



KKK cross burning in Louisiana earlier this year.

Laffont/Sygma



Chicago Nazi Führer Frank Collins (left) and stormtroopers.

UPI

Labor, Blacks Must Crush Fascist Vermin

Carter's America: Klan Burns Crosses on the Fourth

The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is crawling out from its cover of darkness on the slimy underside of American society. After decades of nightriding terrorism against blacks, Catholics, Jews and communists, the "new" Klan has been buoyed by a recent wave of social reaction emanating from the highest levels of government. It was entirely logical, therefore, that these fascistic race-haters should choose Jimmy Carter's home town of Plains, Georgia for a cross burning in broad daylight on the Fourth of July weekend.

About 30 white-sheeted KKKers swarmed around the flag-studded platform for what they called a "patriotic display." The climax was to be the burning of a 20-foot cross wrapped in kerosene-soaked muslin, the dreaded symbol of generations of racist lynchings. But as the cross was about to be ignited, Buddy Cochran, a 30-year-old white truck mechanic who had been parked within earshot of the genocidal filth emanating from the rally, revved up his Jaguar XKE sports car and rammed it into the back of the plywood podium. He crunched another 50 feet into the racist mob, injuring dozens of robed

Klansmen and, unfortunately, a CBS reporter in this kamikaze attack.

Cochran has now become the target of the state's efforts to keep Georgia safe for the Klan. The Klan mob yelled "white nigger" and "kill him" as this southern white worker, who reportedly told police that he "had a lot of black friends," was arrested and charged with 19 counts of aggravated assault. The cops are now holding him on \$190,000 bail. These are the same enforcers of capitalist "law and order" who in their zeal to protect the Klan rally had earlier threatened to arrest blacks in the vicinity for trespassing upon a "strictly white gathering of a white Christian organization" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 3 July).

Many of these racist cops simply exchange their blue uniforms and badges for white sheets and pointed hats after nightfall. In their hands, Cochran, who is becoming a symbol of militant—if, in this case, Quixotic—anti-Klan action, is in danger of being brutally beaten and possibly killed. Moreover, he is in any case not an apparent threat to anyone except the crossburning fascists. While we do not advocate such individual and impotent methods of

fighting the fascist terrorists, we demand that Buddy Cochran be immediately released and the charges against him be dropped.

Another KKK rally in Columbus, Ohio on July 4 was broken up by a demonstration of several hundred anti-Klan protesters. While Ohio "Imperial Wizard" Dale Reusch was playing a tape of the national anthem, a largely black section of the anti-Klan demonstration moved directly to the podium and drowned out the "Star Spangled Banner" with chants of "Ku Klux Klan—Scum of the Land." Thereupon the Klan leaders began wielding flag poles like clubs and the fight was on.

Anti-Klan demonstrators got hold of Reusch, knocked him down, stripped off his purple robes and inflicted injuries that sent this dangerous race-hate monger to the hospital. A battered "wizard" dripping with egg yolk cried out, "Where are you my people?" Immediately he was answered as Ohio State Highway Patrol troopers in full riot gear poured out of the statehouse to protect the KKK and arrest anti-Klan protesters. Four were jailed on charges ranging from "disturbing a lawful meeting" to felonious assault. The workers movement must demand that the charges against these anti-KKK militants be dropped.

The fascists also reared their ugly heads over the July 4 weekend in the Chicago area. For several months, local Nazis have targetted the largely Jewish

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Klansman posing at Plains, Ga. city line before the start of the rally on July 4 weekend.

PART 2 OF 2**Heroic Soviet Spies....6**

Spartacist League Holds Fifth Conference

Forging a Black Trotskyist Cadre

The Fifth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held early this month in an East Coast city. Although only the elected delegates were mandated to attend, a total of close to 300 comrades came to participate in this highest body of the SL/U.S. Attending in addition to North American comrades were seven representatives of European and Australasian sections of the international Spartacist tendency, as well as a delegation from the Los Angeles-based Red Flag Union, a group derived from the homosexual left which is engaged in fusion discussions with the SL. Preceding the three-day party conference was a national conference of the SL's youth group, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

The survey of SL/SYL members present indicated that 30 percent had joined two years ago or less, while 59 percent had been members for from three to six years. The largest number was concentrated around the five-year mark, testimony to the period of extremely rapid recruitment out of the New Left milieu, including the antiwar, women's and black movements. Some 39 percent were women; 41 percent were union members.

Only 10 percent were non-party SYL members. This figure, taken in conjunction with a substantial rise in the average age of the SL/SYL since the 1974 conference, indicates that the slight membership contraction noted previously in *WV* reflects a certain tailing off of new recruitment by the youth organization reflecting the downturn in campus radicalism, while the party has continued to recruit professional revolutionary cadres out of the youth group. Thus the cohesiveness and maturity which helped make for a comfortable and productive conference reflect not only the revolutionary seriousness of the cadres but also the objective difficulties confronting communist militants in the present period of strangled labor struggles.

Politically, the Conference was in part a continuation of the work of the Active Workers Conference held in the Midwest some six months previously. Along with supplemental resolutions prepared for the National Conference, the Memorandum presented to the Active Workers Conference constituted the main resolution defining the perspectives and tasks of the organization for the coming period. The documentary basis of the National Conference included the written material preceding



Participants at recent Spartacist League national conference.

WV Photo

the Midwest meeting as well as four more recent internal bulletins produced during the pre-Conference discussion period.

The Main Enemy Is at Home!

At the Conference, the main National Reports stressed the increasingly aggressive attacks on democratic rights such as Supreme Court decisions undermining previous democratic gains (abortion, school busing, etc.), as well as the vicious anti-homosexual backlash spearheaded by Anita Bryant's reactionary fundamentalist campaign. The reporters underscored the centrality of the slogan, "The Main Enemy Is at Home," in opposition to the liberals and New Leftist residues who refurbish U.S. imperialism's "democratic" pretensions by seeking to associate their sectoralist reform demands with Carter's fundamentally anti-Soviet "human rights" rhetoric. The prospects for substantial revolutionary regroupments were noted as quite bleak as the ostensibly revolutionary organizations overwhelmingly pursue a rightist course.

The international report and the fraternal greetings from the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, Ligue Trotskyste de France, Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and Trotskyist League of Canada testified to the international Spartacist tendency's continuing consolidation as the programmaticaly united Trotskyist alternative to the United Secretariat rotten bloc. The greetings from the Red Flag Union delegation were grounds for continued optimism about the prospect of a deep and principled fusion between these comrades and the SL.

One session of the conference agenda was devoted to commission meetings under the auspices of the Trade Union Commission, financial department of the Central Office and the legal defense commission. Virtually every other available time slot, including meal breaks, was also utilized for additional commissions, such as press, archives, RFU fusion and Central Committee slate.

The hyperconcentration of important political work into a few agenda sessions was the result of a decision by the outgoing leadership to focus this National Conference overwhelmingly on one subject: the black question. This discussion had been painstakingly prepared through the circulation of roughly a dozen written documents as well as substantial local discussions during the pre-Conference period. At the Confer-

ence, eight reporters were given presentation and summary time. More than sixty comrades spoke from the floor. The lengthy and lively discussion reflected the comrades' recognition of the importance of this question to the continuing transformation of the Spartacist League into the nucleus of the vanguard party.

That such a discussion was able to take place at this Conference reflects the organization's acquisition, for the first time since the rise of black nationalism in the late 1960's, of a significant layer of committed black members, some with several years of experience in the party. The priority accorded to this discussion indicated not only a recognition of the importance of the development of black Trotskyist cadre and leaders, but also the party's determination to concentrate the deliberations of its highest body around areas of clarity and/or differences within the organization.

Lumpenism vs. Communist Morality

The original precipitant of the discussion was a manifestation of some softness on the part of many of the black comrades toward modes of functioning and attitudes characteristic of a lumpen-proletarian existence. Beneath a debate over whether the term "lumpen" refers only to hardened criminal elements or can be applied to a broader stratum of the chronically unemployed lay differing estimations of the potential revolutionary role of lumpenized black ghetto youth.

A document submitted to the pre-Conference discussion and adopted by the Conference delegates explained:

"Black criminals are drawn from a broad pool of poor ghetto youth, a social fact which conditions the latter's activities and attitudes. If George Jackson's assertion that all black men over the age of 18 expect to go to prison is an overstatement, it nonetheless expresses a certain reality. Not many black youth living on welfare become professional thieves, but a significant number have robbed stores at one time or another. For most welfare does not provide even a minimal standard of living unless it is supplemented by some form of 'hustle.' Few ghetto youth will become pimps or pushers, but—as the popularity of black exploitation movies attests—many aspire to those roles which seem like an easy way out of poverty and social degradation. Similar social attitudes were common among immigrant ethnic minorities before WWII. Al Capone was a hero figure for many second-generation Italian youth. An important point for this discussion

is that it is common for poor black youth to regard pimping, pushing and committing violent crimes as a legitimate way of life, and even as a form of protest against white racist society.

"Except for the incorrigible, hardened, anti-social criminals, we are not hostile toward the lumpenized population. On the contrary, to narrow the term 'lumpen' to these hardened criminal types is to deny the brutal effects of racial oppression on a whole section of black youth who have no future in the economic process under capitalism. For them there is no escape from their grinding poverty under capitalism unless they turn to crime, and therefore they are forced to share many of the values of hardened criminals. We, on the other hand, must face this reality squarely if we are to be the best defenders of the rights of the black poor and the best fighters against conditions which are wasting a whole generation of black youth. For example, when the UAW bureaucracy sought to organize vigilantism against street gangs in Detroit, we resolutely opposed this action, and also demanded an immediate end to Mayor Young's curfew (see 'Cops, Mayor Push "Anti-Crime" Hysteria in Detroit,' *WV* No. 127). However, the struggle to forge a communist-led black transitional organization requires an implacable struggle against lumpen activities and attitudes, particularly promiscuous violence. Every organization which has seriously attempted to affect the ghetto—the Communist Party in the 1930's and '40's, the Black Muslims in their way and the Panthers at their best—has resolutely and ruthlessly combated lumpen lifestyles....

"... a communist following in the ghetto (black transitional organization) cannot be built with petty thieves. It can only be built through a ruthless struggle against lumpen lifestyle and lumpen values, by an organized cadre with authority among the black masses who are exemplars of communist morality."

The conference also endorsed the line of the article "Fear and Violence in NYC" (*WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977). The SL's hostility to hustlerist attitudes, inimical to communist consciousness and disciplined functioning, contrasts sharply with the patronizing approach of other avowedly leftist organizations, most notably the Workers League and International Socialists. Unlike these fake-lefts, who orient toward transient recruitment of footloose minority-group youth on a minimum program to provide the appearance of a "mass base," the SL aims at the creation of a hardened cadre of committed black Trotskyists who can become proletarian leaders. These comrades must be prepared to lead white workers as well as blacks, to lead within the party as well as among the masses.

Toward a Black Transitional Organization

Unlike the classic Debsian approach that "Socialism has nothing special to offer the Negroes," the program of the SL recognizes that the special oppression of blacks under capitalism means that black workers will play a vanguard role among the most militant fighters for socialist revolution. "Black and white unite and fight" can be realized only on the basis of a militant, broad attack against capitalism, including a firm commitment to struggle against the special oppression of ghettoized minorities. Our perspective of revolutionary integrationism means the mobilization of the union movement to fight for equality, e.g., the formation of black/labor defense of black schoolchildren against the segregationist anti-busing backlash. The Debsian outlook at bottom reflects the pressure of the "labor aristocracy," whereas the communist

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based upon a proletarian core—seeks to become the "tribune of the people," the champion of all the oppressed.

The special oppression of blacks demands a struggle by the communist vanguard against "labor aristocratic" parochialism, chauvinist attitudes and backward consciousness institutionalized in the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. And it demands special forms of organization as well, a black transitional organization under communist political leadership. While insisting that only the working class organized at the point of production has the social power to effect revolutionary change, the party involves itself in every significant social struggle, posing a class axis to lead partial struggles in a revolutionary direction.

Our program toward the doubly oppressed ghetto masses is not one of social welfare schemes, but rather of working-class struggle against lumpenization of the black population. Our perspective is counterposed to that of the ghetto-oriented black radical groups, such as the Panthers, whose program centers around minimal demands for slightly improving the conditions of the lumpenproletariat and defending them against victimization. While struggles against racist frame-ups and police brutality, around welfare and rent and community health care, are supportable, they are not the main focus of our program, which aims at delumpenizing the lumpenproletariat through jobs and educational opportunities. Struggles for a shorter workweek, for massive government public works at union wages, for free higher education with stipend, for union-controlled training programs cannot be conducted essentially from a ghetto base, but require the mobilization of the social power of the workers movement.

Lumpenization is not only the most vicious oppression to which blacks are subjected. It constitutes also a real danger to the future existence of black masses. Racism is so central to American political reaction that black lumpens—in contrast to the lumpenproletariat in ethnically homogeneous societies—cannot become the shock troops of an American fascist movement. But a black population which is of no economic use to the ruling class stands doubly defenseless against a fascist onslaught. The only defense of these "wretched of the earth" resides in a class-conscious proletariat. The unionized black worker, who frequently has a mother on welfare and a friend in prison, is the living bridge to and necessary leader of the ghetto masses.

Lumpen Radicalism

During the heyday of the New Left, all shades of radical opinion tended to view ghetto youth as the most politically advanced section of American society, as "natural revolutionaries." Derived from that period of left-wing upsurge, a section of the SL membership, including many of the black comrades, has tended to carry over that attitude. The alienation of young blacks from aspects of capitalist ideology will be an important factor in their disproportionate representation in any radical upsurge. But spontaneous ghetto radicalism has sharp ideological limitations as well as material ones. As another document submitted to the pre-Conference discussion and adopted by the Conference delegates explained:

"Many of the decisive ideological attitudes which bind white workers to the American bourgeois order are necessarily much weaker among blacks of all social classes. Great American chauvinism, closely identified with white Anglo-Saxon supremacy, is certainly weaker in black ghettos than in white working-class suburbs. For obvious reasons, blacks are far more disposed to sympathize with the struggles of colonial peoples against the Western imperialist powers, including the U.S. This attitude can produce among blacks a broad-based tolerance for 'communism' when associated with national liberation struggles (e.g. Cuba,

Vietnam). Muhammad Ali's famous remark, 'The Viet Cong never did me any harm,' expressed the attitude of a large fraction of black draft-age youth.

"Blacks are naturally less prone to illusions about the democratic, class-neutral character of the state apparatus. Ghetto high school students hate cops in a way few white workers do....

"As victims of racist oppression by a white ruling class, black lumpens easily accept some of the negative conditions for communist consciousness. They are comparatively freer from chauvinist and bourgeois-democratic illusions in the American state than are white workers at the present time.

"However, lumpenized black youth lack those positive elements of communist consciousness derived from participation in the labor process and organized workers movement....

"...the black lumpenproletariat (like its counterpart in other countries) is alienated from and potentially hostile to the organized working class, which it views as a socially privileged group; this view is strengthened by the fact that the top trade-union leadership (though not the middle-level) is overwhelmingly white. Black lumpen hostility to the working class (black as well as white) can find a political expression. If black lumpens cannot be won to fascist bonapartism, they can be won to bourgeois liberal union-busting on a populist-leveling program. Sonny Carson's actions on behalf of Lindsay in the 1968 NYC teachers' strike and Baraka's on behalf of Gibson in the 1971 Newark teachers' strike conform to one of the central elements of classic fascism—the mobilization of lumpen violence against the workers movement in the name of plebeian-nationalist ideology.

"The political aspirations of the lumpenproletariat can express themselves in forms other than fascism. Lumpen radicalism can also take an ostensibly revolutionary form, posing as a left-wing alternative to Marxian proletarian socialism. In *The ABC of Communism*, Bukharin and Preobrazhensky characterize anarchism, with its hostility to all social authority and emphasis on the leveling redistribution of consumption, as 'lumpenproletarian socialism'...."

"You Can't Lead a Party You Don't Trust"

The deforming effects of lumpen existence are far from solely ideological. The observation that "being determines consciousness" is true not only in the mass but among subjectively revolutionary elements. The communist vanguard, defined by its commonality of program, must exert its conscious will to transform its lumpen-derived members into disciplined Leninist cadres. Subjectively revolutionary militants recruited out of a lumpen background must break from a lumpen proletarian economic existence and reject all vestiges of lumpen lifestyle. Only on the basis of a rough equality between comrades—in living standards, educational skills, etc.—can a truly communist cadre be forged, free from servility, patronizing and pretense.

A break from lumpen existence requires a change in being and in consciousness. A disciplined black communist cadre is forged by transcending a previous experience characterized by degradation and manipulation. The

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Solidarity with Strike in L.A. Port

Bay Area Dockers: Don't Handle Diverted Cargo!

SAN FRANCISCO, July 9—In response to a walkout by the office workers division of Los Angeles ships clerk Local 63, the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has isolated the strike and ordered longshoremen to scab on their own union by handling cargo diverted from L.A. to the San Francisco port. Thus the hand-picked successors to the recently retired Bridges/Goldblatt regime—International president Jimmy Herman and secretary-treasurer Curtis McClain—have made clear their intention to continue the most despicable aspects of Harry Bridges' disastrous policies of class collaboration.

Demanding a \$2.01-an-hour wage increase over two years and resisting the employers' demand to eliminate supplemental unemployment benefits, 98 office workers, mostly women, struck five targeted terminals on July 1. But the ILWU tops began undermining the walkout from the start. Pickets were pulled down and sent back to work at one firm, Standard Food, because it deals in perishable fruits! The ILWU has also made no move to stop members of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA), who have been crossing the picket lines with impunity since the second day of the strike.

To effectively back up the small office workers division, the L.A. port should have been shut down tight. But the leaders of San Pedro longshore Local 13, backed by the International, barred a port-wide strike and agreed to allow all companies to be worked except those directly involved in the dispute.

As the struck companies moved to divert cargo to the Bay Area, the ILWU bureaucracy moved in tandem to undermine coast-wide unity and isolate the L.A. strike. San Francisco longshoremen have been ordered to handle the diverted cargo, and S.F. clerks Local

34—president Herman's home local—suspended working rules to provide extra clerks to at least four of the struck shipping lines. The failure of Local 63 leaders to even issue an appeal to boycott the scab cargo has facilitated the scabbing.

The treacherous leadership sabotage was exposed in the latest issue of "Longshore Militant" (8 July), a class-struggle opposition paper published by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, members of the S.F. longshore Local 10 executive board. Gow and Keylor blew the whistle on the leadership's attempt to black out news of the strike:

"...last Saturday when weekend B.A. [business agent] Watkins was informed that more than half the cargo aboard the President McKinley was diverted, he ordered the men to work it! George Kekai, who had been informed of the strike by the Local 63 leadership, deliberately suppressed any news of it. Meanwhile, B.A. Herb Mills is claiming that he doesn't know of any agreement between L.A. and S.F. not to handle diverted cargo. Yet Local 13 president Almeida stated at our June 9 meeting that there is such an agreement and Local 10 president Williams has been bragging about it for months!"

Clearly the longshore ranks must demand that their leadership live up to the elementary solidarity agreement not to handle scab cargo.

But recent events have made it clear that the Local 10 leadership, including the Mills/Wing clique and Communist Party supporters, are so committed to class peace that they consciously sabotage all attempts at working-class unity. All wings of the bureaucracy lined up to help the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) declare S.F. a "low work opportunity port" (LWOP), thereby preparing the way for forced transfers and massive deregistrations of longshoremen. PMA's attack on Local 63 is part of the shipping companies'

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Striking office workers at American President Lines last week try to keep engineer out of L.A. Terminal yard.

Klan...

(continued from page 1)

suburb of Skokie, whose population includes an estimated 7,000 survivors of Hitler's death camps. So far, local officials have been successful in staving off a threatened Nazi march by obtaining successive court orders (which have been overturned on appeal). While this stopped the Hitler-lovers from staging a provocation on July 4 as they had threatened to do, in the Southside area of Marquette Park, a hotbed of racist agitation last year, a National Socialist convention was held over the weekend.

Fascists Rear Their Heads in the Land of "Human Rights"

Despite the welcome fact that some of the recent fascist marches and rallies were broken up, the Klan and Nazis have been surfacing across the country. While the Nazis peddle their savage doctrine of "Aryan superiority" and defend Hitler's death camps and ovens, the KKK fills the air with the stench of burning crosses and "white power" rhetoric. Not only revolutionaries but also trade unionists, blacks, Jews and all defenders of democratic rights must fervently desire to see these fledgling fascist bands crushed completely, which can only be accomplished through the revolutionary mobilization of the working class.

There is an ominous pattern to the recent emergence of the Klan and Nazis on the streets of American cities with their swastikas and hoods, cross burnings and jackboots. Fascist terror gangs have grown increasingly brazen in Jimmy Carter's land of "human rights." They are marching and rallying, opening up storefronts and seeking publicity for the first time in years. It is clear that the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade going hand-in-hand with a broad reactionary offensive against racial minorities, women, immigrants, homosexuals and workers has created a fetid political climate which spawns such fascist scum.

The Klan and Nazis have watched the Supreme Court, the president and Congress line up on their side of some of their favorite issues: rolling back limited civil rights victories such as busing for school desegregation, cutting off Medicaid funds for poor women to receive abortions, denying unemployment benefits to striking workers and restoring capital punishment. The Supreme Court, Anita Bryant's fundamentalist bigotry crusade and deadly "right-to-lifers" have joined hands with missionary zeal in a drive to "save the family" from homosexuals, abortion and pornography.

The fascists feel that this increasingly reactionary climate offers them a chance to take center stage by basking in the "respectability" conferred by government backing of their causes. The KKK rally in Georgia was given a permit on the grounds that it was merely a "patriotic display." When the Plains town council, uncomfortable over the national attention focused on "Carterville," claimed it had been duped, "Imperial Wizard" Wilkinson pointed out that the police knew perfectly well who he was.

In the north the Klan had sought, largely unsuccessfully, to capitalize on the racist anti-busing mobilization which gripped Boston in 1974-75, and managed to play a role in mounting segregationist demonstrations in Louisville. This year the KKK hopes to place itself at the head of anti-busing protests in Ohio. The Columbus rally was called under the slogans of "majority (white) rule" and stopping "forced busing." "Imperial Wizard" Reusch said, "I'm ready to fight. I'm ready to drive the enemy right off of this land." And who is this enemy? "The groups who favor busing. And there are a lot of communists involved" (Cleveland Press, 5 July).

But the fascists are not the only ones trying to latch onto the anti-busing



Ohio Klan "Imperial Wizard" gets angry response during race-hate rally.

backlash. A despicable Maoist tendency, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), capitulates to racism among the backward sections of the working class and has become notorious for its Jim Crow "socialist" opposition to busing. At the Columbus anti-Klan rally, the RCP-dominated "United Workers Organization" carried a banner proclaiming: "We are Black and White Together Against the Busing Plan!" So while the Klan calls for whites to oppose busing on the basis of "race purity," the RCP takes the disgusting position of calling for "people's unity" in support of this attack on the democratic rights of blacks! But what else can one expect from the group which hailed anti-busing riots in Louisville as a "tremendous fightback" which the Klan was trying to "divide"?

Liberals, Reformists Push "Rights" for Fascists

As the Klan attempts to expand its terrorist organization it has found support from an assortment of liberals and reformists who argue for "free speech" for fascists. Seeking to enlist the cops and courts more actively in their cause, the KKK talks a lot these days about being "law-abiding." In Plains, Georgia, "Grand Dragon" David Powers said that "we try to do anything we can to get along with law enforcement." In Chicago, the Nazis loudly announced they would not march on Skokie on July 4 because the Illinois Supreme Court had not yet reversed its earlier verdict upholding a city injunction on Nazi rallies. But no one is fooled by these stormtroopers and night riders—no one, that is, except the civil libertarians and their reformist hangers-on.

Commenting on the Columbus rally, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) bemoaned the fact that the cops didn't intervene soon enough to protect the KKK. "For me, this is a sad Fourth of July," he said. "I'm distressed that the Klan did not get their First Amendment rights" (Plain Dealer [Cleveland], 5 July). From Camp Pendleton, California to Far Rockaway, New York, the ACLU has become the active legal defenders of the Klan and the Nazis' "right" to organize racist terror, whether in the form of beatings of black Marines, burning of crosses or staging provocative marches in a community of victims of Hitler's holocaust. Fighting in the name of classless "democracy," the ACLU aids the fascists' attempts to obtain the protection of the state.

Of two anti-Nazi rallies held in Skokie on July 4, the largest was organized and dominated by the Jewish Defense League (JDL). The virulently anti-communist JDL organizes around its brand of right-wing Zionism while posing as the best defenders of the Jewish community against anti-Semitic attacks. Yet its paramilitary ethnic chauvinism and reactionary anti-working-class politics seek to divide Jews from the best and most powerful

defenders of democratic rights. The marginal presence of JDLers at an earlier anti-Nazi Skokie rally did not deter participation by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in defense of the Jewish population and against the fascist provocation. But the July 4 rally was little more than a propaganda vehicle for the JDL, thus excluding participation by revolutionaries.

A smaller march the same day in Skokie was dominated by the legalist/pacifist politics of the Communist Party (CP). The main thrust of the CP's organizing was to call on the government to ban fascist organizations. This "ban the Klan" strategy not only creates illusions in the capitalist state, it is also certain to backfire on the left, which is invariably a victim of political prohibitions of "extremist" organizations by the bourgeois government. Moreover, the Stalinists push this treacherous program in the name of the reactionary campaign that has emboldened the fascists: Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. A statement of the Illinois CP "demanded from President Carter" and his government, "the outlawing of racist and anti-semitic organizations," concluding: "The right to be free from racist insult and violence is a human right!" (Daily World, 30 June).

The Communist Party, however, at least criticizes the ACLU for the latter's efforts to gain "free speech for fascists." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in contrast, makes this civil libertarian approach its hallmark. Whereas the ACLU takes on court cases for the Klan and Nazis, the SWP takes its defense of fascists' "rights" directly into the left and labor movement, and occasionally physically protects the Nazis from angry militants or provides a platform to "debate" the racist terrorists.

Recently in Detroit, a July 1 pro-abortion rally called by the National Organization of Women (NOW) was repeatedly disrupted by a local fascist group under the name of Breakthrough. The SWP, whose reformism leads it to build NOW as the best proponents of bourgeois feminism, showed that it is also the left's best defender of fascists. When a handful of Breakthrough supporters brought their banner into the middle of the rally, some of the infuriated feminists wanted to remove them, which could have been easily done except for the SWP marshals who restrained them.

The banners, which read "Pro Christo, Pro Patria" and showed a fist smashing a hammer and sickle, were not the only outrage tolerated and protected by the SWP that day. When the fascist band of four grabbed the microphone and repeated the chant, "Abortion is murder," over and over, angry women attempted to remove them. Again SWP marshals tried to protect the "free speech" of fascists against the outraged feminists, who at last removed this raving provocateur from the mike.

Crush the Nazis and the Klan!

Despite the increased visibility and modest growth of the Nazis and the KKK, they remain isolated and despised gangs on the lunatic fringe of the ultra-right. As such, they attract criminally insane sadists and a variety of sociopaths. This has been underscored by several recent atrocious murders. Last February national attention was caught by a grotesque killing spree by a mentally defective gun fetishist and member of the National States Rights Party who went on a ten-hour bloody rampage in New Rochelle, New York, killing three black men and a dark-skinned Indian. In Chicago recently, Sidney Cohen was killed by an avowed Nazi who forced him to ingest hydrogen cyanide, a poison used in Hitler's gas chambers. In searching the Nazi's home, police discovered anti-Semitic literature, other poisonous chemicals and a death list containing the names of Cohen and two other Jews.

Vile as these crimes are, they do not represent the real historical danger of fascism. While they are today isolated, the fascists' growing aggressiveness represents a real, if embryonic, danger to the labor movement and oppressed racial/ethnic minorities. Their present growth is as the far-right wing of a general conservative-reactionary trend, but their real flourishing will come when the bourgeoisie can no longer rule by parliamentary means. Then a mass fascist movement will be fostered whose primary purpose will be to smash the organized workers movement through mob violence. Therefore, it is necessary to stamp these racist, anti-communist, anti-labor terrorist bands into the ground now, when they are still weak.

The fascist groups which are beginning to raise their loathsome heads will not be defeated by groups like the SWP which preach "free speech" for genocidal terrorists while seeking to lure them into debates in order to "expose" them. Nor will liberal and Stalinist reformists succeed in stopping fascism through the courts and state houses. And however satisfying it may be to adventurists to fantasize about driving a sports car into a Klan rally, it is obvious that such expressions of individual outrage can solve nothing. Only the mobilization of the working class, particularly the formation of disciplined labor defense guards and a revolutionary struggle for state power, can crush the fascists in the egg. ■

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TORONTO

For A Militant L.A. County Workers Strike!

LOS ANGELES—Some 70,000 Los Angeles County employees should have been on strike as of midnight, June 30. But when the contract covering job titles ranging from clerks and welfare workers to nurses and engineers expired, union "leaders" told the workers to stay on the job as they greased the works for a massive sellout to the hardlining county board of supervisors.

L.A. county workers are primarily represented by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). A smaller number are covered by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and the California Association of Professional Employees (CAPE). The workers are further divided by being broken up into 55 separate bargaining units.

The unions had previously agreed that all county workers would walk out if any one bargaining unit failed to reach a satisfactory agreement. But there is every indication that this bloc was purely rhetorical. In line with SEIU International president George Hardy's statement that, "The best strikes are those which never have to be called" (*Service Employee*, May 1977), local union leaders have already settled in most of the bargaining units on the most pitiful terms. They are now trying to force a similar agreement down the throats of clerical and welfare eligibility workers, who constitute the bulk of the unionized workers and among whom strike sentiment is strongest.

The terms agreed to in most of the bargaining units are an outrageous insult to the workers: 5.25 percent wage increases with no cost-of-living protection, cuts in pensions and workmen's compensation, provisions limiting automatic "step" pay increases and tying them to arbitrary management evaluations of "merit," and a two-year rather than a one-year contract. In addition to these obvious setbacks, the contract says nothing about the workers' job security, the hiring freeze imposed in 1974 or ever-mounting speedup. Bind-

July 11—Militant workers from SEIU Local 535, representing 3,800 welfare eligibility workers of Los Angeles County, voted at a meeting today by 373 to 177 to reject the county's offer and strike the next day. However, using the pretext that only 10 percent of the membership was present at the meeting, the bargaining committee highhandedly overruled the vote, unilaterally declaring there would be no strike.

The meeting, attended by several thousand people, was marked by repeated outbursts of anger from the floor against the Coalition of County Unions and their no-win policy. Although contracts expired a week and a half ago, the bureaucrats conspired to put a strike off until July 12 in order to wear down and isolate pockets of militancy like Local 535. Another militant sector, Local 660 (clerical workers), was prevented from voting until after tonight's midnight strike deadline.

The bureaucrats' stalling tactics sparked demands that SEIU attorney Harry Gluck explain the delays. He refused to do so and instead sent a representative who was shouted down. With the bargaining committee straining to control the seething membership, they received some timely aid from supposed radicals in the union, like Kathleen O'Nan, who, at the height of the uproar rushed up to the podium to support the leadership's position of no strike.

As it became clear that the SEIU tops were determined to frustrate every attempt by the 70,000-strong L.A. County workforce to strike in defense of their job conditions and living standards, the meeting dissolved into chaos as droves of workers stalked out in disgust.

ing arbitration is formalized as the "solution" to all grievances. The terms are so favorable to the county that board of supervisors member James Hays boasts that the agreement "will be the best [lowest] settlement of any governmental unit—state or federal—this year."

Meeting in all-night session June 30, the clerical (SEIU Local 660) and eligibility workers (SEIU Local 535) bargaining teams rejected management's final offer, which approximated these terms. But rather than immediately calling the workers out on strike, the union leaders set a July 12 strike deadline, arguing the effectiveness of waiting until after payday, July 11. But this sham excuse was quickly exposed when the union set a membership vote on management's last offer for 5 p.m., July 12, even though the strike is scheduled to begin at 12:01 a.m. that same day! The labor skates of the Coalition of County Unions, headed by Local 660 president Jack Thomas, hope that they can use the additional time to wear down all resistance to the rotten agreement.

Management Offensive

By their cowardly behavior, the union tops are only fueling the anti-labor appetites of the county supervisors. Like their cohorts around the country, the supervisors seek to resolve their budget woes by slashing the wages and conditions of public employees and decimating the already minimal services provided to the working people, poor and heavily black and Latin ghetto populations.

Similar attacks have provoked recent strikes in Atlanta, where Mayor Maynard Jackson exploded the myth of "progressive" black capitalist politicians

by crushing the city workers union; in Detroit, where 10,000 municipal workers struck for one day last week to beat back Mayor Coleman Young's take-away demands; and in Wisconsin, where state employees are currently on strike.

In Los Angeles these attacks have an insidiously racist character, as demagogic politicians whip up support for their cutbacks among white taxpayers, irate over skyrocketing property tax rates and alarmed at the prospect of busing for school integration, while aiming their attacks at the predominantly black and Mexican-American county workforce as well as the ever-popular target of "welfare chiselers."

L.A. county management has learned a thing or two from the San Francisco board of supervisors, who have been on an anti-labor rampage, winning voter approval for anti-union initiatives and crushing city workers strikes. They have also been heartened by Abe Beame and the New York City financier union-busters, who have administered blow after blow to municipal labor with only pathetic whimpers of protest from cowering union bureaucrats. The Los Angeles County administrators figure if such campaigns can succeed in labor strongholds like New York and San Francisco, they should be a cinch in a non-union town like L.A.

The board of supervisors' offensive has the added encouragement of California governor Jerry Brown, best known for his "limits of growth" preachings. Though the state budget promises a \$2.5 billion surplus this year, Brown recently cut legislature-approved allocations for state employee salary increases and more than a quarter of the amount for the handicapped, despite well-publicized sit-ins by disabled benefit recipients in his Sacramento office.

The current contract negotiations also take place in the midst of a campaign to repeal the "prevailing wage clause" in the L.A. county charter, another weapon borrowed from San Francisco's arsenal. This provision requires that the county pay wages "at least equal" to those of private industry for similar job classifications. Los Angeles County regularly undercuts the clause by surveying non-union private

corporations, especially those with notoriously low pay scales for clerical positions, like banks and insurance companies. Even so, the SEIU reports that this year's survey showed that county workers were, on the average, earning seven percent less than those surveyed.

In addition to offering puny wage increases, which as a result of inflation in fact amount to wage cuts, the county has been steadily whittling away at jobs. In 1974, a hiring freeze was instituted in most departments. The freeze has meant more work for fewer employees and has hit particularly hard at eligibility workers, who deal with mushrooming welfare rolls, swelled by continuing high levels of unemployment. In many instances, departing employees are replaced by "temporaries" who have no job security and few benefits. Despite the fact that more than 10,000 "temporaries" have worked for years in this second-class status, the unions have not even raised this issue in the negotiations.

The union leaderships' response to the county's escalating attacks is one of retreat and rotten compromise. Thomas & Co. are unwilling to lead a militant strike for a job-expanding shorter workweek with a big pay boost, an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, full status for "temporaries," the right to strike over all grievances and an end to all cutbacks in desperately needed social services. Fearful of a confrontation with the county, the union tops prefer to docilely collect dues while the ranks suffer scandalously inadequate and deteriorating conditions.

This tired business unionism progressively saps the strength of the unions. Seeing bureaucrats manifestly unwilling to lead a fight, only a third of the county workers have joined the unions, even though they gained collective bargaining rights in 1970. In most departments, there are only a handful of appointed shop stewards. In many areas, even higher union officers are appointed rather than elected.

In a desire to boost their dues base while avoiding militant organizing campaigns, the bureaucrats have resort-

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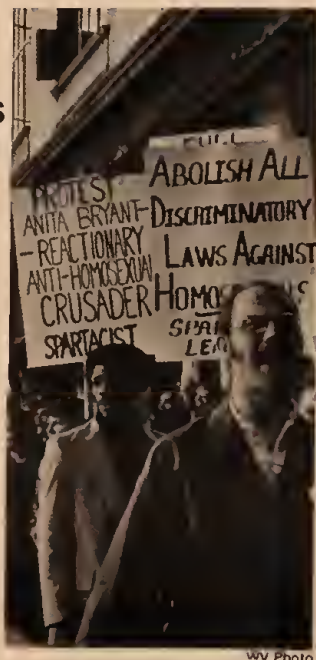
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Heroic Soviet Spies

As the Red Orchestra was being hounded by the Sonderkommando, other Soviet networks assumed correspondingly greater importance. The most significant of these was the Swiss network which the Gestapo referred to as the "Red Troika" for its three transmitters. Soviet intelligence had maintained an independent operation in Switzerland since the late 1930's, but its vital work took place in 1942-43 as Trepper's Belgian and French groups were smashed. In December 1942 German counterintelligence learned from an arrested member of the Red Orchestra the code of the Swiss network and the scope of its information. But because of Swiss neutrality it was unable to wipe out the group directly, only managing to cripple it in 1944.

Under the cover of the "Geopress Map Publishing Company," Sandor

cooperation of highly placed elements in the German bourgeoisie, just as in the case of the Harnack/Schulze-Boysen group in Berlin. The Swiss network's most important coup was its connection with Rudolf Rössler (codenamed "Lucy"), formerly a left-liberal German theater critic who fled to Switzerland after the Nazis came to power. He joined Swiss intelligence and developed a web of informants in the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe commands and the foreign office, while feeding his information to the USSR via Rado. To this day the exact sources of "Lucy's" information are unknown.

As massive battles raged on the Don and Volga steppes from July 1942 to February 1943, Moscow was receiving a steady stream of data from the Swiss network on the strategy and state of the German forces. "Lucy" told the center that the Wehrmacht's flank was unprotected on the "Black Fields" southeast of Stalingrad and it expected no attack from this quarter. That was then chosen as the very area from which the Red Army launched its November 1942 counteroffensive. Marshal Zhukov cites the former German chief of operational staff, General Jodl, as saying: "We had no idea of the strength of the Russian troops in this region. Previously there

Citadel," whose aim was to take Kursk, was reported on by "Lucy" in great detail. When it was finally launched after much delay in July 1943, the Red Army already had a precisely worked out counterplan:

"In the spring of 1943 we got hold of, thanks to the brilliant work of Soviet intelligence—a quantity of important data about the grouping of German troops preparatory to the summer offensive.... On the basis of these conclusions we worked out our plan for the battle of Kursk.... First the Soviet troops wore down the enemy in defensive engagements; then, switching to the offensive, they smashed the enemy army groups in pieces."

—Grigory Zhukov, *Memoirs and Reflections*

While the German army fell back before the Soviet offensive, the Gestapo intensified pressure against Rado, who was forced into hiding. His second in command, Alexander Foote, was raided by the Swiss police during a transmission—as they broke in the door he managed to smash the radio with a hammer, while burning telegrams with a candle's flame. But with the Nazis now clearly losing the war and due to Swiss neutrality, the fate of the members of the "Red Troika" was not the same as those of the Orchestra. Foote and others were eventually released and Rado made it

transfer large sums from the Far East to be thrown into the battle of Stalingrad. The operations of this truly brilliant "masterspy" were so effective that the German embassy and foreign office vehemently protested his arrest in 1941, and continued to pressure Japanese authorities on his behalf for months, even after receiving his confession!

Sorge was a man of great daring and intelligence. Arriving in Japan with impeccable credentials as a correspondent for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he had taken the somewhat dangerous precaution of joining the Nazi Party (luckily his police record, revealing a host of clandestine activities for the German Communist Party in the early 1920's, was not thoroughly checked until after his arrest). His service record in World War I (he received an Iron Cross) and reputation as an expert on Japanese affairs (partly due to reports from his extensive espionage network) recommended him to the German official community. He became particularly close with Major-General Eugen Ott, who was eventually appointed ambassador. Sorge was given a room at the embassy and trusted with highly confidential information, on which his opinion was often sought.

Sorge's reputation was that of a highly respected, if somewhat eccentric, member of the diplomatic community. His sociability and occasionally obstreperous behavior were seen as the attributes of a typical Berliner: shrewd, uproarious, fond of drink and women. He was quoted as commenting admiringly on the famous Japanese 17th century rebellion of the 47 *ronin* (unemployed samurai), who killed their lord's murderer after putting him off guard. "They knew how to cover up their aims with drinking and restless wandering," commented Sorge, perhaps reflecting on his own habit of roaring around Tokyo on a motorcycle after nights of heavy drinking. Even his Japanese mistress was totally in the dark about his espionage activities. The self-assurance with which he was able to play out his role was no doubt partly a result of Berzin's insistence that a "cover" must be as little artificial as possible—that is why the head of the Fourth Department insisted on Sorge using his own name.

Sorge's one recorded moment of deep depression came when the Germans invaded the USSR. According to his mistress, he spent the day crying and answered her concerned questions with the reply, "I am lonely. I have no real friends." It is not hard to imagine his fury at Stalin's refusal to use the vital information his Japanese network had been supplying the center for months about preparations for the attack. He also provided an in-depth analysis about the February 1936 insurrection of young Japanese army officers, reports of the German-Japanese negotiations around the formation of the "Anti-Comintern Pact," extensive information on the Japanese invasion of China, and in the last months before his arrest reports that Japan would attack the United States in December 1941, or in any case no later than January 1942. Sorge admitted his spy activities, hoping that the Soviet government would come to his rescue; his hopes were dashed and he was finally executed in November 1944.

Ignace Reiss

Like Trepper, Rado and Sorge, Ignace Reiss had been a communist militant before joining the Soviet intelligence apparatus. But although he worked for a longer period in the various espionage services, he alone had the courage and political vision to break with Stalin while remaining true to his

A review of: *The Great Game*, by Leopold Trepper; *The Red Orchestra*, by Gilles Perrault; *Our Own People*, by Elisabeth Poretsky; *Codename Dora: Memoirs of a Russian Spy*, by Sandor Rado.

PART 2 OF 2

Rado, a Hungarian communist who had been trained as a cartographer, had established the network for the Fourth Department. Rado had served as a political commissar in the army of Bela Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic at the age of 19. His wife, Helen Jansen, had taken part in the 1919 Spartacus uprising in Berlin, providing fire cover for her comrades as they left the Communist Party headquarters, and later fought with the Red Army in putting down the Kronstadt mutiny. In 1935 Rado was approached by the Fourth Department and began his career as an officer in the Soviet intelligence service.

Rado's memoirs (*Codename Dora: Memoirs of a Russian Spy*, London: Abelard, 1977) detail the work of the "Red Troika" in providing the Red Army with information which proved crucial in the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk, the turning points of the war on the eastern front. The book points out that the Troika's information was of such high quality because it obtained the



The Lubianka, headquarters of the GPU.

Roberta Gerson

been no troops at all there, and then suddenly they attacked in such strength that they made a decisive difference."

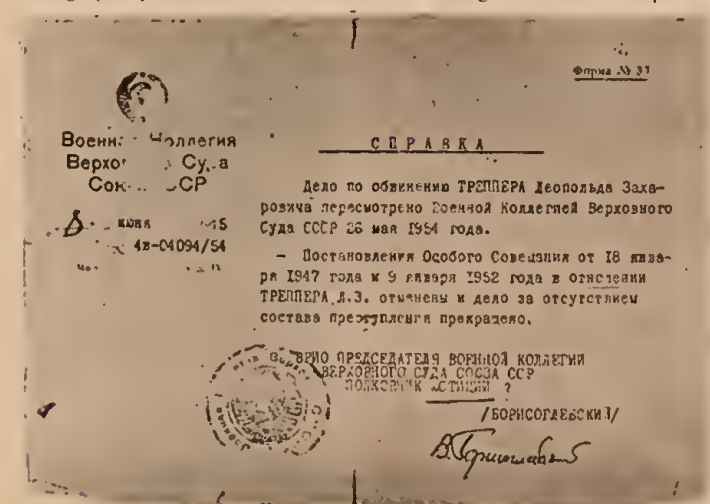
Soviet troops finally broke through the German positions in the north in January 1943, relieving Leningrad which had been besieged for 18 months. The Wehrmacht, put on the defensive for the first time on the eastern front, began construction of the "Ostwall," a line of strong fortifications in the Baltic states. However, the "Red Troika" managed to obtain and transmit plans of this defensive line. Hitler's last offensive against the USSR, "Operation

safely to France (where he learned that his entire family had perished in the death camp of Auschwitz).

Richard Sorge

One of the strengths of the Red Orchestra was the fact that its key components were dedicated revolutionary militants with long common personal ties and work. This gave the members a sense of each other's style, extremely valuable in clandestine conditions where maintaining contact was the first and most difficult task, but it was also a weakness. Once the first arrests were made, because of their intimate relations (i.e., the lack of rigid compartmentalization) some of those who broke under torture—an inevitable occurrence—knew too much and opened the whole network to exposure. This failing was even more pronounced in the Orchestra's vital Berlin group where there was a total confusion of functions.

In this respect the "Red Troika" was a more professional espionage apparatus and also more successful in withstanding the enemy's pressure. But the most effective Soviet spy operation of the World War II period was that headed by Richard Sorge in Japan, which operated from 1934 to 1941. Sorge's brilliant analyses and carefully cultivated circle of friends at the highest levels of the German embassy and Japanese government not only produced precisely accurate information about "Operation Barbarossa," but also led to the conclusion that Japan would not attack the USSR in 1942—a vital factor permitting the Red Army to



Soviet court document issued in 1955 reversing 1947 and 1952 decisions against Trepper "for absence of basic elements of crime."

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New Park

Ignace Reiss

Leninist convictions. After 18 months in Pilsudski's prisons for his military information gathering in 1920, he made his way to Germany where he participated in military preparations for the abortive 1923 uprising. Following that failure he spent several years in Vienna, Prague and Amsterdam, returning to Moscow in 1927 to receive the Order of the Red Banner for his work.

In 1929, as the Stalinist bureaucracy was continuing to consolidate its hold on the Soviet state apparatus, Berzin, sensing that despite his credentials as an Old Bolshevik his own position was threatened, began to shift some of his trusted associates out of the line of fire. Reiss, for example, spent the next three years in the archives section of the Fourth Department. During this time, he could not help but notice the degeneration of the revolution and the straitjacketing of the party and Soviet society. When Berzin suggested he consider taking a Comintern assignment, Reiss responded to his wife's reminder that he had always wanted to return to party work: "What party work? What party? There are no parties any more, there is not even a Comintern." In *Our Own People*, Elisabeth Poretsky, Reiss's widow, described those grim years from 1929 to 1932, when friends began to disappear, stories of arrests and executions came closer and closer to home and Reiss and his circle sought to escape from the vicious corruption of everything Bolshevism had stood for. Explaining why her husband refused to work for the Comintern, Poretsky explained:

"He knew it would mean involvement in the inner party struggles that were then tearing the international Communist movement apart. Ludwik [Reiss's professional name] was not a Trotskyite, on many points he disagreed with Trotsky, but like all old party members he could not conceive of a Communist movement without Trotsky...since the vicious anti-Trotsky campaign, which had continued after his expulsion from the party and the country, Ludwik would no longer feel at home either in the Soviet Union or in the party."

Eventually Reiss decided to join the NKVD's foreign department, the INO, since it appeared to be the only way to leave the USSR and stay out of the party purges. It was not an easy decision, for he not only shared the disdain of the Fourth Department for the crude methods and personnel of the NKVD, but also the fear and hatred widespread among veteran communists toward this bastion of Stalinist terror. The attitude of Reiss's circle was revealed by his wife's comments on one of the NKVD thugs:

"Lisa Zarubin was another of those

whom we called 'theirs'—people Moscow entrusted with tasks their European Communist agents, most of them recruited from the Fourth, would never have performed. These were the people in the NKVD whom Moscow relied on for burglaries, kidnappings, and murders.... But the particular reason everyone avoided Lisa Zarubin was because of the role she had played in the betrayal and eventual death of Jacob Blumkin."

Blumkin had been a young Social Revolutionary implicated in the assassination of German ambassador Count Mirbach in 1918, who later joined the Communist Party and GPU. On one of his trips he had visited Trotsky at Prinkipo, no doubt out of sentimental impulse. Zarubin was assigned to lure him back to Moscow, playing on a former love affair. He was shot upon his return.

But despite Reiss's return to western Europe, there was no escape from Stalinist betrayal. The first Moscow Trial of August 1936—where Zinoviev, Kamenev, I. N. Smirnov, Mrachkovsky and 12 other defendants were sentenced to death and shot—forced Reiss to face political reality. He and Krivitsky, another of the top NKVD residents in Europe, met repeatedly for agonized private discussions. Krivitsky equivocated, alternating between despair and hope, and several times talked Reiss out of an open break. His main argument aside from technical difficulties was the hope that the Spanish revolution would triumph and break Stalin's stranglehold over what had become the "Stalintern."

Reiss considered his work during this period, supplying arms to Republican Spain from private and governmental sources in Europe, a vital task. But by 1937 it had become obvious that Stalin also viewed a revolutionary victory in Spain as a threat. Reiss determined then to refuse to return to Moscow and to disobey orders to spy on anti-Stalinist leftists in Spain. In July 1937 he wrote his letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU denouncing Stalin and openly allying himself with the Fourth International (see box in this issue).

While he sent off his letter, returning with it his Order of the Red Banner, Reiss refused to make his break public until he felt he had a secure hiding place. But it was not possible to hide from Stalin's assassins—it would have been far better, as Trotsky wrote later, to seek maximum publicity so as to make it too costly for the NKVD gangsters to assassinate him. For this error Reiss paid with his life, and his bloody corpse was discovered beside a country road near Lausanne, Switzerland in September. During the following months his friends in Moscow disappeared one by one. Krivitsky finally bolted to the West, but became linked up with anti-Communist circles and died in a Washington, D.C. hotel room.

The "Reiss Faction"

In his courageous break from the bureaucracy, Reiss stands out as an exception to those like Trepper who tried to evade the essential political question of Stalinism. As Stalin's sabotage of Soviet defense which made possible the initial successes of the German invasion in June 1941 so graphically underlined, the real defense of the Soviet Union was a relentless struggle to oust the parasitic clique which had usurped power. But in his dilemma, his inner struggle, Reiss was symptomatic of a broader layer. Trotsky wrote, "We may assume with certainty that in the ranks of the bureaucracy there are quite a number who feel as Reiss did. They have contempt for their milieu. They hate Stalin. And, at the same time, they endlessly toil on and on" ("A Tragic Lesson," September 1937).

In the *Transitional Program*, Trotsky generalized this further, noting that in addition to a right-wing, ultimately counterrevolutionary and fascist wing of the bureaucracy (the "Butenko

faction"), there was also a left wing (the "Reiss faction") that would break from the bureaucracy under the impact of tremendous social struggles.

"If tomorrow the bourgeois-fascist grouping, the 'faction of Butenko,' so to speak, should attempt the conquest of power, the 'faction of Reiss' inevitably would align itself on the opposite side of the barricades. Although it would find itself temporarily the ally of Stalin, it would nevertheless defend not the Bonapartist clique but the social base of the USSR, i.e., the property wrenched away from the capitalists and transformed into state property."

At the time of Reiss's assassination, Trotsky projected the existence of a "Reiss faction" essentially on theoretical grounds. This understanding armed the Trotskyists, so that when the workers rose up against the bureaucratic rule—as in Hungary in 1956 and Poland in 1970—it was no surprise that large sections of the state apparatus and the Communist Party simply disintegrated, with many going over to the workers' cause, including highly placed state officials (e.g., Colonel Pal Maleter in Hungary).

Beyond providing an understanding of the Soviet World War II intelligence operations, perhaps the chief virtue of the books here being reviewed is the revelation of the actual existence of a "Reiss faction" and vivid portrayals of its private life. The very existence of such a layer, at the very heart of the Soviet state apparatus, not only refutes bourgeois rantings about Stalinism being the necessary result of Leninism. It also sharply contradicts social-democratic claims that the USSR is "state capitalist." For in no capitalist society does it occur that a whole layer of the state apparatus is prepared to go over to the workers' side. The existence of a "Reiss faction" of the bureaucracy, located as well in the military and intelligence apparatus, is a result of the essentially "conservative" (in a positive sense) nature of those organs...and of the fact that there is still something of the conquests of the October Revolution left to preserve.

Soviet Spies in Stalin's Prisons

With the end of World War II, the survivors among these revolutionary-militants-turned-Soviet-spies, their job accomplished, wanted to come in from the cold. Even in "peacetime" they were hunted men: Rado had been forced to escape from neutral Switzerland and enter "liberated" France clandestinely; Trepper, in turn, was still hiding from French gangsters who had collaborated with the Gestapo. Finally, in January 1945 both men climbed aboard a Soviet military plane headed for Moscow. With them was Shlyapnikov, the former leader of the Workers Opposition, who had left the USSR (with Lenin's aid) in the early 1920's and was now returning voluntarily on the basis of a warm invitation from Molotov.

While Shlyapnikov was filled with naive enthusiasm, Rado well knew what was in store and managed to escape during a stopover in Egypt. Trepper admits:

"While we were flying toward Moscow, Rado's disappearance obsessed me. I knew he had performed his mission beyond all expectations, that he had nothing to reproach himself for.... But precisely because of his profound understanding of the facts, his realism as a man of learning, he felt that in spite of the victory, nothing had changed in the kingdom of the OGPU.... "The truth Rado perceived did not strike me with its blinding truth until later. I was too naive. I believed that now that the fighting was over, the terror would cease, and the regime would evolve."

The "Big Chief," who had outwitted the combined resources of the Third Reich, walked into a trap. Instead of relatives, friends and former associates on hand to greet him in Moscow there were only officials of the NKVD. When it became clear that Shlyapnikov had been arrested, Trepper was filled with disgust at the

continued on page 8



Simon and Schuster

As Soviet Intelligence officer, Kim Philby worked inside Britain's Secret Intelligence Service.



Harper and Row

Richard Sorge headed Red Army Intelligence in Japan.

Soviet Spies...

(continued from page 7)

shabby trick played on the Old Bolshevik trade unionist: "He had been expecting Molotov's car; instead, he was met by a police car, which drove him straight to Lubyanka."

The "Big Chief" told his NKVD "colleagues" that he wished to return to Poland, but only after talking with the directors about the terrible mistakes made by the center which led to the demise of the Red Orchestra. These certainly warranted a thorough review: the Belgian group had fallen because Moscow insisted on broadcasts of five to six hours a day, allowing the Sonderkommando plenty of time to locate the transmitter with its tracking vehicles; and the key Harnack/Schulze-Boysen network was smashed as a result of a telegram from Moscow to Kent containing the names and addresses of the three main leaders of the Berlin group! But Trepper was never allowed to make his indictment before the directors.

Instead, he was sent to Lubyanka for being "so interested in the past." There Trepper was subjected to grueling interrogation, threats against himself and his family (which knew nothing of his whereabouts) and endless demands that he confess his "crimes against the Soviet Union." It was not even because he could prove how Stalin nearly wrecked the USSR's defenses that he was being held, but because he had been part of Berzin's Fourth Department and had escaped the purges by being abroad. Trepper and his associates were threatened with the same fate which met

returning Communist veterans of the Spanish civil war, who were jailed and shot because they knew too much and might have been infected with anti-Stalinist ideas. This was a mopping-up operation of the Great Purge.

Any possible doubts as to the reason for his imprisonment were removed during a brief interview with General Abakumov, Stalin's minister of security. Attacked for the large number of Jews in the Red Orchestra, Trepper proudly replied that there were fighters from 13 nationalities in the network and the only criterion for selection was "the desire to fight Nazism to the end." Abakumov did not reply, but instead went to the heart of the subject. "You see," he said, "there are only two ways to thank an agent in the Intelligence Service: either cover his chest with medals, or cut off his head. If you hadn't worked with that gang of counterrevolutionaries—Tukhachevski, Berzin, and so on—you would be a man laden with honors today; but you went about it in such a way that you're good for nothing but a prison cell." Jail, Abakumov claimed cynically, was a protection against the imperialist secret services which would try to seize the head of the Red Orchestra.

Trepper spent almost ten years in Stalin's prisons. There he met Klausen, Richard Sorge's radio operator, who after long years in Japanese prisons was arrested immediately after returning to the Soviet Union. He also encountered a Japanese general, captured in Manchuria, who had been vice-minister of defense at the time Sorge was arrested. To the obvious question of why Sorge was not exchanged (Japan and Russia

were not officially at war until 1945), the general replied that the Japanese government had proposed this on three occasions to the Soviet embassy in Tokyo. Each time it was told that the prisoner was "unknown to us." Trepper's outraged comment in his memoirs was:

"Unknown, Richard Sorge? When the Japanese papers were full of stories about his contacts with the Soviet military attaché? Unknown, the man who had warned Russia of the German attack, and who had announced in the middle of the battle of Moscow that Japan would not attack the Soviet Union, thus enabling the Soviet chiefs of staff to bring fresh divisions from Siberia? They preferred to let Richard Sorge be executed rather than have another troublesome witness on their hands after the war. "The decision had not come from the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, but directly from Moscow. Richard Sorge paid for his intimacy with General Berzin. After Berzin was eliminated, Sorge, in the eyes of Moscow, was nothing but a double agent, and a Trotskyite in the bargain! For months his dispatches were not decoded, until the Center finally realized the inestimable military value of the information he had provided. After his arrest in Japan, the directors at the Center abandoned him like a cumbersome piece of luggage; such was the policy of the new team. "Moscow allowed the 'unknown' Richard Sorge to be executed on November 7, 1944. Since then, Moscow has proclaimed, proudly, the history of Sorge's work. I am particularly happy to expose this imposture today, and to make this accusation before the world: Richard Sorge was one of us. Those who allowed him to be murdered have no right to claim him as theirs."

Also during his time in prison, Trepper met Szulgin, the head of the Black Hundreds, tsarist gangs who had

specialized in anti-Semitic pogroms. His patriotism fired by the Russian victory in World War II, Szulgin returned from Yugoslavia praising Stalin and lamenting only that the "general secretary" wasn't a real tsar. Szulgin was released well before the surviving communist militants.

Most remarkable of all, during the time Trepper was held at Lubyanka, Heinz Pannwitz, a top SS leader and head of the Sonderkommando Rote Kapelle was held in a nearby cell. Pannwitz had continued the *Funkspiel* ["radio game"] after Trepper's escape and finally surrendered to the Russians as Allied troops tightened their nets. Even though Pannwitz was the "butcher of Prague," responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent Czechs following the 1942 assassination of Heydrich; even though his version of the Great Game was exploded by Trepper's reports; and despite Pannwitz' systematic murder of the captured Red Orchestra members, in order to cover his tracks by eliminating witnesses to his barbaric activities as head of the Sonderkommando, this important Nazi war criminal was freed in 1955 as a result of an agreement signed with West German chancellor Adenauer. At the time *The Great Game* was written Pannwitz was managing director of a bank in Ludwigsburg, West Germany, and receiving a state pension for his SS service!

The Next Generation

"It's too bad you left the USSR. If you'd stayed, you would have been taken care of long since," one of his

IGNACE REISS:

"Free Humanity of Capitalism and the USSR of Stalinism!"

—from Elisabeth Poretsky, *Our Own People* (Ann Arbor, 1970)

I should have written the letter I am writing you today a long time ago, on that day when the Sixteen¹ were massacred in the cellars of the Lubyanka on the orders of the 'Father of the People.'

I kept quiet then and I did not raise my voice at the murders that followed, and as a result I bear a heavy responsibility. My guilt is grave, but I will try to repair it, to repair it promptly and thus ease my conscience.

Up to this moment I marched alongside you. Now I will not take another step. Our paths diverge! He who now keeps quiet becomes Stalin's accomplice, betrays the working class, betrays socialism.

I have been fighting for socialism since my twentieth year. Now on the threshold of my fortieth I do not want to live off the favours of a Yezhov.² I have sixteen years of illegal work behind me. That is not little, but I have enough strength left to begin all over again. For it will indeed be necessary to begin everything all over again to save socialism. That fight began a long time ago and I want to take my part in it.

The noise that is made about the deeds of pilots flying over the Pole is supposed to drown out the moans and the cries of the victims tortured in the cellars of the Lubyanka, in Svobodnaia, in Minsk, in Kiev, in Leningrad, in Tiflis. It will not succeed. The voice of truth is stronger than the noise of the most powerful engines.

It is quite true that the records of the pilots will affect the hearts of American ladies and of the youth of two continents intoxicated by sports, much more easily than we will succeed in conquering international opinion and affecting the conscience of the world. But make no mistake, truth will find a way and the day of judgement is much nearer than those in the Kremlin think. The day when international socialism will judge the crimes committed in the past ten years is not far off. Nothing will be forgotten and nothing will be forgiven. History is harsh. 'The leader of genius,' 'the Father of the People,' 'the Sun of Socialism' will have to account for what he has done. He will have to account for the defeated Chinese revolution, for the red plebiscite in Germany, for the defeat of the German proletariat, for social fascism, for the things told to Mr. Howard³, for his flattery of M. Laval⁴—all acts of genius.

This trial will take place in the open and many a living and dead witness will attend it. All will speak and this time will tell the truth, all the truth. All will testify—those who were slandered and those who were shot though innocent—and the international workers' movement will rehabilitate them, the Kamenevs, the Mrachkovskys, the Smirnovs and

the Muralovs, the Drobnis, Serebriakovs, Mdivanis, and Okudzhavas, Rakovskys, and Andreas Nins⁵—'the spies and enemy agents, the saboteurs and Gestapo agents!'

The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counter-revolution. This mixture of the worst of opportunism, devoid of principles, and of lies and blood threatens to poison the world and the last forces of the working class.

What is needed today is a fight without mercy against Stalinism! The class struggle and not the popular front, workers' intervention in the Spanish revolution as opposed to the action of committees.

Down with the lie of socialism in one country! Return to Lenin's international!

Neither the Second nor the Third International can carry out this historical mission. Corrupt and dislocated, all they can do is to prevent the working class from fighting. They can only be the policemen at the service of the bourgeoisie. The irony of history! In the past the bourgeoisie provided its own Cavaignacs and Gallifets, its Trepovs and Wrangels⁶. Today, under the glorious leadership of the two Internationals, it is the proletarians themselves who have become the executioners of their comrades. The bourgeoisie can attend quietly to its own business: order and peace rule. There are still Noskes and Yezhovs, Negrins and Diazs⁷. Stalin is their leader and Feuchtwanger⁸ their Homer.

No. I cannot stand it any longer. I take my freedom of action. I return to Lenin, to his doctrine, to his acts.

I intend to devote my feeble forces to the cause of Lenin. I want to continue the fight, for only our victory—that of the proletarian revolution—will free humanity of capitalism and the U.S.S.R. of Stalinism.

Forward to new struggles! For the Fourth International!

Ludwik
17 July 1937

P.S. In 1928 I was awarded the Order of the Red Banner for services to the proletarian revolution. I am enclosing the decoration. It would be beneath my dignity to wear an order also worn by the executioners of the best men of the working class in Russia. (In the last two weeks *Izvestia* has published the names of those who have received the award. Their achievements have been discreetly kept quiet: they are the men who have carried out the death sentences on the old Bolsheviks.)

- 1 The 16 Old Bolsheviks tried in Moscow in August 1936 and subsequently executed
- 2 Nikolai I. Yezhov, appointed head of the NKVD by Stalin in 1936 to carry out the first wave of purges, then purged himself in 1938 and shot
- 3 The American press correspondent Roy Howard, who interviewed Stalin in 1935
- 4 Pierre Laval was the French foreign minister who negotiated the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1935 and later served as head of the pro-Nazi Vichy government in World War II
- 5 Kamenev, Mrachkovsky and Smirnov were tried and executed in August 1936. Muralov, Orobnis and Serebriakov in January 1937, and Mdivani and Okudzhava in July 1937. Rakovsky, arrested at the end of 1936, was not tried until 1938. Andreas Nin, political secretary of the Spanish POUM was arrested in Spain in June 1937, tortured and murdered by the Stalinists
- 6 Cavaignac was the French general responsible for suppression of the Parisian workers during the June Days of the 1848 Revolution. Gallifet was responsible for the massacre following the defeat of the Paris Commune. Treppov, governor-general of St. Petersburg, led counterrevolutionary forces in the 1905 Revolution, while Baron Wrangel was a leading White general in the Russian Civil War of 1918-21
- 7 Juan Negrin was a right-wing Socialist who headed the Spanish Popular Front after the May Days of 1937. José Olez was head of the Spanish CP. Both men were responsible for the bloody suppression of the left from 1937 on
- 8 German novelist Leon Feuchtwanger, whose book *Moscow 1937* stavishly glorified the Stalin regime and justified the Moscow trials

interrogators told Leopold Trepper. And when the "Big Chief" refers to "us," he was speaking of that layer of veteran militants from the 1920's who, because of the importance of their work, were passed over by the Stalin purges. By the end of World War II, this layer had been largely expunged from the Soviet state apparatus. Another of Trepper's examiners, who was thoroughly familiar with the history of the Red Orchestra, had extreme difficulty comprehending how a network could be built with so few professional intelligence personnel. The new generation of Soviet spies was made up of decidedly different human material. This was particularly true of the Russian agents, now the overwhelming majority, who were essentially policemen and bureaucrats.

But even among those who joined the Soviet intelligence service of the 1930's when Stalin's domination was solidly established, the spark of ideological commitment was not altogether absent. This can be seen in the case of the man who was described by longtime CIA director Allen Dulles as "the best spy the Russians ever had": Kim Philby. In the introduction to his memoirs (*My Silent War*, New York: Grove Press, 1968), Philby justifies his decision to continue his Soviet spy career "when some of the worst features of Stalinism became apparent":

"It seemed to me, when it became clear that much was going badly wrong in the Soviet Union, that I had three possible courses of action. First, I could give up politics altogether. This I knew to be quite impossible.... Second, I could continue political activity on a totally different basis. But where was I to go?... I saw the road leading me into the political position of the querulous outcast... railing at the movement that had let me down, at the God that had failed me....

"The third course of action open to me was to stick it out, in the confident faith that the principles of the Revolution would outlive the aberration of individuals, however enormous. It was the course I chose...."

Philby, the son of an eccentric British diplomat-explorer, was recruited to what he took to be communism while an undergraduate at Cambridge, an experience common to many left-wing British intellectuals in the 1930's. Instead of joining the Communist Party, he came into contact with the Soviet intelligence service and soon after became a military correspondent for the prestigious London *Times* with Franco's forces in Spain. Managing to get himself invited to join Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), Philby rose meteorically in its ranks while fulfilling his duties as a Soviet intelligence officer. There was no question as to his qualifications: he was a charming drinking companion, a loyal and sentimental friend, a careful and conscientious intelligence analyst and a man of civilized liberal convictions who stayed out of intra-bureaucratic squabbling—except once, in 1945, when he skillfully engineered the removal of the director of the SIS counterintelligence department and gained as his prize the directorship of section IX, whose target was Soviet and Communist intelligence activities!

Pursuing his promising career in British intelligence, Philby was posted for a period to Washington, where he served as liaison officer to the FBI and CIA. There he obtained information about British-American air drops of agents into Albania and the Ukraine, and doubtless much more. But it was a threatening period of witchhunts, as Philby was well aware. "It was the era of McCarthy in full evil blast," he writes. "It was the era of Hiss, Coplon, Fuchs, Gold, Greenglass, and the brave Rosenbergs not to mention others who are still nameless." J. Edgar Hoover expressed to Philby his disdain for McCarthy, but Philby's evaluation of the FBI director was equally negative:

"Hoover did not catch Maclean and Burgess, he did not catch Fuchs, and he would not have caught the rest if the British had not caught Fuchs and worked brilliantly on his tangled emotions; he did not catch Lansdale; he did

not catch Abel for years, and only then because Hayhanen delivered him up on a platter; he did not even catch me. If ever there was a bubble reputation, it is Hoover's."

Despite his brilliant work, Philby came near to being caught when two of his circle, Burgess and Maclean, bolted together from the Foreign Office and suspicions as to a "Third Man" pointed at him. He was forced to resign from the SIS for several years, but the British could pin nothing on him, and in due course he became a correspondent for the London *Observer* in Beirut, from which position he continued to work with the SIS. Then in 1963, when the net finally began to close around him, he escaped to Moscow, where he re-emerged as a senior officer of the KGB.

Soviet Spies and Stalinist Terror Against the Workers Movement

While the Soviet intelligence apparatus has successfully combatted its imperialist counterparts, from the Nazi Abwehr to the SIS and CIA, this was by no means the sum total of its work. The internal contradictions could be seen, for example, in the conflict between the Fourth Department and the GPU. Thus, far from contributing to the cause of proletarian revolution, the activities of many Soviet agents have consisted of forcing the counterrevolutionary policies of the Kremlin down the throats of the workers movement internationally. Where they have encountered resistance, the GPU/NKVD/KGB have resorted to disrupting anti-Stalinist communist movements through provocation and physical violence. During the middle and late 1930's, the NKVD's foreign operations centered on this employment of gangster methods against the Trotskyists and those who could be amalgamated with them, culminating in the assassination of Leon Trotsky himself in August 1940.

Among the Stalinist agents targeted against the Trotskyist movement was one Mark Zborowski, alias "Étienne," whose job it was to disrupt anything he could. Worming his way into the international secretariat of the Fourth Internationalist movement he obtained access to confidential correspondence, addresses and meetings, passing this information on to his Kremlin masters. He was implicated in the 1936 theft by the GPU of part of Trotsky's archives. Having become the closest collaborator of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, when Sedov became mysteriously and violently ill in February 1938, "Étienne" had him taken to a Paris clinic run by Russian émigrés known to have ties to the GPU. Several days later Sedov died under extremely suspicious circumstances suggesting poisoning. Twenty years later, when Zborowski was examined before a U.S. Senate committee he admitted informing the GPU of Sedov's presence at the clinic, thus confirming his hideous role in this Stalinist murder. There is also reason to believe that he was involved in the murder of Rudolf Klement, the international secretary of the Trotskyist movement, on the eve of the founding conference of the Fourth International in July 1938.

In contrast, Ramón Mercader, alias Frank Jackson, alias Jacques Mornard, had a single assignment: kill Trotsky. Befriending the American Trotskyist Sylvia Ageloff, he used this relationship to strike up an acquaintance with the French syndicalist leader Rosmer who was visiting Trotsky in Mexico, and through the Rosmers gained access to the Trotsky household. Meanwhile, a Stalinist assassination squad led by the celebrated Mexican painter Siqueiros had attempted to murder the leader of the Fourth International in a May 1940 machine gun raid on his house. Allowing a few months for things to calm down after this failure, Mercader struck on August 20 and finished his grisly assignment for Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In contrast to selfless revolutionary

militants such as Reiss, Sorge and the members of the Red Orchestra, the Mercaders and Zborowskis were the most consummately cynical hired assassins. (In fact, there is considerable evidence suggesting that it was "Étienne" who tipped off the NKVD concerning Reiss's movements and whereabouts, and thus played a key role in his murder.) With the minds of mercenaries, they were utterly unconcerned about the world-historical magnitude of their crimes. The fact that the security organs of the Soviet state had come to rely on such murderous robots, filthy scum who could have served equally well as agents provocateurs for any capitalist secret police, is an index of the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

But how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Treppers, the Zborowskis and Reiss's—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state.

Stalin's capture of political power in the USSR marked the imposition of iron rule by a parasitic stratum that had escaped the control of the working class. This bureaucracy sought above all to defend its own privileges. At times this would force it to resist encroachments or direct attack by one of the imperialist camps, as in World War II. Then the Stalinist ruling clique would be forced to defend—albeit in a partial and deformed manner—the proletarian property base on which its power rests. It was because of this face of the bureaucracy that dedicated Soviet intelligence officers could accomplish the outstanding work that they did against the Axis imperialists, although it was constantly sabotaged by their superiors.

But there is another face of the Kremlin as well, that of the state prosecutor who demands "confessions" for imagined "crimes against the Soviet Union," and of the prison camp guard who executes jailed oppositionists while they sing the Internationale and vow to defend the USSR against imperialist attack. In the service of counterrevolution, this gangsterism against communist opponents extended to every level of the Stalinist movement. Thus Trepper was assigned to break up Trotskyist meetings in the Paris left Jewish milieu in the early 1930's, and Reiss's widow reports he was ordered to direct his activities toward repressing a "Trotskyite Fifth Column" in Spain in 1937.

"The Trotskyites Can Lay Claim to This Honor"

Running through the several books reviewed in this essay is a strong element of tragedy. "I belong to a generation that has been sacrificed by history," wrote Trepper in the epilogue to his autobiography. Elisabeth Poretsky's account of her husband and his comrades takes its title from the warning given her by an old friend in Moscow in 1929: "Either the enemy will hang us or our own people will shoot us." And, in fact their lives were tragic, they were sacrificed by history, their own people were their worst enemies. This is what Trepper refused to face until he was locked up in the Lubyanka.

Perhaps the most poignant expression of the dilemma of this layer of the Soviet bureaucracy, what we have referred to in political shorthand as the "Reiss faction," was a fictional account by Victor Serge in his novel *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*:

"Nothing remains for us, then, but to go on serving nevertheless, and, if we are murdered, to submit. Would our resistance do anything but make bad worse? If—as they could have done at

any instant—a Bukharin, a Piatakov had suddenly risen in the dock to unmask their poor comrade lying through their last hours by command, the fraudulent prosecutor, the abetting judges, the double-dealing inquisition, the gagged Party, the stupid and terrorized Central Committee, the devastated Political Bureau, the Chief ridden by his nightmare—what demoralization there would have been in the country, what jubilation in the capitalist world, what headlines in the fascist press! 'Read all about it—the Moscow Scandal, The Bolshevik Sink, The Chief Denounced by his Victims.' No, no—better the end, any end."

Was there no alternative? Trepper's memoirs contain an insightful passage which goes to the nub of the issue. To the question "Who did protest at that time?" he writes:

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra."

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

"But their voices were lost in the tundra." In Trepper's view, then, the Trotskyists were just as tragic as his comrades. This, also, is the view of Isaac Deutscher whose three-volume biography of Trotsky could have been entitled "The Prophet Doomed." (Not surprisingly, in the post-Stalin "thaw" Deutscher developed illusions that Stalinism could be overcome by forces within the bureaucracy—which was exactly the hope which guided Trepper and his comrades. Everything in the history of the Red Orchestra demonstrates over and over that this hope was in vain.)

Trotsky wrote repeatedly in his last years that it was not possible to assure the defense of the Soviet Union by continuing to follow orders:

"The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. To teach the workers correctly to understand the class character of the state...enables the workers to draw correct practical conclusions in every given situation. While waging a tireless struggle against the Moscow oligarchy, the Fourth International decisively rejects any policy that would aid imperialism against the USSR."

"...Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy."

"The Kremlin has once again revealed itself as the central nest of defeatism. Only by destroying this nest can the security of the USSR be safeguarded."

—"Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution," May 1940

This is the fundamental truth which the "critical Stalinists" and capitulators failed to grasp. As the Left Oppositionists proclaimed this in front of Stalin's firing squads, it was not just the tundra that listened. A new generation of Trotskyists will be and is being forged through learning the lessons which those courageous revolutionaries defended with their lives. That is why the Trotskyists were not tragic figures, and those who remained silent or "howled with the wolves" were. But when the Soviet working class rises up to expel the Stalinist bureaucracy, they will remember the vital work done by the heroic Soviet spies, the martyrs of the Red Orchestra and their comrades. Nor will they forget the infamy of the Zborowskis and Mercaders and their masters. To each his due. ■

Kent State...

(continued from page 12)

violence the state itself had perpetrated!

Thus on July 6 the *Akron Beacon Journal* came out with an article about the protest which said:

"SYL [Spartacus Youth League] members said they are committed to the same cause as the peaceful protesters but preferred to use force to make their opinions known. Students who have lived peacefully on the site for weeks verbally berated the SYL in debates which nearly came to blows. SYL members left within about two hours vowing to return daily.

"Coalition members said the SYL attempts to provoke confrontation could be handled by their own trained marshalls... However, university officials have expressed doubt that coalition members can handle a large demonstration including outsiders and have warned against bringing large numbers of supporters to join the protest when removal begins."

In a leaflet distributed on the campus July 10 the SYL denounced the incredible hypocrisy of Kent State president Olds and the *Akron Beacon Journal* who attempt to scapegoat the SYL while themselves preparing at that very moment to mount an attack against the students. The SYL leaflet said:

"The real provocateurs are those conspiring to mount an attack (what they call 'removal') against Kent State students protesting the administration's attempts to bury the memory of the 1970 shootings. It is the police and the National Guard who are the perpetrators of violence; the armed force of the bourgeois state which slaughtered the Vietnamese workers and peasants, aided and abetted Pinochet's seizure of power in Chile and murdered Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds....

"But the attempt to smear the SYL by raising the spectre of indiscriminate terror and violence will not work. The SYL and the SL have a long and documented history of opposing provocation and self-defeating adventurism."

Initially a number of the more naive students were taken in by the *Akron Beacon Journal* slanders which were, moreover, picked up by Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) members in the Coalition who were looking to fuel their own campaign of cop-baiting the SYL. But by the very next day the entire May 4th Coalition (the RSB grudgingly included) had been won to the need to defend the SYL when a second *Akron Beacon Journal* article July 7 accused the whole Coalition of "violence" because it had shouted down president Olds earlier in the day when he tried to co-opt a demonstration in front of his office.

By late last week the University was rapidly escalating its tactics. On Thursday, July 7, three Coalition members were first savagely beaten, then arrested for "trespassing" by the campus cops. On Saturday the Administration issued its first warning on the tent city and prepared to seek an injunction against it. On Monday, July 11, the injunction for an 8 a.m. July 12 deadline was issued.

At a mass meeting Monday evening, the protesters debated whether or not to get hustled. While the RSB claimed that courting arrest was a continuation of its "offensive" tactics, the SYL insisted that

this gesture was instead the culmination of the defeatist overall strategy of Tent City. While the SYL has been among the hardest fighters in the campaign to stop construction of the gym, it has insisted that the masses of Kent State students, teachers and campus workers be mobilized to force the ROTC and military recruiters off campus.

But the protesters voted overwhelmingly to get arrested and by 8 a.m. Tuesday there were 200 people waiting on the site to be arrested. Nearly 400 others including the SYL, members of other groups, independents, faculty members and clergymen protested the impending round-up. The police meticulously moved in, arresting first the parents of the martyred students (who have been active in the campaign to stop the gym), then 35 individual protesters, then the bulk of the group who stood with arms interlocked in a passive-resistance stance. As they were carried out they chanted, "The People United Will Never be Defeated," "Long Live the Spirit of Kent and Jackson State," and "Four People Dead, Rhoades Goes Free, That's What the Rich Call Democracy." The SYL started up the chants "Cops Off Campus" and "Jail the Killers of Jackson and Kent"—two slogans which were soon widely picked up.

After the arrests, mounted police came up in a show of force and ordered the group of protesters to leave. The crowd initially refused until one of the Coalition lawyers got them to leave by the incredible argument that if they stayed he would also have to stay and defend them, which would prevent him from getting the arrested out of jail!

Much of the crowd then left, but later about 60 people, including the SYL, went down to the Court House where a picket line was set up. Here the SYL chanted "Free the 194, Drop All Charges Now," and "Cops Off Campus, Move the Gym." At press time a mass meeting has being held to decide upon further action. ■

Dockers...

(continued from page 3)

attack on the whole union, as the "Longshore Militant" notes:

"PMA provoked this strike as part of its divide and conquer strategy. It aims to rip the ILWU apart piece by piece. Encouraged by the union leadership's active collaboration in slipping supplement 3 [which invokes LWOP and the forced transfer provisions] through, PMA is now extending its attacks on the Longshore Division beyond S.F. to L.A. (and to Portland). By diverting L.A. cargo to S.F., the employers are testing the solidarity between the ports in hopes of splitting the coast. We can't let the bosses break coast-wide unity!"

Furthermore, Local 63 has been singled out because it has managed to bring new workers into the union at a time when most Locals are suffering from PMA's job-slashing attacks.

The "Longshore Militant" has correctly urged the formation of strike solidarity committees to enforce the ban on handling diverted cargo. In the event that company maneuvers make it impossible to identify the diverted cargo, then a coast-wide shutdown must be declared to defend the isolated strike. Such a strike must necessarily take up the issues facing the union as a whole: the struggle to smash LWOP-type schemes and the fight for jobs. Central to this is the demand for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay, along with the abolition of the steady man category—which is killing the ILWU's dispatching halls, a key union gain—and improved manning scales. These are demands which the "Longshore Militant" alone has been consistently championing. ■

SL Conference

(continued from page 3)

fake-left organizations and their front groups (e.g., the International Socialists' "Red Ride") recruit politically raw minority-group youth who sit on the sidelines of the party, passively accepting the dictates of the leadership or suspiciously sniping at the program with guerrilla-warfare methods which can only becloud the issues and corrode the debates. We want to cohere a black cadre component, fully integrated into the leadership of our party as into the ranks. The National Conference, where many black comrades took an active role in the documentary preparation and in the debates, evidenced an increased understanding on the part of the black comrades of their political responsibility to their party.

Especially in this period of relative "labor peace," a program based on the insistence that the center of gravity of social struggle must reside in the racially integrated workers movement may be seen as abstract. Impulses to elevate work among black ghetto youth to a strategic substitute for a labor orientation, fueled by impatience, can reinforce young black militants' subjective identification with the sufferings of their "brothers" outside the organization. But trans-class black solidarity, understandable as the spontaneous response of the black masses to their most palpable oppression, can have no place inside the ranks of an authentic communist vanguard. The sectoralist consciousness induced by capitalist society's divisive inequities is directly counterposed to communist consciousness, which from a core of intransigent programmatic unity seeks to extend its tendrils into every layer of the exploited and oppressed.

The discussion on the black question at the Spartacist League's Fifth National Conference marked an important step in the still incomplete and reversible process of cohering a black cadre component of the Trotskyist vanguard nucleus. Upon this vital process hinges the SL's ability to root itself among the advanced layers of the proletariat, particularly the black workers, a key future motor force for socialist revolution. ■

L.A. County Workers...

(continued from page 5)

ed to bringing labor's enemies into the unions. County probation officers, for example, are members of the SEIU. No less than judges and cops, probation officers are directly part of the repressive state apparatus which seeks to preserve the draconian "law and order" of a decaying capitalist system and must be expelled from the labor movement.

Only a vigorously fought strike can parry the blows being inflicted on the county workers and bring thousands of new members into the unions. But several would-be militants active in the county unions, including some supported by the reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Progressive Labor Party, have focused on the single demand for a county-wide mass meeting to vote on a strike. As in their motivation for support to Steelworkers out-bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, the SWP substitutes vague talk of "democracy" for the class-struggle program necessary to fight the bosses. In this case, the SWP avoids the elementary and critical necessity of demanding a strike to defend the interests of the county workers.

Militants must certainly fight for the most democratic measures necessary to wage their struggle, including authoritative mass meetings and elected strike committees. But the only way to win the struggle for union democracy is to forge a class-struggle leadership capable of ousting the current pro-capitalist bureaucracy. This necessary leadership cannot be built by limiting appeals to "democracy" or bread-and-butter issues, but must also fight politically, by calling for a workers party to defeat the bosses' Democrats and Republicans and establish a workers government.

Without such a leadership, the county workers, like public employees throughout the country, will continue to be the victimized scapegoats of the capitalists' fiscal crisis. The unrelenting cutbacks in social services and benefits, meanwhile, will continue to plunge the nation's cities into festering rot. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "James Earl Ray: The Unanswered Questions" (WV No. 162, 17 June), we incorrectly reported that Ray pleaded guilty to the murder of Martin Luther King at the advice of his lawyer Arthur Hanes. While Hanes was Ray's original lawyer, he subsequently obtained a new lawyer, Percy Foreman, and it was at Foreman's advice that Ray entered a guilty plea.

In WV No. 161 (10 June), there was an omission due to faulty telephone transmission in the "Longshore Militant" leaflet printed under the title "Shut Down West Coast Longshore!" The last paragraph should begin "The International and Local leadership have constantly tried to trick us into 'voluntarily' invoking Sup. 3 and cannot be relied on to run an effective strike. To insure effective membership direction and control, and a solid coastwide action there must be elected strike committees in every port representing boards, gangs, etc., and linked up coastwide." The italicized words were omitted in the article as printed.

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Stearns miners in trench outside union hall at Justus Mine.

WV Photo

Stearns Strike...

(continued from page 12)

bolster the men on duty. Miners discussed both the terrible conditions which led them to strike and the vicious tactics Blue Diamond has employed to crush their walkout.

Chief among the demands of the Stearns strikers, and a norm for UMWA mines, is the establishment of an elected union safety committee with the power to pull workers out of dangerous areas. Grim testimony to the importance of this demand was given the day before, when four miners were killed a mile underground in St. Charles, Virginia. The rally observed a moment of silence for the dead and their families, and, no doubt, miners thought of the two Stearns miners who have been killed in "accidents" since 1969.

UMWA officials told *WV* that the St. Charles deaths were caused by an explosion of methane gas. The Stearns miners have good reason to fear similar catastrophes in the gassy tunnels of the Justus Mine. In March 1976, 26 miners were killed in Blue Diamond's Scotia mine in a methane explosion.

Court suits filed by widows of the Scotia miners have forced Blue Diamond's owner, Gordon Bonnyman, to testify on safety conditions in his mines. Indicative of the powerful forces lined up against the miners, Blue Diamond's lawyer is the former governor of Kentucky. Bonnyman baldly stated: "The general organizational structure and manner of conducting operations is the same for each of the coal mining operations. The Scotia mine operation is typical of Blue Diamond's other coal mining operations..." (quoted in *Mountain Life and Work*, July 1977). Indeed, the Stearns mine superintendent has conceded that methane detectors on mine equipment are often disconnected so that production can continue regardless of the danger.

Miners working for the callous Blue Diamond Co. who are not ripped apart in explosions face other deadly hazards. Strikers described having to jump on and off improperly grounded, electrically powered mine equipment, being careful to keep both feet together. One foot on the ground and one on the machine can result in instant electrocution. Cables with 41,600 volts often sag beneath the ceilings of the tunnels. The seven-ton vehicles which carry personnel and equipment are frequently without brakes.

Several Stearns miners told of being present when a federal safety inspector asked to see the notoriously dangerous one-west section of the Justus pit. The mine superintendent, without blinking an eye, denied knowing its location! A number of workers agreed that a UMWA member could tell that the

Justus Mine was non-union with just a glance at mine conditions.

Gun Thugs, Cops and Provocations

Since last February, when Blue Diamond began importing gun-toting goons from the Storm Security Service, the picketers have faced a hail of pistol, shotgun, rifle and semi-automatic gunfire every night, and sometimes in broad daylight. The small cabin which the miners erected on property they bought adjacent to the picket line is riddled with hundreds of bullet holes. On June 23, a striker was shot as he walked to his car near the picket line.

But the strikers are not about to be intimidated, and they know how to defend themselves. They dug trenches, built sandbag fortifications and expanded the defenses in recent weeks. To date, four mine guards have been shot. The night before the Whitley City rally, mine guard Stanley Moore caught a slug in the chest. Miners said that just prior to the shooting they overheard Moore on a radio telephone call (phone lines into the mine site are severed and the miners monitor the thugs' calls on their own radio), instigating his fellow guards to "Shoot the dog shit out of them." Shortly afterwards, Moore was flat on the ground and his friends were calling for an ambulance.

The miners are also prepared to stand up to the state police, who have regularly escorted company officials across the picket lines while refusing to "notice" the hundreds of rounds pouring down on the picket line. "They're not going to run us off from here," one worker at the site vowed, "There's not enough troopers in the state of Kentucky."

The strikers have also had to put up with innumerable instances of petty company harassment. Miners have had their home phones called by company provocateurs every half hour all night long. A member of the Stearns Women's Club, which is patterned on the Brookside Women's Club and which has played a prominent role in demonstrations at Blue Diamond's headquarters in Knoxville, Tennessee, also told *WV* that the company has sent prostitutes to the picket line in an effort to cause dissension in the miners' homes.

For a National Coal Strike!

For a year, the Stearns miners have stood their ground. But the leaders of the UMWA have left this fight isolated. At the rally, Harry Patrick pledged that "The United Mine Workers does commit all of its resources to this strike." Patrick's words were patent hogwash. The most powerful resource of the UMWA is the combativity and solidarity of the ranks. But Patrick, no less than Miller or Patterson, opposes striking the coalfields, even when the miners' backs are to the wall.

Two weeks ago, 35,000 indignant

miners walked out over cutbacks in the Health and Retirement Fund, caused by the refusal of the employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) to transfer available cash and Miller's willing compliance. In an attempt to head off a renewal and expansion of the wildcat when the annual two-week vacation shutdown ended, Miller has declared the issue "national in scope" and called for re-opening the contract to discuss the issue.

But Patrick exposed the real desire of all the UMWA tops when he told *WV*, "I would urge the coal miners to work...."



WV Photo

Harry Patrick (left) being interviewed by Workers Vanguard reporter.

Instead of striking, Patrick vaguely suggested, "There are other ways to handle this." Incredibly, Patrick even opposes a strike, which is universally predicted, when the contract expires in December: "The union doesn't need a strike." Faced with mounting BCOA attacks on mine safety, the right to strike over grievances and the right to organize, the miners need a militant national strike more now than ever. But none of the UMWA's bureaucratic contenders are willing or prepared to lead it.

When the vacation period ended, nearly 13,000 West Virginia miners resumed the strike against the benefit cutbacks. But all the UMWA leadership could think of was how to vilify the strikers. Eighty out of 104 local presidents in District 17 met in Madison, West Virginia, on July 11 and condemned the Right to Strike Committee (RSC), which they charged had a hand in instigating the renewed walkouts, as "agitators" and "communists." The local officers, worked up into a fury of red-baiting, mandated the IEB representative from District 17 to go to Washington to get the International to expel the leaders of the RSC from the union. Two RSC spokesmen, Skip Delano and Bruce Miller, just came off a

one-year suspension for previous wildcat activity last May.

Miners must oppose this vicious witchhunt attempt. The politics of the RSC are only a slightly spiced-up version of the business-unionist reformism of the now-defunct Miners for Democracy, whose leaders included Miller and Patrick. The Committee's undeserved "radical" reputation is being used as a scapegoat by the fractured UMWA leadership lashing out at what it really fears and has been unable to control: the militancy which refuses to die down in the coal fields.

Failure to confront the BCOA's escalating provocations only fuels the coal operators' appetites to destroy the UMWA and saps the union's strength. John Cox, the union's director of organizing, told *WV* that the cutback of medical benefits will further cripple the union's attempt to organize non-UMWA mines, which account for nearly half the coal produced in the U.S. Three days after the cutbacks were announced, the union lost a representation vote in a District 30 mine which organizers had expected to win. If the cutbacks are not reversed, more organizing defeats can be expected.

The companies' eyes are now on the Stearns strike. If the UMWA is beaten back, it will encourage other non-union coal companies to hardline it against the union and reinforce sentiment in the BCOA to dissolve the national contract and bargain on a company-by-company basis. The break-up of industry-wide bargaining and the UMWA's single contract for bituminous coal would be a historic defeat, threatening the very backbone of the union.

UMWA organizers have raised the possibility of expanding picketing to Blue Diamond's other two mines in southeast Kentucky. Harry Patrick suggested bringing 5,000 miners to Stearns for a mass march. But these pressure tactics, even if implemented, are qualitatively insufficient to halt the BCOA offensive behind Blue Diamond's union-busting attempts. A national strike is needed. The miners, repeatedly betrayed by their own "leaders," must elect strike committees from their own ranks to wage this fight. Failure to forge a class-struggle leadership will squander the miners' willingness to fight and means the continuing deterioration, and possible destruction, of the UMWA. ■

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Militant Coal Miners Rally for Stearns Strike

WHITLEY CITY, Kentucky—Five hundred coal miners, their families and union supporters rallied here July 8 in solidarity with miners who have been on strike for nearly a year at the Justus Mine in nearby Stearns, Kentucky. After twelve months of company provocations, court fines and trumped-up indictments, as well as nightly barrages of high-powered gunfire from the hired thugs of the Blue Diamond Coal Company, the spirited rally reinforced the 160 striking miners in their determination to win a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract.

Gathered at a wooded campground in 100-degree weather, the unionists applauded solidarity messages and mountain music, sang traditional miners' songs updated to blast Blue Diamond and its officials and dined on an enormous pot-luck dinner. The first speaker was 73-year-old Minnie Lunsford, a leader of the Brookside Women's Club which faced down the Kentucky state police during the bitter 1973-74, 13-month strike in Harlan County. Recalling the history of violent class warfare in this region, Lunsford said, "I remember bloody Harlan of the '30's, and Stearns is just like it."

A miner from the Tackett Creek local in eastern Kentucky promised money and militants for the Stearns struggle: "If you people here, you brothers, need men, we got them at District 19. I think for every state trooper they throw in there, we can throw 25 union men in there behind them." The International Executive Board (IEB) representative from District 6 in Ohio, Bill Lamb,



Stearns strikers at sandbags, their protection from company gun thugs at the picket site. WV Photo

brought a \$5,000 check for the Stearns Relief Fund, which has helped financially sustain the strikers.

The rally also featured UMW secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick, who was recently defeated in a bid for the union presidency by incumbent Arnold Miller in a three-way race which also included IEB member Lee Roy Patterson. The possibility of an election rerun as a result of a Patterson protest to the anti-Miller IEB undoubtedly encour-

aged Patrick's presence.

During the five-hour rally, hundreds of issues of *Workers Vanguard* and Spartacist League solidarity leaflets were distributed and eagerly read by the miners and their families. The SL was the first left tendency to publicize the Stearns strike; we have consistently supported the miners' fight and exposed the bureaucratic squabbling at the union's top that blocks effective, nationwide solidarity strike action with the

Stearns miners. Miller, Patterson and Patrick—who are all equally anti-strike—have busied themselves with clawing and scratching for electoral position, while the battle in Stearns raged. Many miners came back for more *WV's* and some took small bundles to distribute themselves.

After the rally SL supporters accompanied about 40 strikers and UMW backers to the picket line to

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194 Dragged Off at Kent State

Drop the Charges!

KENT, Ohio, July 12—At 8 a.m. this morning 200 Kent State cops backed up with a squadron of mounted police from the sheriff's office systematically began to arrest the protesters at Kent State University's "Tent City." As approximately 400 supporters and observers looked on, the protesters were carried off one-by-one to buses waiting nearby.

In the space of two hours 194 people had been arrested in this manner and driven to the Portage County Court House in Ravenna where many were kept in the buses for hours until each had been individually taken into the court, charged with contempt, and had bail set at \$250 apiece. At press time 125 had refused to post bail and are still in jail.

The round-up had been cynically prepared ever since the tent city took shape two months ago. The camp was an effort by the May 4th Coalition to stop the university from building a gymnasium on the grassy hill where in 1970 four students were gunned down in

cold blood by the National Guard during a protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

Throughout recent weeks the university administration adamantly refused to stop the construction of the \$6-million gym which was clearly intended to obliterate the memory of the martyred dead. Even while the administration was offering its phony "compromises," such as state "mediators" and "double" injunctions, all of which were voted down by the protesters, it has been systematically building for the assault which came today.

On July 7 the campus cops attacked, beat up and arrested three Coalition members including Ron Kovic, a paraplegic Vietnam veteran who was in a wheelchair at the time! And even while it was preparing once again to set upon the protesters, just as it had shot down the four students before, the bourgeoisie was attempting to smear the left for the

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Spartacus Youth League contingent at June demonstration on Kent State campus. WV Photo