's programmatic betrayals.

The organizational methods of workerist semi-clandestinity which are LO's trademark are inseparable from its program. Rejection of political struggle—inside as well as outside the organization—is the basis of LO's system of

strictly individual contacting and recruitment, arbitrary membership criteria and secret leadership. LO boasts of being a "hard" organization, but this is just an organizational straitjacket designed to prevent an organizational liquidation matching its political liquidation. As for the international role

assigned to satellites like Spark, LO's cavalier dismissal of "grouplets of a few ten of militants, or even less, dragged from some other Trotskyist organization, with no militant past of their own and who are pompously called by the name of section or even party" (see below) is eloquent enough.

LO's Call for "International Discussion"

This trilingual review is published by four Trotskyist organizations which have been active together for a number of years and the first three of which are better known under the name of their press organs:

- Lutte Ouvrière—France
- The Spark—USA
- Combat Ouvrier—French-speaking West Indies
- UATCI (African Union of Internationalist Communist Workers)

This publication is not the first of its kind: from 1972 to 1980, many bilingual issues (French-English and English-Spanish) of this review have been published by the same organizations—though from 1972 onward these bilingual editions have been replaced by monolingual ones in each language.

At still earlier date, a similar bilingual review had been published in 1967-1968 by Union Communiste (trotskyist), an organization which was banned in May 68 under De Gaulle.

Class Struggle will of course print the analysis and points of view of our organizations on political and social current events of international interest, based on our common fundamental opinions.

However, our ambition is to address ourselves to all Trotskyist militants who wish a genuine political confrontation between the various Trotskyist groups existing throughout the world, to all revolutionary workers who have an interest in the political future of their class and in the role it is bound to play in world history when it starts moving independently and autonomously—at the political and organizational levels—with respect to the other social classes, whether they be revolutionary or not.

Our hope then is for the review to become a forum of international discussion between various international Trotskyist tendencies even if, given the sectarianism of some of them, the discussion will not always be under the form of a dialogue and will perforce be restricted to one-way criticisms of other groups' interventions and political options as they appear in their press. But

even if there can be no dialogue, we will keep clear of any kind of sterile polemical aggressions, as our aim is not to prove that we are in the right and all the others are in the wrong, but to discuss our own as well as the other currents' choices and options in front of the whole Trotskyist movement.

Of course, we would rather have a genuine discussion with the other groups, but despite our efforts those currents who claim to be an Interna-



Lech Walesa bows to Catholic hierarchy. LO supported Solidarność though admitting it pushed "clericalist and reactionary political ideas."

tional in their own right stand their ground—not out of a conviction which does not exist but out of sheer self-satisfaction—and refuse any kind of relationships with other international groups with the exception of basically apolitical talks aimed at a future merger (the prelude to a further more or less rapid split).

In this review, we will no doubt have other opportunities to formulate our opinion on the evolution of the Trotskyist movement since World War II, on the political as well as the organizational level, and to set down how we think the Fourth International could be built, or rebuilt.

The fact that many organizations either pretend they are the Fourth International or, more modestly, say they want to rebuild it is not in itself sufficient proof that none of these groups has enough credit—that is, enough

political and human capital—to claim to be even the embryo of a World Proletarian Revolutionary Party which is what its founder, Leon Trotsky, wanted it to be.

A much more significant fact, unfortunately, is that none of these organizations, including the United Secretariat, has more than one national organization of any weights, (at the scale of today's Trotskyist movement).

The successive leaderships of the International Secretariat and later of the United Secretariat have stated as a principle that they were the Fourth International without raising the problem of whether during World War II Trotskyist organizations had really faced up to the situation created by the

war and, more importantly, by the after-war period.

In any case, neither during post-war years in Europe nor during the 1945-1955 decade of revolutionary crises in the Third World (or even later) did any organization belonging to the Fourth International play any role, least of all any leading role.

And as pretences are not sufficient to bend facts the way one wishes for, the Fourth International underwent split after split, first at the time of "Pabloism" after which it broke down into ever smaller splinters to reach its present state.

Today, any national organization with a minimum number of militant forces refuses the arbitrary leadership of a would-be International and refuses to be forced to follow a policy decided upon by organizations which do not represent anything real. Each of these

organizations will entice a few militants away from this or that organization affiliated to the USec and "build" their own International on the same model as the USec.

This is how, today, all these Internationals are made up of but one sizeable organization (and even those are marginal in relation to the political life of their country and even more so in relation to the working class), surrounded by grouplets of a few ten of militants, or even less, dragged from some other Trotskyist organization, with no militant past of their own and who are pompously called by the name of section or even party. The relationships between these sections inside the so-called Internationals reflect the basic reality and, despite the pomp of World Congress PS and other international bodies, they are based on nothing more than the personal influence of a few individuals, or even a single militant. This is not in itself blameworthy—if nothing else is possible—but what is, is to use an erroneous vocabulary which deceives the militants, workers, and youths one wants to train and which renders them inefficient because they are incapable of discerning the tasks that lie before them.

There are political differences as well, of course, but they deserve to be assessed more seriously for they do not always lie where each of the so-called Internationals say they are.

The fact remains that this type of methods only favors sectarian and even national deformations. In any case, it does not work and this is why, though we are extremely rich in Internationals these days, there are no more Trotskyist militants today than in 1945. More importantly, the programs and the political and militant strategies of these militants cannot be compared any more to those for which Trotsky fought till his death. This is one of the problems we have in common, and it is not the least.

As for us, we do not claim we can tell others what they must do. If we are ever in a position to teach a thing or two to other militants, it will be through our activities and interventions. That is the only thing that counts.

The aim of this review, as we said before, will be merely to have a discussion which does not yet exist between the various Trotskyist trends.

We hope it will be of some help to all those who devote their activities to the victory of the world proletarian revolution.

French Spartacists' Suppressed Contribution

"I said again in my speech that politics is a concentrated expression of economics, because I had earlier heard my 'political' approach rebuked in a manner which is inconsistent and inadmissible for a Marxist. Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism."

—V.I. Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Current Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin," 1921

"War is a mere continuation of policy by other means."

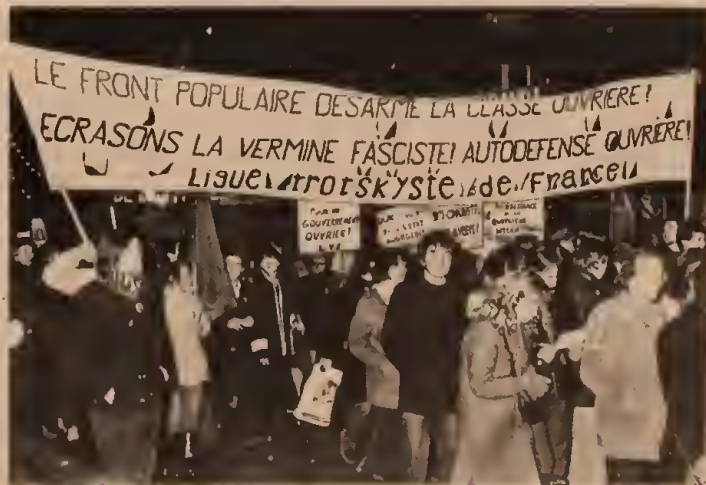
—Clausewitz, *On War*, 1832

1. The world vanguard party—the Fourth International—can only be re-

forged in political struggle against revisionism and on the basis of a living program, that is, clear and precise positions on the burning questions of our time. The unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution is as crucial a question today as it was when the Fourth International was founded. We thus address ourselves to the Russian question in this contribution to the discussion being carried on in the pages of *Lutte de Classe*.

2. The Russian Bolsheviks took the question of the workers revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood reality. Since October 1917, the defense of the Soviet Union

continued on page 10



Ligue Trotskyste de France initiated December 1981 united-front protest in Rouen to smash fascist attacks. LTF banner says: "The popular front disarms the working class! Crush the fascist vermin! For workers self-defense!"

Lutte Ouvrière...

(continued from page 9)

has been a crucial task in the struggle to advance the world proletarian revolution, and simultaneously one of the touchstones that distinguishes those who struggle to retain and apply the understanding of the practices and traditions of the international communist movement in the spirit and program of the Bolsheviks from those who bend to prevailing political pressures.

3. Stalinism is a system of bureaucratic rule based on collectivized property. Writing about the USSR in 1921, V.I. Lenin noted: "A workers state is an abstraction. What we actually have is a workers state, with this peculiarity, firstly, that it is not the working class but the peasant population that predominates in the country, and, secondly, that it is a workers state with bureaucratic distortions." In comrade Lenin's acute observation, subsequently deepened and expanded by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in their struggle against the consolidating Stalinist bureaucracy, are laid bare both the roots of Stalinism and the necessity of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution. It was in 1923-24 that the qualitative change, the Soviet Thermidor, took place with the expropriation of political power by a bureaucratic caste. A proletarian political revolution is necessary to restore the Red Army and the Soviet state to their revolutionary and internationalist mission.

4. The class nature of the deformed workers states (Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia, China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam), as defined by the property forms defended by those states, is qualitatively similar to that of the USSR. The bourgeoisies in these countries were expropriated and a bureaucratic caste holds political power. The program of the necessary Trotskyist vanguard parties in these countries is also qualitatively similar to that of the Soviet Union: defense of the proletarian gains and political revolution.

5. Cold War II dominates world politics, from the Pacific to the Near East, to Africa and Central America. Active propaganda aimed at winning the advanced workers in the imperialist centers and potential revolutionaries in the colonial and ex-colonial countries to the slogans for the defense of the USSR and the deformed workers states is an urgent and non-postponable task. Only a party that steadfastly defends the Soviet Union will win the Soviet proletariat to the banner of Trotskyism and be capable of leading a successful proletarian political revolution against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy.

6. The 1980s, like the period of the 1930s when the Left Opposition struggled to assemble cadres and forge the Fourth International, is a period of war preparations. Yesterday's "far-leftists"



Sports Illustrated



Russian Revolution liberated women of the East from the veil. Soviet Central Asian Olympic gymnast Nelli Kim (left); Afghan woman enslaved to Islamic reaction (below).

Hitler found itself compelled to sanction in eastern Poland. Failing this, it could not include the territory in the Federation of the USSR."

—Leon Trotsky, "From a Scratch—To the Danger of Gangrene," 1940

7. In Afghanistan, the imperialist support and arm an insurrection led by reactionary tribal chiefs and mullahs against a petty-bourgeois nationalist regime allied to the USSR. In this war, a victory for the pro-Western rebels would mean: 1) the yoke of an obscurantist Islamo-feudal dictatorship for the peoples of Afghanistan; 2) imperialist bases for military aggression, espionage and subversion on the border of Soviet Central Asia. In Afghanistan the Red Army plays a doubly progressive role: it defends the USSR against a direct military threat and it represents the camp of social progress. This latter is particularly clear on the woman question: on the rebels' side it is the assassination of schoolteachers, the veil, forced marriage, the life of a beast of burden; on the Soviet side, the right to be a human being. Even the hardened anti-Communists of the "humanitarian organizations" which aid the Afghan guerrillas are horrified by the "freedom fighters'" despicable treatment of women. In December 1979 the international Spartacist tendency chose its side in this military clash between two social systems: Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples! The other groups who claim filiation with Trotskyism, including Lutte Ouvrière, call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops, thus acting as direct conduits for the anti-Soviet campaign of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy.

8. It is scandalous and erroneous to compare the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with the imperialists' colonial wars in Algeria and Vietnam, as does LO. In the absence of a significant Afghan proletariat, the most elementary gains of bourgeois democracy can only be introduced in Afghanistan from the exterior. The Soviet state and its army can play this eminently progressive role—and for once are doing so—and the reason is precisely the historically progressive character of the planned economy in the Soviet Union.

9. Far from being bogged down in Afghanistan, the Red Army and Soviet-backed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are winning hands down. This fact has not prevented the Stalinists from seeking once again to conciliate the imperialists in the framework of their strategy of peaceful coexistence. The recent "peace initiative" from Moscow and Kabul is misguided and dangerous. There is a civil war in Afghanistan, and one side or the other must win. Offers of "compromise" will only embolden the imperialists. The sooner the feudalists are smashed, the sooner the bloodshed will end and the road to social progress will be secured.

"Victor Serge has disclosed in passing what caused the collapse of the Bolshevik party: excessive centralism, mistrust of ideological struggle, lack of freedom-loving ('libertaire', in reality anarchist) spirit. More confidence in the masses, more freedom! All this is outside time and space. But the masses are by no means identical: there are revolutionary masses, there are passive masses, there are reactionary masses. The very same masses are at different times inspired by different moods and objectives. It is just for this reason that a centralized organization of the vanguard is indispensable. Only a party, wielding the authority it has won, is capable of overcoming

are running for cover from the dangers and pressures by seeking accommodation with their own bourgeoisies. Now, as then, the Russian question is a watershed. Trotsky's last major political battle was against Max Shachtman and his faction in the American Socialist Workers Party, who embraced third campism in a centrist fashion on the eve of World War II.

Now, as then, revolutionaries reject any support to any version of the popular front. To build such class-collaborationist alliances the bourgeoisie demands of its labor lieutenants two key guarantees: to not touch capitalist

spots": Afghanistan and Poland. Especially in continental Europe, social democracy on the rise has been the vanguard of anti-Soviet hysteria, with the Mitterrand popular front leading the pack. The iSt has alone stood firm and remained intransigent in the face of the prevailing pressures.

* * *

"...the Kremlin with its bureaucratic methods gave an impulse to the socialist revolution in Poland.... The popular masses in western Ukraine and Byelo Russia, in any event, felt this impulse,

Votez pour une travailleuse

Votez pour une femme

Votez vraiment à gauche

Votez Arlette LAGUILLER

Workerist philistinism and electoral cretinism: LO's Arlette Laguiller campaigns as "a worker, a woman."

property relations and to support national defense. As the French Communist Party's support to the Stalinist pact preceded its support to the Popular Front in 1936, its support for the anti-Soviet *force de frappe* was a necessary precondition for its participation in the Mitterrand popular front, for whom all the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in France—with the exception of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF)—voted in 1981. The electoral tactic of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) in 1981 in France was conditional opposition to the workers parties participating in the class-collaborationist alliance, that is, a precondition for considering the possibility of critical support to a mass reformist workers party is class independence, that it present its candidates in its own name. We were prevented from extending savagely critical support to presidential candidate Georges Marchais by the racist atrocity at Vigny, which also paved the way for the PCF's entry into the government immediately after the elections.

In recent years the Cold War has known two crucially important "hot

understood its meaning, and used it to accomplish a drastic overturn in property relations. A revolutionary party which failed to notice this impulse in time and refused to utilize it would be fit for nothing but the ash can.

"This impulse in the direction of socialist revolution was possible only because the bureaucracy of the USSR straddles and has its roots in the economy of a workers' state.... "Seeking to get around reality, namely that nothing else but the social foundations of the USSR forced a social revolutionary program upon the Kremlin, Shachtman refers to Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia where everything has remained as of old. An incredible argument! No one has said that the Soviet "bureaucracy always and everywhere either wishes or is able to accomplish the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. We only say that no other government could have accomplished that social overturn which the Kremlin bureaucracy notwithstanding its alliance with

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Thurs. 5:30-9:00 p.m. Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues. 5:00-9:00 p.m. Sat. 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues. 6:00-9:00 p.m. Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025



LO supported social-democratic Cold Warrior François Mitterrand in 1981 election "without illusions but without reservations." In 1985 Mitterrand's commandos killed a pacifist by blowing up Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior to carry out French nuclear tests in the South Pacific.



Pat O'Phanah

the vacillation of the masses themselves. To invest the mass with traits of sanctity and to reduce one's program to amorphous 'democracy', is to dissolve oneself in the class as it is, to turn from a vanguard into a rearguard, and by this very thing, to renounce revolutionary tasks. On the other hand, if the dictatorship of the proletariat means anything at all, then it means that the vanguard of the class is armed with the resources of the state in order to repel dangers, including those emanating from the backward layers of the proletariat itself. All this is elementary; all this

ning in Solidarność. The iSt recognized the initially contradictory character of Solidarność and said that the task of Trotskyists was to split the workers from the clerical-nationalist forces on the programmatic basis of defense of the proletarian gains—socialized property—and the unity of the Russian and Polish proletariats. Winning the workers to these points was precisely the way to organize for a proletarian political revolution and to stave off the danger of restorationist counterrevolution.

11. 1981 witnessed the further development of Solidarność, a mass political organization with a largely working-class base (but a strong petty-bourgeois component), behind an openly pro-Western leadership. One of the worst of the Stalinist crimes in Poland is precisely to have pushed the Polish proletariat, historically socialist, into the arms of the Vatican and the imperialist West. During its first congress, in September 1981, this organization definitively consolidated around a program of capitalist restoration: the dismantling of the planned economy ("self-management" and "autonomy" of enterprises); the call for foreign investments and the appeal to the IMF; "free elections" to parliament which would have meant placing governmental power at the base of society in the hands of explicitly anti-Communist and nationalist forces which included in their midst the Pilsudskiite anti-Semites of the KPN. A delegate's motion to put Solidarność on record for socialism (in order to deflect charges that it was pro-capitalist) was defeated. At this point the iSt called to: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!"

The strength of Solidarność created a situation of cold dual power which could not last. At the end of 1981, the leadership of Solidarność, around Lech Walesa, decided to undertake a test of strength with the goal of seizing power, which was exposed by the "Radomgate" tapes, large extracts of which were printed in the Western press.

12. The success of this undertaking would have been a catastrophe of historic proportions for the world proletariat and for the Polish proletariat, which would have rapidly been subjected to IMF-dictated austerity and white terror, indispensable for defending "Polish sovereignty" against "atheistic Russian Communism." The international Spartacist tendency's position was that it was necessary to spike the counterrevolutionary power bid by Solidarność and fortunately Jaruzelski's counter-coup d'état did so. Here

again, the pseudo-Trotskyist organizations cried with the hound dogs at the crucial moment (the LCR marched in the same Parisian demonstration as the fascists and the RPR), de facto becoming apologists for the "democratic" counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc.

13. LO has the position that the "states of the People's Democracies... were and remain bourgeois states" ("Les démocraties populaires," December 1971, reprinted in *Textes et documents, 1971-1985*, I, Part 1, p. 9). This position is untenable and flies in the face of empirical reality not to mention the Leninist theory of the state. But it does mean that LO believes that there is nothing to defend with regard to the property forms in Poland. LO does also state that "Imperialism will not intervene to 'liberate' the countries of Central Europe, but to subjugate both the Soviet Union and its former defense perimeter" ("L'Union Soviétique," December 1971, *ibid.*, I, Part 1, p. 8). But when it came to Solidarność, which was financed by the CIA and the Catholic church, this cautionary afterthought was subordinated to a more systematic logical development of a fundamentally Stalinophobic position: "It goes without saying that even if the Polish workers struggle on the basis of a program which does not lead to their social emancipation, revolutionaries must be in complete solidarity with their struggles" ("La situation internationale," November 1980, *ibid.*, I, Part 2, p. 24); and later on to regret that "the Polish working class [sic] was defeated

without a struggle" ("La Pologne, Extraits des textes d'orientation de novembre 1982," *ibid.*, I, Part 3, p. 5). LO criticized Walesa, but when the crucial moment came, LO was on his side of the barricades.

14. But 13 December 1981 in Poland settled nothing. The defensive action of the bureaucracy froze *in extremis* a situation which is untenable in the long run. It is necessary to profit from this breathing space to construct clandestine Trotskyist propaganda and education cells to rip the working class away from the influence of the priests and reactionaries and to prepare the political revolution.

15. With regard to Poland and Afghanistan, Lutte Ouvrière capitulated to the social democracy and was in the camp of the bourgeoisie at the decisive moment, against the historic interests of the proletariat. The position of LO on the defense of the USSR is illogical and disastrous. In our opinion, Lutte Ouvrière is torn between a Stalinophobic negation of the dual nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy and an appreciation that it would be suicidal to cut itself off from the advanced sectors of the French proletariat, whose attachment to the land of the October Revolution, albeit through the deforming influence of the class-collaborationist PCF, has for the moment withstood the onslaught of the anti-Communist propaganda of two Cold Wars.

16. From our inception as a tendency 25 years ago, we have based ourselves on international democratic centralism, a form of organization which is anathema to the nationally conflicting opportunist appetites of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups. Their attempts at international mergers ceaselessly fly apart no sooner than they are patched together, despite their common capitulation on the Russian question. We are building toward an International Trotskyist League which Trotsky would recognize; our goal is the reforging of the Fourth International and world revolution.

Ligue Trotskyste de France
French section of the international
Spartacist tendency

4 May 1987

LO Reneges

Lutte Ouvrière
Paris
27 May 1987

Ligue Trotskyste de France
Paris Cedex 10

Dear Comrades,

We received your letter of May 5, as well as the document you ask us to publish in *Lutte de Classe*, the organ of our international tendency.

However, we see no reason to publish a document such as the one sent us. This document is not a discussion document, but theses on your own general political positions, "on the Russian question," as you state in the first point of your theses, but also, pell-mell, on the

class nature of the states in East Europe, on the 1981 Presidential elections, on Afghanistan, Poland, etc. We cannot view the sporadic allusions to the positions of Lutte Ouvrière or others as even the starting point for a discussion.

As we said in the introduction to *Lutte de Classe*, we want to open our pages to a real discussion between organizations which lay claim to revolutionary communism. But we don't see why our journal should provide space for a soliloquy by another organization which has its own publications for that purpose.

With our revolutionary greetings,

Georges Kaldy
For *Lutte de Classe*

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. § 3685)

- 1A. Title of publication: *Workers Vanguard*
- 1B. Publication no. 098770
2. Date of filing: 1 October 1987
3. Frequency of issue: Bi-weekly, except 2nd issue in August and 3-week interval December
- 3A. No. of issues published annually: 24
- 3B. Annual subscription price: \$5.00
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters or general business offices of the publisher: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007
6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—

Spartacist Publishing Company, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007. Editor—Jan Norden, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007. Managing Editor—North Winer, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.

7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) Spartacist Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.

8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of

total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state). None.

9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies (Net press run) 18,375. B. Paid and/or requested circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales 16,024. (2) Mail subscription (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2) 18,545. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: samples, complimentary, and other free copies 302. 1. Total distribution (Sum of C and D) 18,847. E. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unsent, spoiled after printing 2,651. (2) Return from news agents 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F, G and 2) should equal net press run shown in A: 18,375.

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies (Net press run) 21,500. B. Paid and/or requested circulation (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales 16,024. (2) Mail subscription (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2) 18,545. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: samples, complimentary, and other free copies 302. 1. Total distribution (Sum of C and D) 18,847. E. Copies not distributed (1) Office use, left over, unsent, spoiled after printing 2,651. (2) Return from news agents 0. G. Total (Sum of E, F, G and 2) should equal net press run shown in A: 21,500.

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Jan Norden
(Editor)

ni" Harris and all victims of the racist capitalist murder machine!

This hideous system of racist "justice" was placed under the spotlight of international protest by the case of the Scottsboro Boys, seven black youth framed up on charges of raping two white women in the early 1930s. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote at the time:

"The Scottsboro case reveals American capitalism in one of its most hideous aspects, and offers to the Communists an exceptional opportunity to deal the whole system a mighty, world-resounding blow. The deliberately planned assassination of the unfortunate Negro children is notice to the entire world that imperialist America, this pretended pacifist and friend of justice, is in fact a monster. The endeavor to thwart its bloody designs in the present case calls out the deepest and best human instincts."

— Militant, 9 April 1932

Socialism or Barbarism

For the American ruling class, terror has always been the bottom line in meeting any challenge, real or perceived, to its racist class rule. Sixty years ago



Revolutionary Worker
Save Mumia Abu-Jamal (above), Johnny "Imani" Harris and all victims of the racist capitalist murder machine!

immigrant anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were executed as part of the red scare and anti-immigrant hysteria following on the heels of the Russian Revolution. At



Bill Ingram

the height of the Depression, as mass integrated labor struggle was burgeoning, the racist rulers held the noose over the heads of the Scottsboro Boys. In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when

reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Today the rulers are preparing to revive a massive legalized bloodletting to fuel their drive to thermonuclear holocaust.

After the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the death penalty was abolished as a permanent feature of the penal code (one of many such measures subsequently reversed under the Stalinist political counterrevolution). Of course, just as the torturers and criminals of the tsarist autocracy were subjected to revolutionary justice, heinous Nazi war criminals like John Demjanjuk and Karl Linas (so solicitously protected by Reagan/Meese) deserve to die. It will take world socialist revolution to put an end to this barbaric and racist system where lynch law executions are at the core of capitalist "justice." The struggle to smash the death penalty in this country is necessarily linked to the fight to finish the Civil War which freed the slaves. Down with capital punishment! Forward to the third, socialist American revolution! ■

Shredded Bork...

(continued from page 1)

later the Judiciary Committee nixed Bork by 9 votes to 5.

In the minds of millions, Robert Bork came to personify the gratuitously vicious, nasty quality of the Reagan administration's attacks on the poor, the oppressed, blacks, women, workers, you name it. This is the pig who squealed that it was a "principle of unsurpassed ugliness" to insist, as the 1964 Civil Rights Act did, that restaurants serve black people.

Bork's crackpot "original intent" interpretation of the Constitution is an expression of the Reaganites' social/legal agenda: rolling back the minimal legal gains for blacks won through the mass social struggles of the civil rights movement, dismantling social welfare, placing the Bill of Rights and the Reconstruction amendments back on the shelf to gather dust. He opposed Supreme Court rulings for desegregation, voter registration, and abortion and contraception. Indeed, "original intent" is today's code word for the "states' rights" banner under which the diehard segregationists rallied a generation ago.

Bork personifies the judicial ideal of the militarist dictatorship Reagan and his patriotic protégé Ollie North dream of and schemed for: unlimited presidential powers to order wiretapping and surveillance, no right to privacy, abolishing any sort of progressive social legislation from equal rights to abortion, opposing even the toothless Congressional restraints of the War Powers Act. Bork is a staunch advocate of making the imperial presidency ever more bonapartist. This, after all, is the guy Nixon turned to to fire special Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox when Tricky Dick's own attorney general couldn't stomach the job.

When it comes to capital punishment, according to Bork, "It is a little hard to understand how a penalty that the Framers explicitly assumed to be available can somehow become unavailable because of the very Constitution the Framers wrote" (*City Sun*, 23-29 September). The "Framers of the Constitution" also explicitly denied the vote to all but white, male property holders. Much to the chagrin of Bork and his patrons, however, blacks can vote today—and even many of the Dixiecrats in Congress realized that supporting Bork would not wash with the black constituents whose votes they need.

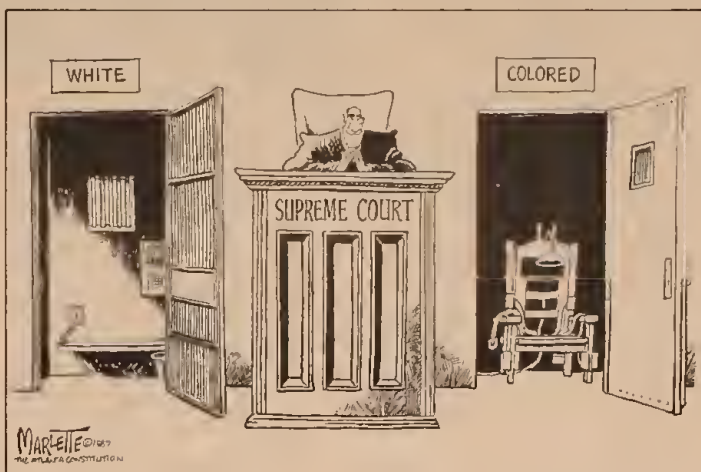
When Reagan tried to raise the racist "law and order" crap in an eleventh-

hour attempt to save Bork's ass, liberal columnist Tom Wicker noted the obvious: "the fact is that the Supreme Court already has a functioning 'law and order' majority" (*New York Times*, 5 October). The Democrats on Capitol Hill never even challenged Bork on his stand on the death penalty. For six years the Democrats have either endorsed or acceded to the Reaganites' legal counterrevolution—over 50 percent of today's federal court judges were installed under Reagan.

On every significant issue—from contra aid to school prayers—the majority of the population has been in opposition to Reagan, unlike the Democratic Party which has tailed along after the White House. With a Republican administration which has gone to the brink of total collapse, it is the Democrats who are in a shambles. The "seven dwarfs" of the Democratic Party presidential runoff, who spend most of their time stabbing each other in the back, can't seem to make it past a peashooter in a penny arcade. The only real candidate the Democrats have right now is Jesse Jackson, who aims to resurrect the old Democratic Party coalition tying labor and blacks to the Dixiecrats, on a program of protectionism and the refusal to fight racist terror.

Meanwhile, Reagan goes around attacking dyed-in-the-wool Dixiecrats as "leftists" for their opposition to Bork, and proclaiming the virtues of the old McCarthyite "House Un-American Activities Committee" in an interview in the Moonies' *Washington Times* (30 September):

"Remember, there was once a Congress in which they had a committee that would investigate even one of their own members if it was believed that that



Marlette/Atlanta Constitution

person had communist involvement or communist leanings. Well, they've done away with those committees."

You couldn't find a better caricature of a right-wing nut in a Woody Allen film, but this right-wing nut is more or less real and sits in the Oval Office.

Senate Democratic whip Robert Byrd made it clear right from the outset of the Bork debate that there would be no return to the "Warren court" of the 1950s, that great "liberal" nemesis of the John Birchers and other fringe rightist groups. Today the Birchers are out of the fringe and into the mainstream, and all that Bork's Democratic Senate opponents are demanding of Reagan is a "moderate conservative" as a replacement candidate. It is no accident that the current 200th anniversary hoopla celebrates the Constitution as it was written without the Bill of Rights, which repre-

sented a codification of the individual liberties proclaimed by the bourgeois revolutions of that period.

The rollback of rights of workers, women and minorities is the domestic corollary of the drive to "roll back Communism" internationally—and on that score the Tweedledee Democrats and Tweedledum Republicans walk hand in hand. As we wrote in "Reagan's Sex Witchhunt" last year:

"Like tsarist Russia in its last days, the American bourgeoisie exhibits increasingly irrational and brutal symptoms of a ruling class in its death agony. One of these is the attempted rollback of supposedly constitutionally protected rights."

"Reagan and Meese want a servile, flag-waving population longing to invade Nicaragua, then Cuba, and then on to the Big One: Russia. But they don't have it, and to get it they have targeted democratic rights won through the first two American revolutions. Today it is the Marxists who vigilantly uphold these gains, as we fight for the liberation of all the oppressed in a third, proletarian revolution."

—BFC No. 408, 18 July 1986

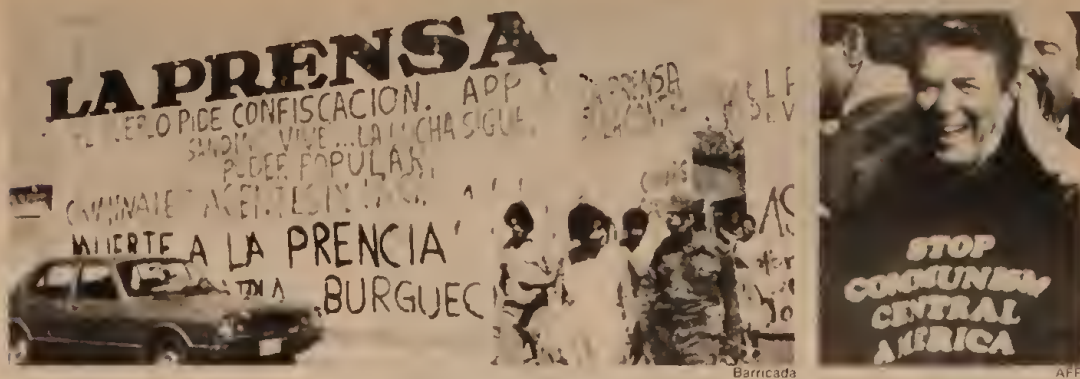
Throughout the period of Reagan reaction, the Marxist Spartacist League has fought to defend basic democratic rights, from initiating successful mobilizations to stop Klan terror to carrying out a series of victorious legal actions insisting "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!"

The "Bork battle" is the first post-Contragate "confrontation" between the Democrats and the White House, an opening shot of the '88 election campaign. Yet with Reagan clearly on the ropes, all the pusillanimous Democrats can do is grope around for a salable version of Reaganism without Reagan. Now is the time to fight for a workers party to lead mass labor/black struggle against the partner parties of capitalist reaction ■



Downing/Newsweek

"Seven dwarfs" (rapidly dwindling) stumble through presidential race. With Reagan on the ropes, the Democrats are in disarray, putting "personality" in the forefront in hopes nobody will notice their congruence with the program of "Reaganism."



Nicaraguans protest "La Prensa" in 1982. This contra mouthpiece got at least \$100,000 from Reagan gang.

La Prensa Wants to Give Nicaragua Back to the Yankees—We Say No!

When the Sandinistas shut down the Nicaraguan rightist newspaper *La Prensa* in June 1985, Reaganites and liberal Democrats alike railed about supposed "suppression of the free press." The affair became a *casus belli*, used to justify their bloody contra war. In August Costa Rican president Oscar Arias declared that reopening *La Prensa* was a non-negotiable component of the "peace" accord agreed to by the Central American presidents. When the Sandinista regime signed the pact, they agreed to reopen the voice of the internal contras. So on October 1 the presses rolled.

This week Reagan's dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick went to Managua where she embraced *La Prensa* publisher Violeta Chamorro as contra supporters cheered. What the *New York Times* didn't consider news fit to print was, as *Newsday* (11 October) headlined, "U.S. Bankrolls *La Prensa*." In Washington, the Senate just voted \$250,000 additional funds to the "National Endowment for Democracy," a notorious CIA conduit, to finance counter-revolutionary opposition groups in Nicaragua. *La Prensa's* general manager Jaime Chamorro declared that U.S. funding was "essential," and without these dollars they couldn't publish.

During the Contragate hearings it was confirmed that *La Prensa* had received at least \$100,000 from the U.S. This yellow press is a mouthpiece for enemy propaganda in the terrorist war against embattled Nicaragua unleashed by the anti-Soviet warmongers in Washington. During the American Civil War, Lincoln shut down literally dozens of pro-Confederate ("Copperhead") newspapers. Likewise, the closure of *La Prensa* by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was a war measure: when the contras speak out of the barrel of a gun, their propaganda organ is a deadly weapon which the Nicaraguan Revolution must silence in self-defense.

Recently Sandinista president Daniel Ortega visited New York City to address the United Nations on October 8. Following this he attended a press conference at Columbia University. Our reporter, identifying herself as "from *Workers Vanguard*, a socialist newspaper that has always defended the revolution in Nicaragua," raised the issue of *La Prensa*:

"We stand with the sentiment of people in Nicaragua who think it should be called 'La Prensa' because it's a mouthpiece for CIA propaganda. *La Prensa* would like to bring the Yankees back to Nicaragua. Don't you agree with many of the people in Nicaragua that *La Prensa* ought to be closed down for good?"

Ortega gave a lengthy response justifying the Sandinista government's closure of the paper: "We shut down *La Prensa* because it was defending the U.S. policy of aggression against Nica-

ragua. The proof is that one of its owners, the publisher of the newspaper Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, turned out to be a CIA agent in the leadership of the counterrevolution." When the U.S. Congress approved the \$100 million in contra aid, he added, this was no longer tolerable. Washington wanted to use *La Prensa* as it had *El Mercurio* in Chile in preparing the overthrow of Allende. Ortega went on:

"Why have we reopened *La Prensa* now? In Nicaraguan society, independently of our will there is a body of opinion contrary to revolutionary thought. So the most healthy thing would be for this opinion to express itself in the media. And that's why we judged that it would be convenient for *La Prensa* to come out again, to permit a political struggle, an ideological debate, to enrich the revolutionary process."

Unlike cynical American reformists who pander to liberals by hailing "restoration of full civil liberties"—to the contras—Ortega warned:

"The only limitation which *La Prensa* has now, is that they can't say 'we are for the American Congress approving the

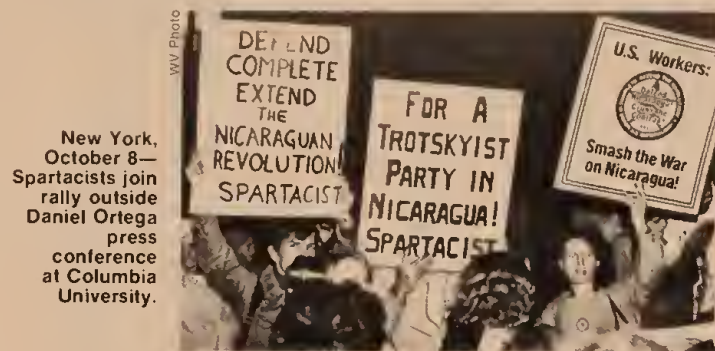
torrent of filth and slander in which the yellow and green press would be only too glad to drown the recent victory of the people.'"

The Council of People's Commissars carefully limited restrictions on the press to "what is absolutely necessary":

"Only those publications can be suppressed which (1) call for open resistance or insubordination to the Workers' and Peasants' Government; (2) sow sedition through demonstrably slanderous distortion of facts; (3) instigate actions of an obviously criminal, i.e. criminally punishable, nature."

The proscription of such media was only to be temporary, and when the revolution consolidated its power, "all administrative pressure on the press will be terminated and it will be granted complete freedom within the bounds of legal responsibility."

But following the death of Lenin, as Stalin consolidated his bureaucratic regime he silenced every critical voice. It would have been better if (after the end of the Civil War) the Mensheviks were able to publish their *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik* in Moscow instead of Berlin—



\$270 million for the contras.' We won't tolerate that. We would have to close *La Prensa* again."

The "free but responsible" imperialist press wagged their fingers at this restriction on "full civil liberties." Meanwhile, in El Salvador even moderately liberal radio stations and newspapers have been silenced for more than six years by the simple expedient of bombing their offices and killing their reporters.

The imperialists have always made demands for "freedom" of the counter-revolutionary press a centerpiece of their anti-Communist tirades. At the time of the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, the victorious Soviets faced the issue squarely. A November 9 decree on the press, authored by Lenin, declared that at the crucial moment when the power of the workers and peasants is just establishing itself:

"It was impossible to leave this weapon [the press] wholly in the hands of the enemy, for in such moments it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns. That is why temporary extraordinary measures were taken to stem the

helping the Bolsheviks sharpen their arguments and subjecting the yellow socialists to the criticism of the revolutionary workers. This would have been a largely symbolic gesture—newsprint was in short supply and virtually every supporter of the revolution had joined the Communist Party—but a good one. The last manifestation of a free revolutionary press in Soviet Russia was in late 1923, when they opened up the pages of *Pravda* as a safety valve following the appearance of the "Platform of the 46." But the torrent of Communist opposition led Stalin and his cohorts to suppress party democracy as they trampled on the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

Today in Nicaragua *La Prensa* has been reopened while the war goes on. And although Ortega at least threatens to shut it down again if necessary, the Sandinistas' conciliation of Nicaraguan capitalists and the "Democratic" Yankee imperialists does not give grounds for confidence. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution it's urgently necessary to complete it and extend it. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 16)

signed, the U.S. president declared his willingness "to work with our Central American friends as they perfect and implement it consistent with our national interest." Reagan's attitude toward his puppets recalls Teddy Roosevelt's snide reference to "my great and good friends, the Presidents of the various Central American Republics, and the excessively free and independent people over whom they preside."

Last week Reagan declared the "peace" plan "fatally flawed" and vowed to the Organization of American States he would support the contras "as long as there is breath in this body." Sounding like German general Hoffmann trying to dictate surrender terms to Trotsky at Brest-Litovsk in 1918 ("Give them another touch of the whip"), administration spokesmen demanded the Sandinistas declare their willingness to give up power or else. Yet even with the \$100 million voted by Congress last year, Reagan's murderous contra "freedom fighters" have proven unable to hold a piece of territory or win a single battle against the Sandinista Army. As the contras begin to melt away, the FSLN regime declared a unilateral cease-fire in several war zones. Four hundred Miskito Indians came over to the government, and interior minister Borge announced that some contra local leaders were negotiating for amnesty.

Meanwhile, Nicaraguan president Ortega spoke at the United Nations on October 8. It was the anniversary of the CIA's assassination of Che Guevara, the heroic guerrilla whom the Sandinista leader later compared to the pacifist Gandhi. Despite Ortega's offers for "dialogue" and normalization of relations with the U.S., the American delegation walked out. The Sandinista leader warned the Reaganaut warmongers, "Rambo exists only in the movies." And while stressing that they had fulfilled the Guatemala accords to the letter, Ortega said any amnesty would be partial, not including the Somozaist National Guardsmen "who have tortured my people." At a press conference, responding to a question from *Workers Vanguard*, he said that if the U.S.-financed rightist paper *La Prensa* again calls for contra "aid," it would be closed again (see article this page).

But beyond the diplomatic maneuvering and occasional tough talk from the Sandinistas, the fundamental fact is that the Arias plan is a liberal formula for a counterrevolutionary "peace." It seeks to freeze the status quo in Central America, which would leave Nicaragua surrounded by hostile U.S. puppet regimes. Arias himself said it's the best way to stop Communism in the region. It doesn't call for removal of the string of American bases in Honduras, an end to the Pentagon's endless "war games" along the borders and coasts of Nicaragua, or removal of the hundreds of U.S. military "advisers" who are the backbone of local armies. Yet it requires that Nicaragua cut off any and all aid to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. At least the latter aren't suicidal. FMLN spokesman Schafik Handal categorically declared, "We will not give up our arms, not now or ever."

El Salvador, meanwhile, is in deep turmoil. Strikes continue to rock the country even when they lose. There have been monthly labor-led protests of tens of thousands marching under the guns of this death squad "democracy." Despite opposition from the Duarte regime and constant aerial bombardment, thousands of refugees are returning from camps in Honduras to their homes in guerrilla territory. The guerrillas have stepped up their campaign

against coffee and cotton plantations, blowing up bridges and sabotaging the war economy. Meanwhile, international relief funds have gone to line the pockets of Christian Democratic politicians, who are now shooting each other in the squabble over Duarte's succession. To Duarte's right, the frustrated Salvadoran oligarchy is reviving the death squads. A *Newsday* (28 September) headline summed up the situation: "El Salvador: A Government on the Verge of Crumbling."

Class Struggle Against Imperialist War

Yet with the contras on the run, the Duarte regime on its last legs and Honduran military officers demanding that the U.S. prepare to pull out its contra army, when prospects for sharp class struggle throughout the isthmus are better than at any time since the beginning of the decade, at this moment the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime signs a pact offering guarantees against revolution to its bourgeois neighbors and to the coalition of Democrats and "moderate" Republicans now ascendant in Congress. And in the "solidarity" milieu, reformists and rad-libs are pushing the treacherous "peace" pact with the Democrats and Washington's Central American puppets instead of a revolutionary struggle against Yankee imperialism.

Most shameless is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which proclaims "New stage opens in Nicaraguan revolution" (*Militant*, 16 October). It's a "new stage" where Jeane Kirkpatrick can stage contra provocations in the heart of Managua and *La Prensa* churns out CIA propaganda while peasants are still being killed by the contras in the field. "The restoration of full civil liberties"—to the contras!—"will create the best conditions possible for the FSLN to wage the necessary battle to increase the political education, mobilization, and involvement of the masses," writes the cynical anti-Trotskyist SWP. An editorial in the same issue declares that the "peace" accords "would mean the end of the contra war."

While the liberals and their reformist hangers-on are open about their support to the counterrevolutionary goals of the "peace" treaty, others have adopted a more "critical" posture toward the Guatemala accords which however alibis the Sandinistas and provides a bridge to supporting the Democrats. *Socialist Action* (September 1987), affiliated with Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), says "The U.S. anti-intervention movement must not be derailed into calling for support to a peace agreement the Sandinistas have been compelled to sign."

The most explicit presentation of this line is by the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), another sympathizing

El Salvador: Class struggle can topple Duarte's death squad "democracy." Workers and peasants demonstrate for striking social security workers last July.



group of Mandel's USec, which in the latest issue of its *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (BIDOM) argues that "Only a hopeless ultraleft 'purist' could condemn the Sandinistas for engaging in negotiations that might grant concessions to the imperialists and the puppet governments in the region." Who these "ultraleft purists" might be is left to the reader's imagination. The FIT seeks to give an aura of Leninist orthodoxy to their position by drawing a false parallel between the Sandinista push for the Arias plan and the Bolsheviks' signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty of 1918:

"There is ample precedent for revolutionary governments to engage in diplomatic maneuvers to buy time for their survival. The Bolshevik leadership of the Russian Revolution negotiated the infamous Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany in 1918—a treaty which gave up vast amounts of territory. There was much controversy about this agreement even within the Bolshevik Party. But there is little question that the Russian Revolution would have been crushed by German militarism without it."

—BIDOM, October 1987

But the analogy with Brest-Litovsk is false to the core. To begin with, the three-month-old revolutionary Soviet regime which inherited the defeated tsarist army had no troops to counter the advancing German imperialist army. The Sandinista regime, however, has built up a formidable military force over the last seven years, backed up by

hundreds of thousands of armed workers and peasants, and they've whipped the contras. For the Bolsheviks in early 1918, the prospect of revolutionary struggle in neighboring countries was only a hope. But next door to Sandinista Nicaragua there is a deep-rooted Salvadoran leftist insurgency which has fought the U.S.-backed army to a standstill while the working class is courageously fighting against the tottering Duarte regime. The rest of Central America is a tinderbox, and Mexico has seen a series of strikes against IMF-imposed austerity.

Most fundamentally, the Bolsheviks

had just made a proletarian revolution and were seeking in every way to spread it across Europe and around the world, but were limited by their resources. The Sandinistas, however, make no bones about the fact that they do not want to expropriate their own bourgeoisie, let alone extend a socialist revolution elsewhere. Theirs is a program of parochial left nationalism. In short, at Brest-Litovsk the Bolsheviks decided to trade territory in order to save the proletarian revolution. By accepting the Arias plan, the Sandinistas have agreed to limit social revolution hoping in this way to keep themselves in power. And in the process they are opening the door to capitalist counterrevolution, which will hardly be peaceful but a bloody slaughter which would sacrifice most dedicated revolutionary fighters.

At first glance, the arguments presented by the FIT would appear at most to be a softness toward the Sandinistas. But behind all the talk of Nicaragua's right of self-determination and calls for "Hands Off Nicaragua!" their common program is a denial of social revolution. They are really harking back to the Vietnam-era "peace" movement and the policy of the already deeply reformist SWP, of which most of them were leaders. This "movement" was a popular front with the defeatist wing of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie on the "single-issue" slogan "Out Now." That demand was the program of the Democratic "doves," personified in 1971 by the presence of Democratic Senator Vance Hartke in the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition conference. And the SWP reformists drew the line in blood, assaulting and driving out all those who protested the presence of this imperialist politician.

Then and now, it is impossible to talk about "peace" without talking about taking sides in the class war. Today in Central America, we not only defend the Nicaraguan Revolution, we seek to complete it, and extend it throughout Central America! The path of socialist revolution is the only road to a genuine peace. ■

Anti-Calero...

(continued from page 16)

Langdell Hall.

Before Calero got a chance to make his plug for the loser contra army, a member of Progressive Labor's International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), Joshua Laub, rushed the platform shouting "Death to the contras!" and lunged at Calero. Harvard cops quickly grabbed the protester, dragged him out of the room in handcuffs and shut the forum down. About 20 students followed Laub to the Harvard and Cambridge police departments, forming a picket line and chanting "Free Josh, Jail Calero" until he was released on \$15 bail. But Laub now faces serious charges of disorderly conduct, disrupting a public assembly, and assault and battery on a police officer. The Spartacus Youth Club demands: Defend Joshua Laub! Drop the charges now!

At the demonstration outside Ames Courtroom, Harvard student Bill Hughes spoke for the Spartacus Youth Club: "It is an outrage that this man can speak today at Harvard or anywhere else. Calero and his contra buddies murder and rape thousands of Nicaraguan civilians, kill heroic *internacionalistas* like Ben Linder and bomb hospitals and schools. He should be run off campus! The only time he should be welcomed into any courtroom is on the day of his own trial, when he'll be sitting in front of the mothers of the heroes and martyrs of the Nicaraguan Revolution. They'll give him justice."

Calero's appearance at Harvard was scheduled a week after Costa Rican president Oscar Arias made a pitch for his phony "peace" plan at the Kennedy

School of Government. The SL/SYC fought against illusions in this Democratic Party-backed plan to bring negotiated counterrevolution to Nicaragua, raising the slogans, "No Negotiated Sellout! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" "Arias 'Peace' Hoax Threatens Nicaraguan Masses" and "For Trotskyist Parties Throughout Central America!" We also collected "Nicabucks" for material aid to embattled Sandinista Nicaragua.

Our spirited contingent provided a left pole of attraction against the pro-Democratic Party politics of the "solidarity" milieu. When a spokesman for the Democratic "Socialists" of America (DSA) whined, "I want to clear up a few misconceptions.... We are a legitimately recognized branch of the Democratic Party," the Spartacists chanted, "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know whose side you're on!" The SYC pointed out that the Democrats vote for contra aid and that both the Democratic and Republican Clubs have invited contras to speak at Harvard.

Driving contra Calero off campus is a victory for all who seek justice for the crimes of Calero and his contra buddies. At the anti-Calero demonstration, the SYC spokesman pointed out: "The only way peace will come to Central America is when the contras are defeated on the battlefield—and that means more Soviet aid—and that revolution is completed," extending it throughout the region. Here in the belly of the imperialist beast, revolutionaries fight for militant labor action against the bipartisan attack on Nicaragua and to bring down the anti-Soviet warmongers who have Nicaragua in their gunights. ■



Trotsky confronted German general Max Hoffmann (right) at Brest-Litovsk negotiations in 1918.



Imperial War Museum

WORKERS VANGUARD

Sellout "Peace" Accords—Threat to Revolution

Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!

When Jeane Kirkpatrick supports a "peace" plan, you *know* there's something wrong with it. This imperialist war criminal was one of the architects of the contra war which has caused more than 40,000 Nicaraguan casualties over the last six years. One of the more notorious contra task forces, which has murdered and raped its way across the countryside, is named after her. This week Reagan's "envoy of death" (as Nicaraguan foreign minister Rev. D'Escoto aptly called her) was in Managua for a provocative demonstration staged by the American embassy. As frenzied counterrevolutionaries cheered "¡Viva Kirkpatrick!" she denounced the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime as a dictatorship (she calls the tyrant Somoza, who bombed Nicaragua's cities and killed 50,000 of his countrymen, a "moderate authoritarian"). But according to the *New York Times* (13 October), "Mrs. Kirkpatrick said she too supports the peace accord...."

Simultaneously, Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd is in the Nicaraguan capital talking with the leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) about their compliance with the pact signed by the five Central American presidents at the Guatemala regional summit last August. While Costa Rican president Oscar Arias just got the Nobel Peace Prize for authoring it, the deal was worked out in consultation with the Democratic Party of Yankee imperialism. But the Democrats have only tactical differences

Sandinista army
is mopping up
Reagan's contra
terrorists.



with Reagan over how to stop the spread of revolution in Central America. Although the Arias plan is predicated on an end to U.S. contra "aid," last month the Democratic-controlled Congress quietly voted another \$3.5 million for Reagan's mercenary army. And it

was Democrat Mondale who proposed *quarantining* Nicaragua, just as John F. Kennedy put a naval blockade around Castro's Cuba.

Liberals are saying that "now the Reagan administration finds itself at odds with all the constituted govern-

ments of Central America—not only its enemies in Nicaragua but its supposed friends in El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and perhaps even Honduras" (Baltimore *Sun*, 12 October). Right after the Guatemala "peace" pact was

continued on page 14

Protesters Drive Out Contra Calero

Harvard

CAMBRIDGE—When contra criminal Adolfo Calero arrived at Harvard October 2 to make a pitch for his CIA-backed mercenaries before the Ollie North glee club of the Law School Republicans, over 100 outraged students, leftists and community activists assembled outside Ames Courtroom to protest this murderer. Participants in the demonstration called by the Central American Solidarity Association, the Harvard Committee on Central America and an ad hoc committee of Law School students were determined to give Calero the reception he deserved. The Spartacist League and Harvard Spartacus Youth Club participated, chanting "Defend Nicaragua! Calero off campus!" Much of the crowd picked up our chant, "No negotiated sellout!



Militant student charges contra honcho Calero. Defend Joshua Laub! Spartacists call for mass, labor-centered actions against Reagan's war on Nicaragua.

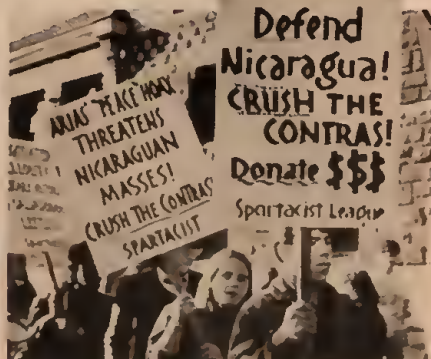
Crush the contras now!"

The Harvard administration welcomed war criminal Calero with open arms. To prevent protesters from running this pig off campus 300 of the 350

tickets distributed for the event were reserved for Calero's camp followers from Conservative and Republican clubs in the Boston area. A massive force of cops checked ID's, searched

bags and flanked the podium; plainclothesmen surveyed the audience with video cameras. Because of an alleged bomb threat, the forum was moved to

continued on page 15



Young Spartacus