

Civil War Threatens in Baltics

We print here excerpts from a statement by the Central Committee of the CPSU, dated 26 August, distributed by the Soviet news agency TASS.

These words as printed are fair and even often true. But they come from an institution which has saturated the Soviet Union since the 1920s with a mass of unmitigated lies—in the first place by the regime of the infamous Stalin, and perpetuated by his successors in the bureaucracy of which he was the architect.

Today the Soviet population must tend to believe nothing that is published by the Soviet government. Thus they deeply disbelieve that there is poverty, racism, limited and expensive medical care, massive unemployment, homelessness and the like in the U.S. They do not know that there is enormous ostentatious wealth that would

put any Soviet bureaucrat to shame, displayed by the small numbers who are the vicious and arrogant American ruling class.

Exception must be taken to the statement's pejorative use of the words "foreign organizations." Some "foreign organizations" are resolute military defenders of the Soviet Union; others are imperialist spies. The bureaucracy does not want to know the difference.

The statement by the CC of the CPSU also leaves out the critical element, insisted upon by Lenin, that all nations not seeking counterrevolutionary social change were promised the right to fully administratively disaffiliate from the rest of the Soviet Union. This right was incorporated in the founding constitution of the USSR.

In the guise of national separation, the Baltic nationalist independence

movements seek not merely separation with full protection of all peoples within these borders, but a vicious capitalist restoration, rapidly producing a new and ethnically pure ruling class, and the

degradation or exclusion of all other Soviet peoples.

It is in this context that it is necessary to view this often accurate document by the Soviet Central Committee.

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The current situation in the Baltic republics is the cause of increasing concern. Developments there affect the vital interests of the entire Soviet people, our entire socialist motherland.

Perestroika paved the way for the rapid growth of the national awareness of peoples, made them confident that they can independently solve the problems of their political, social, economic

and cultural life.

The Baltic republics actively joined in the process of deep transformation. Workers' collectives got moving and the intellectual forces of all strata of society became active.

But at a certain stage nationalist, extremist groups took advantage of democracy and openness and gradually

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Stalinists Bow to Counterrevolutionary Solidarność

Poland on the Brink



Newsweek



Burnett/Contact

Stalinist general Jaruzelski (left) and Lech Walesa in parliament. Pope John Paul Wojtyla masterminds Solidarność' drive to restore capitalism in Poland.

On August 24, the Polish parliament, the Sejm, installed an open counterrevolutionary as prime minister. The new premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, is a long-time leading Catholic politician and close adviser to Solidarność leader Lech Walesa. The imperialist media triumphantly proclaim "An Epochal Shift" (*Time*) and "Communism Crumbles in Poland" (*Newsweek*). On American TV, Barbara Walters interviews Walesa on "the beginning of the end of Communism," as tears of joy glisten on her cheeks. Jimmy Carter's Polish Cold Warrior Zbigniew Brzezinski foresees a "peaceful revolution" and "evolutionary termination of Communist totalitarianism." The fast-moving events in Warsaw signal the opening of a terminal crisis for Stalinist bureaucratic rule in Poland. But the announcements of the "death of Communism" are premature, and a successful counterrevolution

Strikes Break Out Against IMF Austerity

tion would be anything but peaceful.

Already, what happens in Warsaw is being directed by the Polish Pope straight from Rome. Columnist Anthony Lewis revealed (*New York Times*, 24 August): "This summer Mr. Gremek [Solidarność' parliamentary fraction leader] and another leading intellectual adviser to Solidarity, Adam Michnik, were quietly invited by Pope John Paul II to his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo," where the intricate steps of the Polish parliamentary polonaise were orchestrated. The new prime minister

Mazowiecki, in an interview with *Izvestia* (24 August), described his politics: "Simply put, I'm a Christian, a Catholic who follows the social teachings of the Catholic church, which emanate from the instructions of Pope John Paul II." Upon taking office, Mazowiecki placed a phone call to the Pope to get his "instructions." Many people, not just Polish Stalinists, might not find life in Poland as a latter-day Vatican state to their liking.

Eight years ago when we called Solidarność a "company 'union' for

the CIA and bankers" and demanded, "Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution!" the international Spartacist tendency stood virtually alone on the left. Now as Solidarność takes the reins of government, it openly reaffirms its agenda for capitalist restoration. Lech Walesa, in an interview with the Italian newspaper *Il Messaggero* (22 August), said the new government intended to pull Poland along the road "from a Communist system of ownership to capitalism." "Nobody has previously taken the road that leads from socialism to capitalism," he said. "And we are setting out to do just that, to return to the prewar situation when Poland was a capitalist country, after having gone through a long period of socialism." Their plans call for a "shock treatment" rivaling that applied to Chile by Pinochet after the bloody 1973 coup.

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Pratt Parole Denied: Free Geronimo Now!

On August 17 the California Board of Prison Terms once again refused parole for Geronimo Pratt. It was the *ninth* time the panel condemned Pratt to remain in his prison hellhole, and followed by just five weeks the refusal by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals to reconsider its decision to deny Pratt's appeal on an insignificant legal technicality.

Board of Prison Terms Commissioner David Brown, who started his career 25 years ago as a guard at San Quentin prison, emerged from the nine-hour parole board hearing for the ritual denunciation of this courageous fighter for black liberation. Brown stated that Pratt "is not suitable for parole at this

time," and claimed that Pratt refused a crucial psychological evaluation. The Board ignored psychiatric reports recommending parole, such as that of prison staff psychologist Randall Bruce who in 1987 described Pratt as a "principled individual and an idealist and supporter of human rights" whose "prognosis for parole should be excellent," and Dr. M. E. Roudchush, whose recent evaluation concluded, "Mr. Pratt is believed to have an excellent chance at making a constructive adjustment in the free world."

To counter growing support for Pratt, Brown invented a new heinous slander, repeated in a number of newspapers, that Pratt is a heroin user. Pratt



WV Photo

America's foremost class-war prisoner, Geronimo Pratt.

responded in a statement, distributed by the Partisan Defense Committee, stating:

"The Parole Panel's latest attempt to vilify, defame and discredit me must be challenged because of the insidious image it portrays to our children in the midst of the genocidal drug war which is savagely being waged against our families and communities daily. "In closing there is no basis in fact or reality for these statements that the panel has made. The aforementioned statements were made during a so-called parole hearing without me or my attorney being present. Therefore, I hereby challenge any and all members of that panel to face me with their baseless accusations in the open instead of hiding in the shadows with these deceitful and damaging lies."

Bolstered by recent Supreme Court decisions holding that prisoners have virtually no rights at all, Brown peddles his nasty lie in order to justify the continued imprisonment of America's foremost class-war prisoner, and to bury deeper the very real crimes of the COINTELPRO criminals who murdered 38 of Pratt's Panther brothers and sisters and railroaded Pratt and numerous other black militants to a lifetime of prison hell. The true reasons for the parole denial were clearly presented in the last Board of Prison Terms witch-hunt two years ago, when they viciously attacked Pratt's honorable political past as a Black Panther and humanist. Deputy district attorney Diane Vezzani raged that Pratt is "still a revolutionary" and lashed out at the "network of people" who have come forward in the cause of Pratt's freedom. Like South Africa's Nelson Mandela, Geronimo Pratt remains unbowed and deeply committed to the cause of the oppressed in fighting for his own freedom. But American capitalist "justice" has again declared that, like fugitive slave Dred Scott, Geronimo Pratt has "no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

Pratt, a former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader, has been in jail for more than 19 years for a crime he did not commit. And for 19 years he has fought to uncover and expose the FBI/COINTELPRO campaign of murder and disruption against the Black Panther Party and others. To get Pratt behind bars the FBI withheld evidence and concealed from the jury that their chief witness was a paid FBI informant. In 1987, CBS' *60 Minutes* program aired an exposé of Pratt's frame-up in which jurors at the initial trial stated they would have voted to acquit had they known these facts! FBI wiretap logs which would prove Pratt was in Oakland at the time of the Los Angeles murder have been "disappeared."

Thousands have endorsed Pratt's fight for freedom. Congressman Ron Dellums, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, has introduced House Resolution 109, calling for the "immediate release from prison of Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt." On August 26 we wrote to the Parole Board demanding Pratt's freedom. The PDC calls on all of Pratt's supporters, for labor and civil rights activists, to redouble their efforts to generate the widest campaign of protest and publicity to demand "Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!"

Class-Struggle Defense Notes No. 11 is now available. This issue focuses on international class-struggle defense, including the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund and solidarity greetings from fraternal defense organizations initiated in seven countries. We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

For the Rebirth of Polish Communism!

Polish Stalinism is terminally discredited and bankrupt, but authentic communism in Poland had a deeply revolutionary tradition, one so strong that in order to root it out Stalin had to dissolve the Communist Party in 1938. The Polish working class must look back to and reappropriate this legacy which was inspired by the internationalism of Rosa Luxemburg and V.I. Lenin. In a 1957 inter-

view, Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher, one-time leader of the Polish Left Opposition, described the valorous history of this party which led the Polish workers' resistance to Pilsudski's White terror.

It was a great and heroic party, the only party in Poland which represented the interests of the proletarian revolution, the great Marxist tradition, and a true and living internationalism. In this respect no other Polish party could be compared with it. Unfortunately, up to this day the history of the Polish Communist Party still remains a closed and sealed book....

How did it happen, we must ask, that a Party which had to its credit decades of underground struggle and a long (seventy years long!) and proud Marxist tradition submitted meekly to this horrible outrage—without a protest, without making any attempt to defend its martyred leaders and fighters, without even trying to vindicate its honor, and without declaring that in spite of the death sentence Stalin had passed on it, it would live on and fight on? How could this happen? We must be fully aware of the moral corrosion to which Stalinism had for so many years exposed Polish Communism in order to understand its complete collapse under the blow....

Stalin saw the Polish CP as the stronghold of hated Luxemburgism—the Polish "variety of Trotskyism"—which had defied him as long ago as 1923; the Party in which some leaders were close to Bukharin and others to Zinoviev; the Party of innumerable heresies, proud of its traditions and of its heroism; the Party, finally, which might well in certain international situations become an obstacle on his road... And so he decided to remove that obstacle by the blade of the same guillotine which, working furiously, was already destroying a whole generation of Bolsheviks....

Not only the historian, but also every militant Marxist, must draw certain conclusions from the tragic history of the Polish CP. Here, I must of necessity confine myself to one rather general idea: if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions.

—Isaac Deutscher, "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party" (1957)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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Lynch Mob Murder in Bensonhurst

Brooklyn, NY

A black father grieves and rages at the loss of his child to lynch mob murder. "My son went to a neighborhood and was blown down because of the complexion of his skin. Doctors told me my son's heart was blown right out of his body. Why can't he go to Bensonhurst with his friends?" Moses Stewart's 16-year-old son Yusef Hawkins was shot dead by a racist mob in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn on August 24. "This isn't 1889. It's 1989," Stewart said. "This isn't Alabama.... This is New York." But in the racially supercharged atmosphere of Ed Koch's New York, parts of the city have become crucibles for race-terror rivaling the Klan-infested Jim Crow South.

At least three other black men have died at the hands of lynch mobs in segregated white neighborhoods hugging the Belt Parkway from Brooklyn to Queens. **Willie Turks**, a transit worker, dragged from his car and bludgeoned to death by a club-swinging racist mob on Avenue X in Gravesend, June 1982. **Samuel Spencer**, run down on his bicycle, then beaten to death by four carloads of young white racists in Coney Island, May 1986. **Michael Griffith**, chased into the path of a speeding car on the Parkway by a gang of bat-wielding teenage racists in Howard Beach, December 1986. And now, Yusef, an "A" student who was about to enter Transit Tech high school, brutally murdered by a mob of 30 "corner boys" on the streets of 93-percent-white Bensonhurst.

Hawkins had been watching a video of *Mississippi Burning* and was stunned by the brutality of the lynch mob shown in the movie. He didn't get to finish because he and three friends, all from a quiet street in the mainly black Brooklyn section of East New York, had an appointment to look at a used car in Bensonhurst. There they ran into the racist punks who had gathered, baseball bats in hand, to waylay blacks they believed had been invited to a party given by a young woman named Gina Feliciano. Feliciano had violated the neighborhood "code" by having a dark-skinned Caribbean boyfriend and inviting black friends over to her house. Hawkins and his friends were simply the first blacks to come along, and Yusef paid with his life.

Koch's black police commissioner, Benjamin Ward, pronounced the lynching a case of "mistaken identity" set off by the jealousy of a "spurned lover." This became the argument of those who denied racism was involved: in other words, if the killers had only shot Feliciano's boyfriend, it would supposedly be no big deal. But this ambush was cold-blooded racist murder. In a cruel irony, the attack victims included Luther Sylvester, who is related to Michael Griffith as well as to Curtis Sylvester, the driver of the car that broke down, forcing its passengers to walk into Howard Beach.

The Hawkins case is now being played out against the background of the cynical politics of the NYC mayoral race. Desperately trying to catch up in the polls, arch-racist Koch rushed to Brooklyn to demand the governor appoint a special prosecutor. Brooklyn D.A. Liz Holtzman, herself a candidate for Comptroller, recoiled; her office has plenty of "experience" in prosecuting "bias" cases, she said. Holtzman "handled" the Willie Turks case, too: his murderers were slapped on the wrist and are walking the streets today. So far, the Bensonhurst suspects have been

charged with riot, assault, conspiracy and with violating Yusef's civil rights. No one has been charged with murder, and all are now out on bail.

Black mayoral front-runner David Dinkins had a point when he said, "It was like, 'Any n----- will do.' If I take my tie off I could go there and get my behind kicked, too.... The tone and the climate of this city does get set at City Hall." Dinkins, who has a good shot at replacing Koch in City Hall, is calling for thousands more cops on the streets to "fight" crime and crack. Yet it was racist killer cops, unleashed by Mayor Koch, who blew away grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs with a shotgun because she was behind in her rent, stomped the life out of subway graffiti artist Michael Stewart, hurled Trevor Francis from a Harlem rooftop on a "drug bust."

In Bensonhurst, where lots of cops and their friends live, and the punks on the street idolize John Gotti, people heard nothing and saw nothing. The suspected triggerman, Joey Fama, reputedly Mafia-connected, has mysteriously vanished. Meanwhile, the neighborhood has turned on Feliciano, daughter of a Puerto Rican father and an Italian mother, "the girl that ruined the neighborhood." Some of the punks threatened to kill her even before the shooting. A neighbor said, "If she wanted friends like that, if she wanted black people as friends, she should've went into their neighborhood."

There is bitter outrage in the black community and throughout the city against the murder of Yusef Hawkins. Yet the organized response, or lack thereof, has again highlighted the crisis

of black leadership. After the Howard Beach killing, hundreds of black people repeatedly took to the streets, but their anger was channeled by the liberal-nationalist lawyers Maddox and Mason into impotent calls for Democratic governor Cuomo to appoint a "special prosecutor." This was done, and now there's yet another lynch mob attack. Black anger was further dissipated in the disastrous Tawana Brawley hoax, dragged on forever by the two lawyers and the charlatan and admitted FBI fink Al Sharpton.

On August 26, Sharpton led several hundred black people into Bensonhurst, where isolated and unarmed they were spat upon and abused by screaming mobs, and depended for their safety on the "protection" of the racist NYC cops! "Niggers go home!" shouted some of the 400 white residents...including some holding signs reading "We're not racist," reported *Newsday* (27 August). On Sunday, black preachers led a vigil to the site of the murder and were also met by screaming mobs, some holding up watermelons. In response, Koch lashed out...against the black marchers, accusing them of escalating tension by marching into Bensonhurst.

The workers movement must insist on and enforce the democratic right of anyone to go anywhere in this city. That includes black men in Howard Beach and Bensonhurst and white women in Central Park. This is not accomplished by "moral witness" marches of small numbers of protesters defenseless against the racist mobs. Instead of a show of weakness, what's needed is an impressive show of strength by the integrated labor movement, demon-

strating the power and determination to stop the racist punks in their tracks. Such a mobilization, including many of the thousands of trade unionists who live in Bensonhurst, can have a powerful impact in breaking down the segregation which breeds racist terror.

In 1982, after Willie Turks was clubbed to death after he and some friends stopped to buy a bagel on the way home from work at the Coney Island transit barn, fellow members of TWU Local 100 called for mass integrated workers defense guards to defend the right to walk the streets. Transit workers, including supporters of the Spartacist League, issued a call on this strategic union to organize hundreds of flatbed trucks filled with thousands of union militants to patrol the streets of South Brooklyn. But mass mobilization of union power was opposed by the pro-Democratic Party bureaucrats who control the TWU. Then, as now, they preached reliance on Democratic Party cops, the courts and the racist cops.

Yusef Hawkins, Samuel Spencer and Michael Griffith might be alive today, and many others unscathed by racist attack, if the cruel lynching of Willie Turks had been met by mass labor/black defense back in 1982. Now the lives of black people are even more at risk. We will finally get rid of the racist rot, in Bensonhurst and throughout this country, when the workers take power, led by a multiracial revolutionary party which fights intransigently in defense of all the oppressed. In the warning words of Moses Stewart: "It did not start with my family. It started 400 years ago.... If you want to keep your son, you stop it now!" ■

CWA Striker Murdered on the Picket Line

Gerry Horgan, a chief steward in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1103, and other striking phone workers were picketing a Valhalla, New York NYNEX facility access road on August 14 when a scab, Patricia McNamara, drove at the picket line. Horgan was forced onto the hood of her car. Horrified union witnesses reported McNamara driving for over 100 feet accelerating and swerving from side to side, causing Horgan to be thrown head first to the pavement. The 34-year-old cable splicer died the next day, leaving a widow and two small children. This was murder.

The cops called it an "accident" and refused to press charges against McNamara, while the bosses' press blacked out news of the killing or obscenely blamed Horgan for his own death. But Gerry is not forgotten by his coworkers. On August 17, over 2,000 angry unionists rallied in White Plains, New York in memory of Gerry Horgan. One sign read: "Cut a Cable—Go to Jail; Kill a Picket—Get Off Free. Where Is Justice?" Even in the face of this scab murder, the CWA union tops have been conducting business as usual: sending CWA members at AT&T across strikers' picket lines and turning the strike into a toothless consumer boycott.

In the wake of this brutal murder, strikers must demand a solid national strike against the "Baby Bells" and AT&T! To win against the highly



August 17—Two thousand angry workers at memorial rally in White Plains, New York.

automated phone system, workers have to occupy the offices, pull the billing tapes and give the public free service, winning the support of millions against the hated phone companies.

Some selective service cuts—Wall Street, the banks—will bring the bosses to their knees! Honor Gerry Horgan and stop scabs with picket lines that nobody crosses! ■

Young Spartacus

The Great French Revolution of 1789 is not an isolated and remote historical event but has formed the framework for social struggle in France for the past 200 years. In 1848, the workers tried to shatter the entente that emerged from the counterrevolutionary reaction to the French Revolution. In response the propertied classes massacred the Paris proletariat in the June Days.

These same counterrevolutionary forces shot down the Communards of 1871 and sought to frame up the Jewish military officer Dreyfus, leading to a near civil war in France at the turn of the century. And with the rulers demoralized by the enormous casualties of World War I, they found that the 1936 general strike and election of the Popular Front made capitulation to German imperialism in 1940 the "lesser evil."

The issues of the French Revolution, with the shifts in social composition and struggle over 200 years, still live vividly in France today, especially in the mindset and activity of French reaction. Their diminution and derogation of the Revolution serves immediate purposes of the same kind as their forebears, perhaps with the immigrant labor force the target of appetites to impose a contemporary version of serfdom.

The claim by revisionist historians that the French Revolution is irrelevant to the modern world is similar in intent to the statement of the reactionary American Zionist Norman Podhoretz that, for him, the American Civil War is as remote as the English War of the Roses. What they mean is quite the opposite. In attempting to exorcise the spectre of social revolutions past, they seek to justify and obscure social and racial oppression in the contemporary bourgeois world.

The following is an edited talk on the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, given in Paris on July 22 by Joseph Seymour, member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S.

PART ONE OF TWO

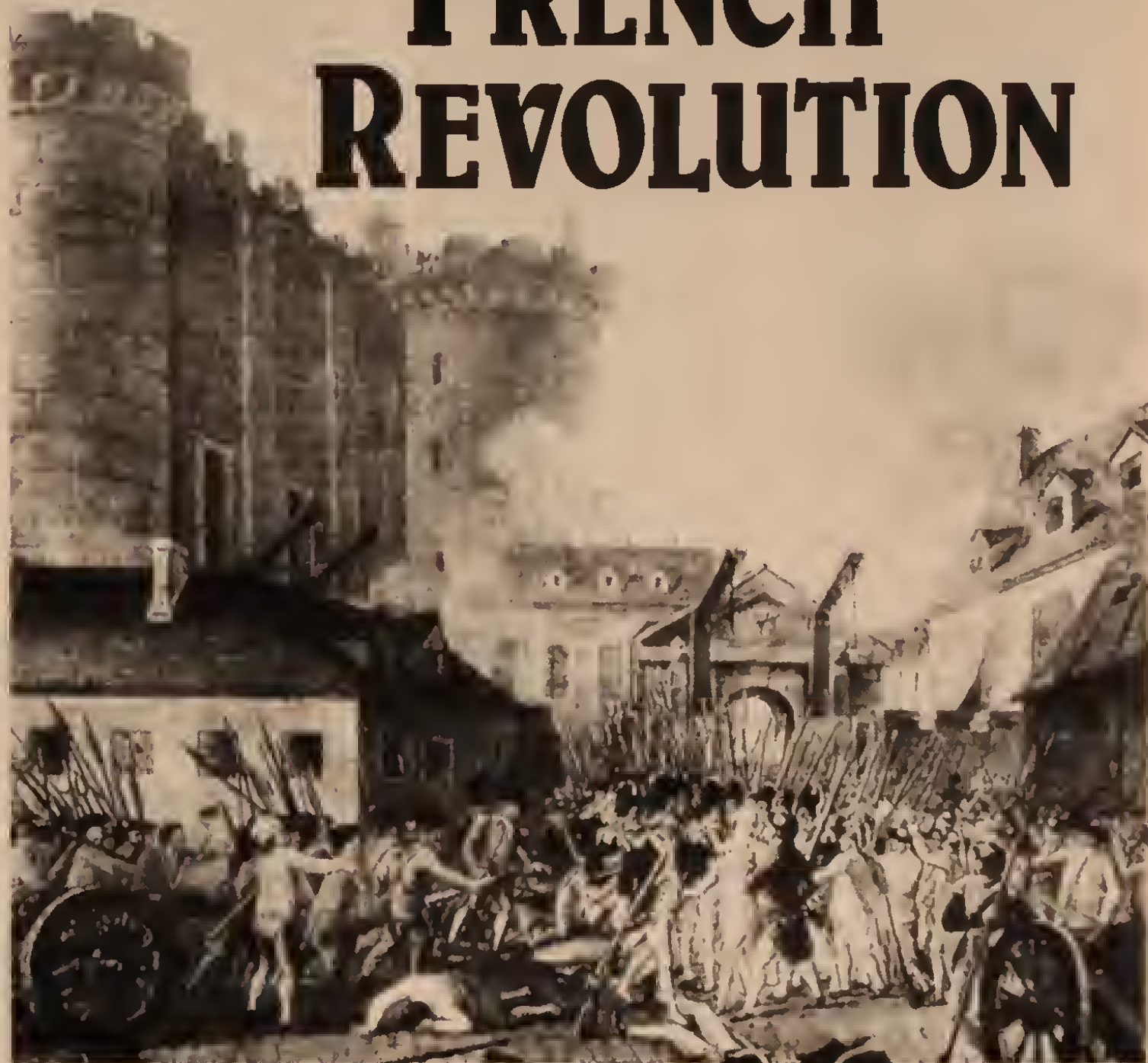
It may seem very presumptuous for an American who neither speaks nor reads French to give a talk on the French Revolution. Yet in an important sense the true greatness of the French Revolution is felt more outside of France than within France—for within France the Revolution carries the tricolor, outside of France it still carries the red flag. In France it is celebrated as the birth of the French bourgeois nation-state, as a commemoration of



V.I. Lenin claimed Jacobin heritage for proletarian revolution.

From Jacobinism to Bolshevism

IN DEFENSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION



14 July 1789—French Revolution begins as Parisian working people storm Bastille prison-fortress, freeing prisoners and seizing arms.

the unity and grandeur of the French people, of the triumph of the liberal principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens. But outside of France the Revolution is still seen as an uprising of the oppressed and exploited for a just and egalitarian society, the revenge of the have-nots against the haves.

In France Bastille Day is just a patriotic holiday like the American 4th of July, filled with military parades, marching bands, fireworks and all the flag-waving hoopla. But imagine celebrating Bastille Day in El Salvador, or Bolivia, or Pinochet's Chile—or for that matter even in the United States. Last weekend the comrades in New York celebrated Bastille Day in Prospect Park, and I can imagine going up to a black bar in Brooklyn and inviting some black people to join us. Maybe they've never heard of Bastille Day, so they'd say: What's all this Bastille business about? And I'd say: Two hundred years ago a bunch of poor working people like you stormed this prison fortress, they

freed the prisoners, they took the arms, and they strung up the commander. And they'd say: Right on, man, we gotta do that here!

It may come as a surprise or even an astonishment for a French audience today to learn that 50 years after the storming of the Bastille the French Revolution was celebrated as the inspiration for international communism, and it was *only* celebrated as the inspiration for international communism. One of Frederick Engels' first writings as a communist was a report on a celebration of the founding of the French Republic by communists and other working-class radicals in London. The main speaker was Julian Harney, the leader of the Chartists—the first mass workers party in history. Harney said that whenever we English workers demand democratic reforms of Parliament, whenever we demand lower taxes, whenever we demand better education for our children, the ruling class screams at us: Jacobins! The Terror! You want to set up a guillotine in Trafalgar

Square! You want to execute Queen Victoria! Unfortunately, they didn't.

It was only later, and only in France, that the French Revolution was celebrated as the birth of the French bourgeois nation. But it's important to understand that the chauvinism of a Clemenceau, of a Thorez, of a De Gaulle and a Mitterrand, was not the patriotism of Robespierre and Saint-Just. The Jacobin leaders sought to base French patriotism, the sense of nationhood, on the universal principles of the Enlightenment. Thus Robespierre, speaking in early 1794:

"Only in democracy is the state really the *patrie* [fatherland] of all individuals who compose it and can count as many interested defenders as it has citizens. That is the source of the superiority of free peoples over all others. If Athens and Sparta triumphed over the tyrants of Asia, and the Swiss over the tyrants of Spain and Austria, we need not look for any other cause.

"But the French are the first people in the world who have established real democracy, by calling all men to equality and to the full rights of citizenship:

and there, in my opinion, is the real reason why all the tyrants in league against the Republic will be vanquished."

The Jacobin constitution of 1793 granted French citizenship to any foreign friend of liberty who wanted it, and in the Jacobin Convention there were foreign radicals who represented the French *patrie*. Robespierre declared: "The men of all countries are brothers, and the different peoples should assist one another as much as possible like citizens of the same state."

What we call nationalism today, in the imperialist era, is not the ideology of the French Revolution. Rather it is the ideology of the reaction *against* the French Revolution. It was the English conservative Edmund Burke, the main ideologist of the European coalition against the French Revolution, who elevated particular national traditions as the highest political value. It was Burke who treated Englishmen and Frenchmen as if they were almost different species, incapable of sharing a common political vocabulary and common political values.

It was the German romantic reactionaries against the French Revolution who glorified the mystic unity of the German *Volk* going back to the ancient Teutonic forests. In the 20th century the Nazis picked up all of this blood-and-soil crap. The Nazis called this the *Blut- und Boden* literature—*Blut* and *Boden*. The Jacobins didn't speak of *Blut* and *Boden*, they spoke of democracy and equality.

Jacobin ideology had a bourgeois and national component, and an egalitarian and universalist component. After Robespierre fell, these two components divided and went off in different historical directions. In a sense these directions were personified by the Corsican Napoleon Bonaparte and the Italian Filippo Buonarroti.

Both Napoleon and Buonarroti began their political careers as part of Robespierre's political circle. Napoleon was originally a protégé of Robespierre's younger brother. Buonarroti played the piano at dinner parties in Robespierre's household. It's as if Robespierre had two sons who divided his inheritance between them. At first it appeared as if Napoleon had got the real inheritance and Buonarroti the illusory inheritance. Napoleon's armies conquered all of Europe. Buonarroti was left to organize some handful of followers in secret societies. Incidentally, when Napoleon was defeated and went into exile, in his memoirs he claimed that he had always been a true Jacobin—that he had fought only to liberate the peoples of Europe from the dynasties. Needless to say, he never said this when he was the Emperor.

But in the end the universalist and egalitarian principles of the French Revolution proved even more powerful than Napoleon's armies. Buonarroti was the living link between the French Revolution and Karl Marx, just as in a different sense Marx was the living link between the French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution.

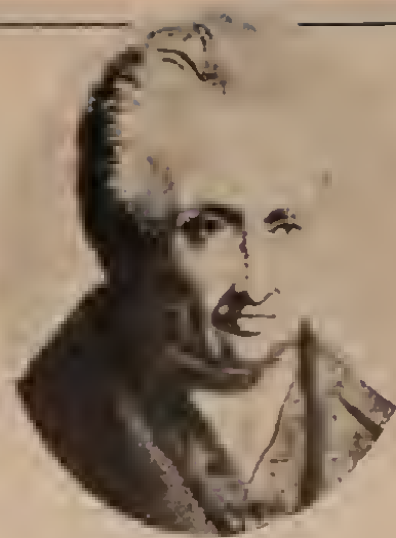
In the decade before the first imperialist world war, both the French bourgeois radical Clemenceau and Lenin claimed to stand for the Jacobin heritage—the first in the name of French



Maximilien Robespierre



Gracchus Babeuf



Filippo Michele Buonarroti

Credits: Paul Popper Ltd., Radio Times Hulton, Kurt Desch

chauvinism and imperialism, the second in the name of proletarian revolution and internationalism. But since Lenin's achievements are considered far greater than Clemenceau's—except by the French bourgeoisie—today in most of the world Jacobinism is associated with Bolshevism, not Clemenceauism.

For example, in the United States there's a magazine called *National Geographic*, which is supposedly a popular and nonpolitical magazine. It is read by millions of schoolchildren, and you can even find it in the waiting rooms of doctors' offices. As you see, the July issue is

called *sans-culotte*—spent 50 to 75 percent of his income on food.

Of the four contending classes in the Revolution, three no longer exist in the modern world, and the fourth—the peasantry—is a small remnant of what it was at the time. Clearly the landed nobility and the artisan proletariat—not an industrial, but an artisan proletariat—don't exist anymore. We talk about the bourgeoisie, but this is a preindustrial bourgeoisie. This is a bourgeoisie whose wealth came from the production, processing, distribution and financing of agricultural products.



In commemoration of bicentennial of the French Revolution, SL/U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour speaks in Rouen (above) and Paris.

devoted to the French bicentennial, and in it we are told:

"It was elsewhere, and not until the 20th century, that men of the Robespierrean type came into their own, seizing power first in Russia and then in many other countries. These modern despots acted with the same savage violence as the Paris archetypes to destroy their enemies, shatter the past, and impose the total authority of the revolution."

A Political Battleground for Two Hundred Years

In one sense it is meaningless to ask the question: Who are the heirs of the Jacobins today? Because the French Revolution as such is a closed chapter of history. It cannot be emphasized enough that it occurred in a preindustrial society, an overwhelmingly agricultural society. The typical French shopkeeper or artisan—the so-

Recall that the main school of bourgeois political economy in 18th-century France, the physiocrats, maintained that land was the only source of wealth and that all other economic activities were derived from agriculture.

Yet, given the intensity of debates about the French Revolution, you would think it happened 20 years ago, not 200 years ago. The French Revolution looms larger in the consciousness of the modern world than revolutions much closer in time. How many people even in France can name the leading figures of the Revolution of 1848 or the Paris Commune? Yet Marie-Antoinette and Robespierre have entered the political vocabulary of the modern world, the first as a symbol of ruling-class arrogance, the second as a symbol of revolutionary intransigence or fanaticism. Even Danton has become a symbol of moderation, the eternal liberal seeking a middle road between reaction and revolutionary extremism.

For the past 200 years every generation has fought the French Revolution anew. In the 1830s James Bronterre O'Brien, a leader of the British Chartists, wrote a biography of Robespierre, whom he considered one of the greatest and purest reformers of all history. In the 1840s the young Marx and Engels believed that the Jacobin regime represented the political power of the working class of its day, although under conditions fated to serve the historical interests of the bourgeois revolution. In the 1850s the leading literary figure of

English liberalism, Charles Dickens, wrote a novel of the French Revolution, *A Tale of Two Cities*. In this work the Jacobin terror is portrayed as an orgy of popular bloodlust. (Margaret Thatcher gave Mitterrand a copy of this novel as a present for the bicentennial.)

In 1904 Lenin declared that a Bolshevik is a Jacobin indissolubly tied to the organization of the working class. In 1933 the Nazi German Minister of Education declared that the victory of National Socialism is a victory over the French Revolution. A few years later Trotsky called the Stalinist bureaucratic counterrevolution the Soviet Thermidor, the equivalent in the Soviet Union of the French Thermidor of 1794 which overthrew the revolutionary-democratic Jacobin regime. When the French Stalinists initiated the Popular Front in the mid-'30s, they established a cult of Robespierre, which to some degree they have maintained to this day—much to the embarrassment of the Gorbachevites!

In the 1950s the American reactionary Henry Kissinger first came to academic prominence when he wrote a book which praised the Hapsburg minister Prince Metternich, the main architect of the European reaction against the French Revolution. In the early 1980s the Polish film director Andrzej Wajda, a leading supporter of *Solidarność*, produced the movie *Danton* which was financed by the Mitterrand government. This movie presented Robespierre as a bloodthirsty paranoid monster like Stalin, and glorified Danton as a modern liberal—Jacobinism with a human face. A few years ago, when the French Communist Party historian Michel Vovelle visited China, the Beijing authorities told him, "we are Thermidorians." And this bicentennial year the archbishop of Poland, Cardinal Glemp, participated in the commemoration of the Catholic-royalist uprising in the Vendée.

What is it about this 200-year-old bourgeois-democratic revolution, that every generation sees a political parallel of its own time? Why has this bourgeois revolution, both at the time and later, been seen by so many as an *anti-bourgeois* revolution? Why has the greatest revolutionary leader of the French state, Maximilien Robespierre, been vilified for 200 years as a bloodthirsty monster and a forerunner of communism to boot?

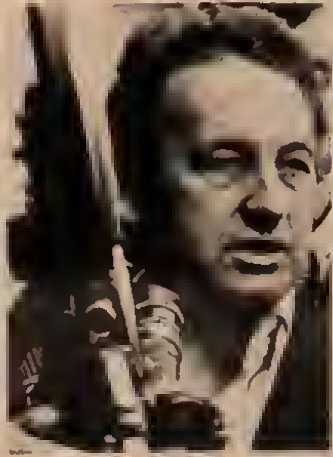
Why Was the French Revolution So Radical?

There is a long intellectual tradition from Edmund Burke to François Furet which blames the whole thing on the baneful influence of the Enlightenment *philosophes*. Somehow, they claim, a group of demented Rousseauians took over France and attempted to establish the Republic of Virtue through a reign of terror. Poor Jean-Jacques Rousseau has been held responsible for everything from the September Massacres of 1792 to Stalin's Gulag. (He might be

continued on page 6

Manoukian/Sygma

New Yorker Films



Solidarność against the French Revolution: Polish Archbishop Glemp joins with French royalists in the Vendée; Director Andrzej Wajda vilifies Robespierre in film *Danton*.

French Revolution...

(continued from page 5)

amused. Actually, he had no sense of humor—he wouldn't have been amused. A very humorless guy!)

It is true one can draw very radical conclusions from the notion of the Noble Savage. There's an essay on cannibals by Montaigne, one of the forerunners of the French Enlightenment. He tells of a Brazilian cannibal who was captured and taken to France. He was obviously an intelligent man and soon learned French. One day someone asked him what he thought of French civilization. And he said that there were many wonderful things in France, but there was one thing he didn't understand: he saw beggars who were starving, were all skin and bones, and then he saw rich people dripping with fat, and he couldn't understand why the beggars didn't kill and eat the rich people. He was obviously a primitive communist—*très primitif*.

But of course the French Revolution was not a product of radical ideology. It was a product of the economic and class structure of French society. And to understand the radicalism of the Revolution it is useful to compare it to the English bourgeois revolution. Both before, during and after the French Revolution, England with its constitutional monarchy and its Parliament of property owners was held up as a model of what France should be. Even today Furet laments that a French Tory party did not cohere and dominate the Revolution.

But this is a purely idealist view because the English economy was radically different at the time of the English Civil War than the French economy at



Working women of Paris lead march on royal palace at Versailles, October 1789.

the time of the Revolution. Beginning with the 16th century the English peasantry was driven off the land by the enclosure movement. Much of the English countryside was turned into pasture for sheep to produce wool for the world market. In the language of the day, "sheep ate men."

A whole section of the English landed aristocracy basically became bourgeois landowners. When the Civil War broke out a minority of the landed aristocracy supported Parliament and a larger number remained neutral—they just ran their estates and continued to make money. The radical party in the English Revolution—the Levellers—demanded the breaking up of the enclosures and the resettlement of peasants on the land. That is, they wanted to reverse the course of economic development. But this was not only politically unfeasible, it was economically utopian.

English agriculture had already become highly competitive and geared to a market economy. It was not enough to have land, you also had to have capital

to invest and improve crop yields, so that peasant smallholding was *no longer* economically viable in England as it still was in late 18th-century France. During the English Civil War the Cromwellian colonel William Sydenham told Parliament that it was futile to give propertyless soldiers free land: "They are poor, and if you assign lands to them they must sell again" (quoted in Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* [1961]). The historic compromise between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie which ended the English Civil War was possible because English agriculture had already gone a long way toward becoming capitalist.

But the France of the Bourbon monarchy was still a country of peasant smallholders, who had to pay a multitude of feudal-derived dues both to the landed nobility and the many bourgeois who had purchased land. If in England one can speak of the bourgeoisification of a section of the nobility, in France you had the feudalization of a section of the bourgeoisie. And the main function of the absolutist state was to extract rent from the peasantry for the landed class. So that when the authority of the monarchical state was destroyed in 1789, French society polarized along *very different lines* than had England during the Civil War a century earlier.

Furet is famous for the thesis that the French Revolution was "blown off course." Naturally, he maintains, it should have ended up like England—a constitutional monarchy with a Parliament of property owners. But in fact it wasn't blown off course, because the bourgeois liberals had set a course for never-never land. On the one hand, they proclaimed that feudalism was abolished. On the other hand, they told the peasants to continue to pay the main rents or else redeem them for 20 to 25 times the annual amount. Well, the peasants decided that feudalism was abolished and refused to pay any rent to their landlords. And the French army was so divided, faction-ridden and mutinous that it could no longer be used as an instrument for suppressing peasant revolts.

The reason that the French aristocracy refused to accept the liberal revolution of Mirabeau and Lafayette was not primarily reactionary ideological prejudices—the belief that they had all descended from Charlemagne. That was not the main factor. Rather, they could not accept a revolution whose consequences were depriving them of the economic surplus necessary for their existence as a class. So the policy of the French aristocracy was to restore a monarchical state by encouraging the foreign absolutist states to invade and occupy France. In France a historical compromise between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was only possible on the basis of a successful *counterrevolution* which suppressed the peasant revolt and in some form restored the exploitation of the French peasantry both by sections of the bourgeoisie and of the aristocracy.

Even sophisticated historians like Furet continue to blame the radicalization

of the Revolution on the personality of the royal family. If only Louis had not been so blockheaded and stubborn, if only Marie-Antoinette had not been so shallow and arrogant, a Bourbon would still be in Versailles instead of this upstart Mitterrand! But in fact Louis was acting as a responsible representative of his class, and his class was the nobility. Thus, while in public accepting the Revolution grudgingly, in private he was writing to the crowned heads of Europe to invade France and restore his authority.

A key turning point of the French Revolution was the abortive flight of the king in June 1791, when Louis attempted to flee France and join his Hapsburg brethren. This destroyed many of the popular illusions in Louis and therefore produced a wave of popular radicalism on the part of the urban lower classes, the *sans-culottes*. At the same time a section of the liberal bourgeoisie was now convinced even more strongly that the monarchy was a necessary protection against popular radicalism. Thus a month after the abortive flight of the king, a principal liberal leader of the Constituent Assembly, Barnave, stated:

"Are we going to end the Revolution or are we going to begin it all over again?... Any new step forward would be a fatal and culpable act, since a further step in the direction of liberty would involve the destruction of the monarchy, while a further step in the direction of equality would mean the destruction of property."

And the very next day after Barnave made this speech, a large group of petitioners who were calling for abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic were massacred in the Champ de Mars by the National Guard of Lafayette. The massacre at the Champ de Mars irrevocably split the hitherto patriotic bourgeoisie into hostile camps. Robespierre later recounted that it was only after this massacre that he became convinced of the necessity for a republic.

The splitting of the bourgeoisie enabled the plebeian masses of Paris to come forward as a somewhat independent revolutionary force. Thus the establishment of a democratic republic involved the mobilization of the urban plebeian masses outside of, and to some degree against, the representative institutions of the bourgeoisie. The *journée* [uprising] of 10 August 1792 not only overthrew the king but created a condition of *dual power* between the Paris Commune and the city sections on the one hand, and the Legislative Assembly and later the Convention on the other.

At the same time the overthrow of the monarchy transformed the Revolution into a European-wide war. Six days after the invasion of the Tuileries Palace which overthrew the king, an army of Prussians, Austrians and French émigrés invaded France. The commander of the army, the German Duke of Brunswick, threatened a terrible and savage vengeance against the people of Paris for daring to lay hands on the sacred monarch. Brunswick and all the royalists of Europe were supremely confident that they would sweep away this French rabble, march into Paris, and restore the king to his throne.

The French army encountered this largely Prussian army about 70 miles from Paris on the crest of a hill called Valmy. The French army outnumbered the Prussians. The French infantry stood up to the Prussians, the most feared, disciplined and well-drilled army of the European *anciens régimes*. The French artillery and artillery officers proved superior. At the end of the day a torrential rainstorm broke out and the Prussian army retreated, its confidence somewhat shaken. With the Prussian army that day was the German writer Goethe, and according to one account, that night as the rain was coming down he stood in the middle of the battlefield and said: "This day and this place open a new era in the history of the world."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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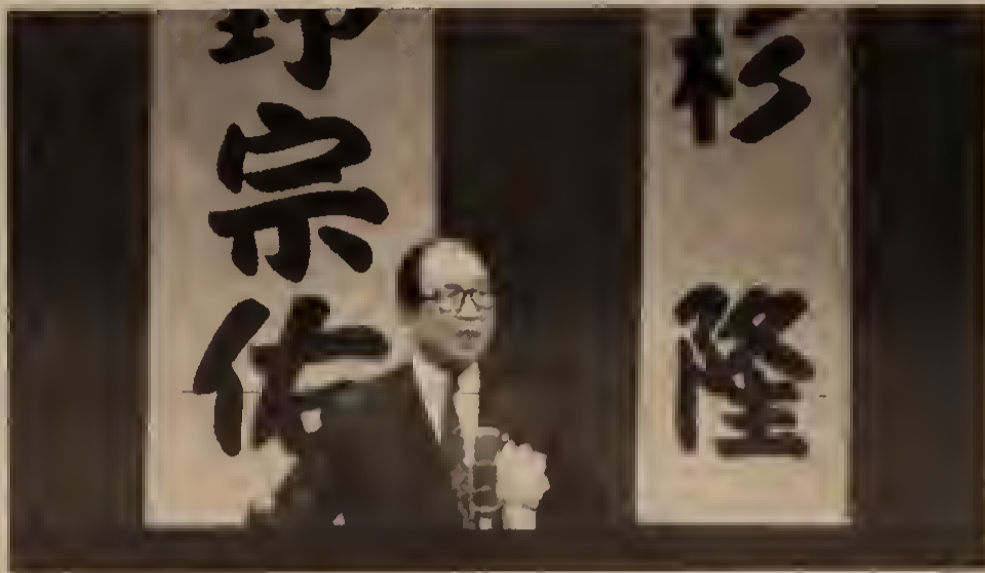
For a Workers Republic!

Japan Ruling Party in Disarray

TOKYO—1989 has not been a good year for the Japanese ruling class. It began with the death of Emperor Hirohito, the longest reigning monarch in the world. Now, battered by a financial scandal, then a sex scandal, facing a public outraged by a tax increase while the rich and powerful flaunt their wealth, the reign of the longest-ruling party in the advanced capitalist world—the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP)—may be coming to an end.

In June Japan's prime minister, Noboru Takeshita, resigned in the face of the Recruit stock and influence-peddling scandal. Two months later his successor resigned after the right-wing LDP lost partial control over the Diet (parliament) for the first time in 35 years. Since the LDP bosses believed they enjoyed a natural monopoly in running Japan, Inc., the July 23 election loss to the Socialists came as quite a shock. "The LDP is in hell right now," moaned one party bigwig.

The Liberal-Democratic Party is neither liberal nor democratic nor a party. It is a coalition of ruling-class cliques based on patronage and "money politics." Its internal structure rather resembles that of the Mafia. The LDP was formed in 1955 under American auspices to keep the Communists and social



Kogure/Time

Ex-prime minister Uno's two-month reign sunk by geisha scandal.

of the LDP beneficiaries of Recruit's largesse: "I was so angry, I couldn't even look at my place. My whole apartment would fit into the entranceway of [LDP bigwig] Fujinami's house—maybe into the bathroom."

Beginning last spring the LDP suffered a series of defeats and humiliations in various elections. When Takeshita finally announced his intention to go, his popularity rating had fallen to under 4 percent! The first choice to replace him was the party's elder statesman, Masayoshi Ito, who had a reputation for being a "clean" politician and advocate of internal party reform. But when Ito naively demanded dismantling the LDP's clique structure, he was out. Next in the batter's box was Foreign Minister Sousuke Uno, a political lightweight whose main credential for being prime minister was being "Recruit-free" and no threat to the prevailing clique alignment. Uno's appointment resembled an 18-inning baseball game with the manager peering at the end of the bench to see who's left.

But far from burying the Recruit scandal, Uno's appointment as prime minister touched off a sex scandal when his 1985 affair with a geisha was made public. Apparently the man is a real cheapskate who refused to pay the customary "sayonara" money to politely end this type of liaison. The geisha in question, Mitsuko Nakanishi, got her own back with a vengeance when she told all to the media. "A person who is not considerate of the weak cannot conduct good politics," she lectured the new prime minister over the Tokyo Broadcasting System.

The public furor over the prime minister and the geisha reflected the usual mixture of sexual bigotry and salaciousness. But it also expresses the bitter resentment Japanese women have to the deep-seated oppression they have suffered for eternity. Japan is notorious for being the most grossly male-chauvinist culture this side of the Third World. And the company of geishas—the old world of flowers and willows—is strongly identified with the feudal privileges of Japan's ruling patriarchy.

Thus the mainstream social democrats of the opposition Socialist Party (JSP), under the direction of its woman leader Takako Doi, was able to combine populism and bourgeois feminism in an effective electoral mix. The JSP simultaneously appealed to the economic grievances of working-class housewives and the social aspirations of yuppie women. Doi was named party chairman in 1986 after the Socialists made a poor showing in the elections. The JSP tops evidently believed they had little to lose by selecting a woman to

publicly head a major Japanese party for the first time ever. Doi herself is in the right wing of the party. A former professor of law, she also represents the growing number of educated, professional women who resent the elderly patriarchy of Japan's ruling elite.

Doi's JSP ran as its candidates a large number of housewives who had previously been uninvolved in politics, an electoral strategy the media dubbed "Operation Madonna." These working-class women are being used to further the careers of social-democratic bureaucrats and feminist yuppies. Sections of the LDP establishment responded to "Operation Madonna" with obscene expressions of male chauvinism. Agricultural minister Hisao Horinouchi declared, "It is wrong for women to come to the forefront in politics," and baited the 60-year-old Doi for being unmarried and childless. This outburst alone probably cost the LDP millions of women's votes.

While infuriating women of all classes, the LDP has also alienated its hitherto most solid voting bloc, Japan's smallholding farmers. For decades the Japanese ruling class has stubbornly maintained a high degree of agricultural protection, both to preserve a socially and politically conservative peasantry and to ensure self-sufficiency in food production for strategic mili-

tary purposes. As a result, food prices in Japan are outrageously high compared to other advanced capitalist countries. The urban population subsidizes every farm household in the Japanese islands to the tune of \$20,000 a year.

In the past year, in response to increasing American pressure, including the threat to retaliate against Japanese industrial exports, the Takeshita regime relaxed some of the controls on food imports. So farmers are up in arms against their former LDP protectors, while Doi's JSP has demagogically and cynically taken up the reactionary banner of agricultural protectionism.

Abolish the Emperor System!

The current leftward shift in the political mood should not obscure the danger from the right or the powerful reserves of reaction in Japanese society. One has only to consider the intense emotional outpouring as Emperor Hirohito lay dying. When the mayor of Nagasaki, Hitoshi Motoshima, suggested that Hirohito bore some responsibility for World War II, he received death threats from right-wing fanatics and was formally censured by the LDP.

The fascist right, while currently small in numbers, is well financed and has influential links to big business. Yakuza gangsters and sections of the LDP. As the Socialists move toward governmental office, they could well become the target for right-wing terrorist attacks such as occurred in the 1920s. In 1960 a right-wing fanatic assassinated popular JSP chairman Inejiro Asanuma. Last May, two thugs of the rightist group Seikongoku ("Sacred Spirit Organization") assaulted JSP general secretary Tsuruo Yamaguchi while he was making a public speech. The emperor, supposedly descended from the sun goddess, serves as a powerful rallying point for all the reactionary forces in Japanese society. In a deep-going social and political crisis the sacred ruler in the imperial palace could legitimize a fascist or military takeover. This is what happened in the 1930s.

The emperor system symbolizes the whole complex of feudal relics which

continued on page 11



Independent (London)

Social democrat Takako Doi (left) wins upset electoral victory.

democrats out of office, and was able to maintain a solid majority in the Diet for the next three and a half decades.

But early this year the LDP's tight control over Japan began to unravel with the Recruit scandal. This is the most serious in Japan's recent history, in part because it is so widespread. Recruit honcho Hiromasa Ezoe managed to piece off virtually everyone in the bourgeoisie's who's who, even slipping a few yen into the pockets of the leaders of some of the opposition parties.

Moreover, the LDP pushed through the Diet their 3 percent consumption tax at the very moment the Recruit scandal was heating up. The growing disparity between rich and poor fueled the scandal, and the outcry got louder as the consumption tax went into effect. The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) captured the political mood when it subtitled a piece on Japan: "Recruit Scandal, Fortunes in Speculation Give Rise to Resentment of Rich." The *Journal* quoted a housewife railing against one

Railway workers demonstrate, 1987. Powerful Japanese proletariat must break with social democracy and Stalinism, in struggle for a workers republic.



Against CIA's Cutthroats Afghanistan: Scenes of Civil War



Jalalabad, July 7—Chanting "Afghanistan Zindabad!" (Long Live Afghanistan) and "Marg ya Watan!" (Death or Country), thousands march to celebrate their victory over the months-long *mujahedin* siege.

For the past decade, the once obscure country of Afghanistan has been the focus of the international Cold War. Washington and its allies have poured billions of dollars into the counterrevolutionary insurgency aimed at drowning in blood the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government. Meanwhile, the Western press has spewed out a steady stream of lies and

Exclusive Photographs From Our Correspondent

disinformation, originating from the CIA supply base in Peshawar, Pakistan, retailing lurid "Soviet atrocity" stories. With the Soviet withdrawal

last February, these were replaced by equally fantastical predictions of the imminent downfall of the Kabul regime, as the U.S. and its allies pulled

their embassies out. But the Afghan army fought tenaciously, along with women's militias and youth battalions, and the PDPA government continues to stand, while the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats spiral into disarray.

From the beginning, the Spartacist press has told the truth about the civil war raging in Afghanistan. On one side stood the Soviet Union, the reform-minded PDPA regime, and the cause of



Kabul, city under fire. Left: Women amid destruction caused by rocket attack on their home. A grandmother and several children were hospitalized. Right: Terrorist car bomb blast near Pashtoonistan Square killed nine people and wounded 49 in busy shopping street.





Karesimir: Youth battalion guards northern approach to Kabul. "They come, we are ready," vowed one young fighter, "each one of us to fight against ten of them."

social progress and women's emancipation; on the other, the imperialist powers, the feudal khans and mullahs, and a reactionary crusade to keep women enslaved and young girls illiterate. We stood firm against the prevailing winds of Cold War, denouncing Carter's anti-Soviet hysteria and cutting through Reagan's grotesque lie that the *mujahedin* murderers were "freedom fighters." We greeted the December 1979 Soviet intervention, proclaiming "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and calling to "Extend social gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" Nine years later, we denounced Gorbachev's withdrawal as a betrayal not only of the Afghan people, but also of the defense of the Soviet Union and of the interests of the international proletariat.

Far from ensuring the Kremlin's pipe dream of "peaceful coexistence," Soviet withdrawal only emboldened the imperialists to escalate their bloody *jihad* (holy war). In February, the Partisan Defense Committee offered to organize international brigades to join in fighting against the counterrevolution. In response to a request from the Afghan government and in concert with fraternal legal and social defense organizations, the PDC initiated an international campaign of humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege of Jalalabad, raising over \$44,000 in less than two months. In immigrant communities, at factory gates, on campuses, at May Day marches, many thousands of working people and supporters of women's rights came forward to give what they could.

As part of our efforts in solidarity with the struggle against the CIA's cutthroats, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) dispatched a special correspondent to Afghanistan for four weeks in July to counter the lies of the imperialist press with reports direct from the civil war. Now *Workers Vanguard* is proud to present for our readers the photographic images of "Front Line Afghanistan." In the face of a decade of destruction, showing their determination as well as their grief, the people of Afghanistan stand proudly in defense of their gains.

Those who contributed their dollars, pounds, francs, marks, lire, pesos and yen can see the vindication of their stand in these vivid scenes of a long-suffering people fighting for elementary social progress. This campaign helped inspire the heroic defenders of Jalalabad, who held out and then victoriously broke the *mujahedin* siege. When our correspondent arrived in Jalalabad, the governor of the province warmly greeted him, "Ah, Partisan." Make your stand known—send a contribution, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



War over women's rights: CIA-backed *mujahedin* would force all women to wear head-to-toe chadors (above); women are fighting to defend right to cast off veil of enslavement (right).



Above: Children in Kabul. Left: Soldier standing guard outside children's home for boys and girls in Maimana. Any institution representing social progress has to be protected against the CIA's barbaric cutthroats.

Stop Baltic Counterrevolution!

Bloody counterrevolution is hrewing in the Baltic republics of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. Their appetites whetted by Gorbachev's policy of perestroika—encouraging market forces and private enterprise—bourgeois nationalist movements in this relatively prosperous region of the USSR have openly set course for restoring capitalism under the slogan of complete independence from the Soviet Union. The Estonian and Latvian People's Fronts and the Lithuanian Sajudis—overlapping with nationalist wings of the Baltic Communist parties—seek to resurrect the reactionary "independent" bourgeois republics of the interwar years, vassal statelets of German and British imperialism noted for repression of Communists and Jews. To this end, these supposed "democrats" have enacted discriminatory restrictions on language, voting and employment rights, and "immigration" controls directed against non-Baltic peoples.

What apparently finally provoked the Central Committee statement of the Soviet Communist Party excerpted here was the August 23 "human chain" protest linking the capital cities of Vilnius, Riga and Tallinn on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact. The protests were marked by flagrantly anti-Russian and anti-Communist manifestations, including the now omnipresent flags of the interwar bourgeois republics, banners reading "Soviet occupation army go home!" and signs equating the Nazi swastika with the hammer and sickle. Echoing the CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd, protest organizers declared that the Soviet Union had "infringed on the historical right of the Baltic nations to self-determination...occupied them with overwhelming military force." The Sajudis declared that Lithuania "is no longer under the administrative or judicial jurisdiction of the USSR with immediate effect."

Stalin's "non-aggression" pact with Hitler did not prevent the Nazis from invading the Soviet Union in 1941, but the Soviet annexation of the region in July 1940 cannot be separated from the exigencies of the German war threat at the time. Trotsky argued that although the territory was strategically important, the Red Army occupation would be seen as an act of violence, not liberation, and in the long run would do more harm than good. In any case, Stalin's annexation lasted only until Hitler invaded and occupied the Baltics a year later, at which time many bourgeois nationalists enthusiastically joined with the Nazis in hunting down and murdering Communists and Jews. The social revolution which marked the real integration of the Baltic republics into

the USSR came following the Red Army's heroic defeat of Nazi fascism.

We warned recently: "The stage is set for a bloody civil war in which capitalist counterrevolution will disguise itself as a struggle for 'national liberation and self-determination'" (*Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Last November, the Estonian parliament passed a resolution—subsequently ruled unconstitutional—asserting a "right" to unilaterally reject Soviet laws. Two months later, it decreed Estonian the sole

Tallinn. But the strike continued for nine days, until the central government agreed to review the local legislation.

Latvia and Lithuania have already passed legislation aimed at restoring private property in agriculture by allowing lifetime possession and inheritance of "family farms." When in late July the Supreme Soviet in Moscow endorsed a new program of "economic autonomy," giving the Baltic republics control of trade, industry and resources and the right to run their economies on a

vik Revolution. In 1919, the armies of newly independent Poland marched into and seized sections of Byelorussia and Lithuania, including Vilnius, and imposed Polish as the official language. The following year, Pilsudski invaded the Ukraine, provoking a Soviet counteroffensive.

Today, the nationalist resurgence in the Baltics poses once again the dangers of war and counterrevolution. In a sharp warning foreshadowing the August 26 Central Committee statement,



Lithuanian nationalists march under flag of reactionary interwar bourgeois state (left). Russian-speaking workers strike in July against discriminatory measures of Estonian parliament. Sign says: "We strike for equality of nations—without privileges."

official language. Fully 40 percent of Estonia's population and half of Latvia's are ethnic Russian, Byelorussian or Ukrainian, predominantly concentrated in the working class. In May, Lithuania followed suit with a law asserting its veto power over USSR legislation and its right to control migration into the republic. On August 8 Estonia passed legislation—again ruled unconstitutional—demanding a five-year residency requirement for the right to vote and ten years for the right to stand in elections. These chauvinist measures strike at the heart of the multinational Soviet state.

There has been significant resistance to these reactionary measures by workers in Estonia. The predominantly Russian "Internationalist Movement," coled by a Russian and, interestingly, a Siberian Estonian (a group also looked down upon by "pure" Estonians), called a strike for the second time in less than a month in protest against the discriminatory voting restrictions. Some 30,000 workers walked off the job, shutting down dozens of factories in Tallinn and bringing rail and air cargo transport to a halt. The Estonian government immediately moved to ban the protest strike and brought in scabs to run huses in

market basis. Estonian economist Mikhail Bronshtein cheered: "It opens the road for us to begin realizing our program of independence" (*New York Times*, 28 July). But these tiny countries, necessarily dependent on the Soviet economy, cannot hope for a semblance of independent economic life, should they win the local civil war necessary to restore capitalism. Like Hong Kong vis-à-vis China, the Baltic states could only serve as a spearhead for imperialist penetration into the Soviet Union.

On the right flank of the People's Fronts stand even more extremist nationalist formations. According to a TASS dispatch reported in *Die Wahrheit* (25 August), newspaper of the West Berlin Socialist Unity Party, the Estonian city of Kohtla recently unveiled a public monument to a group of World War II Nazi collaborators called Counterintelligence-2—"Erna." The monument was erected on the site of an earlier monument put up by the Hitlerite occupiers in 1942! At the unveiling ceremony a former member of "Erna" was given a platform to rant that Estonia must "be liberated from the Reds." Even mainstream nationalist spokesmen like Estonian economist Tiit Made echo disgusting Nazi rhetoric: the *New York Times* (10 August) reports that he sees "Russians as aggressive people whose primitive behavior he traces to centuries of breeding with Mongol occupiers." According to the racist Made, Russian "aggressiveness and violence is manifested even in love... After rape, comes a feeling of love and delight."

On the eve of the August 23 protest, the National Independence Movement of Latvia (LNKK) staged a two-day conference in Riga, as the *Washington Post* (22 August) put it, "to plot publicly the downfall of 'the Soviet empire.'" Speakers included Republican U.S. Senator Robert Kasten and a representative of Polish Solidarność. The rabid Baltic nationalists would do well to recall what this region looked like the last time it was "liberated from Reds," under the sponsorship of imperialist intervention against the Bolshe-

Valentin Falin, head of the CPSU's international department, said: "If the striving to divide what cannot be divided continues, as was characteristic of the period before the previous two world wars, if lands and frontiers are being recarved while the lives and safety of people are neglected, the worst, and this time, the final disaster will be brought on" (*New York Times*, 23 August). Worried about developments in the Baltic, and responding in part to West German concerns over the flood of ethnic Germans seeking to emigrate, the Gorbachev regime has recently mooted establishing an autonomous ethnic German homeland around Kaliningrad (the former East Prussian city of Königsberg). This would conveniently establish a bulwark between the Baltic republics and Poland.

Decades of Stalinist nationalism and Great Russian chauvinism have created a sea of bitter nationalist sentiments, and Gorbachev's perestroika has now opened the floodgates. The leadership of the "Inter-Movement" seeks to pressure the Kremlin to act as guardians of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltics. But strikers are careful to call for "equal rights for all nations" and to eschew privileges for any language. A proletarian challenge reasserting the principles of Leninist internationalism against all variants of nationalism—and particularly Great Russian chauvinism—could polarize the ethnic Baltic populations as well, at least some of whom must be shocked by the direction in which this reactionary nationalist crap is heading.

Potentially, the greatest nationalist threat to the unity of the Soviet peoples is that of Great Russian chauvinism, now spearheaded by the fascists of Pamyat. The Soviet working people must smash Pamyat and, with that authority, easily destroy more marginal fascists and counterrevolutionary threats. It will take proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and re-establish Bolshevik internationalist principles, guaranteeing full and equal rights for all the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union. ■



Working masses of Latvia staunchly supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Latvian Smolny Battalion arrives in Petrograd, November 1917.

Statement of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Continued from page 1

began to introduce an unhealthy aspect into the development of events.

Having misappropriated the part of true proponents of the national interests, they, step-by-step, steered the course of affairs toward an alienation of the Baltic republics from the rest of the country and the disruption of long-standing organically formed links with other Soviet nations. Their positions became more and more openly extremist and separatist. The anti-socialist and anti-Soviet nature of their projects became evident very soon. In some places, organizations resembling political formations of the bourgeois period and the time of Nazi occupation sprang up. Actually, parallel bodies of power began to be set up. Intimidation, deception and disinformation became routine, and even moral terror and defamation of all who disagreed, all who remained true to internationalism and the idea of an integral Soviet Union. Some of the mass information media served as sources fostering nationalist attitudes.

Abusing freedom of international relations, nationalist leaders contacted foreign organizations and centres, seeking to involve them in what was in fact the internal affair of their republics and treating them as consultants and advisers, as if people in the West were better aware of the actual needs of the Baltic nations, as if they were guided not by their own open or concealed projects with respect to our country, but were in fact concerned about the Soviet people's welfare.

It came to direct acts of vandalism, mockery of state insignia, desecration of sacred things viewed as inviolable by any decent individual—monuments to those who fell in the Civil and the Great Patriotic Wars.

Soviet people across the country watched and read with astonishment and bitterness about things that in no way agreed with what they knew of Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian national traditions and would appear insulting to the national character of these people known for their honesty, sober-mindedness and respect for standards of civilized human relationships.

The activity of forces that are destructive, anti-Soviet and anti-national in their core, the atmosphere of nationalism led to the promulgation, at the level of bodies of state authority in the republics, of unconstitutional acts contradicting our state's principles of federation and envisaging discrimination against the non-indigenous population of these republics.

On August 23, 1989 attempts were made to fan up emotions to a point of actual nationalist hysteria. Slogans foisted upon thousands of people were brimful of animosity toward the Soviet system, Russian people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army.

The activities of the nationalist forces have already led to serious economic losses in the economy of the Baltic republics, as well as to inter-ethnic and social tensions. In some places, a real threat of a civil conflict and mass street clashes which will involve grave consequences, has arisen.

Things have gone far. The fate of the Baltic peoples is in serious danger. People should know into what abyss they are being pushed by the nationalist leaders. The consequences could be disastrous for these peoples, if the nationalists managed to achieve their goals. The very viability of the Baltic nations could be called in question.

We should say it openly and with a feeling of responsibility before the Baltic and all Soviet peoples.

It must be said that the leaders of these republics failed to do everything in order to contain the process in the normal channel of perestroika reforms. They failed to stem the negative tendencies, to redress the situation, to uphold the principled positions, to convince people of the harmfulness of the plans and practice of opposition forces. The genuine line, consolidating society on an internationalist basis, on nationwide and universal values of perestroika taking maximum account of national peculiarities and requirements, came against obstacles which are yet to be cleared.

One also has to admit that some Party committees and functionaries gave in to difficulties and lost heart. Some even began to play up to nationalist sentiments, weakened counteraction to separatist plans.

The situation that arose calls for a deep analysis, real and serious assessment and resolute urgent measures to clean the perestroika process in the Baltic republics from extremism, destructive and harmful tendencies.

The CPSU Central Committee urgently calls on the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, all those who cherish their homeland, peace and national accord to realize the full extent and reality of impending disaster, to display responsibility and wisdom at this turn of the history of the entire country.

The Central Committee appeals to the working class, peasants, and those who create the material base of life and are always the first to suffer most of all from social and national upheavals—we need jointly to seek and find a way out of the situation, to stop the hysterical elements and not to give in to nationalist hysteria.

We all share many difficulties. The country and its economy are in a difficult situation. Do not believe those who try to prove that the life of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians will be better off and comfortable, once the migrants are evicted, the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Jews and others who live and work together with you put in an

unequal position, the republics secede from the USSR. This is an obvious lie. This is delusion.

Each republic, each region are linked by thousands of economic, social, cultural, scientific, technological and simply human ties with others, with the entire country. What will happen if these ties are cut at one fell swoop? It is absolutely clear that none will be better off.

The Baltic republics, which are the first in our country to get the opportunity to organize truly independent management, to go over to self-reliance and cost-accounting, today face the broadest vistas for initiative, innovation, economic development and better life. Accretions and distortions of the past, which prevented state bodies and the population of the republics from feeling and acting as masters in their house, are being removed.

The CPSU Central Committee hopes that the working class, working people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, who have glorious revolutionary internationalist traditions of struggle for the happiness of their and all peoples of our great country will say their weighty word this time as well, defend the new revolution and uphold perestroika.

We appeal to the common sense of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Baltic region. It is time, in our common interest, to put an end to the fateful course of events, to come to your senses, go over from confrontation to dialogue and a painstaking search for expedient decisions and compromises.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is appealing to all communists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to Party veterans and those who recently joined their fate with that of the Leninist party: you must set an example of good-will and human communication and persuade people of the necessity of concord and consolidation.

Let's preserve the single family of the Soviet peoples and the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Japan...

(continued from page 7)

prop up the Japanese bourgeois order, beginning with the family. Women have a polite form of language they are expected to use when addressing men. Their role is not to partake in family functions but merely to cater them. Family members are more often than not addressed by their title as their name. The Japanese language contains many honorifics, and social intercourse is marked by bowing, the inferior party always bending a little further. From language and social mores to politics, the bourgeoisie seeks to use the vestiges of Japan's feudal past to sap the will for social struggle. But there is also enormous resentment against the rigid feudal-derived hierarchy weighing upon present-day Japanese society.

Only the proletariat in the struggle for the workers republic can purge Japan of the reactionary remnants of its not-so-distant feudal past. But to achieve this historic task, the working class must be broken from social democracy and Stalinism.

Doi's Socialists Move Rapidly Rightward

The July 23 election result was not so much a mandate for the Socialists as a protest vote against the LDP. Thus an unusual number of independents and small, single-issue parties gained seats. For example, a former wrestler, run-

ning on the sole platform of creating a ministry of sports, whumped his LDP opponent. Since these elections were limited to half the seats in the upper house of the Diet, the LDP still retains control of the more powerful lower house, for which elections are to be held no later than July 1990. In the wake of the July 23 debacle the hapless Uno resigned, the prime ministership going to an obscure politician, Toshiki Kaifu, who at 58 is being advertised as representing the younger generation.

One party which was expected to benefit from the LDP's troubles but did not is the Japanese Communist Party. Long a super-reformist "Eurocommunist" party, the JCP has openly declared its primary loyalty to Japanese imperialism. Thus these shamefaced Stalinists demand that the Soviets return to Japan the Kuril (Northern) Islands, which they occupied at the end of World War II. (These islands are strategically key for the USSR, controlling the sea lanes which if blocked would keep the Soviet Pacific Fleet bottled up in Vladivostok.) Nonetheless, the JCP is widely viewed as the "reds" and has been the target of a red scare by the bourgeois media and LDP establishment.

For over 20 years the JCP's relations with the Beijing regime have been frigid to hostile. (By contrast, the Japanese bourgeoisie has been the major foreign investor in Deng's China.) Yet Japan's ruling class has sought to identify the JCP with the June 4 massacre in Tiananmen Square by the Deng regime.

The LDP head of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly screeched: "The Tiananmen incident has caused a rain of blood in China—if the JCP gets power they will do the same in Japan" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 July). These red-scare tactics had their effect, and the Communists lost a few seats in the elections.

For the moment all the growing discontents and resentments in Japanese society have benefited the Socialist Party. The JSP's present constituency ranges from deeply conservative peasant smallholders to bourgeois feminists, while the party retains its traditional support within the working class. Now the main goal of Doi's JSP is to reassure the bourgeoisie (both Japanese and American) that it can responsibly run the wealthiest capitalist state in the world. These social democrats have veered sharply to the right to ally with the rabidly anti-Communist Democratic Socialists and Buddhist-supported Komeito as potential partners in a coalition government.

Thus Doi's Socialists have supported LDP candidates against the Communists (for example, in the Nagoya mayoral contest). And the JSP is scrapping what remains of its lip service to the pacifistic radical and anti-nuclear sentiments which were widespread in the population for decades after the war. It has dropped all talk of ending Japan's military alliance with U.S. imperialism, much less abolishing the armed forces: "We would for the time being limit

defense spending within the equivalent of 1 percent of the country's gross national product" (*Japan Times*, 16 July). Given the enormous size of Japan's national output, even 1 percent finances one of the most powerful armed forces in the world. And the JSP spokesmen go on to say that they have "ruled out the possibility of unilaterally abolishing the security treaty" with the U.S.

For its part, Washington does not seem to be worried about Doi's foreign policy, which is staunchly anti-Soviet. What worries the American bourgeoisie far more is the JSP's now rabid trade protectionism—much worse than the LDP's. A JSP-led coalition government in Tokyo would almost certainly escalate the U.S.-Japan trade war.

Whatever its relations with Washington, a JSP-led coalition government will be no victory for the working class and the oppressed women of Japan. Social democracy in Japan as elsewhere serves only to bind the exploited and oppressed to the decaying and war-driven imperialist order. The liberation of Japan's proletariat, of women and oppressed minorities (such as the Korean community and immigrant workers from other Asian countries), demands the construction of a revolutionary vanguard party based on Leninist principles. The Spartacist Group Japan, sympathizing section of the International Communist League, is dedicated to building such a party in the struggle for international workers power. ■

Poland...

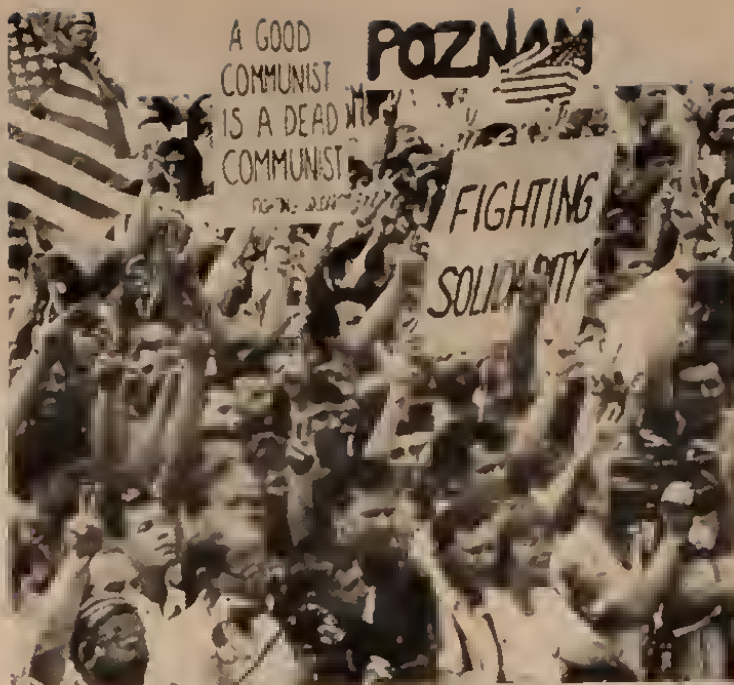
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The first victims would be the Polish workers, who are already paying the price of brutal austerity dictated by Western bankers and carried out first by the Stalinists and now by Solidarność. The economy is in chaos—prices are skyrocketing and the shops are bare, the black market flourishes and the floating of food prices on the "free market" has doubled and tripled the cost of staples such as meat, cheese and milk. Desperation has spawned bitter strikes. Thousands of coal miners have occupied two mine complexes in Silesia in a strike which Solidarność warns could "dynamite" the new government. Thousands of rail workers struck in Lodz, the second largest city, only going back after Walesa denounced their action as a "provocation aimed against the first Prime Minister elected on the initiative of Solidarity." While Walesa calls on the workers to halt all strikes for six months, the new government's plans will mean mass layoffs on top of the triple-digit inflation.

The Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), the mouthpiece of the Stalinist apparatus, talks of the new government as a "grand coalition." A majority of the PZPR parliamentary fraction even voted for Mazowiecki. In the deal worked out between the church and Polish president General Jaruzelski, Solidarność has the prime minister and most of the cabinet while the Stalinists hold on to the critical posts of defense and interior ministries, and Poland will remain in the Warsaw Pact. For anyone familiar with even the "A" of the "ABCs" of Marxism, this does not (yet) constitute a counterrevolution. The Stalinists still head the police and army, those "armed bodies of men" which constitute the core of state power. This is not a "coalition," but a state of dual power at the governmental level. It could even last for a while as the components dither around in parliamentary maneuvers. However, the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus is disintegrating as Poland slides toward economic chaos and political anarchy.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has created a situation where it is impossible for it to continue to exist as a parasitic caste balancing between world capitalism and the socialized economy. To pay the Western bankers means imposing a level of hardship that guarantees massive strikes, slowdowns, the breakdown of labor discipline. Added to this is the prospect of a popular uprising. As a desperate maneuver, the top echelons of the bureaucracy around Jaruzelski have sought to get Walesa & Co. to share responsibility for the economic shock treatment.

At the same time, a number of well-placed *apparatchiks* are looking out for



Harbry/U.S. News & World Report

Reactionary Polish nationalists thirst for blood: "Fighting Solidarity" cheers U.S. imperialist chief Bush in Gdansk last July (left). Warsaw university group hails Marshal Pilsudski, fascist dictator of interwar Poland.



AP

number one by transforming themselves into private capitalists, now that they have run the socialized economy into the ground. A prototype is the former minister of industry, Mieczyslaw Wilcz, who is both a millionaire private entrepreneur and PZPR party member. Timothy Garton Ash writes in the *New York Review of Books* (15 June) that "the process whereby members of the *nomenklatura* advance into private enterprise, using the power and connections that go with their official positions, proceeds apace." Ash notes the advantages of "compensating some members of the *nomenklatura* for their loss of political power, and dividing it between those who stand to lose and those who stand to gain. One might call this the '*nomenklatura* buyout' theory."

Crisis of Stalinist Rule

The Polish events reflect a broader crisis of Stalinism. In Hungary the ruling party is split, the majority now calling themselves social democrats, while a myriad of rightist opposition parties sprout up. And not far in the background is Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. When PZPR chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski tried to hold out for more ministerial portfolios, Walesa told him to "stop rocking the boat" and a 40-minute phone call from Gorbachev delivered the same message. On a more fundamental level, the Polish events are a logical outcome of the Gorbachev perestroika "reforms." We have warned that this program of "market socialism" emboldens counterrevolutionary elements, and in Poland they are now on the threshold of power. This will have a direct influence on the situation in the Soviet Union, particularly the Baltic states, where behind calls for "self-determination" forces of counterrevolution are mounting.

Counterrevolution in Poland or the

Baltic would not be some "peaceful" and "evolutionary" process, as Brzezinski and others paint it, but a *bloody pogrom*. For as Polish Catholic nationalism gains the upper hand, virulent anti-Communism and anti-Semitism come to the fore. Walesa is an open admirer of Polish prewar fascist dictator Pilsudski; he asked the Solidarność parliamentary fraction to open its first meeting by singing, "We, the First Brigade," the marching song of Pilsudski's legions. Just how deep these strains run is seen in the case of Bronislaw

class. But the further development of the bureaucratic regime can lead to the inception of a new ruling class: not organically, through degeneration, but through counterrevolution." The strangulation of the party, soviets and trade unions, he points out, atomizes the proletariat:

"The first social shock, external or internal, may throw the atomized Soviet society into civil war. The workers, having lost control over the state and economy, may resort to mass strikes as weapons of self-defense. The discipline of the dictatorship would be



Downing/Newsweek

Bush and Reagan see Gorbachev's "new thinking" as green light to reconquer East Europe for capitalist exploitation.

Geremek. Walesa's chief brain-truster, whom many considered the obvious candidate for prime minister. The *London Guardian* (18 August) noted that Geremek "has come under attack from the Roman Catholic right because of his early membership of the Communist Party and because he is a Jew."

The virulent anti-Semitism of Poland's Catholic hierarchy has been exposed by the dispute over a Carmelite convent on the site of Auschwitz death camp. A few years ago, under pressure from international Jewish groups, church officials from France and Belgium as well as Poland agreed to move the convent to a center for Christian-Jewish dialogue to be built nearby. After a small group of American Jews protested the continued presence of the convent at Auschwitz last month, Polish Cardinal Glomp spoke at the national shrine of the Black Madonna in Czestochowa August 26, accusing Jews of "offend[ing] the feelings of all Poles." Glomp ranted about Jewish-controlled media spreading "anti-Polish feeling," and vituperated: "dear Jews, do not talk with us from the position of a people raised above all others." While the Polish hierarchy has reneged on the promise to move the convent, the French and Belgian prelates involved insist the agreement is still in force.

Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky in his seminal article on "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933), which he characterized as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, foresaw a process remarkably similar to what is happening in Poland today. Trotsky notes: "The bureaucracy is not a ruling

broken. Under the onslaught of the workers and because of the pressure of economic difficulties, the trusts would be forced to disrupt the planned beginnings and enter into competition with one another. The dissolution of the regime would naturally find its violent and chaotic echo in the village and would inevitably be thrown over into the army. The socialist state would collapse, giving place to the capitalist regime or, more correctly, to capitalist chaos."

Yet this does not mean the situation is hopeless, Trotsky insisted. As the working class entered into action, the Stalinist apparatus would be suspended in midair:

"A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade.... The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."

An opening to build a revolutionary proletarian party now exists in Poland, especially because the workers are struggling not just against the despised Stalinist regime but also against Walesa & Co.

Workers Strike Against Solidarność Orders

The present events in Poland go back to the outbreak of workers strikes last

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year. The Stalinists tried to negotiate their way out via a series of "Round Table" discussions which led to the legalization of Solidarność and the calling of elections for June 4. The June elections produced a total rout of the Stalinists. While virtually every one of the Solidarity candidates got through on the first round, almost all of the PZPR's "national list" was defeated, even though they ran unopposed, as voters crossed off their names from the ballot in disgust. Solidarność took 99 out of 100 seats in the upper house of parliament, and now holds a third of the seats in the Sejm. This arrangement was supposed to guarantee a PZPR-led government, but when the Stalinists' previously compliant satellites (the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party) went over to Solidarność, General Kiszczak gave up his attempt to form a cabinet.

Solidarność leaders "came home" to Gdansk on Sunday, August 20, as Mazowiecki and Walesa attended an ornate celebratory mass. In the churchyard, Walesa had to silence a group of hecklers who shouted, "We want bread, not a prime minister." The protest was led by "Fighting Solidarity," a split-off connected with the ultrarightist clerical-nationalist KPN. At the first congress of Solidarność in 1981, these were the people who led opposition to any positive reference to "socialism" in its program. When Bush came to Gdansk in July, "Fighting Solidarity" welcomed him with signs proclaiming, "A Good Communist is a Dead Communist." The Polish economic crisis is so sharp that it has fueled support for these violent anti-Communists who reject the "Round Table" agreement. At the same time, the Stalinist-led unions have also won support by protesting austerity policies, while Solidarność unions have grown slowly, with only about a fifth the membership they had in their heyday of 1981.

Solidarność' economic calculations are based on somehow getting massive aid from Western capitalism. When Bush visited Poland in July, Walesa repeatedly asked him for \$10 billion to save his country from a "great, great upheaval." Yet the American president promised only \$115 million, barely one percent of what Walesa asked for. Imperialist aid is crucial for Solidarność' plans: with all of the talk about restoring capitalism how can they do it without big infusions of capital? There's nobody in Poland with any capital to buy up state-owned industry, even at bargain-basement prices. Yet Washington and Wall Street are loaded up with debt—from the federal deficit, bankrupt S&Ls and Latin America—and those that have the cash, like Frankfurt and Tokyo bankers, are reluctant to pour it into the sinkhole of Poland.

And now Solidarność will have to take responsibility for the economic policies which spell misery for its

Almost a decade ago, international Spartacist tendency exposed Solidarność as a Polish company union for the CIA and Wall Street: demonstration outside Solidarność office in New York, September 1981.



Panorama/DOR



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Książka i Wiedza



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Poland's revolutionary Communist tradition: Rosa Luxemburg and the "Three W's"—Adolf Warski, Henryk Walecki and Wera Kozłowska of the early Polish Communist Party.

working-class base. As an analyst from the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations put it:

"As Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is going to have two problems. First, he is going to have to stab his adversaries and then he is going to have to stab his supporters... he is going to have to shut down inefficient, overmanned state enterprises, such as the Gdansk shipyards, where Solidarity was born, or some mines and steel mills..."

The architect of Solidarność' economic plans is Harvard professor Jeffery Sachs, whose claim to fame was advising the Bolivian government on how to defeat hyperinflation in 1985. Sachs' solution: firing two-thirds of the tin miners, the key section of the Bolivian proletariat. This program could be explosive if tried in Poland, a bureaucratically deformed workers state where capitalism was abolished and the workers' interests are supposed to be paramount. As we pointed out in "Solidarność/Stalinist Pact Against the Workers" (WV No. 479, 9 June), "The workers are beginning to recognize that Walesa & Co. are traitors to their class."

Now that Solidarność leaders have explicitly avowed that their aim is to restore capitalism in Poland, it lays the objective basis for defenders of socialist property to seek unity with the proletarian base of Solidarność in genuine class opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats and former leaders of Solidarność who aspire to form a neo-bourgeoisie on the backs of the workers. But as Lenin noted, politics is concentrated economics, and militant labor struggles won't go very far without forging an authentic Marxist party, for which Poland has ample traditions.

Internationalist Tradition of Polish Communism

The Western press depicts the entire Polish people as always and irrevocably ardently nationalist and piously Catholic. Communism is presented as a totally alien element in the Polish body politic, imposed solely by the Russian Red Army in 1945. For example, a historical sketch of postwar Poland in the *New York Times* (18 August) is titled "40 Years of Communism in Poland: Stalin's House on a Soft Foundation." The reality is just the reverse. It was Stalin and his followers and heirs who destroyed and discredited Communism in Poland.

For decades Poland had one of the oldest and strongest traditions of Marxist proletarian socialism of any European country. The first Marxist working-class party in the tsarist empire, the party Proletariat, was formed in Warsaw in the 1880s. Ludwik Warynski's Proletariat rejected the traditional Polish radical program of a national uprising and worked closely with the Russian populists for a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire. Warynski's anti-nationalist tradition was taken over in the next generation by the greatest Polish proletarian revolutionary leader of all, Rosa Luxemburg. The Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL), led by Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, united the vanguard of the Polish proletariat and left-wing intelligentsia.

In the decade before World War I the

mass of the Polish industrial working class adhered to the Polish Socialist Party-Left, a centrist formation which significantly did *not* agitate for the restoration of an independent Polish state. The nationalist wing of Polish socialism, led by Josef Pilsudski, was supported by only a *minority* of the Polish workers in this period. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and the defeat of Germany by the Western powers in World War I led to the establishment of an independent Polish bourgeois state, with Pilsudski at its head, in late 1918. At the same time the Polish Communist Party was formed through a fusion of Luxemburg's SDKPiL and the Polish Socialist Party-Left.

Roman Werfel, who joined the Polish Communist Party in 1923, told of the CP's internationalist spirit in an interview with a pro-Solidarność journalist:

"The most important thing for communists at the time was not the issue of frontiers, but that of an all-European socialist revolution, whose outbreak was perfectly conceivable. There seems to be an implication, in what you've just been saying, that a great nation, a nation worthy of note, is one which appropriates the greatest possible number of territories populated by foreign nations. But this view is false. It may be correct from the point of view of the exploiting classes, which profit from such territories, but certainly not from the point of view of the people; they get

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Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

Poland...

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some scraps from time to time, but later they pay for those conquests with sweat and blood."

—quoted in Teresa Toranska, *Oni: Stalin's Polish Puppets* (1987)

In the early 1920s the Communist Party under the leadership of the "Three W's" (Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa) was stronger within the Polish working class than the Pilsudskiite social democrats. There was a saying in the Communist International: "The German party is the biggest; the Polish party is the best." In fact, the Polish party offered more resistance to Stalinization than any other large Communist party. In December 1923 its central committee sent a letter of protest to the Russian party which stated:

"...for our party, nay for the whole Comintern, for the whole revolutionary proletariat the name of Comrade Trotsky is insolubly connected with the victory of the Soviet Revolution, with the Red Army, with communism."

—quoted in M. K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* (1976)

The Polish American historian Dziewanowski observes: "A pro-Trotsky undercurrent continued to remain a factor of some importance until the party's dissolution [in 1938], particularly among the Jewish membership."

In the late 1920s the Communists led the opposition to Pilsudski's fascistic dictatorship, while the social democrats served as Pilsudski's shock troops. The growing White terror forced ever larger numbers of Polish Communists to take refuge in the Soviet Union. While many foreign Communists were killed in the Great Purges of the late '30s, Stalin's war against the Polish party was exceptional. Practically all Polish Communists in Soviet territory were either physically liquidated or sent to labor camps. The entire leadership—Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa, Unslicht—was killed. In 1938 in an unprecedented act Stalin dissolved the Polish Communist Party as a "nest of Pilsudskiite-Trotskyites."

The destruction of Polish Communism begun by Pilsudski, carried forward by Stalin, was continued by Hitler. Many Communist cadre were killed during the Nazi occupation. No less important, the extermination of the

Jews radically changed the political balance of forces in Polish society. Jews constituted 10 percent of the prewar population, proportionally greater than in any other country. As an oppressed and urbanized people, Jews played an important role in all Polish left-wing organizations. Thus the Nazi Holocaust destroyed a powerful counterweight to the clerical-nationalist forces of Polish reaction. Stalin and Hitler, along with Pilsudski, are the three godfathers of Solidarność.

Bitter Fruits of Bureaucratic Rule

Nonetheless, Communism was by no means an insignificant and despised force in Poland when the Soviet Red Army liberated the country at the end of

epies. Wajda's interesting film *Man of Marble*, made in the late '70s, depicts the socialist idealism of many young workers in the early postwar years.

That idealism was soon eroded by Stalinist police-state terror amid the economic privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy. Yet the mass of Polish workers and intellectuals continued to believe in socialism. The crisis of "de-Stalinization" in 1956 brought Poland to the brink of a proletarian political revolution. It was headed off by the liberal-national Stalinist Wladyslaw Gomulka. Once Gomulka had consolidated his power, in part by conciliating the Catholic hierarchy, he suppressed both the workers councils and leftist intellectual circles which had arisen dur-



Silesian copper miners strike in May against IMF-dictated economic shock treatment being carried out by bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy and Solidarność.

World War II. Many young workers and intellectuals looked forward to the socialist reconstruction of their devastated country. Significantly, a number of prominent figures now in Solidarność were once ardent Communists. As a teenager in the early 1950s, Jacek Kuron, today a pro-Western social democrat, was a fanatical Stalinist who enjoyed publicly baiting Pilsudskiite reactionaries. Filmmaker Andrzej Wajda, currently a Solidarność senator, began by directing "socialist-realist"

ing the 1956 "Polish October."

As the economy stagnated in the 1960s, Gomulka's once-great popularity declined. In 1968 a faction within the bureaucracy around secret police chief Moczar sought to channel the growing popular discontent into traditional anti-Semitic Polish chauvinism. Under the rubric of "anti-Zionism," the few tens of thousands of Jews who had survived the Nazi Holocaust, many of them loyal Communist cadre, were driven out of the country. This reactionary and cynical campaign further alienated the intelligentsia from the "Communist" regime and strengthened the forces of clerical nationalism.

In 1970 the Baltic ports exploded when the Gomulka regime raised food prices a few weeks before Christmas. Led by the shipbuilders, thousands of workers, some singing the *Internationale*, attacked police and burned down the Party headquarters in Gdansk and Szczecin. Gomulka ordered in the army: over a hundred workers were killed. Once again Poland stood on the brink of a mass workers uprising. And once again Polish Stalinism presented to the workers a new face and a new deal. Gomulka was replaced by Edward Gierk, an ex-coal miner with a reputation as a liberal reformer. Gierk personally went to the Baltic ports and vowed his government would never use force to suppress workers' protests. He further promised an era of unparalleled economic prosperity. Walesa recounted that he, like most Polish workers, welcomed and believed Gierk's promises.

Gierk's "economic miracle" of the early '70s was financed by massive borrowing from Western banks. When in 1976 Gierk imposed an austerity program to pay back the loan sharks of Wall Street and Frankfurt, Polish workers reacted even more strongly because they felt betrayed. It was only after 1976 that the mass of the Polish proletariat and intelligentsia became totally disillusioned with the "real existing socialism" as practiced in their country. Gradually, they turned to the Vatican and

Western capitalist governments for salvation. Solidarność arose out of the "dissident" circles of workers and intellectuals nurtured and protected by the church hierarchy, now directed by Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla.

Build a Bolshevik Party!

The formation of a Solidarność-led government in Poland has heightened the triumphalist mood in Western ruling circles that the end of Communism is at hand. The latest rage at Washington cocktail parties is the apocalyptic vision of State Department "theoretician" Francis Fukuyama who claims we are now witnessing "the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy" (*New York Times*, 27 August).

This kind of "the West has won the Cold War" triumphalism rests on two fatal illusions: that the people of East Europe, the Soviet Union and China are longing to transform their societies along the lines of "free world" capitalism; and that the Soviet government, under Gorbachev, will not or cannot prevent capitalist restoration in East Europe. The latter view is strongly espoused by Zbigniew Brzezinski, who combines the blustering arrogance of American Cold Warriors with the anti-Russian chauvinism and Great Power illusions of the Polish petty nobility.

Yet many of the social struggles which have convulsed the Communist world in the past year have been not for but against the efforts of the Stalinist bureaucracies to introduce elements of capitalism into the collectivized economy. The massive strikes of coal miners in Siberia and the Ukraine last month were directed against the effects of Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika. The upheaval in China was fueled by the resentment of working people over the gross corruption and inequalities generated by Deng's policy of "building socialism with capitalist methods." Even in Poland workers are now striking against the IMF-dictated economic shock treatment being carried out by the Solidarność-led government.

While Western imperialist ideologues imagine the masses in so-called Communist countries yearning for capitalism, they have also convinced themselves that the Soviet government has become a "paper tiger" which will no longer protect its postwar sphere of influence in East Europe. The talk in Washington is that the 1945 Yalta agreement has become null and void and East Europe is up for grabs. Plans are mooted about to bring Poland and independent Baltic republics into the IMF. But if unfolding counterrevolution menaced the Soviets along their vital Western borders and threatened to blow apart the multinational USSR, Moscow would have little choice but to respond militarily. Thus Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, far from easing or ending the Cold War, has increased the danger of World War III.

Restoration of capitalism in East Europe would not introduce a new global order based on "liberal democracy"; it would mean bloody counterrevolution, nationalist pogroms and wars, which could lead to nuclear holocaust. The struggles now taking shape in East Europe will determine not only the near-term future of this region but possibly the fate of mankind. The bankruptcy and internal demoralization of Stalinism has opened the road to capitalist restoration. But it also brings to the fore the possibility for proletarian political revolution establishing workers (soviet) democracy. For the working class of East Europe and the Soviet Union to triumph, over both the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and the counterrevolutionary nationalists, requires the leadership of a genuine communist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Spartacist Forums

"Market Socialism" Breeds More Misery For Workers Political Revolution in the USSR!

Speaker: George Foster, Spartacist League Central Committee

BERKELEY

Saturday, Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m.

126 Barrows
UC Berkeley

For more information: (415) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, Sept. 21, 5:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
San Francisco State University
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Stalinism in Crisis

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

- Return to Lenin's Communism! For Workers Soviets! Oust the Bureaucrats!
- Poland on the Brink—Defend Deformed and Degenerated Workers States Against Imperialist Attack and Domestic Counterrevolution!

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League Central Committee

MADISON

Saturday, Sept. 9, 2:00 p.m.

See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Labor: Use Your Muscle...

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turn?" (Washington Post, 20 August).

All the '80s talk of the "death of labor" was cut short by the immensely popular and explosive strikes at Eastern Airlines and in the coal fields. When the Eastern strike began in March, the Machinists' call for flying pickets to hit railroads from Boston to Chicago electrified the labor movement. That mouthpiece of finance capital, the *Wall Street Journal* (3 March), called secondary picketing the unions' "atom bomb." But IAM chief William Winpisinger, this self-styled "seat-of-the-pants socialist," never had any intention of challenging the bosses' anti-strike injunctions—his threats of secondary strikes were pure bluff designed to pressure Bush to intervene and call off the strike.

The current strike by Pittston miners is a do-or-die battle for the UMW. The mine operators are intent on wiping out the industrywide contract. Miners know this is class war—50,000 UMW members wildcatted in solidarity with the Pittston strike across eleven states, defying federal marshals, coal company judges and the UMW misleaders. But union president Richard Trumka is disorganizing the Pittston workers' struggle by splitting them off from the rest of the union ("selective strikes") and pushing instead civil disobedience and useless "corporate campaign"-style appeals to bankers, paving the road to another defeat like the one he engineered at A.T. Massey in 1984-85.

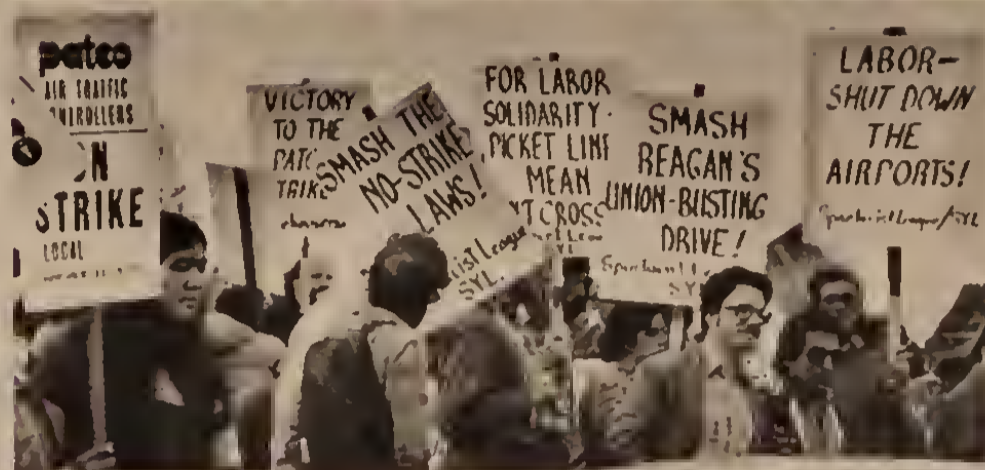
It is a truism in the labor movement today that "if we'd all gone out when Reagan fired PATCO, we wouldn't be in this fix today." But who let PATCO hang? Who dug this hole for labor? The same sellout bureaucracy that is sabotaging the Eastern and Pittston strikes today. For years they tried to buy social peace by skimming off some crumbs for a labor aristocracy of white workers, while blacks were "last hired, first fired" and AFL job-trusting went unchallenged. Then when the post-Vietnam recession hit, these "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class" saluted General Motors and began *ripping up their own union contracts*, handing over billions to the bosses, and all the time herding labor to the polls to vote for the partner parties of American imperialism.

For Union Independence from the Bosses' State!

Today they are replaying the PATCO defeat, as Eastern strikers are hung out to dry. The labor bureaucracy bows before injunctions barring secondary strikes, and begs Congress to impose the no-strike machinery of the Railway Labor Act. In the coal fields, cops carry out thousands of arrests, courts order union leaders jailed and levy million-dollar fines on union treasuries—and the Trumka leadership of the UMW just eats it. They don't lift a finger for the courageous Kentucky miners imprisoned for 40 years for defending their union in the Massey strike.

From PATCO to Pittston, every strike has come up against the state—its cops, courts and capitalist politicians. The American labor bureaucracy can't fight the capitalist state because it was installed as willing lieutenants in U.S. imperialism's Cold War against the Soviet Union abroad and the purging of reds from the unions at home. Fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky wrote of the unions in one of his last articles:

"They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can



From Detroit auto to PATCO, Spartacists say: Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win! To unleash their power, workers must sweep away sellout bureaucrats and company cops like IAM's William Winpisinger and UAW's Owen Bleber and Doug Fraser (below).



WV Photo



UPI Photos

become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
—"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940)

Today as well, the only way to break the stranglehold of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who police the unions for the bosses, is to build a solid leadership with the program and determination to wage the class struggle through to victory.

But the self-styled alternatives to the present gang of loser bureaucrats are no less wedded to the capitalist state. The reformist "left" is currently trumpeting an outfit called New Directions, an "opposition" formation in the UAW which is backed by the social-democratic *Labor Notes* crowd. On the eve of the June UAW convention in Los Angeles, New Directions candidates won a number of early delegate elections, whereupon the UAW International raised a war chest of over \$400,000 to defeat them. In May, Solidarity House mobilized a rare picket line—against a *Labor Notes* conference!

New Directions is nothing but a vehicle for out-of-office bureaucrats. It is the creation of Jerry Tucker, a UAW rep for 14 years, and brain-trusted by Victor Reuther, the former UAW international affairs director who carried out anti-Communist union-busting in Europe for the CIA. New Directions offers auto workers nothing but a warmed-over Reutherite program of redbaiting, rabid protectionism and reliance on the Democratic Party. Notably, their campaign literature is marked by a deafening silence on the fight against racism. Yet this is key in the UAW as in other key industrial unions, where black workers form the strategic core of support for militant class struggle.

Then there are the networks of solidarity committees which pose as a

"progressive" alternative to the rabid "AFL-CIA" Cold Warriors around Lane Kirkland. They criticize the activities of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), notorious for backing anti-Communist coups in Latin America. These committees were initiated by union officials, largely affiliated with the DSA social democrats, around protests for Central American unionists seized and tortured by U.S.-backed death squad regimes. But while opposing the AIFLD's ultra-reactionary policies, they only want to realign it with the liberal Democrats.

Thus at the 1987 AFL-CIO convention, the liberal/reformist bloc compromised with Kirkland and voted for a resolution that opposed aid to the loser contras but attacked the Nicaraguan Revolution by opposing Soviet and Cuban military aid to the Sandinistas! At home, these same social democrats have been prominent in labor support rallies for Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern and Pittston strikes. Yet their "solidarity" rings hollow, consisting mainly of useless consumer boycotts or pleas to lobby Congress. When it comes to organizing hard strike action, they're nowhere to be seen. And when it's necessary to use labor's muscle to stop racist terrorists, the social-democratic "solidarity" networks, like the social-democratic out-bureaucrats of New Directions, prefer talkfests with liberal Democrats.

The key to victory for labor's cause, at home and abroad, is forging a class-struggle leadership. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and our supporters in the unions have waged this fight in a number of key battles. When the UAW tops were giving back billions to Chrysler, the SL called for sit-down strikes to save Dodge Main and stop mass layoffs. When Winpisinger & Co.

left PATCO strikers to hang, we called on the unions to shut down the airports by pulling out all airline workers. And repeatedly, when the KKK lynchers tried to march in America's major cities, notably in Detroit (1980), Washington (1982) and Philadelphia (1988), united-front mobilizations initiated by the SL and Partisan Defense Committee brought out the labor/black power that stopped the fascists cold.

It is just this kind of militant workers' struggle, hut on a mass scale, which built the powerful industrial unions in the U.S. And it was reds who took the lead then as well. The CIO was preceded by three citywide general strikes led by avowed communists in 1934 (San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo). The sit-down strikes, which the UAW tops like to claim as their own, were initiated by reds, while Reuther & Co. scrambled to keep on top. But the Stalinist Communist Party threw away its credentials as labor militants when it enforced Roosevelt's no-strike pledge during World War II, even organizing scabs to break miners strikes. This only made the anti-Communist witchhunters' job easier when the CP's services were no longer needed. And all along, the reformists, social-democratic or Stalinist, looked to the capitalist state and the Democrats.

Sixty years ago, in another period when the labor movement in the U.S. was in retreat—with craft union bureaucrats abandoning workers in mass production industries while trying to preserve their job trusts; when black workers were barred from unions by racist "whites only" provisions, or segregated in separate locals; when the Mine Workers, once the powerhouse of American labor, had been decimated—James P. Cannon, an early leader of the CP who went on to found the Trotskyist movement in this country, pointed to the key task confronting class-struggle militants in the unions:

"The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unfiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its 'labor' wing. De Leon's classic definition of the reactionary labor leaders as 'lieutenants of the capitalist class' holds doubly good today. The distinctive features of these labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without 'socialistic' pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers for the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it...."

"The struggle for a labor party, as part of the struggle for the development of a class movement of the American workers, requires an intransigent fight against the AFL leadership and the Socialist Party, who represent obstacles to this development."

—"Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)

Today as in the post-WWII McCarthy witchhunts and the post-WWI red scare, the domestic war on labor and blacks is directly linked to a global crusade against Communism. The socialist revolution in Russia in 1917 for the first time in history established workers rule. Ever since, the bourgeoisie and their labor flunkies have been haunted by the spectre of Bolshevik revolution promising the end of capitalist class rule and the paltry privileges the labor bureaucracy derives from it. Working-class militants must fight for a workers party, ousting the current pro-Democratic union misleaders, to lead the revolutionary struggle against capitalism and its scourges of war, unemployment and racist oppression. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Key to Victory—A Class-Struggle Leadership

Labor: Use Your Muscle!



Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

Striking Pittston miners massed outside Moss No. 3 in Clinchfield, Virginia. Longshoremen, rail and steel workers must refuse to handle scab coal!

Last year saw the lowest total of major strikes since the government began keeping statistics over 40 years ago. This year the picture is very different. As the pro-business *U.S. News & World Report* (22 May) noted, "Strikes are breaking out all over." Eastern Airlines workers are engaged in a life-or-death fight against corporate raider Frank Lorenzo. In the coal fields, miners are waging class war against the coal bosses—the existence of their union is on the line. In August, phone workers struck profit-hoarded regional Bell companies which were slashing vital medical plans. Across the country there have been big labor rallies; unionists have poured into the United Mine Workers' Camp Solidarity to show support for the Pittston strikers.

Fed up with Reaganite union-busting, their backs to the wall, the ranks of labor are ready to fight. They are fighting. But all of these strikes have been left to turn in the wind. Over and over, the union tops capitulate as soon as the first judge whispers the word "injunction." The labor fakers play by

the bosses' rules, and it's not hard to figure out why. They know in their bones that in a wave of sit-down strikes, mass picketing, "hot-cargoing"—the militant tactics which built the big industrial unions—they would be quickly swept aside.

If ever there was a time for militant union solidarity *in action*, this is it. If steel workers *refused to handle scab coal*, if rail workers and longshoremen refused to ship it, Pittston would quickly be brought to its knees. If IAM airline mechanics and Teamster fuel haulers walked out in solidarity with the Eastern strikers, this would *shut down the airports* and whip Lorenzo's ass.

After a decade of wage slashing, massive scabherding and government strikebreaking, the working class is eager to *strike back*. There is an acute shortage of skilled labor, and the capitalist press worries about the enormous pressure to drive up wages. Yet the *New York Times* (4 August) brags about "The Wage Jump That Never Came" despite years of a tight labor market. In fact, real wages have *fallen more than 12*

percent in the last decade, as unionization has fallen to the lowest point in half a century: less than one worker in six belongs to a union. Meanwhile, the sell-out and giveback artists sitting atop the AFL-CIO are ripping up hard-won union gains left and right. A solid strike victory could turn the labor movement around after a decade of defeats, but that means a hard fight against the defenders of capitalism who have hog-tied the labor movement.

Meanwhile, millions of workers, including the bulk of doubly oppressed black, Hispanic and women workers, have never seen the inside of a union hall. From NYC to L.A., the sweatshop is thriving, filled with undocumented workers without legal rights. Rather than organizing the unorganized and fighting for full rights for immigrant workers, labor officialdom whips up a protectionist frenzy against Japanese, Mexican and all foreign workers in order to protect American bosses' profits. For the lowest paid, Bush vetoes any increase in the minimum wage, while Reagan-era cuts in housing, med-

ical and welfare benefits keep mounting. In the ghettos and barrios, the lid is kept on the pressure cooker with racist cop terror, built through the bipartisan "war on drugs." On the picket line, scabherding is a booming business. Scabs are rebaptized "replacement workers" and allowed by the courts to vote in union certification elections while strikers are barred.

In recent years, a series of bitter, hard-fought strikes have gone down to defeat: Phelps Dodge copper miners, Greyhound workers, Hormel meatpackers, International Paper workers. Others, like the Colt Industries strike or the NYC longshoremen's tug strike, drag on for years, as scabs roll past token picket lines. These strikes were defeated because the die-on-your-knees labor bureaucracy *knifed them in the back*. This generation of labor traitors has done the bosses' bidding for so long they don't know *how* to win strikes. An AFL-CIO lobbyist, lamenting the state of the Eastern strike, asks: "Where do we go? We had a solid strike. Where do we

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Lynch Mob Murder in Bensonhurst.....3