

## Carter, Reagan: No Lesser Evil

# The War Elections

OCTOBER 27—In an election campaign in which millions of Americans wish passionately for the defeat of both capitalist candidates, political fortune seems once again to turn upon "the fate of the hostages." As voters—filled with a mixture of resignation, disgust and boredom—prepare to go to the polls, terms of a "deal" are again floated in Washington and Teheran: hostages for spare parts for Iran's American-built military machine in its sordid blood feud with Iraq. Once again the hostage "ready room" in Wiesbaden, West Germany bustles as batteries of telephones are installed and psychiatrists are placed on call for "debriefing." The hostage factor has emerged as the centerpiece of election hoopla. Will all the hostages get out? When? Will there be trials? Not since Carter's early morning "April surprise" the day of the Wisconsin primary has there been so much anticipation of a hostage deal.

Despite the evident cynical manipulation of the hostage issue for purposes of electioneering, the close presidential race could indeed be swept away by an orchestrated hostage return and attendant patriotic fervor. It won't take much to tip an election contest in which the overwhelming fact is that people are trying to pick a lesser evil. The candidates even present *themselves* that way. Carter and Reagan's talk about peace is hardly to be taken seriously. Their real campaign is a series of threats. Carter says Reagan is likely to start World War III. Reagan says Carter will continue skyrocketing inflation and mass unemployment. This is election blackmail.



Der Spiegel

No matter which one of these reactionaries is elected, working people and blacks will get *both* nuclear brinkmanship *and* capitalist austerity. Between these two racist, anti-Soviet warmongers there can be no choice for the working class, no lesser evil.

But for the millions who positively support neither candidate and wonder only which candidate to vote against, the hostage factor could throw the election to Carter. That is, in any case, the judgment of the Reagan and Carter election staffs. These reactionary cam-

paigners recognize that there is no "Great Debate" between the candidates on any fundamental question facing U.S. imperialism. The election is therefore dependent on TV performance and all-round media hype. They have even

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## 2,500 Jewish Protesters Run Off Nazis in Evanston

CHICAGO—A victory was scored here Sunday, October 19 when 2,500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, many of them concentration camp survivors, drove eleven goose-stepping Nazi punks from Evanston's Lovelace Park, only minutes after they had arrived for an officially sanctioned race-hate rally. The Sunday action was a welcome sight, particularly coming after years of Nazi threats in Chicago's Marquette Park district and nearby Skokie when liberals from the B'nai B'rith refused to counterdemonstrate and the American Civil Liberties Union came out for the fascists' supposed "right" to organize. But although last Sunday's Nazi rally in the middle-

class, heavily Jewish suburb of Evanston sparked mass protest, the following week when the Nazis announced they would march to the Ingleside black ghetto, the liberals could care less. Neither could the black reformists: Jesse Jackson, for his part, was too busy stumping for Carter to be bothered protesting fascist terror on the edge of the black ghetto.

The Nazis' arrival in Lovelace Park immediately sparked jeering catcalls and a barrage of eggs and rocks (one of which decked a cop) from the outraged crowd. Then the Hitler-lovers unfurled a banner bearing the provocative

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WV Photo

Anti-Nazi protesters in Evanston join in SL chant: "Sweep the Nazis off the streets!"

## Confrontation in Poland...6



## S.F. Hotel Strike

San Francisco, Calif.  
9/6/80

Dear comrades,

In the August 8th issue of *Workers Vanguard* there is a so-called "article" about the S.F. Hotel Strike. The article is not signed, nor does the article state at any point what your organization, the Spartacist League, actually did in the course of the strike. (You have lots of advice to offer, but advice and slogans at the bottom of an article don't win strikes.) The fact is that the Spartacist League had almost zero participation in the strike...other than selling a few newspapers to strikers. On the left, only the SWP did as little. Before the strike your members and sympathizers did not even bother attending union meetings, abstaining from the fight to dump Belardi. Your reporter (whoever he/she is...) criticizes me personally because at the Central Labor Council I got up as a delegate from the Social Service Union and offered to get strikers food stamps and welfare. But your reporter omitted half of what I



Spartacist contingent, August 3, calls for mass pickets to win SF hotel strike.

said. I also demanded to know what the Labor Council was going to do about scabbing by other unions. Omitting facts to make a point is really childish! (Your reporter also forgot to mention the vote to condemn Mayor Feinstein, which was tabled finally.) So much for accurate reporting....

Your article also refers to the Rank and File Coalition, of which I'm a member. You call it: "A pan-union nursing home for stray Maoists, retired Shachtmanites and fake-Trotskyists..." Call us what you want but the Rank and File Coalition brought out nearly 500 pickets in support of the hotel workers. Many of us in the Rank and File Coalition believe in the importance of united front work, despite political differences, so that we can build a class conscious rank and file trade union movement that will be an alternative to the trade union bureaucracy. The Spartacist League, together with the Healyites, rejects this united front perspective because each of your groups claim to be the only ones with the "truth." What a caricature the Spartacist League makes of Trotskyism!

It is interesting to note that two of your members attended a Rank and File Coalition meeting during the strike and opposed the Coalition's plan to picket-lobby unions crossing picket lines. Your members were afraid we might alienate the bureaucrats!

Comrades, leadership does not mean selling a few papers or holding up your banner at a rally like a Burma Shave ad. It means going through the daily struggles of the class, learning from the class as well as opposing their bourgeois illusions, fighting to unify the class through transitional demands. That's how to pose the struggle for power! Not by mouthing revolutionary words, which the Spartacist League and the R.C.P. seem to think will make a revolution.

Fraternally,

Earl Gilman  
Rank and File Coalition Steering Committee,  
Trotskyist Organizing Committee

*WV replies:* It is satisfying to get confirmation from a political opponent that our *WV* coverage has hit home. As Bnlsheviks we use our press to intervene actively in workers' struggles, shaping their demands and saying what is to be done. At San Francisco hotel strike picket

lines and demonstrations, the Spartacist League called for mass picketing to shut the hotels as the way to win the strike. And we fought to expose the misleaders, Gilman among them, whose policies would lead to defeat.

For our readers' information, Gilman is an unreconstructed Healyite from his right-centrist days in the Workers League. Following that he was in a succession of tiny centrist grouplets who buzz around the SL: Harry Turner's VNL lonely hearts club, the CSL (which called for a "Fifth International"), the ill-starred CRSP (a shelter for homeless Mandelites in the U.S.), and now back to Turner's TOC. In other words, he is a professional anti-Spartacist. As far as we know Gilman still holds his 1974 position that cops are part of the workers movement and can even be members of a revolutionary party! His idea of a labor party in San Mateo County was one with Democrats in it (see *WV* No. 56, 8 November 1974).

Gilman protests that his entire intervention in the Central Labor Council (CLC) was not reported. And he cites our omission of "the motion to condemn Mayor Feinstein." Come now, Earl, you didn't raise that motion—it was put forward by Stanley Smith of the Building Trades Council who moreover didn't really mean it. He's a Democrat who's running for Board of Supes; electoral rhetoric is cheap. You were a seated delegate, a member of the Central Labor Council, and in that role the only program you had to offer was food stamps! Revolutionaries would have used that position as a platform to rally the workers, to bring organized union contingents out to shut the hotels and win the strike! You piously instruct us to "unify the class by transitional demands...to pose the struggle for power." But as Lenin warned in dealing with reformists, don't watch their words, watch their hands.

It's also disingenuous to say that you courageously demanded to know what the CLC was going to do about scabbing unions. You had a definite plan to picket those unions and were afraid to mention it in the CLC. But that is what you argued for in and around Local 2 and that was your real program. "Picket-lobby"—you can't do both. Picket lines mean don't cross. In point of fact the SL has no supporters in Local 2 but in the unions where we do support trade-union oppositionists you can be sure they know who to picket...the boss.

Furthermore, what you call the "fight to dump Belardi" was really the fight to elect MacDonald/Lamb—the now-president Lamb who went on to sell out this Local 2 strike. That's no united front—that's building illusions in pro-capitalist bureaucrats. We support trade-union caucuses based on the Transitional Program to defeat and replace those pro-capitalist bureaucrats.

Gilman's Rank-and-File Coalition (a petty-bourgeois social-democratic sandbox) includes the SL/DC, another ostensibly Trotskyist grouplet that is led by another unreconstructed Healyite who supports cop strikes. On paper the SL/DC gave lip service to mass picketing of the hotels, but again their real program was what they fought for in practice—picketing scabbing unions.

The SL/DC ran an article in the July-August 1980 issue of its *Labor News* with a section attacking the SL for having counterposed mass picketing of the hotels to the proposal to picket unions. Although it is not true, as the SL/DC article claims, that Spartacist supporters voted against their proposal (in fact, it never came to a vote), we certainly do oppose such a dangerous diversion. Picketing unions could play into the hands of anti-union forces (whom might one find joining such a picket line?) and it could give the CLC and International bureaucrats an excuse for attacking the Local 2 strikers. And for what? An empty moralistic gesture to substitute for good old-fashioned education of scabs on the hotel picket lines where the strike is.

The SL/DC also quotes approvingly a call for the CLC to expel scabbing unions. This is a completely bureaucratic response, seeking to punish the union membership for the crimes of their leadership. It affirms (as the bureaucrats claim) that the bureaucracy is the union.

What's behind this is that the SL/DC is led internationally by Alan Thornett, who scabbed on his own strike last year in England so as not to deprive the workers of his revolutionary leadership. We feel workers can do without leadership from scabs! Desperate to exonerate Thornett, the SL/DC is slinging mud at the Spartacist League in a pathetic attempt to deflect the criticism and cover up for him. We suggest that if the SL/DC is so eager to picket scabs, they should begin at home.

As for the role of the Rank-and-File Coalition (supported by both Gilman and the SL/DC) during the hotel strike, we can only agree with the after-the-fact

self-criticism written by a member of the majority-radical "Rank and File Negotiating Committee" and printed in the "Rank-and-File" Newsletter:

"The Negotiating Committee... must bear a full share of the blame for this disaster. In my view, the committee all too quickly came under the domination of [International rep] Sirabella and Lamb, and allowed themselves to be led into a self-defeating negotiating strategy... thus helping to turn what could have been an unprecedented victory into a gut-wrenching defeat. The paralysis, confusion and, let's say it, the opportunism of many of the 'opposition' forces within Local 2 at this critical time is also a subject which must be addressed, but at more length than is possible here."

Unfortunately, the Maoists, social democrats and pseudo-Trotskyists of the Rank-and-File Coalition will never find the space or time to do that because then they would have to confront the Spartacist League's class-struggle opposition to their practice of suing the unions, politically supporting out-bureaucrat electoral blocs, voting for settling strikes by arbitration and all the rest. Having failed to break with the politics of "left-center coalition" and congenital reformism, the Rank-and-File Coalition would do it all over again.

As to your objections to our coverage, Earl, the only advice we can offer is, if you don't want it printed, don't let it happen.

## Telling the Truth on Iran

13 September 1980

Spartacist Publishing.

Please renew my subscription to every one of your publications. The Berkeley-Oakland office of your group called to encourage me to renew at this time. Here is my check for \$7.

I usually read every word of everything you folks print. In fact, there's little else in news periodicals worth reading so I typically only glance at headlines of other newspapers while impatiently awaiting the true story from *Workers Vanguard*. Your political analysis has been the only intelligent one on Iran and you guys are the only organized force in the USA who understands how to fight fascism (KKK & Nazis).

—G.S.

## "Changing History"?

31 July 1980

Comrades,

As a somewhat regular reader of *Workers Vanguard* I couldn't help but notice a significant change in your description of the Detroit Anti-Klan rally held in November of 1979.

In your special supplement of 16 November 1979 you say "...five hundred trade unionists, ghetto youth, students and socialist militants protested against Ku Klux Klan terror." "The crowd was overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black; a hundred or more came, individually and in groups, from Detroit factories, particularly the huge auto plants." "In the crowd were a couple dozen Rouge workers, a group from Cadillac, others from Chrysler's Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping, Dodge Truck and Dodge Main."

In *WV* No. 261 of 25 July 1980—"Smash Fascism with Class Struggle!"—you say "Our strategy was the basis for the successful anti-fascist mobilizations of 500 mainly black auto workers in Detroit on November 10....."

Is this what your organization calls "changing history"?

Comradely,

D. Golden

*WV replies:* We appreciate the careful attention of our regular readers. The Detroit anti-Klan rally on November 10 was overwhelmingly attended by black protesters, among them many workers from local factories. But as the letter writer correctly points out, this does not make the participants "mainly black auto workers." We do intend to change history, but not that way.



# Why Trotskyists Say Vote for French CP

Since the beginning of the year, the U.S. has dramatically escalated a Cold War drive against the Soviet Union: threatening World War III over Afghanistan, spending hundreds of billions on new megadeth weapons, openly flaunting a nuclear first strike against the Kremlin. Now the United States is engulfed in a war-election atmosphere marked by hostage-rattling over Iran and demands for "strategic superiority" (atomic blackmail) over the USSR. From the start the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has sought to combat this "bi-partisan" imperialist war drive. We have demonstrated against the draft and Euromissiles, our banners boldly proclaiming, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We have mobilized labor and minorities to stop fascist terrorists, the domestic exorcism of anti-Soviet hysteria.

In this dangerous Cold War atmosphere, revolutionaries must also attempt to carry the battle into the arena of bourgeois elections, currently a focus of public attention. As Carter/Reagan compete in nuclear brinkmanship, we would look for opportunities to stand together with other forces which claim to defend the Soviet Union, using the Leninist tactic of critical support. In the U.S., where the Communist Party (CPUSA) is popularly identified with Russia and Communism, we asked: can Trotskyists call on American workers and minorities to cast ballots for CP candidates Gus Hall and Angela Davis? Could this be a vehicle for a class-against-class vote? We answered in our last issue, "Why We Can't Vote Stalinist in '80" (WV No. 266, 17 October).

Previously the CPUSA had campaigned for such empty "practical" proposals as "detente means jobs." Now faced with Carter's threats of nuclear holocaust their response has been to dream of bygone days of SALT heaven! "Return our national policy to the road of detente and peace," says the Hall/Davis election platform. And then it's People Before Profits, the Anti-Monopoly Coalition, etc.—the same old "Fight the Right" program they were peddling as they delivered votes on the sly to McGovern, Johnson, Kennedy, Stevenson, Truman, Roosevelt... Touchy questions such as Soviet inter-

vention in Afghanistan are simply ducked. A recent *Daily World* (21 October) editorial makes it clear that a vote for CP candidates is simply a "way of putting pressure on Carter and Reagan." Trotskyists have no interest in voting for illusions of lesser-evilm and "détente" with warmongering imperialism.

However, not all pro-Moscow "Communist" parties reacted to the Cold War chill by retreating into such ethereal class-collaborationism that never touches ground. The French Communist Party (PCF), for one, has due to defensive reasons undertaken a bureaucratic shift to the left. Drawing back from a mid-'70s Eurocommunist fling, the PCF today could be described as more or less Kremlin-loyal "Eurostalinist." And following the break-up of the popular-front Union of the Left in 1977-78, it adopted an aggressive electoral line against its former allies of the Socialist Party (PS). This was crystallized by the nomination in mid-October of PCF leader Georges Marchais as the party's candidate in upcoming French presidential elections. Rather than being used as a bargaining chip to obtain a common "left" candidate, the Marchais candidacy is universally seen as counterposed to unity with the PS.

As a result, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), following their fifth national conference earlier this month and discussion in the International Executive Committee of the iSt, this week issued a leaflet projecting "savagely critical support" to PCF candidate Marchais in the April 1981 elections. The call was conditional on the PCF "continuing the anti-'unity,' i.e., conjuncturally anti-popular-front line of its election campaign." The savage criticism will be directed in particular against the Communist Party's notorious anti-German chauvinism, from "Everybody get a Kraut" in 1944 to stopping imports of German steel in 1979. And the LTF's campaign is directed not only at the PCF ranks, to split them from their reformist leaders, but particularly against the fake-Trotskyists who have tailed after the popular front for years and today wail for "unity." The leaflet concluded with the slogan, "DOWN WITH 'UNITY'—VOTE P.C.F.!"

So what does Georges Marchais have that Gus Hall (and Angela Davis) doesn't? Answer: he's been burned by his own popular front.

In his report to the recent PCF nominating convention, Charles Fiterman remarked, "For the first time we are directly placing... the question of a Communist vote at the center of the battle" (*L'Humanité*, 13 October). In contrast, Gus Hall declares that "socialism is not on the ballot in 1980" (*Daily World*, 27 September). And in a WPIX radio interview Hall denied the CPUSA was for revolution but instead favored "evolutionary socialism" (borrowing the title of German Social-Democratic reformist Bernstein's classic book). Since the PCF feels constrained to run a "red" campaign, it also denounces Carter's Olympic boycott, imperialist pressure on Cuba and Vietnam, and attempts to "prevent the progressive consolidation of popular forces in Afghanistan." Couched in the language



CP leader Georges Marchais. Today he says, "No to unity," but tomorrow?

and reformist perspectives of Stalinism, Marchais & Co. are projecting an up-front, tough campaign. But for all their services as mouthpieces for Brezhnev, Hall/Davis are stuck in rusty détente rhetoric and can't even behave as seriously hard-nosed Stalinists!

## Three Times, That's All

The origins of the French Communist Party's turn are not hard to divine. Following the spectacular Portuguese pre-revolutionary crisis in 1975, the European bourgeoisies and their U.S. big brother became worried about the stability of capitalist rule in West Europe. Suddenly right-wingers began stepping up the pressure; Washington declared that there was no way it would tolerate popular-front governments in Paris and Rome. Within two years the Union of the Left and the Italian "Historic Compromise" were only memories. The arm was put on the Eurocommunists to decide which side they were on: Carrillo in Spain went with his king, Marchais in France went back to Moscow. The French Socialists began talking about limiting nationalizations under the Common Program, limiting the PCF role in a popular-front government, following a pro-NATO foreign policy. In the fall of 1977 the PCF finally drew the line.

Secing themselves forced back into "the ghetto" of perpetual parliamentary opposition, the Communist Party responded by hardening its tone toward the PS. And in gearing their ranks up for battle, the Stalinist leaders now feel obliged to take up previously taboo subjects. Thus during the PCF's October 12 nominating convention at Nanterre, several PB and CC members explicitly criticized the party's past experience in popular-front alliances:

- The situation is "new compared to previous facts of our history, to the periods of the Popular Front and of Liberation...; a situation, therefore, which requires new responses." (Francette Lazard)

- Three times, with the Popular Front [1936], following Liberation [1945] and with the signing of the Common Program [1972], "the PS-PCF union, although born in happiness, met a bad end." (Henri Malberg)

- "The French bourgeoisie was afraid at the time of the Popular Front and when the Common Program was signed. Both times it managed to hold



Gus Hall

onto its interests. It believes it still has the means of conjuring away the danger, namely the imbalance of the left in favor of the PS." (Roland Leroy)

Three times the Communist Party tried the popular front, three times (its leaders currently admit) the bourgeoisie won. Trotskyists certainly have something to say here. It was Leon Trotsky and the Fourth International who warned that the popular front was one of the capitalists' last weapons to stave off proletarian revolution; that by tying the workers to "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, it opened the road for fascism and bloody Vichy/Francoist bonapartism. Of course, these died-in-the-wool Stalinists are not about to take up a principled fight against popular frontism. They merely want to increase their bargaining strength (voting power) so they won't get pushed out so easily the next time around:

"It's been 30 years now that the Communists have been excluded from governmental responsibility... We say clearly to the workers: until now they have not given our party enough forces to obtain a sufficient place.... We are not looking for a monopoly, or even domination. Our line... is to seek the union of all the popular forces, the union of the left...." (Fiterman)

For now, however, the PCF leaders are against a new popular front and even fight against soft elements yearning for a return to the Union of the Left. Thus when five Eurocommunists of the PCF's

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# W. Berlin S-Bahn Strike Derailed at Cold War Switch

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FRANKFURT, West Germany—Through a turbulent week some 600 striking West Berlin workers of the East German-owned Deutsche Reichsbahn (DR—German State Railways) carried out one of the most contradictory and difficult work stoppages in recent times. Although it began as a dispute over wages, working conditions and benefits, the strike could not avoid raising political questions, since it took place at a focal point of the class confrontation between Western imperialism and the deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. And as it headed toward a desperate end, the strike was shunted onto Cold War tracks where it only played into the anti-DDR (East Germany) crusade of West German revanchists. After this turning point, the strike could no longer be supported by class-conscious workers who unconditionally defend (as Trotskyists do) the collectivized economy and revolutionary social gains "on the other side of the wall," despite all the Stalinist deformations.

The strikers directed their struggle against the East Berlin Reichsbahn management, demanding higher wages from a transport system which already suffers from heavy losses: the S-Bahn (elevated railway) costs East Germany 140 million Deutschmarks yearly in Western currency. (The DDR clearly maintains the entire operation only to demonstrate through its presence in West Berlin that the latter is not integrally part of West Germany, that Berlin is still administered under the four-power Potsdam agreements.) And the job action exerted no economic pressure to speak of: only 70,000 people use the S-Bahn daily and rail freight was easily shifted over to trucks. East Berlin authorities had already asked the West Berlin Senate to subsidize the S-Bahn. But this attempt at enticing the capitalist powers to financially underwrite East German rights inside West Berlin was soon revealed as nothing but a "détente" pipe dream.

The strike caused such a commotion from the start because the railwaymen consisted largely of members and sympathizers of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW), a branch of the Stalinist East German SED. Consequently the sympathy of "public opinion" toward the strikers was not exactly due to proletarian solidarity but to something quite different. As the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (20 September) noted:

"Schadenfreude [malicious glee] certainly joined in the honking spree: for the 'great sympathy' (of West Berlin Mayor Stobbe) with which the strike was followed by most of the Berlin populace is certainly linked to the fact that in a city divided by a wall, for many people there is nothing more delightful than seeing Communists come to blows with Communists."

Previously the mood was not so friendly. The railwaymen bitterly complained that for years they had been reviled, and often even spat upon, if they dared to go into the streets with their uniforms on. A striker who had worked 15 years at the Reichsbahn told a comrade of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) that he couldn't rent an apartment if he mentioned his job.

In contrast to the hypocritical and

East German train police at West Berlin signal tower.



cynical applause from the bourgeois press and politicians, for Trotskyists the strike by West Berlin Reichsbahn workers was extremely important coming on the heels of the August strike movement in Poland, [an opportunity] to give the latter a more unambiguously proletarian character. (The Polish strikes, while they won significant concessions from the Stalinist regime, were strongly influenced by the Catholic church and social-democratic dissidents, which ultimately pose a counterrevolutionary danger.) But instead of appealing to their fellow workers and trade-union brothers in East Berlin to support them with solidarity action and strikes—igniting a powerful anti-bureaucratic workers protest—the strikers appealed increasingly openly to Western trade unions and the West Berlin Senate, a course which led to the collapse and then desperate defeat of their action.

## Development of a Derailed Strike

The strike of the West Berlin DR workers came about following an initial wave of layoffs last spring. So in mid-September when management announced major cutbacks in the S-Bahn schedule, as well as the imminent closing of half the West Berlin freight depots, the railway workers saw themselves threatened with mass firings. And this in a company that in the late '60s recruited workers with the slogan, "Secure jobs in a socialist enterprise of the DDR"! Along with these rationalization plans, a further cause of the strike was falling real wages. Thus when the Reichsbahn employees began their strike on September 17 they raised the following demands: 160 Deutschmark [roughly \$100 a month] pay raise, improved benefits and wage parity with the West German Bundesbahn (DR workers earn 20-25 percent less than West German railwaymen).

When the demand for "free trade unions" was raised at a strike meeting, the press immediately drew comparisons with the recent Polish strikes. Initially the strikers were determined not to let themselves be used against the DDR government. What they demanded was the right to elect their own representatives in the East German

trade-union federation FDGB, instead of having them appointed from above. And the strikers reacted with justified distrust of the sudden wave of sympathy extending from the West Berlin Senate to the revanchist Springer newspaper chain. As one of them stated, "We aren't going to let ourselves be hitched to the Senate's wagon, only to be disposed of once the strike is over" (*Der Abend*, 19 September). They refused to give interviews to Springer newspapers and rejected money from the arch-Maoist anti-Soviet MLD.

Throughout the strike roughly 600 of the 3,500 Reichsbahn employees took part in the work stoppage; in addition they claimed another thousand sympathizers among the railway workers. They were led by a strike committee elected at a 600-member general assembly. The strikers' first step was to immediately occupy the Moabit container freight depot, thus crippling all freight transport to and from West Germany. On the evening of September 17 West Berlin S-Bahn employees joined the strike and the signal towers were occupied. The DR management thereupon sent in seahs (imported in part from East Berlin) to run the S-Bahn, and the East German news agency ADN slandered the strikers as "criminals, terrorists and provocateurs." Eighty strikers were fired. The battle intensified on September 20 when strikers occupied the signal tower at the Zoo train station, cutting off passenger traffic with West Germany; West Berlin police blocked DDR railway police from storming this key position with pickaxes and crowbars. The next day about 100 SEW members tried to retake the signal tower, leading to a confrontation with the West Berlin police; this time the strikers left the occupied tower.

On Monday, September 25 there was a fundamental turnabout in the strike as its leaders declared the strikers were no longer willing to work for the Reichsbahn. They now turned to the West Berlin Senate, demanding it negotiate with the "Allies" and the East Berlin government to take over operation of the S-Bahn and the railroad right of way. Driven to despair by the stubborn refusal of the DDR tops to make the

slightest concession or even to negotiate with the strike committee, the strikers fell into the anti-Communist stream. But to no avail. The Senate promptly rejected this new political demand, and over the next few days West Berlin police let the DR railway police clear one occupied signal tower after another, despite appeals from the strikers; the British military police also stood aside when strike headquarters at the container freight depot were forcibly taken on September 23.

At the end some 500 Reichsbahn workers followed the call of their leaders to accept offers of jobs from the BVG [West Berlin public transport] and the Bundesbahn [West German Federal Railways]. A final leaflet by the strike committee stated significantly: "We are Berliners and want the same rights as our fellow workers in Western enterprises. Naturally, as we're well aware, we will then have the same problems too." No doubt. But there was still one little hitch before the West German bourgeoisie would accept them as "upright citizens," as real (West) Berliners at last: the railway workers would have to pass a loyalty check by the *Verfassungsschutz* ["Office for Protection of the Constitution," the enforcer of West Germany's extensive McCarthyite legislation], whereby all SEW members will automatically be excluded by the *Berufsverbot* [prohibiting public employment to members of Communist organizations]. Welcome to the "Free West"!

## What Kind of Solidarity?

When those professional strikebreakers, the police, are supposedly protecting strikers, watch out—for the bourgeoisie which dispatches them it's not the strike that counts. What began as a justified strike of the Reichsbahn railwaymen was to be transformed into a campaign against the DDR. In the last ten years over 100,000 jobs have been eliminated in West Berlin, there have been mass firings at AEG [West German General Electric]—but all this was swept away in the response of bourgeois "public opinion." The DR strike was just the thing to appeal to West Berlin

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# Uniontown vs. KKK Terror

UNIONTOWN, Pa., October 25—Despite torrential rain throughout the day, over 500 people demonstrated at the Fayette County Courthouse here this afternoon to protest a Ku Klux Klan rally and cross-burning in nearby Point Marion. Significantly, most of the demonstrators were workers and about one-third were black. More than a hundred steel workers came from the mills in and around Pittsburgh, and they were joined by several carloads of miners from the surrounding coal towns.

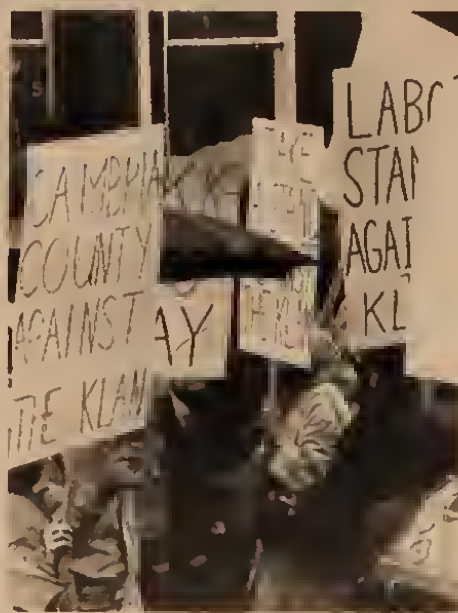
The protest reflected an awareness that KKK guns will be trained not only against blacks and Jews, but at the union movement. The heavily Catholic East and South European-derived working class in the coal and steel areas of southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia has long been a target of hatred among rural whites who swell the ranks of the KKK. The night before the cross-burning, the KKK sent a warning to the media that no blacks, Jews or Catholics could attend.

The anti-Klan protest was endorsed and publicized by United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 15 president Paul Lewis, who addressed the rally along with two district leaders of the Mine Workers union, Jim Kelley,

president of UMW District 4, correctly warned that the fascists "want to destroy organized labor." The protest was also unanimously endorsed by the West Virginia AFL-CIO Labor Council and by union bodies as far away as Chicago USWA Local 65. Even the hidebound conservative International president of the Steelworkers union, Lloyd McBride, felt compelled to issue a paper denunciation of the KKK gathering.

Despite a strong union presence, the anti-Klan rally was nevertheless dominated by preachers and Democratic Party politicians who told the crowd to ignore the KKK. Uniontown mayor Robert Jones denounced "several subversive and radical groups" (that is, anti-Klan leftists) who were giving Uniontown a "bad name." Other politicians stressed the Klan's "right" to rally and recruit. Letting these fascist groups run free can only result in terror and murder, as many people in the crowd attested from their direct experience. One black steel worker told *WV* his aunt was gang-raped by the Klan in 1932 and then sent to jail for trying to defend herself. Another black steel worker from Mississippi said he still had a bullet hole in his back from a KKK gunman in 1963.

But the union leaders had only the



Trade unionists stand against the Klan in Pennsylvania.

same old warmed-over pathetic "solutions" to lull the working class to sleep when what is needed is labor/black mass mobilization to stop the Klan. A member of USWA Local 65 thanked the mayor and other politicians for their "beautiful show of support today" and said it was the "duty of our elected representatives" to prevent fascist ter-

ror. But the capitalist state cannot smash the Klan, because it holds the fascists in reserve for when they are needed to crush the black movement and a combative working class. Just a year ago in the Greensboro massacre, a police informer was in one car in the KKK/Nazi caravan of death, while a local cop followed along at the rear! And it is the capitalist politicians from "ethnic purity" Carter to KKK-endorsed Reagan who have fueled the right-wing atmosphere which has encouraged the Klan and Nazis to strike.

That evening, an estimated 500 fascists gathered on a farm some 19 miles from Uniontown for a cross-burning and race-hate speeches by "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson. The site was protected by state police as well as by shotgun-equipped Klansmen who boasted of having 60 additional firearms ready for use. This did not have to happen. This is union country—had there been the slightest attempt by labor leaders to mobilize the tens of thousands of steel and mine workers in the area, backed up by hundreds of thousands of union brothers in the Pittsburgh area, this fascist terror-rally could have been stopped before it got off the ground. For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Klan! ■

# Workers Shafted in J.P. Stevens Deal

The day after the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) signed a deal with J.P. Stevens Co. on October 19, the United States Supreme Court let stand an NLRB ruling which would have forced the company to open all its plants to union organizers for two years. But this legal victory was rendered useless by the so-called "settlement," in which the union agreed to forgo any such rights for 18 months! Moreover, the ACTWU agreed not to single out the company in its organizing efforts. Considering the ACTWU's abject reliance on legal maneuvers in the capitalist courts, this giveaway underscored the desperation of the union bureaucrats to bury the entire J.P. Stevens organizing campaign.

After 17 years and a reported \$10 million spent by the AFL-CIO, the ACTWU has won contracts for about 3,000 workers out of 41,100 in the J.P. Stevens textile empire. The unionized workers, located mainly in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, merely got their wages raised up to the level of the non-union workers, while the ACTWU officially terminated its ineffective consumer boycott and "corporate cam-

paign" against the company. The best that one could say about the contract is that the union got a toehold: for the first time, the die-hard anti-union bosses of J.P. Stevens granted a substantial recognition to the union by signing contracts which included dues checkoff and some grievance procedure. But on the whole it was a wholesale defeat, the result of the dead-end "strategy" of the ACTWU officials, who had counted mainly on their Democratic Party "friends" like Jimmy Carter.

The intention of the union tops was to wash their hands of this expensive fiasco. Even while Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Murray Finley of ACTWU trumpeted a "victory" on October 19, J.P. Stevens spokesman Whitney Stevens held his own separate news conference at company headquarters, where he boasted that "after 17 years the union will no longer single out the company as its primary target in the textile industry.... We will continue to oppose the unions." While concessions are sometimes necessary to save an organizing drive from utter defeat and prepare for future struggles, the ACTWU officials have made it clear they have no intention of struggling in the future against J.P. Stevens. And the no-strike binding arbitration clause is meant to prevent any independent workers' struggles—on that point, the company and the union leaders see eye-to-eye.

The *Washington Post* editorialized that the settlement was a victory and a case of life imitating art, referring to the movie "Norma Rae." More accurately it was a case of art presaging sellout: both the movie and the real-life organizing drive were based on treacherous liberal reliance on the good will of the capitalist government. Indeed, in the 68-year history of the ACW/ACTWU, the bureaucracy created by social democrat Sidney Hillman was the "pioneer" of binding arbitration. For 50 years (up to 1974) the leadership went without calling an industrywide strike, resulting in some of the lowest unionized wages in the country, and no effective organizing of Southern textile.



March 1977 protest outside J.P. Stevens headquarters in NYC: SL called for militant labor action to organize the South's number one anti-union firm.

In the J.P. Stevens campaign, genuine strikes combined with "hot-cargoing" by Teamsters, longshoremen and other union workers who transport the textile goods could have brought the company to its knees very quickly. But when the Spartacist League (SL) joined a union demonstration in New York in 1977 with a sign calling on labor to "hot-cargo" J.P. Stevens products, the ACTWU sent the SL a letter which read in part:

"We wish to inform you that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has never advocated 'hot-cargo' strategies, nor will it at any future date. [!]  
"We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law...."

Thus in the name of "legality" the ACTWU refused all labor action against J.P. Stevens, even in those plants where the union had won NLRB elections and the company trampled on the law and workers' rights by refusing to recognize the validity of the elections.

More than any other employer, J.P. Stevens got away with openly ignoring every NLRB ruling, every mealy-mouthed court judgment, and became the symbol of the non-union Simon Legree sweatshop. Six-day weeks, poverty-level wages, arbitrary firings, brown lung disease—enough drama for an Academy Award-winning movie—and with the current accords, the

company has hardly been dented. Yet the fake left, which has been tailing the ACTWU's belly-crawling campaign—the CP, the SWP, the *Guardian*, the Maoists—all echo the union claim of "victory."

Organizing J.P. Stevens means organizing the South, the historic failure of the AFL-CIO. The South has remained an open-shop bastion by reliance on massive police repression and the armed terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan and other racist vigilantes. Hence every major organizing effort or social struggle—from the Gastonia textile strike in 1929 to Harlan County miners in the '30s to the civil rights struggles in the 1960s—has involved massive confrontations with the state. And the staid officials of the AFL-CIO cannot conceive of a strategy which involves fighting their "friends" in the capitalist government.

Historically it has been the communists who dared to mobilize Southern labor against the racist cops, KKK lynch mobs and their Dixiecrat friends in the courthouse, statehouse and White House. Today as well it will take militant class-struggle methods to crack employers like J.P. Stevens. Victory in unionizing the South will come as part of the struggle for a workers government. ■

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"The agreement came without violence and this shows we can work together. We've got all that's possible in the current situation. It's what we wanted and dreamed of—we've got independent unions."

—Interfactory Strike Committee leader Lech Walesa

"We've spoken to Poles as Poles, the way it should be. There's no winner or loser. The important thing is that we've understood each other and the best guarantee for what we've done is hard work."

—Polish deputy prime minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski

OCTOBER 28—So they said when the Baltic coast general strike in Poland was ended with the signing of the much-heralded Gdansk agreement on August 31. We said no, the settlement is only on paper: "The compromise creates an impossible situation economically and politically; it cannot last." No Stalinist bureaucratic caste, we pointed out, which must monopolize political power to preserve itself, can tolerate any genuinely independent working-class organization. And the strike leadership around Lech Walesa, which strongly identifies with the powerful Catholic church opposition, would increasingly challenge the damaged and discredited regime.

In the less than two months' time since the Gdansk agreement, everyone senses Polish society has lost its moorings and is headed god knows where. The state of trade-union organization has become utterly chaotic and confused. The regime is paralyzed, with the top leaders frantically scapegoating one another. Meanwhile, the Kremlin and its hard-line satellites, especially East Germany, speak incessantly of the growing threat of "anti-socialist forces" in Poland. This is the same language they used during the 1968 Prague Spring and everyone in Poland, indeed throughout Europe, knows how that ended.

Already, leading bourgeois commentators foresee a showdown. Cold War historian André Fontaine entitled a front-page editorial in *Le Monde* (18 October) "Last Chance for Poland?" His summary of the Polish situation: "A political dead end."

### Cold Dual Power

The leadership of the newly-formed Solidarność ("Solidarity") union federation and the regime have exchanged charges and countercharges that the other side has violated the terms of the Gdansk settlement. Claiming the government wasn't coming through with

the agreed wage increases or giving the new unions enough publicity in the mass media, the Solidarity leadership called a successful nationwide one-hour work stoppage on October 3. In turn, the government refused to legally register the new federation on the grounds that its leaders had reneged on their pledge to recognize the "leading role" of the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

Some Solidarity activists talked about a nationwide general strike to force government registration. Warsaw officials replied that a new strike would be met by imposition of a state of emergency. Now the courts have registered the union, but only after the judge "amended" Solidarity's charter to stipu-

late the "leading role" of the Communist party. The Walesa leadership is defiant: they have threatened a general strike unless the government negotiates a new agreement. At the top of their list of demands is eliminating the "leading role" clause. The confrontation continues.

At first the Warsaw regime tried to put a good face on things. Trust a Stalinist to claim any defeat is pregnant with victory. But PUWP spokesmen reached new heights of bureaucratic pollyannaism. The editor of the party's theoretical journal *Polityka*, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, said of the Baltic coast general strike: "The events in Poland show that the working class regards

itself as sovereign, and that is good for socialism" (*Der Spiegel*, 8 September)! Official news agency chief Miroslaw Wojciechowski projects: "The new unions will gain self-confidence and the consciousness to be a permanent element of the social-political landscape in Poland" (*Der Spiegel*, 29 September).

But whatever rosy pictures they paint in the West European liberal press, at bottom the Polish Stalinists instinctively must feel the "new, self-governing unions" as a grave threat to their power. At the time of the settlement the strike committee published an apparently authentic document by a high party commission which maintained: "Such unions would fulfill the role of a

# Gdansk Settlement Settles Nothing Confrontation in Poland



Der Spiegel

## SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction

"What do Marxists think about the demand made by strikers in Poland that all religious groups be given access to the media?"

"We support this demand."

So began the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in its "Learning About Socialism" column in the 19 September *Militant*. The SWP was clearly responding to a sense of unease, at least in the radical-liberal milieu, if not in its own ranks, about the importance of the Catholic church as symbol, supporter and adviser to the Polish strikers. They were also obviously responding to the Spartacist League, though not by name, which had emphatically warned against the real dangers of the expansion of the Catholic church's role, while everyone else on the left wanted to sweep it under

the rug. The demand for church access to the media, we wrote, "is an anti-democratic demand which would legitimize the church in its present role as the recognized opposition to the Stalinist regime" ("Polish Workers Move," *WW* No. 263, 5 September). In addition to the possibility of workers political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, we stressed that this demand reflected the very real danger of capitalist counterrevolution which must be fought. Particularly in Poland with its large private sector in agriculture, the Catholic church has a potentially mass counterrevolutionary social base in the peasantry.

The SWP doesn't fight the influence of the Catholic church; they hail it. And what could you expect, from the people

who beat the drums for Khomeini's Islamic clerical reaction in Iran over the past year and a half? The SWP claims, for instance, that the jailing of Cardinal Wyszyński until 1956 "was a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights." So these pseudo-Trotskyist social democrats turn the Roman Catholic church, this instrument of capitalist and even feudal rule, into the representative of democratic-national aspirations. What do they think about the arrest of the clerical-reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary in the late 1940s? Was this also a symbol of Stalinist violation of "human rights"?

In the manner of 1984 Newspeak ("war is peace"), the *Militant* baldly states: "The separation of church and state is not at issue here." Is that so? Polish radio and television were and remain controlled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Gdansk-based strike committee did *not* demand general democratization of the media, allowing all political groups, for example, the social-democratic Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), to present their views. Significantly, the Interfactory Strike Committee did not even demand

such media access for itself or for the "free trade unions" it sought to establish. Rather, it *singled out* the Catholic church to break the bureaucracy's monopoly of the mass media. Since the regime has acceded to this demand, today Polish state radio presents two and only two ideologies: that of the Stalinist bureaucracy and that of the Catholic church.

With an air of democratic righteousness, the SWP declares: "Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it." The *Militant* here implies that the Polish Stalinist regime suppresses individual religious worship. Nothing could be further from the truth. There *is* freedom of religious worship in Poland today, at least for the Catholic church. It has enormous resources and effective freedom to express its views on a mass scale. In fact, it is the only organization with de facto freedom of political opposition. Since 1956 the Catholic ZNAK group has been the *only* legally recognized political opposition in Poland, indeed in any Soviet-bloc country. It publishes a number of newspapers and journals. Granting the church media access



political opposition party inspired by anti-Communist forces. They would create a division of power" (*New York Times*, 1 September). This unquestionably expresses social reality from the standpoint of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

To cover over this reality the government negotiators insisted that the new unions stipulate the "leading role" of the PUWP. Perhaps fearing Soviet military intervention or maybe simply the spreading social disruption, the strike leaders made this concession (not without sharp dispute). But they made it through clenched teeth. Throughout, the strike leaders pointedly addressed the government representatives as "mister," not the conventional "comrade." And in Stalinist Poland such terminological niceties are very important. Now, perhaps sensing the weakness and internal disarray of the regime, the Solidarity leaders have reneged on the "leading role" compromise. "We will not include that formulation in our statutes," Walesa declared (*New York Times*, 21 October).

Of course, the Polish United Workers Party is *not* a revolutionary (Leninist) vanguard; it is the instrument of a parasitic bureaucracy. In struggling for proletarian political revolution, Trotskyists support independent trade unions based on a socialist program and would under no circumstances recognize the "leading role" of the Stalinists. But Lech Walesa rejects the "leading role" of the PUWP not from the standpoint of revolutionary socialism or even of primitive trade-union syndicalism (as many anti-Soviet leftists in the West falsely claim). Rather he is expressing his clerical-nationalist allegiances.

#### Solidarity, a Clericalist Union?

The Solidarity leaders claim eight million members out of a labor force of 13 million. Given the widespread participation in the 3 October protest, this may not be that exaggerated a claim. However, many workers are undoubtedly paper members of both the new Solidarity unions and the old official ones. The totally discredited Central Trade Union Council has now been abolished and even before that nine of its 23 member unions had become "independent," whatever that means. Probably no one in Poland knows what the workers are doing politically and organizationally in most areas. Walesa himself (and this takes chutzpah) complains about the anarchic state of the country's trade-union movement: "If it [the general strike] had taken place next year, we would have had the statutes drawn up. Now we have chaos"

(*Los Angeles Times*, 7 October).

Where the Solidarity unions are strong, like in Gdansk, the bureaucracy is undoubtedly instructing party members to join them. According to some Western press reports, the Solidarity leaders are seeking to counter this by excluding PUWP members or at least barring them from officership. In other words, the "independent" unions in Poland would have an "anti-red clause." If this is true (and the bourgeois press might well falsify this point), Solidarity would be constitutionally a clericalist, anti-Communist union.

While many things are confused and uncertain about Solidarity and its relation to the old official unions, one thing is not. And that is the strong influence of the Catholic church, especially among its Gdansk-based leaders. When Walesa left Gdansk the first time after the settlement, it was to go to Warsaw for a private audience with Cardinal Wyszynski. Solidarity's out-



Dejean/Sygma

#### PUWP leader Stanislaw Kania. Who?

side advisers consist of Catholic activists, mainly from the ZNAK group, the semi-official political arm of the church.

Poland's most prominent "Western-style" social democrat, Jacek Kuron, was conspicuously rejected as one of Solidarity's official advisers. Kuron is something of a *persona non grata* in Gdansk these days. Bourgeois journalists speculate that this is because the leader of the dissident Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) is too controversial a figure and an easy target for the regime. A more plausible explanation is that Kuron's brand of secular social democracy has little support among Solidarity's organizers.

Between the protests/strikes of July 1976 and the start of the Baltic coast

general strike this August, KOR basically ran point for the church hierarchy, testing the regime's hostility to independent labor agitation. Kuron served essentially as an intermediary between dissident Catholic workers, like Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz, and the church leadership, especially the ZNAK people. But who needs Kuron now when Walesa and Wyszynski can and do confer directly?

Church influence is so visible that Walesa felt the need to deny he was organizing a union for Catholics only: "I don't want to create church trade unions" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 September). That Walesa is compelled to issue such a disclaimer indicates there are many Polish workers who want a union independent of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, but one that is not the labor arm of Wyszynski's episcopate either. The Silesian miners, for example, traditionally a solid proletarian base for Polish Communism, are unlikely to want a union which kneels down before cardinal and pope.

But so long as clerical-nationalists like Walesa lead the new unions, they stand in imminent danger of subordination to the counterrevolutionary aims of the Catholic hierarchy and behind it Western imperialism. As we wrote at the time of the Gdansk settlement:

"A central task for a Trotskyist organization in Poland would be to raise in these unions a series of demands that will split the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the socialized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism." (emphasis in original)

—"Polish Workers Move,"  
WP No. 263, 5 September

#### "The Party Is in a Shambles"

"The apparat is frightened. The rank and file are under tremendous pressure. And the leadership is turning on itself in typical cannibalistic fashion." So a "well-connected" Polish writer described the present situation to a reporter from the *New York Times* (8 September).

It was predictable that Gierek would be axed for the gross economic mismanagement that impelled the workers into motion against the regime. But whereas Gierek had been a credible and even somewhat popular figure when he replaced Gomulka during the 1970 workers' explosion, Stanislaw Kania is an anonymous *apparatchik* if there ever was one. "Who the hell is he?" was the typical reaction to Gierek's successor as PUWP chairman. And Kania's former job as head of internal security is unlikely to endear him to Poland's workers.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has run out of leaders whom the masses respect and believe to be sincere reformers. At most, people are concerned whether it is hard-liners who are gaining the upper hand or "moderate" *apparatchiks* who will make concessions to pressure from below.

Making a big show of cleaning up its act, the regime has publicized the purging of one Maciej Szczepanski, head of state radio and television and a crony of Gierek. Comrade Szczepanski's lifestyle appears to have been modeled on characters out of Harold Robbins' novels. This "socialist" media czar enjoyed ten lavish residences, one off the coast of Greece. He is now being crucified for affronting the puritanism of Catholic Poland (according to pope Wojtyla a man who "lusts" for his wife is an adulterer); much is made of Szczepanski's collection of 900 porno video cassettes. Not being a passive observer, he reputedly also kept a harem. While his sexual affairs don't bother us Marxists, his financial ones very much do. He owned shares in Austrian companies, held \$1 million in a London bank account, etc. Szczepanski is literally a representative of capitalist-restorationist elements within the demoralized Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

Perhaps the most unexpected and ominous aspect of the present frenzied shake-up is the reappearance of General Mieczyslaw Moczar, an extreme nationalist who ran the vicious anti-Semitic campaign in 1968. Trotsky had types like Moczar in mind when he said a wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy could go over to fascism. Perhaps some elements in the bureaucracy think that this Stalinist would-be Pilsudski can effectively compete as a nationalist with Wyszynski/Walesa. If so, they are playing a dangerous game indeed.

The Polish Stalinist regime has not only been forced for the moment to tolerate independent unions, but factional/ cliquist infighting is destroying its effectiveness as a bureaucratic apparatus. The fact that their Warsaw counterparts appear to have lost control over Polish society is what makes Brezhnev, Honecker & Co. panicky.

The Polish Stalinists try to cow their masses with the spectre of the Soviet army, while Western social democrats (especially the "state-capitalist" fringe groups) rant about Soviet "imperialist exploitation" of East Europe. In reality, in the past decade the Kremlin has tried to stabilize Poland by economically subsidizing a country in which the standard of living is far higher than in their own. In a perceptive article in the *Oakland Tribune* (2 September), left-

continued on page 8

further extends its role as the recognized opposition.

And how does the church hierarchy use its freedom of political opposition? The very day after the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard seizure Cardinal Wyszynski led a mass (actually a political demonstration) of 150,000 commemorating the defeat of the Bolshevik Red Army in 1920 at the hands of the right-wing Polish nationalist (and later fascistic dictator) Pilsudski. Does the SWP believe the Polish Catholic church has the "democratic right" to organize this kind of counterrevolutionary demonstration? Since these cowardly legalists have become notorious on the American left as defenders of "free speech" for fascists, we assume the answer is yes. But no one in the world thinks that a government led by Lenin and Trotsky or even by Stalin would have permitted the head of the Russian Orthodox church to lead a mass demonstration celebrating a historic defeat of the Red Army!

The SWP likes to cite the authority of Castro's Cuba and does so on this occasion too: "While guaranteeing religious freedom, the revolutionary Castro leadership was able to isolate the hierarchy...." But in contrast to his

cowardly American sycophants, the Stalinist Castro did not and does not tolerate openly counterrevolutionary agitation by that hierarchy. Does anyone believe for a moment that a Cuban Catholic prelate would be allowed to organize a demonstration commemorating the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba in 1962 as a result of John F. Kennedy's successful nuclear blackmail? Even the *fidelistas* social democrats on the *Militant* staff know the answer to that one.

The SWP says, "We can assume that in Poland, as elsewhere, the church is not a monolith." This bizarre idea of splitting the church no doubt comes from the SWP's current fascination with Sandinista Nicaragua, where three Catholic clerics are members of the Government of National Reconstruction, including a Maryknoll priest as foreign minister. (In fact, Fred Feldman, the *Militant's* "Mr. Nicaragua" called in a 30 August New York forum for "a daily Wyszynski Hour on television"! Just one more example of the SWP's whitewashing of the capitalist elements in the Nicaraguan government which they call a "workers and peasants

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Solidarity leader Lech Walesa kneels before church.



# Poland...

(continued from page 7)

liberal scholar Franz Schurmann indicates that following the violent December 1970 strikes/protests, "Moscow...allowed the Poles to look to the Western capitalist economies for help." In 1976 "the Soviet concession was to allow the Poles to cut back on their Warsaw Pact defense spending while Moscow picked up the slack." Schurmann concludes that this present crisis is worse than 1970-71 or 1976:

"The Soviets have only two options if they are to reject even the slightest alteration in Poland's current political structure—pay off once again, or resort to force."

## For the Revolutionary Unity of Polish and Russian Workers

Will the Kremlin and its allies militarily intervene in Poland as they did in Czechoslovakia in 1968? They're certainly talking as if they might. "Attempts to exert an effect on the events in Poland from anti-Socialist positions, far from ending, are being stepped up," warned an authoritative *Pravda* article (*New York Times*, 27 September). Acting as Moscow's hard cop, East German party boss Erich Honecker has made the clearest threat to date:—

"Poland is and will remain a socialist country. It belongs inseparably to the world of socialism and no one can turn back the wheel of history. Together with our friends in the socialist camp, we will see to that."

—*New York Times*, 15 October

These threats have been echoed by Czechoslovakia and even "independent" Romania. A few weeks later Honecker warned NATO against intervening should Soviet-bloc forces go into Poland:

"If they want to start a war in Europe against socialism, they will suffer defeat by the fighting power of the Soviet Army and the other armies in the Warsaw Pact."

—*New York Times*, 28 October

The Kremlin justified its crushing of the 1968 Prague Spring by claiming it was really the beginning of a fascistic, pro-imperialist counterrevolution. This lie was not just a diplomatic cover, it was directed above all at winning the Soviet people to this military intervention. When Soviet soldiers actually occupied Prague, many were visibly shaken by the protests of Communist workers and left-wing students. "We were told we were being sent to combat a counterrevolution, but when we came here we didn't see any," confessed a Soviet colonel harangued by a Czech army officer (*New York Times*, 23 August 1968).

The Prague Spring was made under the banner of a liberalized Stalinism ("socialism with a human face"). But in Poland the discontent and rebelliousness of the working masses is being tapped by clerical-nationalist forces. There is a big difference between the liberal Stalinist Alexander Dubček and Cardinal Wyszyński, who in the first few days of the Baltic coast strike commemorated the "miracle on the Vistula"—the defeat in 1920 of the Soviet Red Army at the hands of the right-wing nationalist Pilsudski. The counterrevolution which did not exist in Czechoslovakia in 1968 could develop out of the present Polish crisis.

But as revolutionaries we do not consign the Polish working class to the camp of clerical-national reaction. As we wrote in "Polish Workers Move," the present crisis, especially the existence of independent working-class organizations, also contains the potential for proletarian political revolution. It is this outcome which we as Trotskyists strive for.

In following clerical-nationalists like Walesa, Polish workers not only serve their class enemies in Poland, but contribute to the Kremlin's efforts to rally the Soviet people against them. Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless

they assure them that they will defend that part of the world against imperialist attack. Only by addressing their Soviet class brothers in the name of revolutionary socialist internationalism can the Polish proletariat liberate itself from the chains of Stalinist oppression. This is the urgent task which requires above all the formation of a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International. ■

# SWP...

(continued from page 7)

government" (while calling for U.S. imperialist aid to the junta).

Another of the *Militant's* anti-Marxist arguments for granting the Polish cardinals the "right" to spread their religious propaganda over the airwaves is that this is "smart" tactics: "The demand was also justified as a political move to broaden support for the workers' struggle" [emphasis in original]. For the wily opportunists of the SWP, it is clever to offer state privileges to organized religion in return for support to labor struggles. One wonders why during the great 1977-78 American coal strike the SWP didn't propose to its then-hero Arnold Miller that he come out for Christian fundamental instruction in the schools so as to win the backing of reactionary Baptists who were burning "atheistic" school books in West Virginia. And why doesn't the SWP suggest that the AFL-CIO call for the illegalization of abortion in order to win the American Catholic church for the cause of organized labor?

If the SWP thinks this is smart strike strategy, their little brothers of the "Third Camp" League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) think it's bad tactics:

"It may be, that is, that Walesa and other reformist leaders thought that a public display of religiosity would be a good technique either to cow the government, appeal to the West, or perhaps even win over reluctant workers. Such a maneuver, if that is what it was, could have led the strike to defeat, for example, if the Church had won the leverage to mediate. The Church's timely betrayal prevented that."

—*Socialist Voice*, Fall 1980

It never seems to occur to these social-democratic "strategists" that their heroic strike leaders may actually believe in Catholicism. Indeed, the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (8 September) described the premier strike leader Lech Walesa as a "committed Catholic and nationalist" who "has not the least in common with communism." Why this willful blindness? The LRP states openly what the SWP implies, that in Poland "the Church as an institution is a reactionary bastion of the ruling power." And the Shachtmanites at least have the virtue of an upside-down consistency in claiming that this state power is "capitalist."

In the end, the SWP appeals to "pure" classless democracy, to "majority rule": "In Poland it is neither liberating nor realistic to deny the right of the Catholic majority to hear the views of the church." What if the Polish Catholic majority wants to replace the Stalinist regime with a clerical-nationalist government blessed by Pope Wojtyła? And what if they want to break the military alliance with "atheistic" Soviet Russia and align Poland internationally with the "god-fearing" countries of Jimmy Carter and Franz Josef Strauss? For that matter the *New York Times* (22 September) noted that with religious mass now broadcast on Polish radio, this "will bolster the church's position in pressing for other demands, such as for full legal status, that would clear up confusion about its rights to own land." Does the SWP think that this, too, is merely a democratic demand? Does the *Militant* believe it is "neither liberating nor realistic" to deny a Polish Catholic majority the right of capitalist counter-

revolution? In short, whatever happened to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*? It is here that the social democrats of the SWP join hands with the "free world" imperialists like Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Should the "Catholic majority" (i.e., the church hierarchy) really try to fulfill that "Polish national heritage" so respected by the SWP, no doubt we will soon see in the *Militant's* "Learning About Socialism" column Part II in the Poland series entitled, "Where the Catholic Church Goes Wrong on Democratic Rights." But it would be a bloody lesson indeed for the Polish working class, and genuine Trotskyists fight not for a "Cardinal Wyszyński Hour" on TV but to mobilize the workers against Catholic reaction, whether dressed in the colors of Pilsudskiite anti-Semitism or Carter/Brzezinski's "human rights." We fight for proletarian political revolution precisely in order to crush the danger of capitalist counterrevolution—conciliated by the Stalinist bureaucracy—embodied in the Catholic church. ■

# S-Bahn...

(continued from page 4)

front-line Cold Warriors. While Senate members were toying with Berlin Blockade hysteria, the bourgeois press reacted with its customary anti-Communism. (A headline in the Springer tabloid *Bild Zeitung* read: "Will the East Storm the Train Stations?") In the city parliament Christian Democratic spokesmen called for taking over the "operating rights" of the S-Bahn—i.e., for revanchist violation of the four-power status of Berlin fixed by the Potsdam accords.

But social-democratic Mayor Stobbe rejected any takeover of the S-Bahn. The SPD-led Senate was of course chuckling to itself over the massive difficulties facing the DDR bureaucrats and was only too glad to brag about the "advantages of the Western system." But to endanger the "détente" policy pursued by the SPD in the interests of West German capital over the S-Bahn and a few hundred railway workers—that was too high a price. Nor are the Western allies presently interested in such an escalation.

And the West Berlin left? The SEW, of course, felt itself directly attacked by the Reichsbahn strike: for them any workers' protest against the DDR bureaucracy is counterrevolutionary; moreover, its situation was rather ironical given the high percentage of the workforce consisting of SEW members. Already, DR management's dismissal of 90 railwaymen last spring contributed to a split in the SEW in June, when a right-wing faction grouped around the newsletter "Klarheit" and tending toward Eurocommunism was chucked out of the organization. Now the SEW is facing new internal difficulties. The *Spandauer Volksblatt* cited an older railroad worker: "I'm in the FDGB. I'm in the SEW. My son was just fired by the Reichsbahn simply for expressing his outrage at the bad conditions of the West Berlin DR workers. After 20 years I'm quitting the party tomorrow."

While genuine communists supported the strikers in their initial, legitimate demands, they also had to warn against being sucked into the anti-Communist frenzy. Comrades of the TLD carried on discussions with the striking railway workers over revolutionary perspectives. In contrast, the reformist ISA, a Stalinophobic relative of the French OCI, stood politically to the right of the SPD and many of the Reichsbahn workers. Social-Democratic Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was unwilling to give up détente and limited himself to ironic asides, but the ISA called on the Social Democrats to intervene in true Cold War spirit. Their leaflet proclaims: "The trade unions and the SPD must act at once!...Protect the Reichsbahn workers against the SED gangs of thugs."

Thus they appeal to the DBG [West German trade-union federation] with its anti-red clauses (*Unvereinbarkeitsbeschlüsse*), and to the Social Democracy whose (in)famous Ostbüro [Eastern Bureau] was notorious for years of providing cover to Western intelligence services in the Soviet bloc and through whose hands millions of dollars in CIA money passed to finance counterrevolution in Portugal. West Berlin Reichsbahn workers didn't need this kind of "solidarity"!

## For Revolutionary Reunification!

No matter how hard they tried, in such a complicated situation—at a confrontation point between two blocs representing counterposed class interests, where military questions are directly posed—the railway workers could not keep politics out of the strike. The S-Bahn problem reveals in miniature the problem of West Berlin as a NATO capitalist island [inside the DDR]. Short of a revolutionary reunification of Germany there can be no "solution to the Berlin problem." In 1945 the Soviet Red Army freed Berlin from Hitler's fascism only to later hand over West Berlin to the Western allies as part of the diplomatic horse trading. In 1949 two German states were formed, one capitalist, the other a bureaucratically deformed workers state. By 1961, Stalinist coexistence policies of "socialism in half a country" had brought the DDR to such an impasse that it was forced to defend itself against the draining off of its workforce by building the Berlin Wall. Up until then the DDR-run S-Bahn had operated a full circle around Berlin; from then on there were only two separate semi-circles.

Raising the wall enraged West German imperialism. Anti-Communist cold warriors called for boycotting the S-Bahn: "Every *Groschen* [dime] for the S-Bahn buys a piece of barbed wire!" Willy Brandt called on West Berliners not to ride the S-Bahn. Simultaneously the Senate initiated a systematic policy of expanding and extending its own mass transit system, the BVG, in such a way as to make the S-Bahn superfluous. Thus the ruin of the S-Bahn was the result of a deliberate capitalist Cold War campaign. Hence the huge S-Bahn deficits; hence the contempt with which the S-Bahn is held by much of the West Berlin population, a contempt which many of the DR railwaymen were no longer willing to endure.

The demand that the Western allies should "hand over" to the Senate the S-Bahn operating rights in West Berlin is an attack on the DDR, an attempt to bind West Berlin more tightly to capitalist West Germany. Trotskyists supported the original demands of the railway workers for wage raises and job security. But when the wage dispute was turned into an attack on the DDR, all class-conscious workers had to unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc against imperialism.

Unemployment in West Berlin is high. Important sectors of industry are moving to West Germany, leaving behind only unimportant branch offices to profit from the tax breaks. The very existence of this artificially supported city is a standing provocation against the DDR, an anti-Communist bridgehead in the DDR. There is no real solution for the railway workers of the half-circle, nor for the half-city, outside of a revolutionary reunited Germany.

In both parts of Germany a struggle must be waged to build Trotskyist parties. The parasitic bureaucracy of the DDR, indifferent to the fate of several hundred railway workers, must be swept away through a proletarian political revolution. In West Berlin and West Germany bourgeois rule—and along with it unemployment, inflation and warmongering—must be brought to an end through social revolution. The German revolution is a centerpiece of the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe. Only in this framework can a reunited *Soviet* Berlin achieve a new economic and cultural flowering. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



# Elections...

(continued from page 1)

adopted the vocabulary of the sports reporter to describe their respective campaigns. A cynically pious Carter asks that the hostage issue not become a "football." A senior Reagan aide announces that if Carter does get the hostages returned before November 4, Reagan will have to "punt." And another Reagan aide puts it even more bluntly: "If he gets the bodies out, that's the ball game."

While most of the Reagan "team" agonized over the hostage factor and waited for the instant video replay, William Safire—Reagan's man on the *New York Times*, took the offensive. In a column titled "The Ayatollah Votes" (27 October), he assailed the Carter-Khomeini conspiracy to get Carter elected and appealed to American chauvinism on behalf of Reagan: "We will not let him [Khomeini] seize the opportunity to choose our President and draw us into a war."

The idea that Khomeini could want to "vote" for Carter by releasing the hostages is pretty difficult to explain for the leftists who have hailed the ayatollah as the most implacable foe of the Great Satan and the seizure of the hostages as a militant and anti-imperialist act. There has been a strange political symbiosis between Carter and Khomeini since the first day the American embassy was taken nearly a year ago. Even as their respective effigies burned in Teheran and Washington, Carter and Khomeini were busy taking advantage of the situation. Carter's popularity at

rulers, rational speculation on what makes sense for the mullahs and their hostages has proved an unpromising enterprise.

## Tilting Toward Teheran

Despite the indignation of Reaganites like Safire, the Carter administration's tilt toward Teheran is not simply or even primarily an election ploy to bring back the hostages. That affects the timing of State Department pronouncements, but not its basic policy. U.S. ruling circles (and not just the Carter gang) are committed to preserving the "territorial integrity" of Khomeini's Iran, just as they were of the shah's Iran, and for the same reason. U.S. imperialism looks upon Persian chauvinism as a most important ally against the Soviet Union in the Near East. Whether the Persian chauvinist is imam Khomeini or shah Pahlavi is a secondary matter. The *Washington Post* (27 October) explains to its readers why the U.S. should oppose Iraq's dismemberment of Iran despite Khomeini's outrageous behavior and anti-American rantings:

"Now U.S. officials fear that an Iraqi military victory that would take large chunks of Iranian territory and humiliate Iran's Islamic clergy-dominated government could unleash a new wave of internal unrest marked by new separatist movements among Iran's various minorities and a political backlash against the present leaders.... 'In addition to becoming susceptible to an internal takeover from the left, an Iran weakened in this way would be more vulnerable to pressure and possible territorial grabs from the neighboring Soviet Union.'"

While the rest of the left was hailing the religious reactionary and Persian



Sandler/Newsweek

course supporting Khomeini's Iran in the war, it claims that the army of Moscow-allied Ba'athist Iraq (which has not even had diplomatic relations with Washington for the past 13 years) is practically a regiment of the U.S. Marine Corps. When the war broke out, the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (29 September) blazoned on its front cover, "Washington Stands Behind Iraqi Attacks—Hands Off Iran!" An article entitled "Why Washington, Baghdad Attack Iran" informs us that "the all-out offensive launched today by the Iraqi regime... is part of the drive of U.S. imperialism to crush the Iranian revolution." Well, as Stalin once said, paper will take anything that's written on it. That Washington is now tilting toward Iran is obvious to everyone in the world.

As Trotskyists we would take a defeatist position toward both sides in a war between two such bloody-handed bourgeois regimes regardless of their transient and reversible relations to Washington and/or Moscow. Thus we took a defeatist line in the 1971 India/Pakistan war although Nixon/Kissinger definitely tilted toward Yahya Khan's Islamabad while Indira Gandhi's India was a semi-client of Russia. But now the SWP finds itself defending the same side as Washington.

Khomeini's rabid anti-Americanism, based on Islamic fanaticism and Persian chauvinism, allowed the SWP to claim him as an "anti-imperialist fighter." But the imperialist bourgeoisie, even in the person of a Jimmy Carter, can see the basic political reality beneath the name-calling and diplomatic provocations, like the hostage crisis. Thus the SWP links arms with Carter in defending the "territorial integrity" of Khomeini's Persian-dominated prisonhouse of peoples.

## Down With the Colonels, Down With the Mullahs!

Arguing for revolutionary defeatism in the current Persian Gulf war, Spartacist League Central Committee member Reuben Samuels addressed an audience of 75 people at New York's Columbia University on October 23. At a forum entitled "Iran/Iraq Blood Feud," Samuels explained why the working class and oppressed people of both countries have

no stake in the victory of either side:

"Both of these regimes are equally unsavory, are equally reactionary. One [Iraq] is a republican regime that actually overthrew a king and paid lip service to some kind of socialism, some kind of secularism. But it has created a state that is nevertheless very narrowly based on a religious majority, and the religious majority and all of the national minorities are terribly persecuted, savagely persecuted in the case of the Kurds."

"And likewise in Iran. There was a 'republican' revolution in the sense that the monarchy was overthrown. But it was certainly not republican in the vaguest sense of even paying lip service to the democratic rights of the bourgeois revolution—for example, the equality of women."

In the discussion which followed Samuels' presentation, speakers suggested that for "tactical" reasons the workers of Iran "finish with the Iraqis first" or give "military support" to Khomeini. For revolutionaries, Samuels explained, active opposition to the war efforts of both Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini is the key to advancing the struggles of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities of the region:

"So the road to national liberation is the road to social emancipation through socialist revolution, through internationalism that transcends nationalism. Which doesn't say, 'Well, who's going to come out on top? Is the 'Arab revolution' going to come out on top in this war or is the Iranian revolution? Which is more progressive' [An internationalism] that addresses it from the standpoint of what is in the interest of the working people—the people in the refineries of Abadan and the working people in the refineries and oil fields of Iraq. And for them and for the toilers on the land, their social question is not being resolved by the war except insofar as they exploit the war to advance their own social and democratic interests."

"This is the opportunity now for the Kurds to rise up and fight for their national emancipation and liberation. This is the time for the Iraqi and Iranian toilers to advance their interests and to appeal to their brothers in the armed forces to resolve the struggle in a revolutionary fashion. And this requires a party.... The Bolshevik Revolution must be extended by parties forged in the working classes of these countries through their own socialist revolutions, but as part of an international, a reborn Fourth International, standing on the tradition of Trotsky and Lenin." ■



By Mike Peters for The Dayton Daily News

first rose from the lower depths in a burst of "rally 'round the flag" patriotism. For Khomeini and the mullahs the hostage seizure was an opportunity to pose as anti-American to a population that justifiably has bitter memories of U.S. imperialism's installation and backing of the butcher shah. At a time of growing resistance to reactionary clerical rule, the seizure of the U.S. embassy's "nest of spies" gave Khomeini a political lease on life. Now Jimmy Carter is again applying for a similar lease on the White House for another four years.

The U.S. was always prepared to make a deal to maintain Iran as a bastion against that Greatest Satan of them all, "godless communism" and the USSR. But a deal might come up against some problems in Iran. After all, the official propaganda of the Iranian regime is that the Iraqis are advancing under the conspiratorial influence of the U.S. Does it make sense then to return the hostages at the very moment when the U.S.' co-"conspirators" are bombing the hell out of Iranian cities? Of course it doesn't make sense to anyone who actually believes in a U.S. conspiracy behind the Iraqi military thrust. But such people are to be found only among the most benighted of Muslim fanatics and the most naive of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mullah lovers here. However, given the internal chaos of Iran and the religious fanaticism of the

chauvinist Khomeini as a great "anti-imperialist," the Spartacist tendency maintained that Washington would seek to make its peace with the "Islamic Revolution" for a common holy war against "atheistic Communism." When the hostage crisis first broke out and hordes of Americans were running through the streets chanting "Nuke the Ayatollah," we noted:

"Carter's response to the seizure of the American embassy has been characterized as one of great restraint.... Carter's 'moderation' is motivated not so much by concern for the hostages as by anti-Soviet strategic calculations. The fact is that the U.S. wants an anti-Soviet Iran." [emphasis in original]  
—"No to Carter's War Threats," WWP No. 245, 7 December 1979

Now with Iraq threatening to take oil-rich Khuzistan, Washington thinks it can regain that anti-Soviet Iran.

Among the numerous mullah lovers on the American left, perhaps none is quite so servile as the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Of

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## Evanston...

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slogan, "Holocaust—Six Million Lies." While a police helicopter hovered menacingly close overhead, the demonstrators surged forward against the police barricade and succeeded in breaking through in many places. The 70-plus Spartacist League contingent was the largest organized left presence and our chant "Cops Out of the Park, Smash the Nazis Now!" was picked up by many demonstrators. Certain of being torn limb from limb before their cop protectors could intervene, the fascists turned tail and fled. They left behind only the heavy steel posts which had supported the police barricades, bent completely out of shape by a crowd fixed on getting its hands around some wretched Nazi necks.

The demonstration was also a repudiation of the "free-speech-for-fascists" liberalism exemplified by a rally that same day at Northwestern University several miles away. Sponsored by the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation and attended by a host of dignitaries, including John Anderson, it had been deliberately scheduled to overlap in time with the Lovelace Park demonstration. But while the mayor of Evanston shed crocodile tears over how bad it had made him feel to issue a permit to the Nazis, 2,500 determined protesters—predominantly Jewish groups led by the Jewish war veterans and including socialist and civil rights groups—stood ready to make sure that there would be no Nazi rally in Evanston, permit or no permit, police security or no police security... and they won.

The giant Spartacist League banner read, "For Mass Labor/Black/Jewish Mobilizations to Smash Fascist Terror." Not surprisingly, though, the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was absent—not so much as a *Militant* salesman showed up. Unlike Trotsky who fought for mass mobilizations to "acquaint the fascists with the pavement," these fake-Trotskyists are concerned only with providing these thugs with a platform for their racist propaganda, as in the recent debate between SWP congressional candidate Mark

## SWP Excludes Anti-Klan Steel Workers

CHICAGO—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brags that it debates with the terrorist Ku Klux Klan in southern California. But how do these oh-so-"democratic" SWPers feel when it comes to discussing with trade-union militants who want to *smash* the Klan? The answer was clear October 17 in Gary, Indiana where the SWP physically excluded steel workers and Spartacist League supporters, among them several active militants from the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), from a "public" forum on the need for a labor party.

Milly Leonard of USWA Local 1010, who received over 800 votes in her bid for delegate to the USWA convention last July, told *Workers Vanguard*, "The SWP mobilized goons who threatened me and others with violence to keep us out. It's a slap in the face to several hundred black and Latino Local 1010 members who voted for me in the delegate election because of my call to mobilize integrated labor defense guards against the fascists."

Only the night before the exclusion, Local 1010 approved an executive board resolution submitted by Leonard and three other steel workers to endorse an anti-Nazi demonstration in Evanston on October 19. Obviously the SWP didn't want its supporters to hear about

this. At the demonstration itself, 2,500 protesters (including numerous concentration camp survivors) put the Nazi scum to flight (see article, this issue). The Spartacist League was there, prominently, but the SWP was so concerned about protecting "free speech for fascists" that it did not even appear.

"I emphasized the importance of labor protest against racist terrorism at our union meeting," Leonard told *WV*, "but SWP supporters couldn't mobilize themselves to say anything.... And when I spoke against an AFL-CIO lobbyist who urged us to vote for our 'friends' Jimmy Carter and Birch Bayh, the SWP supporters didn't so much as bring up their scab presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, let alone a labor party. I spoke for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and building a workers party."

All around the country the SWP has routinely excluded Spartacist League supporters from its "public" forums. In Gary it proved once again that it hates and fears above all else providing a platform for class-struggle politics. The KKK's "program" is genocide against blacks and Jews and holy war on the labor movement. While the Klan kills, the SWP "debates"—but only with these murdering fascists, not with anti-Klan union militants!

Friedman and KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger. The concentration camp survivors who led the charge at Lovelace Park may never have read Trotsky; only a few may be leftists, but every last one of them understood the elementary fact that seems to have eluded the SWP: *with fascist gangsters there is nothing to debate!*

Mass action like that which drove the Nazis out of Lovelace Park—this is what is needed to crush fascist terror, not the pathetic calls of reformists like the Communist Party and the black

liberals of the NAACP for reliance on the capitalist courts and cops. Nor is suicidal substitutionism by small groups of radicals the answer to the Hitler-lovers or their brothers under the sheets. Groups like Progressive Labor, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Communist Workers Party which throw their tiny forces against the fascists are frequently beaten back by police goons—and sometimes by fascist bullets, as tragically occurred in Greensboro last November—thus emboldening the KKK/Nazis. Only mass mobili-

zations of labor, blacks, Jews, Latins—the potential victims of fascist genocide—can stop these would-be murderers cold. This was the message of 500 anti-Klan demonstrators in Detroit last November 10, and of 1,200 who stopped a threatened "celebration" of Hitler's birthday in San Francisco April 19 (both demonstrations heavily built by the SL). And it was demonstrated again by the 2,500 people who drove the Nazis out of Evanston last Sunday.

Trade-union militants, in particular, must fight for the unions to take the lead in mobilizing to crush fascist terror—the organized working class alone has the social power to smash fascism. The Executive Board of Local 1010, United Steel Workers of America in East Chicago, Indiana correctly endorsed the resolution submitted by four union militants that called for a mass union contingent at the anti-Nazi demonstration. This resolution was passed by the local membership and the exec board further voted to reimburse participating union members \$20 for expenses. But while endorsing the resolution *on paper*, the bureaucrats did nothing to actually build a mass contingent.

### "Spartacist—Like Rosa Luxemburg"

Several Jewish demonstrators who had grown up in pre-war Germany were familiar with the name "Spartacist." One approached our contingent and said, "Oh, you are Spartacists like in Berlin." "Spartacist—like Rosa Luxemburg," said another, eagerly taking the latest *Workers Vanguard* out of our salesman's hand. The SL is proud to stand in the tradition of Luxemburg and the German Spartacists. If they had won, the history of the world would have been very different. For one thing, many older Evanston residents would not have numbers tattooed on their arms. Today, ultra-right terror incidents mount across the country and open Ku Klux Klansmen and Nazis run on both bourgeois party tickets. It could not be clearer that a *political* struggle is necessary to root out the fascists, a struggle whose perspective is embodied in the Spartacist call, "Break with the Democrats and the Republicans! Build a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!" ■

## French CP...

(continued from page 3)

21 Paris municipal councilors announced they would not vote for Marchais in April, the party tops said they were free to leave as soon as they wanted to. Marchais, speaking on the TV program "Cards on the Table," pointed out that even though PS leader Mitterrand has been the perpetual candidate of the left, the right wing is still in power: "Therefore we aren't going to repeat, unity, unity, unity... elections, unity, elections like parrots. We are using our heads and we say, since we haven't succeeded by that way... we must find another path" (*Le Monde*, 15 October).

### All the King's Horses, All the King's Men...

In France "unity" has become the codeword for reconstituting the defunct popular front. And it is a devastating condemnation of the several large pseudo-Trotskyist groups (OCI, LCR, LO) that they are the loudest parrots of all in screeching "unity, unity, unity." The OCI has plastered Paris with posters calling for "Unité PS/PCF" while the LCR denounced the Communist Party candidacy as divisive; its headline called on Marchais to step down ("Désistement") in favor of the Socialists on the second, decisive round of presidential voting. Earlier, while abstractedly criticizing the popular

front, these fakers egregiously tailed after it in practice. Now, ever since Humpty Dumpty fell off the wall after Portugal '75, they have rivaled the king's horses and the king's men in trying to patch the Union of the Left back together again.

This underscores the importance of the slogan projected by the Ligue Trotskyste de France for the election campaign: "Down with 'unity'—Vote PCF!" A "sectarian" slogan? Tell it to four million French workers! And our comrades' aggressive program of class independence has a history. In the 1978 parliamentary elections, the LTF was alone in proclaiming "No 'Critical Support' to the Popular Front!" while the rest of the Trotskyoid left was voting for the PCF and PS in the framework of the Union of the Left. At that time we stood alone defending our proletarian opposition to class-collaborationist coalitions. Now, however, for their own reasons Communist Party leaders have provided an opening for genuine Trotskyists to address their ranks, through the tactic of critical support. Meanwhile, we will be hammering away in particular at the militants of the OCI/LCR/LO whose popular-frontism and anti-Sovietism conjuncturally places them to the right of the PCF.

The present political conjuncture in France is a classical example of when the *tactic* (not strategy) of critical support can be applied. The Stalinists are running independently despite their fundamental class-collaborationist program. Having made a left turn in

practice, the Stalinists may find it difficult to prevent their membership from fundamental discussion of the origins of their old policies and consequences of their current line. It recalls Trotsky's call on the American SWP to offer critical support to the Communist candidate Browder during the brief period of 1939-40 (the Stalin-Hitler pact) when the Comintern was not supporting the imperialist "democracies" (FDR, et al.). Trotsky wrote:

"What I propose is a manifesto to the Stalinist workers, to say that for five years you were for Roosevelt, then you changed. This turn is in the right direction. Will you develop and continue this policy or not? Will you continue and develop it or not? If you are firm we will support you. In this manifesto we can say that if you fix a sharp program for your candidate, then we will vote for him."

—"Discussions With Trotsky," 12-15 June 1940

This is the spirit in which our French comrades are raising the question of critical support to the PCF today. And this electoral support will be as Lenin suggested, like the rope "supporting" the hanged man. For we will point out that the Communist Party's historic policy of popular front was no "mistake" but a deliberate program of blocking the road to revolution. Explicitly stated, as Stalin did in the Spanish Civil War: "Democracy now, revolution later" (i.e., never). Taken to its logical consequences, as with PCF leader Thorez' famous statement during the French general strike of June 1936 (at the time the Popular Front first came to

power): "One must know how to end a strike." We will show how the popular front paved the road for Vichy, for Hitler. We will recall how following Liberation PCF ministers in the coalition government disarmed the workers, suppressed strikes, sent the colonial army to Vietnam to suppress an independence revolt by their "comrade" Ho Chi Minh.

We will point to the betrayals of Stalinism, such as murdering thousands of Left Oppositionists and leaders of the Fourth International. Our comrades call for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies of the degenerated/deformed workers states, as part of the steadfast Trotskyist defense of the USSR against imperialism. (Unlike the Pabloist/Lambertist ex-Trotskyists and Eurocommunists who join in Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, applauding every tsar-lover who calls himself a dissident.)

The LTF points out that the Communist Party leaders cannot answer fundamental questions raised by the PCF campaign, "using our heads to find another path." Three times popular front, three times the bourgeoisie wins. (Not to mention the bloody tragedies of Spain and Chile.) Who but the Trotskyists can truthfully say they have a program of proletarian opposition to this bankrupt class collaboration? Certainly not Georges Marchais (or Gus Hall). Vote for the Stalinist bureaucrat, Marchais! No vote for the Democratic Party's flunkies, Hall and Davis! ■



# Vote Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

real concerns of San Francisco working people: jobs, the right to a decent livelihood and affordable housing, schools that can teach youth to read and write, stopping the growth of fascist groups and fighting to stop the mad anti-Soviet war drive that would send millions of working-class youth (and the rest of us) to their destruction.

A Spartacist League forum on the election on October 25 was attended by over 100, and \$525 was collected for the Coleman campaign. Unlike the various reformist "left" candidates, Coleman attacked electoralist illusions head-on:

"We are not trying to fool people that you can reform capitalism or have socialism in San Francisco or tax the corporations out of existence.... We are trying to build a mass revolutionary workers party [to] lead the class struggle where the real changes will take place—on the picket lines and in the streets and in the heat of battle."

Another featured speaker at the forum was Brian Campbell, a former two-time candidate for mayor of Vancouver on the New Democratic Party (NDP) line, now a supporter of the Trotskyist League of Canada, Canadian section of the international Spartacist tendency. Supporting the Coleman campaign, Campbell said:

"There's been a lot of talk about the need for a labor party from groups like the Socialist Workers Party.... In Canada we have the kind of labor party that they are talking about.... a reformist party, a bourgeois workers party. The NDP and social-democratic parties like it are a roadblock that will become more virulent, more vigorous the closer the possibility of attaining workers power becomes.... I am extremely happy to be up here on the podium with Diana tonight because it is the program of a revolutionary party that is being put forward in this campaign. And you get what you build. In Canada they built a reformist party that doesn't take us anywhere and has to be destroyed."

Most of the fake "socialists" in San Francisco, confronted by Coleman's forthright socialist program, have tried to ignore or run from the Coleman campaign. There was one tiny left group, though, which has given her critical support—as well as to the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Workers World Party! The Socialist League/Democratic-Centralist, whose criticisms of the Spartacist League from the right were not matched by any criticism



Coleman campaign wins active support from class-conscious SF workers.

WV Photos

of the SWP, attended the October 25 forum and falsely claimed that the controversial SL slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" wasn't in the Coleman election brochure. After Coleman corrected them and challenged SL/DCers to explain whether they supported the feudal reactionaries fighting the Soviet Army there, they refused to answer. Lenin compared communist critical support to a rope's "support" of a hanging man. But as Coleman pointed out, summing up the SL/DC's confused and peculiar performance, their notion is "sort of a case of a hanging man giving critical support to the rope."

## What Makes the SWP Run?

San Francisco has seen plenty of pseudo-socialists and ex-Marxists end up in the Democratic Party, playing the losing "politics of the possible" game. Like the reformist Communist Party

and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the SWP can barely restrain its appetite to jump into the "big time" of bourgeois betrayals. As we reported last issue, they initially offered critical support to Stan Smith, a local Democratic Party leader who was a Kennedy delegate at the 1980 convention, for supervisor. When Coleman confronted two SWPers on this recently, they told her the SWP had "reconsidered"—but not because this labor faker is a Democrat. No, "he had a bad record on some things like opposing affirmative action in his own union," they said. But maybe next time...

When Diana Coleman tried to attend a public forum given by her SWP opponent in the SF supervisors election, the SWP wouldn't even let her in the door. Their slanderous excuse was that SL supporters might cause "physical disruption." But while the SWP's

Mark Friedman brags about how he debated the terrorist Ku Klux Klan and whines about how the Republicans won't get on the same platform with him, the SWP's fascist "debating partners" set off a pipe-bomb at the SWP's own headquarters! It's a good thing the SWP isn't in any position to mislead the working class, which their reformism would leave as politically disarmed and physically unprotected as their own headquarters.

Coleman finally ran into Mark Friedman at a pro-abortion rights rally, repeatedly challenging him, "Why will you debate the Klan and not me?" His answer was, literally, to turn and run. It is not the cowardly reformism of the SWP but Diana Coleman's revolutionary socialist program that can speak to the real needs of working people in San Francisco. Vote Diana Coleman for SF Supervisor! ■

# Khomeini Connection...

(continued from page 12)

and Manfred Roeder, 51, a former lawyer disbarred in West Germany for anti-Semitic activities, talked about their children and about "the movement." Metzger, who could not be reached for comment here yesterday was quoted by the newspaper as saying: "Manfred is a friend of mine, and if he ever comes around I'll meet with him again. I have a lot of sympathy for what he stands for in Germany."

Roeder is suspected by West German authorities of masterminding a series of bombings of synagogues and camps housing foreign workers—charges that Roeder denies. Sources said Roeder instructed Klansmen and American neo-Nazis in the San Francisco Bay Area in the use of explosives during a three-month stay earlier this year. Roeder later was arrested after returning to Germany.

Sources said Metzger and Roeder met twice—once in San Jose and once in San Diego county—although Metzger will confirm only the San Diego county meeting, the newspaper reported. Metzger said there is no official link between

the Klan and Roeder's group, the German People's Movement.

"I'm not a member of his group and he's not a member of my group," Metzger told the newspaper. "But individuals from my organization are free to receive his literature and keep in touch with him. That's why I have no qualms about having them put him up for a night or feeding him a meal while he was in the Bay Area."

Police said they knew Roeder was in the United States, but that he was not arrested because no charges had been levied against him in this country. Roeder arrived in Oakland in May from Teheran, where he had been given political asylum by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

After leaving the Bay Area, sources said, Roeder travelled to Washington, D.C. and Buffalo, New York where he talked to sympathizers before returning secretly to West Germany.

German authorities arrested Roeder on September 1 in Hanover-Muenden after being tipped by American officials that he was back in this country. Roeder had fled Germany in 1978 to avoid prosecution on charges of "incitement to racial hatred and dishonoring the Jewish people."

Metzger said his followers in the Bay Area harbored Roeder and chauffeured

him around, but he said, "It was no big deal." Metzger said he admired Roeder because of his anti-communist leanings.

Asked about the similarities between the Klan and the neo-Nazis, Metzger said, "There is only one movement. Our goals are similar."

Roeder heads two American groups—the Teutonic Unity in Buffalo, and New Order Publications in Lincoln, Nebraska—that solicit money from American sympathizers to fund his group's activities in Germany.

A spokesman at the West German consulate in San Francisco said Roeder is a "fascist who romanticizes the Hitler era." He first gained public attention as an anti-pornography crusader and an opponent of sex-education in the public schools.

A source said that Roeder told Metzger's followers: "The first duty of every decent Christian is to do everything possible to destroy the power structure of the Jews."

Rhonda Abrams, head of the San Francisco Anti-Defamation League office of the B'nai B'rith said the meeting between Metzger and Roeder "shows we have to watch even local groups very carefully. Our experience shows that even small groups have international ties with extremist groups."

"This connection between Metzger

and Roeder points out the truth of what the Klan is all about. The Klan's recent cleaned-up image should not distract us from the truth. Namely, that their feelings about Jews, blacks and other minorities have not changed."

Metzger won the Democratic Congressional nomination in the 43rd District, which includes parts of San Diego, Riverside and Imperial counties. ■

## Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

### Bay Area

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

### Chicago

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

### New York City

Tuesday 6:00-10:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St.  
(one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 267-1025

## Trotskyist League of Canada

### Toronto

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



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## In S.F.—A Socialist Candidate Who Fights for Labor, Blacks Vote Diana Coleman!

SAN FRANCISCO—Socialist union militant and Spartacist supporter Diana Coleman is pressing a hard campaign in this final election week. She is running for Board of Supervisors in San Francisco, but she is also running against Reagan and Carter, the candidates of the twin parties of capitalist austerity, as they debate on TV over who can best prepare a war on the Soviet Union. She is running against strikebreaking local politicians like Mayor Dianne Feinstein, who is stumping the city for Carter and cable cars. She is running against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, who have run for office this year as both Democrats and Republicans. In this election year, when most workers, if they vote at all, will cast ballots for the candidate they hate and fear least, Diana Coleman's campaign is the only positive choice.

Everywhere Diana Coleman and her supporters in the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee have gone—phone company buildings and phone workers' bars, union meetings of longshoremen, MUNI bus drivers and letter carriers, soapbox rallies in the black working-class Ingleside neighborhood, the Latino Mission and gay Castro districts—they have been well received. They have found that the work of the

April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), which stopped a Nazi rally on Hitler's birthday and in which Diana Coleman played an active part, is well remembered in the streets of San Francisco.

Diana Coleman was recently interviewed by radio stations KNBR, KSAN and KDIA, where she denounced the upsurge of Klan/Nazi activity and warned of the danger they represent, as evidenced by the links between Klan/Democrat Tom Metzger and Manfred Roeder, a German neo-Nazi wanted in Europe for anti-Semitic bombings (see article below). She issued a press release supporting a strike by interns and resident doctors at SF General Hospital, urging that it "should have the support of every worker in this city."

San Francisco is a city of contradictions—a labor town ruled by labor-haters and strikebreakers. It's a town with radical traditions where most of the so-called radicals directly or indirectly support the capitalist Democratic Party. While the "rad-lib" Democrats on the Board of Supervisors campaign virtually on the single issue of whether they are to be elected citywide or by district, Diana Coleman alone is appealing with socialist answers to the

*continued on page 11*

Diana Coleman campaigns at Bethlehem shipyards. Workers in SF get a real choice.



WV Photo

## German Nazi Advises Klan Democrat Metzger

# The KKK's Khomeini Connection

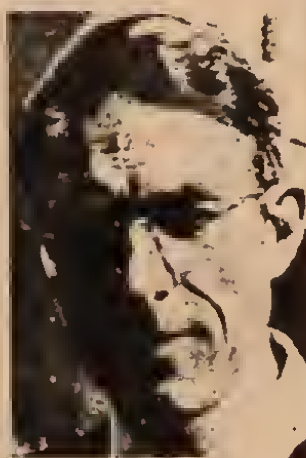
Last weekend California newspapers reported the sensational revelation that German fascist Manfred Roeder, wanted by West German authorities for his role in a series of bombings, spent three months in the United States with full knowledge of American authorities.

While here, Roeder reportedly instructed California fascists in the use of explosives. It was additionally revealed that previous to his stay in the U.S., Roeder was harbored in Tehran by Islamic fundamentalist dictator Khomeini.

Unlike pseudo-socialists such as the Socialist Workers Party, who politely discuss with KKK night-riders and hail the ayatollah's "Islamic Revolution," we warned from the beginning that the mullah-led movement in Iran was reactionary and the KKK/Nazis are terrorist killers. Now the dramatic "Khomeini connection" underlines these warnings.

In a press release issued October 27, Diana Coleman, the socialist union militant and Spartacist supporter running for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, said:

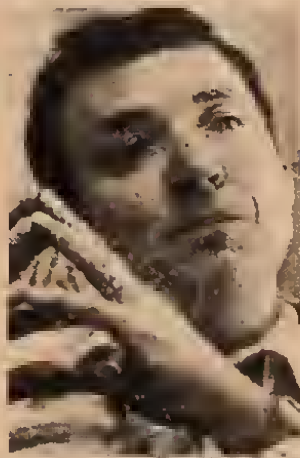
"Ku Klux Klansman Tom Metzger who is running for Congress on the Demo-



UPI



Der Spiegel



New York Times

German Nazi Roeder (left), Iran's "Imam" Khomeini, California's Klan Democrat Metzger: They rode together.

cratic Party ticket met in July with German fascist Manfred Roeder who has since been arrested in West Germany for masterminding the bombing of Jewish synagogues and camps housing foreign workers. The *San Diego Union* reports that this same Roeder traveled to the Bay Area in May instructing local Nazis and Klansmen in the use of explosives. This visit was right after the successful ANCAN demonstration of 1,200 unionists and minorities that prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in the

S.F. Civic Center.

"Since Roeder's travels through California, the Los Angeles headquarters of both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have been bombed, and a black phone worker was shot off his utility pole by a KKKer in Fontana, CA....

"This cooperation between fascist groups, the bombings and shootings, the setting up of paramilitary training camps, the authorities looking the other way, underscores the criminal idiocy of those who would portray the Nazis and

Klan as lunatic fringe electoral candidates or someone to be debated with. It is an urgent necessity for the labor movement, blacks, Latinos, Asians, immigrant workers to continue to mobilize as we did on April 19th only on a greater scale to chase these fascists back in their holes."

We reprint below in full the article from the *San Diego Union* (24 October) reporting the Metzger/Roeder/Khomeini connection:

### Metzger Met Neo-Nazi Fugitive

By Anthony Perry  
(staffwriter of the *San Diego Union*)

Ku Klux Klan leader and Congressional candidate Tom Metzger met secretly in July with a neo-Nazi fugitive wanted by West Germany in connection with a rash of bombings, sources confirmed yesterday after the meeting was reported by a San Francisco newspaper.

Metzger was quoted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as saying that he

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