

# Young Spartacus

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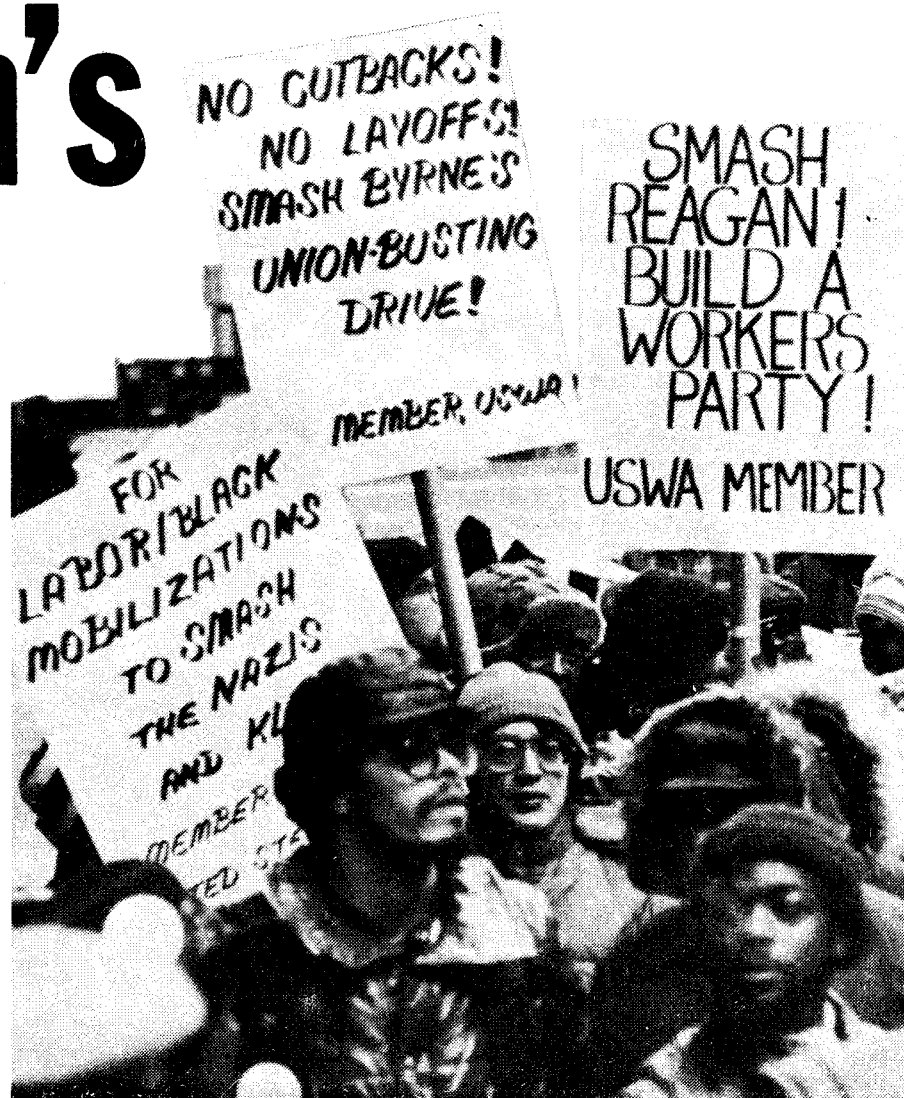
## Stop Reagan's Jim Crow Offensive!

On January 8, Ronald Reagan reintroduced tax exempt status for private and religious schools that openly exclude and discriminate against blacks. As with the administration's past attempt to kill the Voting Rights Act, this blatant racist action created a political firestorm, with bourgeois journalists and Congressional liberals joining the civil rights establishment in protest. Reagan lamely claimed that he only intended to curb usurpation of legislative powers by the IRS (!), and has partially backed off. But Bob Jones University and Goldsboro Christian

Schools still get a tax break for their Jim Crow policies. While the NAACP still preaches faith in the courts, Reagan's war on blacks shows the *reversibility* of the 1960s civil rights gains. What the capitalist state gave, it can just as easily take away.

Reagan's open championing of a return to Jim Crow is the domestic counterpart of his anti-Soviet war drive. Getting the reds in Eastern Europe, the USSR and in Central America means getting the blacks here. Reagan seems to think that he can finance his Trident submarines by

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Chicago workers protest Byrne/Reagan layoffs, cutbacks, December 1981.

## Poland: Reagan's Rollback?

Ronald Reagan was surprised—and furious. Not at the crackdown on Solidarność but because it was *Polish* soldiers who carried it out. He *wanted* Russian and Polish blood to flow in the streets of Warsaw and Gdansk. General Haig had a whole scenario worked out to whip up anti-Soviet war fever at the sound of the first Russian gun fired in Poland. An administration which ripped up the American union PATCO, firing 14,000 air controllers for the "crime" of striking against the government, and which arms and trains the death squads of the kill-crazed Salvadoran junta, wanted to lead a world outcry against bloody Soviet totalitarianism. But it didn't happen that way.

So to teach the Soviets a lesson for *not* invading, Reagan has slapped "punitive" economic sanctions on the USSR and Poland. Meanwhile he toys with "limited" nuclear war in Central Europe and detonating a "demonstration" H-bomb over the Baltic. These sanctions are steps toward even more ominous measures in Washington's *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive that could provoke a thermonuclear World War III. Down with the anti-Soviet sanctions!

In the end, after months of backtracking, the Polish Stalinists managed to carry off an effective counter-coup in their own country. For now, Solidarność' counterrevolutionary power grab has been blocked. General Jaruzelski's regime struck only hours after the

Solidarność leadership announced that it was organizing a referendum to form an anti-Communist government and break with the Warsaw Pact—an outright declaration of war on the Stalinist regime. Forced to save their political (and perhaps physical) necks, and despite their repeated efforts to conciliate imperialism, the Stalinists moved to stop Solidarność' attack on the historic gains of socialized property in the Polish deformed workers state.

While the pope prayed "for Poland" and Reagan lit a candle, U.S. imperialism has no intention of waiting for divine intervention to accomplish its plans to reconquer Eastern Europe for capitalism. For months, Reagan has

seen the Polish crisis as "the beginning of the end of Communism" and now it looks like he's lost the chance for a NATO-allied Poland on the Soviet border. The State Department was so frustrated that it denounced Jaruzelski as a "counterrevolutionary"! Ever since the strikes in Gdansk in August 1980, the U.S. (under Reagan and Carter) has been using Poland to stir up a Cold War frenzy. And for the last year, all Reagan has said is "rollback"—everything from "Communism" in the Soviet bloc to every union gain from the 1930s and the token gains of the civil rights movement.

Reagan weeps for Solidarność. So does the pope, Wall Street and the CIA, along with a host of so-called "social-

ists" who peddle the line that Solidarność was somehow fighting for socialism. Lech Walesa never claimed that—in fact, he said on American television that the U.S. had "passed the test." Tell that to black workers on an unemployment line in Detroit! In fact, during the last few months Walesa was sounding like a broken record from Radio Free Europe, CIA mouthpiece of the "free world." And clandestinely, during his tour of France last October, Walesa had a cozy tête-à-tête with such well-known "friends of labor" as the heads of Ford, Westinghouse, General Dynamics, IBM and sundry bankers and life insurance chairmen. This and more of Walesa's

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**Pilsudskiite Nationalism  
and Stalinist Treachery**

**Origins of  
Solidarność  
Counterrevolution**

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

# Moral Majority Goes Ape Over Monkey Trial

In Reagan's America, ketchup is a vegetable, and Genesis is science. Charles Darwin's 120-year-old theory of evolution is being challenged once again in American courts and schools. A gaggle of "creationists" have organized a lobby to promote a bill demanding that if teachers teach evolution, they must also teach "creation science," a rewrite of the Bible. In fact, "creation science" is simply a cover for preaching religious superstition in the school system and for forcing the "born-again" bigotry and anti-communism of the fundamentalist Moral Majority down the throats of schoolchildren.

On January 5 Federal District Judge William R. Overton threw out the Arkansas "creationism" bill (Arkansas Act 590) as in violation of the constitutional guarantee of the separation of church and state. Indeed, in Little Rock the "creationists" failed miserably in their futile attempt to prove "creationism" a science. This supposed science holds that the universe is some 6-10,000 years old, that separate ancestry occurred for man and apes—and includes belief in a "flood" as the supposed cause of geological stratification! The case was so poorly made in court that one witness for the State, having journeyed to Little Rock to testify, fled in horror. A *Detroit News* (17 December 1981) headline read: "'Monkey Trial' witness claims the stars supplied life on Earth." This witness was Dr. N.C. Wickrama-



singhe, a British mathematician who believes that children catch cold from comets.

Arkansas Act 590 was introduced into the legislature by one Jim Holsted, a "born-again" state representative and insurance salesman who has since resigned after being charged with theft of property and false statements. He took a bill circulated by the fundamentalist lobby organized by the Creation-Science Institute of San Diego, California and rammed it through one of the last legislative sessions of 1980, where it

passed amidst a clangor of telephone calls from the local Moral Majority chapter. Then Governor Frank White signed it March 19 without reading it. "I'm a Christian," he said in a television interview, "and I believe in the Biblical account of creation."

Simultaneous with Judge Overton's dismissal of the Arkansas bill, the Mississippi Senate approved a similar "creationism" bill. Louisiana already has one. And last October 21 a bill was introduced in Washington, D.C. which would limit funding of the Smithsonian

Museum until it installs displays illustrating the Biblical creation story. The American Civil Liberties Union was the initiator of the suit against Arkansas Act 590, on which it spent \$2 million, more than on any other lawsuit in its history—it will be plenty busy. But to a certain extent, the "creationists" have already won: textbook publishers, fearful of loss of sales and profits, have already revised their biology texts in accordance with the new bill. Two Harcourt Brace Jovanovich texts do not even mention Charles Darwin.

In one sense, of course, it is not particularly in the interests of the capitalist class to fill the ears of American children with fairy tales. After all, they need scientists to build bigger and better bombs to get the Russians with—no nuclear physicist ever believed that god made the sun and the stars in six days. So there's a contradiction between the Pentagon's technological needs and Reagan's ideological campaign to line up the American working class for the anti-Soviet war drive. The growth of fundamentalism and the bible-thumping Moral Majority is part and parcel of the right-wing crackdown against all dissidents, from homosexuals to communists. Social bigotry, racism, religion are the ideological concomitants of the bourgeoisie's war drive against "godless communism" abroad and blacks and unions at home, and these policies are embraced by the bourgeois political establishment in its entirety. As prestigious a mouthpiece of the bourgeois political establishment as the *Wall Street Journal* admitted:

"We would be doing the Arkansas legislators a disservice if we did not acknowledge that if caught between the relativists and the fundamentalists, we ourselves might often be tempted to side with the fundamentalists, at least those who are concerned, as we are, about a decline in the moral order."  
—*Wall Street Journal*, 7 January

Kelly Segraves, director of the Creation-Science Institute, said it this way:

"Look at teen-age crime and pregnancy and some of the other problems. If you teach the child he's an animal and has animal ancestry and that there are no moral absolutes, it causes havoc."  
—*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 9 December 1981

Behind this ludicrous peddling of simple-minded superstition, there is a very real threat: to legalize abortion, restore the death penalty, prosecute homosexuals and other "deviants." "Creation science" is a joke—with a sinister punch line. ■

## Jail the Murderers of Ron Settles! Killer Cops Walk

When black college football star Ron Settles was found dead in his jail cell last June, everybody knew it was a brutal racist cop murder—even the coroner's inquest said it wasn't suicide. Since then, Los Angeles District Attorney Van de Kamp has scrambled for any and every chance to excuse the killer cops. The cops took the Fifth Amendment, and on January 14 the DA dropped the charges against the cops for "lack of evidence." Van de Kamp stalled for weeks, hoping that the justified outrage of the black community would just die away, as has happened with Eulia Love, Larry

Morris and many other victims of police crimes.

The NAACP liberals pushed impotent consumer boycotts and the Ron Settles/Larry Morris Coalition for Justice (led by Long Beach black nationalist Amen Rahh) sought to recall the DA—both schemes to derail black anger into reformist channels. Speaking at a Martin Luther King rally the day after the DA's decision, Rahh didn't even mention the Settles case! And at a January 16 coalition planning meeting, all the "leaders" could offer was "reaching out" and

"educating" the black community about police abuse. It was only pressure from the outraged audience, all too well "educated" about L.A. cop terror against blacks, that forced the coalition to call for a January 30 rally to oppose the whitewashing of the killer cops.

At the December 5 Settles protest, which drew several thousand, mostly black, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League was the largest and most visible left-wing contingent. Our banner declared, "For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!" Just as a labor/minority mobilization stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco in 1980, the powerful integrated black, white and Latino L.A. labor movement must be mobilized to bring the killer cops to justice. Jail the killers of Ron Settles!

WV Photo



Black anger in Signal Hill: thousands protest racist police terror in Los Angeles area, 5 December 1981.

## Young Spartacus

*Young Spartacus* (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

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February 1982

# SL/SYL Wins California Smear Case

REPRINTED FROM WORKERS VANGUARD NO. 296, 8 JANUARY 1982

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

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

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

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

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

Right-wing zealots of the Reagan/Haig/Deukmejian stripe are intently preparing a third world war aimed at the



Workers Vanguard Photo

SL/SYL demonstration against California Attorney General Deukmejian's witchhunting smears, San Francisco, 23 July 1981.

Soviet Union. They hope to silence their opponents by creating a new McCarthyism, an atmosphere of intimidation and anti-communist hysteria. They want to muzzle free speech. They must not be permitted to do so. Deukmejian, Reagan's man in California, hopes to obtain a new lease on legal witchhunting, with charges of "terrorism" replacing the old "advocacy to overthrow" of the legally discredited Smith Act and "Criminal Syndicalism" laws.

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

excuse to deny the most basic democratic rights and legal due process.

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

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

the same kind of campaign of government violence that destroyed the Black Panther Party.

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

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

In issuing his 1979 report Deukmejian willfully tried to confuse Marxist education with terrorism. In forcing a retraction of the false allegations leveled at us we have won a victory for free speech. Socialists who believe the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, who maintain Polish Solidarność is not an agency of proletarian political revolution but a counter-revolutionary company union of the

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## Oakland Tribune/TODAY SATURDAY

### Marxist group taken off state terrorist list

By Robert Lindsey  
New York Times  
LOS ANGELES — A Marxist political organization, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the California attorney general's office after the office acknowledged that it had been wrong to include the group in a

the Black Panther Party." In a 1979 report to the legislature, George Deukmejian, the California attorney general, listed the Spartacist League and a related group, the Spartacus Youth League, together with the Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Workers Party, the

propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counterdemonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings." Officials of the Spartacist or-

and the labor movement." Rachel Wolkenstein, a lawyer for the organization in New York City, said in a telephone interview. "The Spartacist League is not a violent group by either program or by principle." A spokesman for Deukmejian

## San Francisco Chronicle

The Spartacist League's action against the state attorney general's office is a kind of triumph.

### Spartacists Off Terrorist List

Los Angeles  
A Marxist political group, the Spartacist League, has dropped a suit against the state attorney general after the office admitted that it had been wrong to include the group in a list of left-wing terrorist organizations published

## San Francisco Examiner

### State digest

Compiled from Examiner news services

### Marxists, not mobsters

THE STATE BUREAU of Organized Crime and Criminal Intelligence has issued a letter saying a Marxist group mistakenly was included in a 1979 report on organized crime, according to the Spartacist League.

## Los Angeles Times

### Group's Designation as Terrorists Voided

By PATT MORRISON, Times Staff Writer

A California Marxist group announced Friday that its lawsuit against state Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian has been settled out of court with the distribution of a letter from Deukmejian's office admitting that the group's inclusion on a 1979 list of terrorists "was in error." The Spartacist League had sued Deukmejian earlier this year, claiming that because it and the Spartacus Youth League had been listed in the 1979 report, "Organized Crime in California," they had become "targets . . . for harassment and persecution and intimidation by law enforcement and right-wing organizations." They said they were "Marxists, not terrorists." The report, one of the first such ever made public, listed right-wing and left-wing groups, from the Ku Klux Klan to the Revolutionary Communist Party. It included the

Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League with several left-wing organizations and said that all of them were committed to an "advocacy of violence . . . urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings." In the retraction letter sent to the 27 federal, state and local law enforcement agencies who receive the annual organized crime report, Charles E. Casey, chief of the state's bureau of organized crime and criminal intelligence, wrote: "This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League on Page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication . . . was in error."

"The agreement was basically that we'd retract what was in the 1970 report," said Justice depart-

Continued from First Page

ment spokeswoman Gina McGuinness. "When we researched our files after they filed suit, we didn't find enough substance to justify what had been said (in the report)." Spokesmen for the Spartacist League said Friday they also intend to distribute copies of the retraction letter to members of the Legislature, who are also on the distribution list for the report.

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

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

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

## The New York Times

### MARXISTS DROPPING SUIT IN CALIFORNIA

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

By ROBERT LINDSEY  
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

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

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

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

Attempts to 'Incite' Charged

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

pation by force of Federal office buildings."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Over 90 Spartacus Youth League (SYL) members traveled from as far away as California and Massachusetts to attend an SYL Active Workers Conference held last fall in the Midwest in conjunction with a Spartacist League (SL) Central Committee plenum (see "SL/SYL Faces the Reagan Years," Workers Vanguard No. 295, 18 December 1981). The conference included a spirited discussion on recruitment opportunities, particularly among black youth, and the task of assimilating the large number of new comrades recruited last spring and summer out of our intervention into the protest activism ignited over El Salvador. Political struggle with reformist and centrist groups and prospects for industrial implantation were also discussed. Fraternal delegates from the party present at the conference stressed the need—particularly in the context of the increased repressive climate of the Reagan years—to counter youthful impatience and spontaneity with education in the fundamentals of revolutionary Marxism.

At the conclusion of the conference an educational was held on Poland, with presentations by Spartacist League Central Committee members George Foster and Joseph Seymour. Comrade Foster's presentation centered on the historical development of Polish clerical nationalism. Comrade Seymour gave an exposition of the Trotskyist program of political revolution in the bureaucratically-ruled workers states, pointing out the strong tendencies in the American and West European left to support bourgeois-democratic counterrevolution in Poland. He contrasted the 1956 Hungarian Revolution to the present crisis in Poland. Below we print edited transcripts of both of these presentations, given before the imposition of martial law in Poland.

**Comrade Foster:** Poland is a very old country. It's been in existence about a millennium and the history of Polish Catholicism is intimately connected with the rise of the Polish nation. At its height in the 16th century, the Polish kingdom stretched from the Oder-Neisse line of today east to Kiev and to the Black Sea. In fact, Polish nationalists have never relinquished the dream of historic Poland embracing all these areas.

Now, in the late 18th/early 19th century the Polish kingdom was eliminated from the face of Europe by a series of partitions between Prussia, the Hapsburg Empire and tsarist Russia. In the ensuing decades of the 19th century there were insurrections mainly centered in the Russian-partitioned areas of Poland, directed against the Russian overlords. The last of these was an 1863 uprising by the landed gentry—the main carriers of Polish nationalism—and it was opposed by the peasantry. The largely Ukrainian and White Russian peasants did not relish the idea of the Polish landlords achieving victory over the tsarist forces and reclaiming their historic rights. The tsarist authorities were quick to cultivate this senti-



May Day 1928—Pilsudski's troops attack Communist-led workers demonstration in Warsaw. Today, Solidarność lauds Pilsudski as a "national hero."

## Pilsudskite Nationalism and Stalinist Treachery

# Origins of Solidarność Counterrevolution

ment and to use the peasantry as a bulwark against the Polish nationalists. That's a reason that the left wing of Polish Marxism was historically anti-nationalist. In their experience nationalism was associated in a very direct way with the aristocracy.

The first Polish Marxist party was the Party Proletariat of Social Revolution of Ludwigi Waryński. Early on, it organized a struggle against a law requiring Russian factory inspectors to strip-search women factory workers once every two weeks. It was the first mass upsurge of the Poles since 1863 and mobilized not only the Polish proletariat but also significant elements of the non-working-class population.

Very quickly thereafter, the Party Proletariat had a right-wing split which thought that Waryński's party was

adventurist, too much influenced by the Russian Narodnaya Volya. This organization, in essence the infant Polish social democracy, took the name Solidarność. And I've always wondered whether it was an accident that this "union" today called itself the same thing. The KOR people like Kuron are intensely historically conscious and the name means something in Polish history.

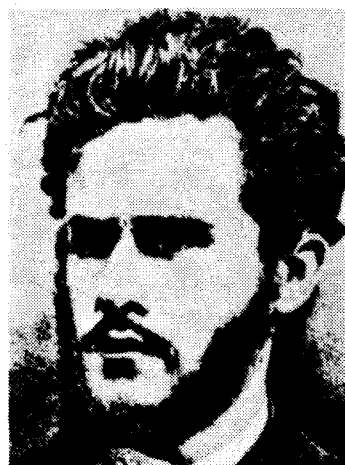
### Pilsudski and Modern Polish Nationalism

Modern-day Poland appears on the map only with the end of the first imperialist war. In this period there was a split in the Polish nationalists. The right-wing National Democrats felt that Germany was the main enemy and that Poland must consequently maintain an

alliance with the tsarist empire, while Pilsudski thought the Russians were the main enemy. World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution gave Pilsudski an opportunity to recreate a Polish state. The final contours of that state arose not so much from recognizing the fait accompli of German power in the west, as from the 1920 war with Soviet Russia in the east, a war initiated by Pilsudski.

His goal was to create a mini-Polish empire which would be sufficiently large and powerful to fend off both the Germans and the Russians. The 1920 war was the really crucial event for modern Polish nationalism. Pilsudski seized regions containing some eight to ten million White Russians and Ukrainians—historical Polish lands in the eyes of the Polish nationalists. And the tomb of the unknown soldier that you keep reading about in the paper contains the body of a soldier killed in the 1920 war with the USSR. It is a measure of Solidarność' anti-Soviet nationalism that almost all the Solidarność marches in Warsaw end at this tomb.

Pilsudski got his start in the Polish Socialist Party (PSP), editing its paper and robbing banks. He was pretty good at both. In fact, one very successful bank robbery enabled him to set up his legions. Although Pilsudski broke with the PSP, the PSP in a sense never broke with him. The key to his success in the 1926 coup was the strikes by the social democratic-controlled railway workers unions, which stopped the government from bringing in loyal troops. Of course, once in power, Pilsudski simply dismissed the social democracy. And so it's



Heroic Polish revolutionaries: Rosa Luxemburg, Adolf Warski, Leon Jogiches and Julian Marchlewski were founders of the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Proletarian internationalists, all were implacable opponents of Polish nationalism.

irritating when Lipinski, this 95-year-old spokesman for Solidarność, says he's been a socialist all his life—his party was critical in installing Pilsudski.

**The Warsaw Uprising: Fact vs. Fantasy**

Another issue for Solidarity is the Warsaw Uprising. Except there were two Warsaw uprisings. The first was the April 1943 uprising of the Jewish population in Warsaw, when the Polish bourgeois-nationalist resistance stood aside and let the Germans annihilate the ghetto. Poland had something like 3.2 million Jews before World War II. At the end there were only several hundred thousand. That gives you a sense of what the Holocaust was like in Poland.

The other Warsaw Uprising was in August 1944, the one led by the Armija Krajowa, the Home Army, which was the army of the bourgeois Polish government in exile, based in London. It was not a Pilsudskiite government—it included bourgeois rivals of Pilsudski, like Sikorski, whom even Churchill couldn't stand. The Polish bourgeoisie was hoping for a rerun of 1918—World War II ending with Germany prostrate, the Soviet Union devastated so Poland could flower. In fact, demands were made for the restoration of the old borders stretching from the present western borders to Kiev.

After Stalingrad, though, it became clear that the Red Army was moving inexorably westward. The London government hoped to confront the Red Army with a bourgeois Polish administration recognized by the USSR's imperialist allies. This strategem was tried first in Byelorussia where Home Army units fought alongside the Red Army. After the fighting the Red Army commander said, "Well, your troops go into the Anders army (a Polish army under Soviet command) or you'll be interned." In Lithuania the same thing happened. Thus, with the Red Army approaching the Polish capital in August 1944, the Home Army command saw Warsaw as their last chance and staged an uprising. (There's going to be an article about it in *Workers Vanguard* [see *WV* No. 294, 4 December 1981].) But the Germans counter-attacked and drove the Russians back. The Soviets certainly couldn't have gone over to the offensive for at least a month and a half to two months and in that period the insurrection was brutally crushed. Warsaw was depopulated and flattened at the end of the war.

It's always been a cry of the Polish nationalists that Stalin just sat on the other bank of the Vistula and let the Germans do his dirty work. It was very clear to wide sectors of the Polish working masses that the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 was what it was, an adventure that cost the blood of several hundred thousand Poles.

**Stalinists Conciliate Clerical Reaction**

The Polish Workers Party, which later became the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) after the Stalinists

**Solidarność embraces clerical reaction. Left, Walesa greets his spiritual mentor Wojtyla. Right, Rural Solidarity meets under the crucifix, Black Madonna and Polish pope.**



achieved state power, was established in 1942 by Gomulka and actually managed to grow and exert considerable political pressure on the bourgeois resistance forces. The Polish masses were disgruntled with the old regime and at the war's end many greeted the Red Army as liberators. The Stalinists frittered away a lot of political capital.

The Stalinists moved Poland's eastern and western boundaries westward several hundred miles. The Germans were forcibly transferred west, the borders were moved back to the old borders of ethnic Poland and the Nazis had exterminated the Jews. So Poland today is probably the most ethnically pure state in Europe—it's about 97-98 percent Polish.

Once the Stalinists achieved power, they forcibly fused a wing of the social democracy into their party, as in the rest of Eastern Europe. So, aside from nationalists, careerists and various other unsavory elements, you also have a fair number of social democrats in the PUWP. It's not an accident that the church is so strong or that nationalist sentiment is so strong—that reactionary ideology is so prevalent. Because the Stalinists in power conciliated the feudal-minded Catholic church and themselves encouraged anti-Semitism and Polish nationalism. An example is Pax—it's probably the largest free enterprise outfit in Poland—several hundred lay Catholics that control the manufacture of the blessed candles, rosaries, religious souvenirs, etc. In addition it runs some chemical factories and other things. Its economic enterprises are treated like state firms, getting preferential treatment. But Pax is more than that, it's a political movement.

It was encouraged by the Stalinists when they came to power in 1945 as a Stalinist-loyal Catholic organization. Now to give you some sense of what the Stalinists are like, look at the head of Pax, Boleslaw Piasecki, a right-wing National Democrat in the pre-war period. He split and formed a group called Falanga, which was a pro-Nazi

group. In the interwar years he attacked Jewish students in the universities and got the nickname Gillette Man, for using the razor. After 1939 he set up a resistance organization to fight the Soviets occupying eastern Poland. Later, he fell into the hands of the Red Army and, being an astute chap, convinced them that he'd be very useful in setting up this Pax organization. His number 2 man has a similar filthy history.

They supported the pro-Stalin Natolin group in the PUWP and during Gomulka's imprisonment even clamored for his execution. Yet when Gomulka came to power, he conciliated and encouraged Pax's development and additionally gave the church again a free hand. So a lot of the reactionary ideology that you see floating around in Poland today did not arise in the last several years, but is a product of betrayals of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which makes a policy of conciliating the most obscene right-wing forces of clerical reaction and religious-national obscurantism. What we're seeing in Solidarność today is the fruit of this treacherous policy of Polish Stalinism.

**Comrade Seymour:** The first thing to emphasize is that the central leadership

of Solidarity—Walesa, Andrej Gwiazda, Anna Walentynowicz—were *not* simply honest shop-floor militants catapulted into the leadership of a spontaneous action. Solidarity has a definite prehistory. After the humiliation of the Gierek regime in 1976, there emerged in Poland, under the aegis of the Catholic church, a relatively large dissident movement with both a social-democratic wing represented by Jacek Kuron's Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and an openly clerical-nationalist, Pilsudskiite wing represented by Leszek Moczulski's Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). A year and a half before the Baltic Coast general strike Abraham Bromberg, a former editor of the CIA's house organ, *Problems of Communism*, wrote an article calling attention to the fact that, unique among Stalinist-ruled states, there was in Poland a very large, very active, very well-organized dissident movement with thousands of activists and numerous papers with tens of thousands of readers ("Open Political Dissent in Poland," *New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979). Bromberg also pointed out that this movement existed and could exist only under the protection of the church. Walesa and

*continued on page 10*

**Hungary 1956 vs. Solidarność**



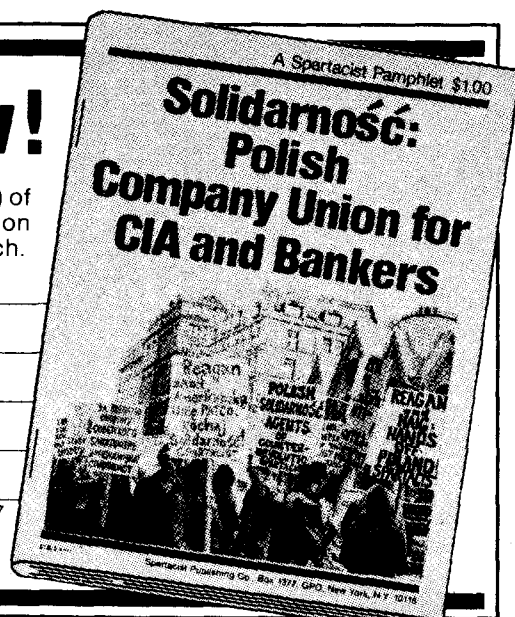
Trotskyists supported the heroic efforts of the pro-socialist Hungarian working class to overthrow the Stalinist regime. Under the impact of the workers uprising, the bureaucracy split. Eighty percent of the Communist Party cadres and the military became active supporters of the workers councils—a clear refutation of the theories that the bureaucracy is a new ruling class. Unlike the pro-Western and anti-Communist Solidarność, the Hungarian workers fought for a socialist future.

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## The Strange Case of Charles Brockunier '62

Young Spartacus Photo



"Boston businessman" who verbally and physically threatened Manning. Brockunier's "interview" of captured Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan appeared on CBS Evening News (22 December 1981). But the account of the soldiers' statements is vastly different from that in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 December 1981). One of three Soviet soldiers did not even appear on CBS. From the CBS transcript: "MOHAMMAD KAZKULIEV (Soviet army ... through interpreter): I would say to the Russian people that this is a senseless war, and that the Soviet army should be withdrawn." From the *Chronicle*: "During the hour-long interview, the prisoners made no attempt to curry favor with the rebels by criticizing the Soviet intervention or by praising his captors." Disinformation?



AP

## Harvard...

(continued from page 12)

Yun to be political. Furthermore, in her work with senior professor and well-known rightist Ernest May at the Kennedy School, Yun spends her time preparing very political papers such as the 1981 "The Intelligence Process: Operation Barbarossa," a detailed examination of Stalin's failure to anticipate the 1941 Nazi invasion of the USSR and its implications for Soviet intelligence today. Perhaps further insight into Ms. Yun's academic efforts can be found in the course syllabus for which the "Barbarossa" paper was done. Among the "exercises" for class teams is the following:

"Even-numbered teams: Imagine that your team is part of a high-level, super-secret NSC working group. Under development is a contingency plan for rapid surprise occupation of Teheran and other key points in Iran. (Never mind whether we have the forces. That's someone else's worry.) Your team has the assignment of sketching a deception plan to maximize chances that the event will take the Soviet Union by surprise."

The Kennedy School of Government would, in fact, be an unlikely haunt for anybody not interested in politics or, more to the point, in a career of brain-trusting for various governmental agencies and departments. As veteran CIA recruiter Charles P. Pecinovsky put it on a recent visit to the K-School, "We always do well at Harvard" (*Crimson*, 13 November 1981).

In late December, one Charles Brockunier, class of '62, entered the scene. Accompanied by one of the counterdemonstrators and witnesses for Yun, Mark Sauter, Brockunier appeared at the restaurant where Keith Manning is employed. During this visit, Brockunier badgered Manning about his political views, membership in the SYL and so forth. Brockunier made repeated visits of a similar nature but the verbal harassment escalated to physical threats and physical violence when one of our supporters began to photograph the man. In a fit of anger, Brockunier grabbed the camera strap slung around the photographer's neck, leaving marks sufficiently deep to require medical attention. Manning was also injured while coming to the aid of his comrade.

Who is Brockunier? He appeared on the CBS Evening News December 22—a "Boston businessman" who just happened to be in Afghanistan, interrogating some Russian soldiers captured by the U.S.-backed feudalists—soldiers about to be murdered in the name of "freedom" for those who buy and sell women like cattle. Brockunier's "interview" was conducted in Russian, a detail we learned by screening the CBS segment. Perhaps this is a case that Admiral Stansfield Turner anticipated when he said, "The CIA is not trained to operate within the constraints of American law. The FBI is. You are being unfair to a CIA officer when you put him in that environment where he's more likely to make a mistake" (*Wash-*

## Letters to Ms. Yun

Below we reprint the draft apology (12 January) offered at the outset of negotiations, a public debate challenge (13 January) and a 14 January statement by Manning, with accompanying cover letter (15 January) to the statement.

12 January 1982

M.B. Yun  
Harvard University

Dear Melanie Billings Yun:

Regarding the incident between you and me in front of Harvard Hall on the evening of 12 November 1981 during the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League sponsored forum "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution," your attorney, Steven Brooks, states that you have represented to him the following: (1) that you did not intend to disrupt the FOSYL sponsored forum; (2) that your health is chronically too poor and that your physical disabilities make it impossible for you to have willingly participated in such action in any case; (3) that your disinterest in politics leads you to decline my offer to move the issue from the legal back to political terrain by means of a public debate on the Polish Question, either between you and me, or by nominees of the two of us.

The FOSYL forum was open to the public, for the ventilation of the views of all sides on the question, and for the education of the public.

In view of the charged atmosphere prior to the meeting and the call for a counter-demonstration, the FOSYL made preparation to keep out those people, and solely those people, whose purpose was to disrupt and break up the FOSYL meeting. I volunteered to help maintain order.

I did observe you with the counter-demonstration and concluded that your purpose was to disrupt and sought to block your entry into the meeting.

I am now assured by your attorney that your purpose was not to disrupt the forum. Therefore and in this light, I most certainly do apologize for this incident which appears to have arisen through misunderstanding. And I regret any inconvenience that this incident has caused you.

Yours truly,  
Keith Manning

13 January 1982

Dear Ms. Yun:

It is my understanding that the issues in contention between us stemming from the meeting on Poland at Harvard on the night of 12 November last are presently a matter of litigation: to wit, whether to pursue criminal action for assault or to find the language and substance for an apology which is acceptable to both sides. I had had the thought that it might be possible to move the issue back from legal action or negotiation to the underlying political question in dispute. I would hope that in dealing with the counterposed political differences we both might find a more intellectually satisfying and publicly accessible means of resolving this matter.

I have heard informally that your lawyer, Mr. Steven Brooks, reports that you are not interested in pursuing the possibility of a public debate between us or our nominees on the Polish question before the Harvard public.

If this is so, I can only regret it because I do believe that such a debate, with a chairman and other conditions acceptable to both of us, on the question of Poland, could be a very considerable assistance in defining what is called progress in the modern world and permit Harvard University, geographically remote from the present sharp confrontation in Poland, to act as an arena for the necessary free expression and inquiry appropriate to such an institution.

While I am sure that we are both prepared to have our case taken through the criminal court process if inevitable, and I do hope that our lawyers can arrive at an acceptable arrangement short of that, it seems to me that the proposal here sketched ought to be a substitute for the former and no way preclude the latter.

Yours truly,  
Keith Manning

15 January 1982

Dear Ms. Yun:

Attached please find my apology to you which I have freely signed. This apology, after the exact wording was worked out between your attorney and mine, was to have resulted in our dropping the criminal charges against one another. I have been told, however, that since I felt it my duty to persist in offering you a public debate on the Polish question between either ourselves or others, who each of us thought could adequately represent our political ideas, you therefore will proceed with

Young Spartacus Photo



"Dear Ms. Yun..."

your criminal case against me and perforce, since you did assault me, I against you.

I sign this apology because of your lawyer's representations as to your intentions on the night of 12 November. In which case, far from wanting to obstruct your entry into the meeting, I, who was there to assist in a public, free and orderly meeting, would have wanted to facilitate your attendance at the meeting in question.

Correspondingly, I would hope that you might appreciate the circumstances in which you placed me as I perceived them, to wit, you as a participant in a vehement and threatening counterdemonstration which then sought to break into the meeting surely for no good purpose.

Hence I feel that I can reasonably ask you for a comparable apology. But my

own stands on its own merits and is entirely independent of your appreciation of the situation in which your apparent conduct placed me. And I do think that there would be a much cleaner atmosphere at Harvard if the views of the meeting's sponsors and of counterdemonstrators could be posed early on in free and open debate.

Yours truly,  
Keith Manning

14 January 1982

Dear Ms. Yun:

Regarding the incident between you and me which took place in front of Harvard Hall on the evening of 12 November 1981 during the Friends of the Spartacus Youth League (FOSYL) sponsored forum "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution":

In view of the charged atmosphere prior to the forum and the call for a counterdemonstration, the FOSYL made preparation to keep out those people, and solely those people, whose purpose was to disrupt and break up the FOSYL meeting. I volunteered to maintain order at the entrance to Harvard Hall.

The FOSYL forum was open to the public for the ventilation of the views of all sides on the question, and for the education of the public.

I observed you with the counterdemonstrators and therefore I was under the impression that you were part of the counterdemonstration and attempted to disrupt the forum. I now understand that you have represented that you were simply advocating the right of students to attend an open forum and did not intend to disrupt the meeting.

Please understand that I did not intend to prevent anyone from attending the forum, except those individuals who would have actively disrupted and broken up the meeting. If I had known the true nature of your participation, I would not have sought to block you from entering Harvard Hall to attend the FOSYL forum.

Therefore I apologize for seeking to block you from attending the forum and any inconvenience caused to you.

Yours truly,  
Keith Manning

Young Spartacus Photo



Keith Manning: the young man Harvard wanted to jail.

ington Post, 9 December 1981). That any sort of coercion and dirty tricks may be employed in the name of the "free world" from Pretoria to Santiago is bourgeois cant. It might very well extend to Cambridge. The niceties of intelligence etiquette which the bourgeoisie set for themselves—who gets to spy on whom—is not, however, our problem. The fact that a young Marxist defending free speech on their campus could have been thrown behind bars by the gentlemen of Harvard is.

**Kill a Commie in Angola; Wear a Tie in Harvard Yard**

That Harvard funds and lawyers were immediately made available to jail Keith Manning is not one of Harvard's larger crimes to be sure. "The Corporation's" reputation as one of the most insufferably arrogant, repressive, racist, anti-union and sexist institutions in the country is well-earned. Smugly conscious of epitomizing bourgeois privilege, Harvard is also filthy rich. It was recently the recipient of "what is believed to be the largest single gift in the history of American education" (New York Times, 14 January)—some \$77 million in stock. Quite a contrast to the victims of Reagan's and Stockman's (Harvard "fellow" '75) killer cuts—the poor and working-class children who not only get a lousy education but aren't even given a hot lunch.

The struggle to preserve capitalist tyranny (in which Harvard has no monopoly, possibly contrary to its self-image) has an importance far more than the question of the liberality of the administration toward its privileged charges. Nonetheless, even a little democratic thing like the attempt to regiment student political life in the aftermath of SDS protests and the associated purge of leftists from the

Harvard faculty should be fought too. As a Marxist organization, we fight capitalist imperialism down the line, from the intellectual pretensions of their haughty apologists to their assaults on democratic rights to their long-standing commitment to racial and sexual inequality. So we fought this case with the understanding that Harvard views us, revolutionary Marxists, in much the same way it does Russian soldiers in Afghanistan, immigrant anarchists in Boston or Indochinese peasant children burned to death by Harvard professor Louis Fieser's napalm: class enemies and expendable non-people.

When black historian and current head of Harvard's beleaguered Afro-American department Nathan Huggins said, "Harvard is a class-conscious institution with a sense of social pretension, an elitism based not simply on merit," he couldn't have been more correct. Huggins was comparing the stuffy social atmosphere at Harvard to his former *alma mater* U.C. Berkeley where "People were apologetic about being 'socially better,' or if they weren't, they would get into fraternities and would be treated with contempt by anybody of real consequence" (Harvard Magazine, September-October 1981). The analogue to Harvard's class-conscious "social elite" is its intimate connection to and ability to serve the ideological needs of the U.S. ruling class at any given point. Therefore, among the latest recruits to the heady heights of Harvard academe is a coterie of Polish "freedom fighters" who chose Cambridge over South Africa as their niche in the "free world." Stanislaw Baranczak is one of the prominent members of the Polish intelligentsia to land at Harvard and he's been propagandizing for Solidarność and Reagan's anti-Soviet economic sanctions in every prestigious bourgeois publication he can. No doubt there were those at Harvard who viewed our public forum on Poland, which denounced Solidarność as a company union for the CIA and Western bankers, as something of a thorn in the side—if not outright "enemy propaganda."

Baranczak's fellows who couldn't sell their intellect to the imperialist order had other skills to offer. Fleeing "communist totalitarianism," hundreds of Poles are making for the land of brutal racist apartheid where the technical skills they acquired in the Polish workers state can be sold to South African corporations. As the Economist (9 January) so bluntly put it: "Polish refugees have escaped with little more than their skins, but those skins are white. As a result, hundreds of them are already on their way to South Africa where they will help ease the shortage of skilled labour... Recruitment of immigrants is a soft option for companies which might otherwise be forced to expand their black training programmes."

One need not be a Marxist to realize that it is unspeakable obscenity to hear the Reagan administration of strike-breakers which is today relegating thousands of workers to the unemployment lines and soup kitchens, slashing social services and mobilizing for World War III speak on behalf of the "liberation" of Polish workers. An editorial in the well-known black newspaper, the Amsterdam News (2 January) makes a powerful statement against the Harvard/Baranczak ilk:

"We are not without some concern for Poles who are without political liberties taken for granted in white America. But the suffering Poles, the starving Poles, the desperate Poles?... All of the Poles who appear on the television news have the look of well-dressed and well-fed people... The Poles who will be welcomed to these shores will be hailed as freedom-fighters. They will be living proof of the superiority of the capitalist system. The Haitians—and the Black South Africans are another example of America's hypocritical concern with political liberty—are not abused by a Communist tyrant. They are Black, unskilled and illiterate... President Reagan doesn't give a damn about liberty and freedom. Anti-Communism

**The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie**

Wally McNamee

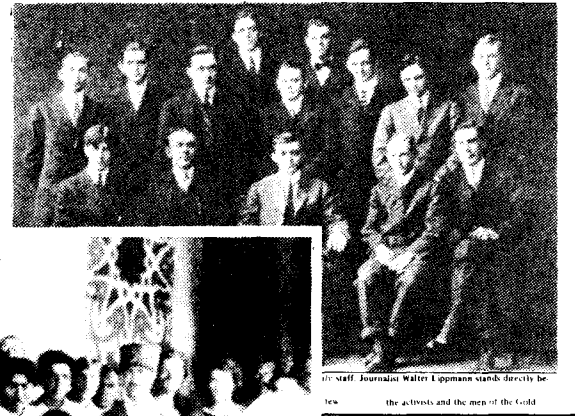
Dr. Strangelove (Harvard '50, Ph.D. '54), architect of imperialism's losing war in Vietnam.



Victims of napalm, yet another Harvard contribution to humanity.

**Rejected by Harvard Social Elite, John Reed Turned Rebel**

(Continued from page 1) son of a Portland, Oregon merchant. Reed was to become legendary in a class that included such luminaries as T.S. Eliot, columnist and philosopher Walter Lippmann, and newspaperman Heywood Brown. As his 1918 Resonance Class Report, published 15 years after his death, would say: "None of his classmates can ever forget John Reed. He came haunting on the scene at Harvard with a nose and a grin that could not be ignored. Large, athletic, exuberant and humorous, he seemed to be on earth for the reason he got out of it... in one of the few memories of his college days, written in 1917 and published posthumously in the New Republic in 1938, he recalls his painful start at Harvard: "In 1906 I went up to Harvard almost alone, knowing hardly a soul in the University. My college class entered one more hundred strong, and for the



American communist John Reed (class of '10) with comrades at Congress of the Peoples of the East, Baku 1920.



Harvard College Library

**HARVARD AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION**

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Caspar Weinberger<br/>Secretary of Defense<br/>Harvard College '38<br/>Harvard Law School '41<br/>Former member,<br/>Visiting Committee,<br/>School of Government</p>  |    | <p>David Stockman<br/>Director of OMB<br/>Fellow, Institute<br/>of Politics '75<br/>Participant in the<br/>School's Program for<br/>Newly Elected Members<br/>of Congress '76</p>  |
| <p>William French Smith<br/>Attorney General<br/>Harvard Law School '42<br/>Member, Advisory Committee,<br/>School of Government</p>                                      | <p>Donald Regan<br/>Secretary of the Treasury<br/>Harvard College '40</p>  |    |

**"Profitas"**

Epps schleps. Radical students ejecting Dean Archie Epps III during 1969 University Hall takeover to protest Vietnam War.

is his passion.... All that you see and hear about Poland, at least that part which is not a lie, is sheer hypocrisy."

**Ivy League of Racism**

Harvard's own record on racial equality stinks. A recent incident involving the Crimson captures the "values" instilled by a Harvard education. In March 1980 a Crimson article on prison reform entitled "The Ceiling of America" was accompanied by a picture of two young black men behind crudely drawn bars. The two young men happened to be Harvard students and the Crimson must have thought itself quite amusing

when it used them in the graphic. The students, fortunately, had the last laugh, and successfully sued the snotty little Crimson racists, getting about \$13,000. We only wish they'd got the whole \$480,000 they asked for (see box, page 8).

Special assistant to President Bok, Robert Klitgaard, authored an infamous report in the fall of 1980 which rivals Shockley and Jensen in its assumption of inherent black inferiority. The report's punch line can be roughly summarized: black students are

continued on page 8

**10 DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD**



Boston Film Showing  
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Science Center C  
Harvard University

Also hear an SYL spokesman on the successful conclusion of the Keith Manning case.

Harvard University Bulletin

# Harvard...

(continued from page 7)

academically inferior, therefore they would be better off at "lesser" institutions where, if nothing else, they might experience a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality." Klitgaard's report provoked widespread outrage and spirited protest on the campus as well as a public display of much agonizing "soul-searching" by the administration. But no retraction. President Bok "regretted" only that the report was prematurely released and spoke at the commencement exercises in June in the despairing attitude of "what's a good Aryan to do?":

"[Blacks and Hispanics] know that we have made a special effort to recruit them... [and] are bound to wonder whether they are academically equal to other students and whether they are looked upon by others as intellectually inferior."

—Harvard Magazine, September-October 1980

One can imagine Bok yearning for the good old days when former Harvard President Lowell served unabashedly as the Vice President of the Immigration Restriction League (whose name is self-explanatory). Lowell formed the "review" committee which sent Italian-born anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti to their notoriously unjust deaths in Massachusetts' electric chair. That's Harvard.

Now reflect on our would-be nemesis Dean Epps—one of the few, if not the only, black deans at Harvard. He has indeed worked overtime for this "privilege." Ever since he was physically ejected by protesting students during the 1969 take-over of University Hall, Epps has dedicated his administrative talents to an unending battle against the last vestige of campus radicalism. *Time* magazine remarked in its article on the 1969 strike, "No matter how soon the present crisis is resolved, the great temple of learning on the Charles will never quite be the same." We doubt that Dean Epps was ever the same either. Certainly, not a radical student at Harvard in the last 15 years has uttered his name without a mixture of disgust and ridicule. Spending one's days harassing student club officers about their literature tables and room reservations would seem an unsatisfying occupation, but that's what Epps does. It's not surprising that he was the one selected to represent the administration at the Yun/Manning hearing, either. There's a lot of dirty work involved in being the Dean of Students there.

We communists believe that racial equality in education will take a leap when, for beginners, elite schools like Harvard are nationalized, admissions are open to all and the administration with its Boks and Epps is abolished once and for all. We have no illusions that we'll see Harvard nationalized this side of the socialist revolution. But one day those ivied walls and mahogany-filled

# The Crimson File

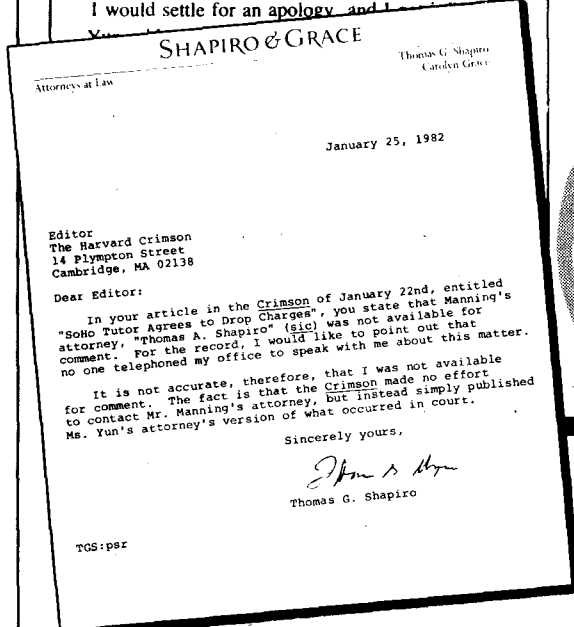
...neither Manning nor his lawyer, Thomas A. Shapiro, were available for comment yesterday.

Lawyers on both sides had negotiated to specify the contents of the letter. Brooks said yesterday, adding that he opposed including any politics in the letter.

Neither Manning nor his lawyer, Thomas A. Shapiro, were available for comment yesterday.

"As far as we're concerned, this was a simple case of assault and battery," Brooks said. "We feel that the matter is resolved," he added.

"I had always said from the beginning that I would settle for an apology and I would like to see the two students settle."



All the news Harvard sees fit to print. **Crimson:** caught out by Manning's attorney (above); sued by black student victims of Ivy League racism (right); as mouthpiece of the "Corporation" (center).

## The Harvard Crimson

22 January 1982

17 December 1981

### Assault Charges

A South House assistant senior tutor and a member of the Spartacist League—who have charged each other with assault in connection with a Spartacist rally last month—will be arraigned January 14 in Third District Court.

Harvard will help fund the defense of Melanie B. Yun against the charge of assault filed by Keith Manning, a Cambridge resident, James A. Sharaf '89, assistant general counsel for the University, said yesterday.

"We believe that Miss Yun was assaulted by Mr. Manning and do not believe that he was assaulted by her," Sharaf added.

The alleged assaults took place at a speech criticizing the independent Polish labor union Solidarity by a member of the Spartacist League November 12 at Harvard Hall.



The photo the Crimson refused to print.

## The New York Times

### Harvard Paper Settles Suit in Photo Dispute

**BOSTON, Jan. 19** — The Harvard Crimson, the student newspaper, has reached an out-of-court settlement with two Harvard graduates whose picture was used to illustrate an article about prison reform.

The two students, Michael Giles and Gerald Clark, who are black, graduated a few months after the disputed photograph appeared in March 1980. The incident touched off an angry outburst from Harvard's Black Students' Association and prompted The Crimson to print an

apology. In January 1981 Mr. Giles and Mr. Clark sued the Crimson for \$480,000, charging libel and invasion of privacy. Bill McKibben, the current president of the Crimson, refused to say what the settlement was, but sources close to the paper said it was a total of about \$13,000. The picture appeared with an article entitled "The Ceiling of America." One of the editors, trying to illustrate the article, reportedly pulled out a file picture of the two undergraduates and had bars superimposed over their faces, in the belief that they would be unrecognizable when the picture was published. But the two men were able to identify themselves.

rooms will be available to anybody who can stand it—no matter what their color, last name or neighborhood of origin.

### SDS and John Reed: It's Right to Rebel

Some of the scum accumulating behind those venerable gates was exposed when certain confidential files were "liberated" by the SDS building seizure in 1969. An *Old Mole* supplement (11 April 1969) published a small collection of documents which confirmed the links between Harvard's Center for International Affairs and other departments with the CIA and State Department. Below we simply quote the *Old Mole's* factual descriptions of the documents reproduced in that supplement and now generally available to the public:

"Exhibit A: Cover sheet of the President and Fellows' proposal to the Central Intelligence Agency for research to be done by Professor A.G. Oettinger, June 10, 1968.

*Exhibit B:* Memorandum on a CIA contract with Prof. Ivan Sutherland, June 25, 1968.

*Exhibit C:* Professor Arthur Smithies' letter to Dean Ford saying he has been connected with the CIA for ten years, Dec. 7, 1967. (Smithies came to University Hall Wednesday night to argue against occupying the building.)

*Exhibit D:* Ford's acknowledgment to Smithies.

*Exhibit E:* Excerpts from an official description of MIT's Center for International Studies, revealing (a) that it was set up to 'penetrate the Iron Curtain with ideas' at the request of 'the civilian wing of the government'; (b) that 'much of the initiative for the establishment of the Center came from members of the Harvard faculty'; (c) that one of its Advisory Boards included Allen Dulles, head of the CIA....

*Exhibit F:* A telegram to Dean Ford from the Director of the Vietnam Working Group of the State Department, October 22, 1966, thanking Harvard for 'making Professor Kissinger available for his extremely successful mission to South Vietnam.'

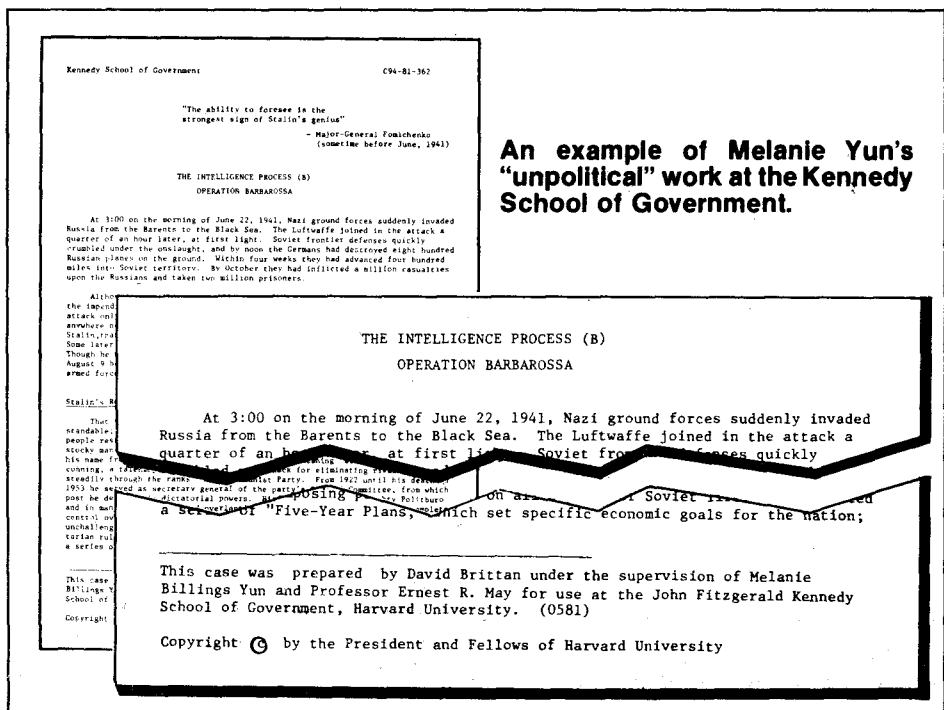
We are not filled with wide-eyed wonder that the foremost bourgeois university in the U.S. has links with the bourgeoisie's Murder, Inc. But the research service provided by the SDS is commendable, as is the fact that, for a time, radical students saw through the facade of the "free world" and recognized its institutions of "free inquiry" for the academic prostitutes they are.

Retired Rear Admiral Edward J. Snyder's statement, made in defense of bringing some U.S. battleships out of mothballs, that, "If you are a Buddhist and someone trains a battleship's 16-inch guns on you: 'Where do I sign up to be a Christian, boss?'" captures in a candid fashion the imperialists' arrogant and bellicose worldview. (There are, in fact, several Buddhist countries with sea coasts which would take considerable offense at Snyder's off-the-cuff remark.) Harvard has the same outlook as the admiral but lacks his forthright style.

Not everyone who goes through Harvard becomes a Dr. Strangelove Kissinger or a Fieser whose napalm was

used to annihilate the "Yellow Peril"—the Japanese, Koreans and Vietnamese got it, but not the "good white" Germans. John Reed, class of '10, is one such man who broke from the inbred brotherhood of prigs to become a lifelong partisan of the international working-class struggle. Reed is one of the few Harvard "men" to actually contribute his talents to the betterment of humankind. It naturally follows that Reed is an alumnus Harvard reviles. Prompted by the movie *Reds* (which, to its credit, wasted not a millimeter of film on Reed's "years in the Yard") the administration's *Harvard Gazette* came out with a piece entitled "Spurned by Harvard Social Elite, Reed Turns Rebel." The arrogance is breathtaking—so is the small-mindedness. Reed participated in the Russian Revolution, the first and only proletarian revolution and the single most important event of this century. He helped found the American Communist Party. He fought tooth and nail against the shameless carnage for profit which was World War I. He died in the Soviet Union as a Bolshevik fighter while the civil war still raged. His account of the revolution, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, remains one of the most important books of its kind today. The *Gazette* article, however, devotes itself to anecdotes about Reed's rejection by the *Crimson* or failure to join this or that club. Who the hell cares?

Observing the offspring of the stuffy Brahmin elite as they meander through the Yard admiring their tradition and dreaming of their future glories, one can't help but be reminded of a high-society dog show: their brains hopelessly ruined by inbreeding, the expensive pedigrees prance about in anticipation of the blue ribbon. We suspect, given how thoroughly proper and self-satisfied this "social elite" is, they'd never manage to procreate a younger generation to attend Harvard were it not for occasional improvements in their gene pool injected by the gardeners on



An example of Melanie Yun's "unpolitical" work at the Kennedy School of Government.



their estates.

Jack Reed probably just suffered from good taste; the Harvard "social elite" will not bear close examination. Take the illustrious John F. Kennedy, whose name graces the School of Government and who was every inch a Harvard man. As far as we know he was the only U.S. president to contract the Mafia to hustle his women for him—a connection which slopped over into the international arena when various plots to assassinate Fidel Castro, involving the Mafia, were cooked up.

That's Harvard: not a very pretty picture, but not an inaccurate microcosm of the U.S. ruling class. And that's what went up against us because we dared to defend our rights to tell the truth about Poland—whether Harvard liked it or not. The SYL is at Harvard, has fought and will fight to remain there because we want to recruit the Reeds who spurn Harvard's elite, despise its murderous hypocrisy and want to join us in the struggle against world filth. ■

## Reagan's Rollback...

(continued from page 1)

dirty laundry can be found in our article "Friends of Lech Walesa, Inc.," (*Workers Vanguard* No. 296, 8 January).

### Solidarność and "State Department Socialism"

Trotskyists didn't need the Radom tapes to recognize the openly counter-revolutionary course Solidarność had taken. Walesa & Co. invited one Irving Brown, long-time CIA agent and author of the destruction of leftist unions in Europe after World War II, to their September convention. And when Solidarność opened an "information office" in the headquarters of Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers in New York, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League picketed it. After all, Shanker is a leader of Social Democrats, U.S.A., which accused Nixon of being soft on the Russians for negotiating an end to the Vietnam War! Our pamphlet "Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers" details Solidarity's evolution and provides a Marxist program for workers political revolution in Poland.

You won't get that from the social democrats and fake Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Workers League. They march in demonstrations together with Meanyite Cold Warriors and Eastern European "captive nations" emigrés who demand "smash Communism." Then there's the liberal wing of "State Department socialism," Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). When DSOC held a pro-

Solidarność protest in front of the New York Polish consulate on December 29, who should join in but the extreme clerical-nationalist and anti-Communist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). Even the *Wall Street Journal* admits that these characters are "tainted by a history of anti-Semitism." And DSOC's friends at the social-democratic paper *In These Times* (4 November 1981) described KPN economic guru Stefan Kurowski as a "Polish Friedmanite."

So what unites the "democratic socialist" Harrington bunch with the likes of the pro-capitalist, anti-Semitic KPN? Answer: "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in Poland. Solidarność called for "free elections"—and who could be against that? Let's face the facts: three decades of Stalinist crimes have pushed the Polish population into the arms of the Church and the Pentagon. And "free elections" in Poland today would lead straightaway to bloody counterrevolution. To begin with, a quarter to a third of the electorate would be landowning peasants under the thumb of their local priest. Hence, any parliamentary election would be dominated by the petty bourgeoisie of town and country. Moreover, clerical-nationalist influence is currently strong in the proletariat. The government's own 1980-81 polls showed that 43 percent would vote for Christian Democrats, 20 percent for some kind of socialist, and only 3 percent for the Communist candidates.

Does anyone believe a Polish Christian Democratic government would be any less anti-socialist and anti-working class than the Christian Democrats of Italy or West Germany? Of course not. The disciples of the Polish pope Wojtyla would restore capitalism at the drop of a bishop's hat. State industries that were not sold to Walesa's "friends at Chase Manhattan" would be financially starved. Gdansk would become a Polish Detroit—wages slashed to cut production costs as thousands of workers were laid off from marginal enterprises as part of capitalist "rationalization." Certainly Polish workers do not want this. But ruthless capitalist exploitation would follow from "Western-style" democracy just as night follows day.

The Spartacus Youth League stands on the program of Lenin and Trotsky, the leaders of the Russian Revolution and founders of the Communist International. They taught the fundamental truth that there can be no such thing as "pure" democracy because in class society any form of government necessarily embodies the domination of one class over the others. As Trotskyists, we stand for the qualitatively higher democracy of workers councils (soviets), representing workers democracy. The proletarian answer to parliamentary (bourgeois) democracy was provided by the Russian Revolution of 1917, based on the program: All Power to the Soviets! And despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, we defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution from imperialist and domestic counterrevolutionary attack.

### Social Democracy—Servants of the Bourgeoisie from 1917 to the Present

The Social Democrats professed shock when the Bolsheviks militarily dispersed the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, in the course of establishing the first workers state and opening the way to the social liberation of the workers and peasants and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire. And in the name of "democracy" the Social Democrats have lined up with bourgeois counterrevolution ever since.

The most graphic example was in Germany in 1918-19. A national congress of workers and soldiers councils was held in December 1918 following the overthrow of the kaiser. But the social-democratic leadership of the

workers council voted to turn power over to a national assembly which was elected a month later with a bourgeois majority. The right-wing Social Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske allied themselves with the Junker officer corps to suppress the revolutionary workers in the Spartacus uprising of January 1919. Thousands of workers were killed and the great revolutionary leaders of the German proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg (Polish by birth) and Karl Liebknecht, were assassinated. The present Polish crisis shows once again that modern-day social democrats are truly the heirs of the murderers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

For now the "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in Poland has been checked. But the Stalinists can show no revolutionary way forward. Their bankruptcy is evident and they can only respond in military and bureaucratic fashion. As Trotskyists we seek to defeat politically the clerical-nationalist and social-democratic tendencies which dominate Solidarność. Therefore, when the counterrevolutionary danger passes, the martial law measures must be ended, including the release of Solidarność leaders. The absence of serious resistance to Jaruzelski's crackdown indicates possibly a certain mass disillusionment with Solidarność had already set in.

The key is the struggle for Polish Trotskyism—in the tradition of the greatest Polish proletarian revolutionist of all, Rosa Luxemburg. Neither Solidarność nor the Stalinists lay claim to Luxemburg—a Jew, as were so many leaders of the socialist movement in Poland. Stalin wiped out the pre-war Polish Communist Party and the coterie of corrupt careerists he installed after the war has driven the historically socialist Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican and the "free world." After decades of purges and bureaucratic abuse and powerful workers revolts (1956 and 1970), Gierek tried to make the Polish masses shut up by stuffing their mouths with sausage, mortgaging the Polish economy to Western bankers. Now Poland is in hock to the tune of over \$24 billion and they've run out of sausage. Many of the workers who supported Solidarność are no doubt groping for another direction. Only the Trotskyist program of ousting the Stalinist bureaucrats through proletarian political revolution, of establishing soviet democracy and socialist economic planning, of defending and extending internationally the historic gains of the Bolshevik Revolution can lead the Polish working masses forward. ■

## Jim Crow...

(continued from page 1)

cutting off "welfare cheats." So, welfare, school lunches, job training and the like are getting the ax—to be replaced by private sector "volunteerism" and a few pounds of moldy government-surplus cheese.

To be sure, the cuts in social spending are aimed at all working and poor people. But blacks, being disproportionately represented among welfare recipients and the unemployed (50 percent of black youth are without jobs), have borne and will bear the brunt of Reagan's cutbacks. And here it's bipartisan—the liberal Democrats who passed the \$200 billion war budget also passed the budget cuts. What do you expect from the party whose last presidential candidate came out for "ethnic purity"?

The cops, the courts, the Klan—every racist in America is emboldened knowing they have a friend in the White House. In Alabama two elderly black women, civil rights workers, were imprisoned for the "crime" of voter registration. The state rounded up elderly, illiterate blacks and finally terrorized one old woman into "confessing" that she hadn't signed her own absentee ballot. Maggie Bozeman, 51,

and Julia Wilder, 69, were summarily charged with "voter fraud," convicted by an all-white jury and sentenced to five years—for Wilder a de facto sentence of death in prison. This is legal terrorism designed to intimidate all black people.

Reagan's fondness for apartheid South Africa as a bastion of the "free world" is of a piece with his resuscitation of 1950s-style Jim Crow. There's no future for blacks under capitalism—we need a socialist revolution! Reformist schemes to pressure the Democratic Party to fight the cutbacks simply will not work. It will take class struggle, mobilizing the power of labor and blacks, to fight the twin parties of American capitalism. The racist pro-capitalist union misleaders, tied to the Democratic Party, offer no solution at all. The labor fakers didn't lift a finger when Reagan smashed the air traffic controllers union, and now they're letting Detroit go down the drain to save GM's profits. There is a way out: to fight for a class-struggle leadership of labor, one which will fight the Reagan rollbacks, the growing fascist threat and the hideous racial oppression of blacks in capitalist America. For labor/black defense against racist terror! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

## SL/SYL Wins...

(continued from page 3)

CIA and imperialist bankers, have a right to say so without being called terrorists.

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

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

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

### The Price of Victory

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

### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

#### Bay Area

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

#### Chicago

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

#### New York City

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

#### Trotskyist League of Canada

#### Toronto

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

## Solidarność Origins...

(continued from page 5)

Gwiazda were activists in this movement, in something called the Founding Committee of Free Trade Unions. That is, they had been right-wing opponents of the regime for some years before August 1980.

In July 1980 the Stalinist regime attempted for the third time in a decade to resolve the fundamental imbalance between the development of industry and backwardness of agriculture by raising food prices. This sparked a series of genuinely economic strikes which were generally settled by wage increases more-or-less offsetting the increased cost of consumer goods.

But with the seizure of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk in mid-August the character of the strike wave changed. This was not primarily an economic strike. The leadership of the strike was taken over by the pre-existing core of dissidents, like Walesa and Gwiazda, who turned it into a political strike on behalf of the clerical-nationalist opposition. During the course of the strike Anna Walentynowicz, whose firing provoked the initial walkout, was asked by reporters: "Are you a socialist?" She replied, "I am a believer," clearly implying that she regarded being a believer as ideologically counterposed to being a socialist.

When it looked like the general strike was beginning to spread beyond the Baltic Coast region, the Stalinist bureaucracy capitulated and an unstable compromise was reached. In the Gdansk Accords of August 31 for the first time ever a Stalinist regime recognized the right of independent trade unions. In return Walesa & Co.—not without very significant internal opposition—said the new union would recognize the leading role of the Communist party and Poland's existing international alliances.

### Toward Political Revolution or Capitalist Counterrevolution?

We said at the time that this was an impossible situation. The new union movement would necessarily develop into a broad political opposition either moving in the direction of proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. Or alternatively there could be Stalinist restabilization which, given manifest weakness of the Polish regime, its fear of using its own armed forces, would almost certainly come from without, that is, from the Soviet Union.

However, not only the Western bourgeois press and Stalinist bureaucra-

cy took the Gdansk Accords at face value, but so did some of our centrist opponents. Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the British Workers Power group criticized the Walesa leadership as trade-union economist and denounced it for selling out to the Stalinist bureaucracy. They denied the essentially clerical-nationalist nature of the Solidarity leadership and its counterrevolutionary potential. It was, however, empirically clear from the beginning that Solidarity was not a narrowly trade-unionist movement.

And, more generally, it is not possible even hypothetically for a trade union in a bureaucratically-ruled workers state to function more or less as it does under capitalism. The notion that this is possible is implicitly "third campist," because it assumes that the relation of

Europe the emergence of a workers movement that would initially be narrowly economist. But in very short order it would come up against the fact that it cannot effect the redistribution of income without wresting control of economic administration from the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is but another way of saying that the bureaucracy is not a capitalist class; it does not function like a capitalist class. It rules through a monopoly of political power and, when that power is challenged, it necessarily throws the entire society into crisis as in Poland after August 1980.

So after August 1980 we said the new union movement is going in the direction of either political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. We did not regard these as equi-probable possibilities. We recognized the reactionary

sional intellectuals. At the September congress 60 percent of the delegates from the Warsaw region were listed as intellectuals, only 30 percent as workers. From the middle-sized regions 25 percent of the delegates were peasants, that is, petty capitalists, 25 percent were intellectuals and 50 percent were workers. Solidarity is thus a multi-class oppositional movement.

At this September congress Solidarity adopted an openly counterrevolutionary program. (See "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" *WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981.) This was a decisive watershed; it was a turning point. And so we said:

"Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this."

I want to say something about the difference between the so-called "moderates" and "radicals" in Solidarity, in part because some of our centrist opponents make much of it. For example, the RWL writes: "In fact, the major weakness of the Solidarity congress was that even the opposition was too conciliatory to the Polish bureaucracy and to the Walesa leadership" (emphasis in original, *Workers Struggle*, November 1981). This position is truly left in form, right in essence. What exactly is this opposition? The principal organized force is the KPN, which had over 10 percent of the congress delegates. The KPN's stated program is for the "liquidation" of the Communist party and the restoration of a Catholic Poland. Its economic program, presented at the congress by Stefan Kurowski, calls for the transfer of all unused industrial plant to private ownership, an end to all restraints on agricultural accumulation and the selling of state land to private farmers. This is undisguised capitalist restorationism.

So what is the difference between the "moderates" and "radicals"? It was well-stated last July by one of the most intelligent of the "moderates," Jacek Kuron: "My general position is that if we do anything that the leaders of the USSR read as a direct threat, they will invade" (quoted in *Bulletin Solidarność* No. 1, October, 1981). The main factor inhibiting Solidarity's counterrevolutionary drive is fear of Soviet military intervention.

The "moderate" approach is what the Hungarian Stalinist Rakosi called "salami tactics," only this time directed against the Stalinists. First Rakosi eliminated the rightists, then the liberals, then the social democrats and then everyone but his own clique. Kuron's tactics are to try to avoid the direct appearance of a power play, while seeking to split the liberal Stalinists from the hardliners. I don't think this is likely to succeed. By contrast, the "radicals" are willing to provoke a direct confrontation right now and in many cases would emotionally welcome the opportunity to kill Russians, even given the enormous imbalance of military forces.

### Poland and Bourgeois Public Opinion

Although our present position is a direct extension of our initial position, we've nonetheless encountered some disquiet over it within the tendency. The draft plenum document noted: "In this section, impulses to flinch tended to be posed as excessive worry about world reaction to a Russian invasion, with the implication that it might not be worth the popularity cost." There are, so far as I know, no differences in our organization about what is happening empirically in Poland. There are, however, some differences as to the impact of a Soviet intervention on what could be called Western public opinion. There was a tendency to weigh the fueling of anti-Communist attitudes in the West against the defense of proletarian state power in East Europe and the USSR.



24 September 1981—SL/SYL picket in front of Solidarność' "information office" in New York.

the working class to the bourgeois employer under capitalism is essentially similar to the relation of the working class to the state employer in a collectivized economy. This is not the case.

Under capitalism trade unions function because there is a definite relationship between money wages, the demand for consumer goods and the division of the social product. When unions demand and get higher money wages, there is an increased demand for consumer goods. Therefore—this is straight out of Marx's *Wages, Price and Profit*—there is an increase in the production of consumer goods relative to producer goods. In a bureaucratically-ruled workers state none of these market relationships hold. If a Stalinist government grants a money wage increase, there is no guarantee it will then increase the output of consumer goods correspondingly. And if it doesn't, you then get what we see in an extreme case in Poland, that is, either inflation or ever-longer waiting lines.

One can envision in Russia or East

nature of the Solidarity leadership. But we are revolutionary activists and optimists and therefore we oriented to our program of political revolution. Although we saw that the basic dynamic was toward a clerical-nationalist, pro-imperialist counterrevolution, we sought to reverse that from within.

We said a key task of Trotskyists in Poland was to organize within Solidarity to break the masses from the clerical-nationalist leadership on the basis of a socialist program. Key elements of that program are the separation of church and state, defense of collectivized property, including the promotion of agricultural collectivization, and the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

As long as the situation remained fluid and there was some possibility of a left opposition emerging, we opposed Soviet military intervention. In the first place, it would freeze the internal political differentiation which could check the counterrevolutionary forces from within. Secondly, Soviet intervention would enormously fuel Reagan's war drive. Part of Reagan's desire to restore "the American century" of the 1950s is to reproduce the image of Stalinist terror at its worst. And since this doesn't exist in reality, he's quite prepared to provoke it in Poland.

### Solidarity's First Congress: The Turning Point

It was clear early on that Solidarity was not a trade union and was not even primarily concerned in trying to wrest immediate economic gains for its membership. Most of last winter/spring Solidarity's main activity was to pressure the government to legally recognize Rural Solidarity, the organization of peasant smallholders, whose basic program is to shift the sale of food from the state to the private market where prices were many times higher. Significantly, the only social group which has materially benefited in the Polish crisis is the peasantry.

Neither in its program, practice or social composition is Solidarity a trade union. It is open to everyone, it is organized along regional not industrial lines, it encompasses millions of profes-

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We all understand—and if some of the new youth don't understand, they had better—that a Soviet military intervention will produce anti-Soviet frenzy, especially in northern Europe, where the proletariat is under the domination of social democracy, and in the U.S. The first thing to emphasize is that this will be a transitory phenomenon. It is also likely to be very *class-differentiated*. It's going to be mainly the petty bourgeoisie—right-wing, liberal and social-democratic—who are going to be the activists, the people who will want to beat us up, the people who will attack the Soviet embassy. In a period of general recession and government austerity in the West, the working class is going to be mainly preoccupied with defending itself against the bourgeoisie's economic attacks.

But the basic question in this methodology is whether this intensified anti-Sovietism will have an effect on the consciousness of the workers in the bourgeois-democratic countries not of a momentary and episodic sort, or will rather be an obstacle to proletarian revolution in a more fundamental and long-term sense. Will the negative effect of Stalinism on the consciousness of workers in the West in this particular case be so great that one could even entertain tolerating a counterrevolution in Poland with all its world-historic repercussions? This is a very bad kind of methodology.

It's important to recognize that the original 1940 Shachtman fight was not a direct response on the part of the Shachtman faction to the events in East Europe, the Stalin-Hitler Pact and Russo-Finnish War. It was rather a reflection of those events in the American social-democratic intellectual milieu out of which many of the Shachtmanite youth had been recruited and from which in a sense they had never broken. Likewise, the United Secretariat's recent "third campist" line shift on Afghanistan, now demanding Soviet withdrawal, doesn't have anything to do with events in Afghanistan. Their basic argument is that the Soviet violation of national sovereignty, the sight of a powerful mechanized army fighting primitive people fuel anti-Soviet militarism in the West. This also ends up supporting the Stalinist doctrine of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. It acts to reinforce the most right-wing, capitulatory tendencies within the Stalinist bureaucracies.

Now, it is the most elementary principle of Marxism that it is the objective contradictions of capitalist society that drive the working class into struggle and therefore open up the historic possibilities for proletarian revolution. And to believe that the existence of Stalinism in some fundamental historic sense negates this can only lead to the most reactionary

conclusions, which in a way introduces the question of Marcyism from a slightly different angle.

**The 1956 Hungarian Revolution vs. Polish Solidarność**

Marcyism and Shachtmanism—they're kind of mirror images—share the same premises, especially if you look at East Europe. In the present Polish context the Marcyite position would be to call on the Soviet bureaucracy to intervene to crush Solidarity, which is a vote of confidence in the Kremlin.

As most of you know, Marcyism as a tendency consolidated around the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The original Marcyite document on Hungary, "The Class Character of the Hungarian Uprising" (*SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 18, No. 1, January 1957), is quite sophisticated, far more sophisticated than anything they've written since. The SWP majority's reply also has valuable material. Probably the youth should organize an educational on the Hungarian Revolution, including the Marcyite discussion.

The Marcyite argument had two levels. One was an empirical discussion of the Hungarian events, which it characterized as a capitalist counterrevolution. The second, which is more important, was a methodological position: Stalinism has made bourgeois-democracy look so good to the workers in East Europe and presumably in the USSR that any popular, even proletarian-centered, rebellion will very likely, if not inevitably, turn into a capitalist counterrevolution in the absence of a pre-existing and fairly strong Trotskyist party. The Marcy position on Hungary was not primarily empirical but rather methodological, as was demonstrated by the subsequent course of the Marcyite tendency as Stalinist fellow travelers.

But let's deal first with the empirical facts, because the contrast with Poland today is significant. Just as the Polish crisis has a traceable prehistory, so the Hungarian Revolution had a long prehistory of a very different kind. In Hungary and throughout postwar East Europe there was a sharp division among the Stalinists between those who had worked in the underground and those who had been in Moscow, like Rakosi, and returned in the wake of the victorious Red Army. The Stalinist cadre who had worked under fascistic regimes like Admiral Horthy's Hungary had a sense of self-confidence and in many cases a base among Communist workers or an even broader following. Stalin distrusted this strata and imposed as leaders of his East European satellites men who had demonstrated their "loyalty" by betraying their comrades and friends during the purges of the late 1930s.

Following the 1948 Tito split, there was a whole series of trials and executions in East Europe of the so-called "national Communists." The leading victim in Hungary was Laszlo Rajk, who by all accounts was a dedicated Communist and apparently a personally honorable man even in the view of many anti-Communists. Rajk was a leftist within the Stalinist framework; that is, he wanted to push the expropriation of the Hungarian bourgeoisie further than the Kremlin at the time. In 1949 Rajk was arrested, tortured, forced to confess and executed.

Rakosi's Hungary was probably the bloodiest despotism in East Europe, particularly bloody for Communist Party members. So Hungary felt particularly strongly Stalin's death and the so-called de-Stalinization crisis. A deep split in the bureaucracy created openings for the masses to express themselves. In turn, the pressure from below tended to further rip the bureaucracy apart.

The event which heralded the Hungarian Revolution was the commemoration in early October 1956 of Laszlo Rajk's execution. This was a demonstration of about 600,000 in a city, Budapest, of about one million. Here was a mass outpouring to honor a man known as a hard left Communist. There's an interesting parallel with Poland. I would maintain that the event which heralded the Polish counterrevolutionary crisis was the pope's visit in the summer of 1979. Well, the distance between Hungary in '56 and Poland today is approximately the distance between Laszlo Rajk and Karol Wojtyla.

In late October the hard-line Stalinists provoked an uprising, centrally proletarian, which organized itself in workers councils. The Budapest revolutionary committees elected as co-leaders of the Revolutionary Military Committee General Bela Kiraly and Colonel Pal Malater. Kiraly had been a Communist officer who was purged, arrested and tortured under Rakosi. Upon release from prison he associated himself with the liberal Stalinist faction around Imre Nagy.

Malater had been captured on the Russian front as a young officer in the Hungarian army. He was won to Communism and volunteered to work behind the lines in Hungary. He always wore his partisan red star with honor and during the revolution insisted he was a good Communist and would remain so:

"As he [Malater] explained to one Western journalist, 'If we get rid of the Russians don't think we're going back to the old days. And if there's people who do want to go back we'll see!' To emphasize the last remark, he reached for his revolver holster and repeated, 'We don't mean to go back to capitalism. We want socialism in Hungary'."  
—quoted in Bill Lomax, *Hungary 1956* (1976)

Now, one shouldn't idealize the Hungarian Revolution. There were very

considerable bourgeois-democratic illusions among the insurgent masses. The Marcyites made much of the fact that while the workers councils elected Communists to the leadership and wanted socialism, they also called for free elections to a sovereign parliament. The Marcyites said: "There! The bourgeois-democratic counterrevolution!" First, there was no guarantee that under the circumstances such free elections would have been held. But more importantly had such parliamentary elections been held and won by a petty-bourgeois clerical-nationalist party like the Smallholders Party, there is no reason to assume the workers councils would have turned power over to a party to which in the majority they were hostile. This is very different than in Poland where the Solidarity leadership is itself clerical-nationalist. The Marcyite position is inverse parliamentary cretinism.

The reply by the SWP majority by Farrell Dobbs goes to the methodological core of the Marcyite position:

"The workers, in the [Marcyite] minority view, have in large measure become alienated from communism by the Stalinist violations of their democratic rights and the economic repression to which they have been subjected; hence the bureaucracy alone can be relied upon to defend the workers state against bourgeois restoration...  
"It is a false view in every respect and fatal to a revolutionary perspective. It would leave nothing but defense of the status quo in the Soviet sphere, contradicting the very essence of political revolution against the bureaucracy."  
—"The Issues in the Hungarian Revolution," *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 4, February 1957

As I previously noted, the Marcyites and Shachtmanites share the same basic premise, although they draw very different conclusions from it. Both believe that the experience of Stalinism has in a fundamental historic sense strengthened bourgeois ideology over the working class, East and West. From this the Shachtmanites draw the conclusion that the destruction of Stalinism, even if replaced by bourgeois democracy, will open the road to socialism. This is the heart of "State Department socialism." The Marcyites believe that the workers who have experienced Stalinist rule are inherently pro-Western and that any democratic opening in the Soviet bloc will necessarily lead to capitalist counterrevolution.

Both the Shachtmanites and Marcyites deny the possibility that the workers in the imperialist centers and in Stalinist-ruled East Europe can accept the Trotskyist program on the Russian question: the defense of the Soviet bloc against imperialism integrally bound up with political revolution against the bureaucracy. Well, we are revolutionaries and revolutionary optimists. We believe our class, in East Europe, in West Europe, in this country, can and will accept that program and that's what we fight for. ■

**Spartacus Youth League Class Series**

**BERKELEY/OAKLAND**  
**Women and Revolution**  
Wednesdays, 1:00-3:00 p.m.  
February 3, 10, 17, 24, March 3  
Student Union Building, 4th fl.  
University of California/Berkeley  
For more information: (415) 835-1535

**CHAMPAIGN-URBANA**  
**The Russian Revolution, Yesterday and Today**  
Alternate Saturdays, 1:00 p.m.  
February 6, 20, March 6  
University of Illinois/  
Champaign-Urbana  
For more information: (217) 356-1180

**CHICAGO**  
**The Russian Revolution, Yesterday and Today**  
Wednesdays, 7:00 p.m.  
February 3, 10, 17, 24, March 3  
Cobb Hall, Rm. 101  
University of Chicago  
For more information: (312) 427-0003

**LOS ANGELES**  
**Toward a Class-Struggle Workers Party!**  
For more information: (213) 662-1568

**MADISON**  
**ABC's of Marxism**  
Alternate Thursdays  
Beginning February 11  
Memorial Union  
(see "Today in the Union")  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
For more information: (608) 255-2342

**OBERLIN**  
**Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today**  
Alternate Thursdays, 7:00 p.m.  
Beginning February 18  
For more information: (216) 621-5138

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**Women and Revolution**  
Biweekly class  
Beginning the week of February 15  
For more information: (415) 863-6963

**Spartacus Youth League Directory**

**SYL National Office:** Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

**Amherst:** SYL, P.O. Box 176, Amherst, MA 01004, or call (413) 546-9906

**Ann Arbor:** SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

**Berkeley/Oakland:** SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

**Boston:** SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

**Champaign-Urbana:** SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, IL 61820, or call (217) 356-1180

**Chicago:** SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

**Cleveland:** SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

**Detroit:** SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 868-9095

**Houston:** SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

**Los Angeles:** SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 662-1564

**Madison:** SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 255-2342

**New York:** SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

**San Francisco:** SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

**Trotskyist League of Canada**

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

**Vancouver:** Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

# Young Spartacus

## Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks

CAMBRIDGE—A public forum here November 12 entitled "Time Runs Out in Poland—Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution" and sponsored by the Harvard-Radcliffe Friends of the Spartacus Youth League (FOSYL) was the occasion for a vehement counterdemonstration by right-wing supporters of Solidarność. In the course of defending our elementary democratic rights to free speech and assembly, the SYL found some strange things indeed under Harvard's rocks.

For several days previous to the SYL forum, our office received a series of threatening and/or suspicious phone calls, including several from phony "Tass reporters." Publicity flyers announcing the forum had been torn down, some had the word "counterdemonstrate" scrawled across them. Someone wanted to make trouble that night—and they did.

The counterdemonstration was composed of aggressive rightists running the gamut from members of the Harvard Democratic and Conservative Clubs to Moonies to unidentified non-students. Its tenor was savagely anti-communist; slogans included "Death to the Soviet Imperialists" and, we assume, by extension to any American Marxist who would defend the Soviet bloc states against U.S. imperialism. Peace-loving the counter-protesters were not. Thus, none of them sought to enter our forum after a Harvard cop announced that those who wished to enter could but that anyone attempting a disruption would be ejected forthwith.

The intention of the counterdemon-

stration was clear: to directly prevent our forum from taking place or to provoke the intervention of campus security to close it down. However, it failed to accomplish either and the audience of nearly 40 who came to hear our speaker were able to do so (see "SYL Foils Right-Wing Disruption," *Young Spartacus* No. 96, December 1981/January 1982).

But the attack on the SYL didn't stop there and subsequent to the November 12 forum, Ms. Melanie B. Yun, employed at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, brought charges against SYL supporter Keith Manning for alleged assault. Yun, pictured right, participated in the counterdemonstration carrying a placard which read "How much did Poland's fat bosses pay you?" She was at the fore of one of the attempts by the counter-rally to charge the forum. Manning, part of the defense team protecting the forum from attack, filed counter-charges against her. A leaflet denouncing the provocative attempt to shut down the forum and prominently displaying the photo of Yun with her picket sign was widely distributed at Harvard by the SYL.

Harvard University did not hesitate to throw its considerable financial and legal resources behind Yun in the case. Dean of Students Archie Epps III personally attended the initial magistrate's hearing and unsuccessfully attempted to speak there on her behalf. Yun's attorney's fees were paid for by the University. Harvard's Assistant General Counsel James Sharaf was anything but disinterested; he declared

quite simply to the *Crimson* (17 December 1981), "We believe that Miss Yun was assaulted by Mr. Manning and do not believe that he was assaulted by her." But neither Epps nor Sharaf were there on November 12.

In an attempt to move the issue back from legal action to the political question in dispute, we offered to publicly debate Yun on the Poland question. Her attorney responded to the debate challenge with extraordinary vehemence and, in fact, refused further out-of-court negotiations (already underway), demanding the challenge be retracted altogether. This we refused to do. Finally, a statement submitted by Manning to Yun—based on representations made to us by her attorney as to Yun's intentions on November 12—was the basis for a mutual dropping of the case. The full text of both this letter and an earlier version submitted to Yun as well as the debate challenge are reprinted here.

### "Veritas?"

Harvard's evident desire to jail our comrade for defending free speech the night of November 12 is part of the story which emerges from the case. It is unusual, if not unprecedented, that Dean Epps' personal secretary would show great enough interest in our views to attend one of our public meetings. But he made it a point to attend on November 12, as did the *Crimson's* president. The presence of the Moonies outside in the counterdemonstration may be explained by the fact that the Harvard Conservative Club seems to

Young Spartacus Photo



Melanie Billings Yun, 12 November 1981.

have no scruples when it comes to alliances "against communism" and have previously worked with the proto-fascist, South Korean CIA-connected cult. In this, the Conservatives mimic their bourgeois fathers who embrace the blood-drenched right-wing dictatorship in South Korea as part of the global anti-communist alliance.

A good number of the counterdemonstrators reside at South House—a "house" would be called a dormitory at a "lesser" institution. Recently, South House distinguished itself as the only house to break the traditional student boycott of the "Committee on Rights and Responsibilities" (CRR—set up by the administration to enforce draconian regulations and purge "undesirable" radical activists in the aftermath of New Left protests). South House would seem to have a "comfortable" working relationship with the administration, particularly with the notorious, willful and, as we will show, spiteful Dean Epps. Not surprisingly, subsequent to the November 12 events, SYL activists at Harvard were subjected to more than the usual harassment the Dean's office selectively metes out to our organization. Even the misnamed *Harvard Independent*, in an article not friendly to the SYL entitled "Charges, Countercharges, & Smears" (10 December 1981) speculated that "it is considered possible that Dean of Students Archie Epps may use the assault case, should Yun win it, as a way to deny the SYL recognition in future."

Too, there is the strange case of the young woman Melanie Billings Yun—South House tutor and K-School employee—placed at the head of a charging line of a dozen or more placard-waving anti-communists. Immediately after this unsuccessful rush at our defense squad, Ms. Yun attempted to file the assault charge with the campus security forces. (They declined to accept them, and referred her to the Cambridge P.D.) Yun's story to the *Crimson* was that she was an "innocent bystander" and "not affiliated with either group." Later, Yun's attorney represented her purpose that night as advocating the right of students to attend an open forum and stated, furthermore, that she is "not political" and thus would necessarily decline our challenge for a debate.

Without belaboring the obvious, our photos (and the *Crimson's* own, which never saw the light of day) show Ms.

continued on page 6

## Victims of "Veritas"

Sacco and Vanzetti: framed up and electrocuted by former Harvard president Lowell's "review" committee, 1927.

"The Harvard Way"—cops attack antiwar students occupying University Hall, April 1969.



Boston Globe



Young Spartacus Photo

SYL in protest against racist Klitgaard report—Harvard's "modest proposal" for an Aryan university, 28 October 1980.