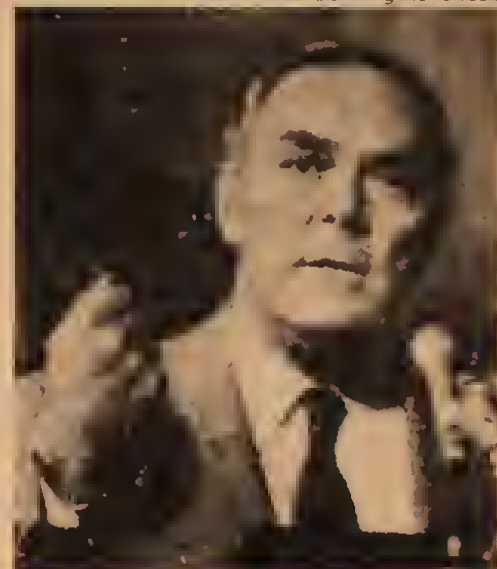




Meyer/Time



Downing/Newsweek



Whitehead/Picture Group

War President

Reagan/Haig Anti-Soviet Frenzy

FEBRUARY 10—With one hand on the bible, Ronald Reagan took the oath of office as new imperialist commander-in-chief. With the other, he began rattling the sabres of his anti-Soviet Cold War drive. Within the week Reagan's four-star secretary of state, Alexander Haig, used his first press conference to accuse the USSR of "training, funding and equipping international terrorism." And the next day the U.S. president himself railed that the Soviet Union seeks "world revolution and a one-world Communist state." With rhetoric going back to the Dulles "rollback" era, he accused Russian leaders of "reserv[ing] the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat in order to attain" this goal (*New York Times*, 30 January). What was previously implicit under Jimmy Carter's cloak

of "human rights"—a transition phase from American post-Vietnam paralysis ("détente") to Cold War II—is now flashing in red, white and blue. Reagan's hard-line anti-Communism expresses imperialism's implacable hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state.

To underscore this tough talk with action, veteran Soviet ambassador Dobrynin, the ranking member of Washington's diplomatic community, was curtly told he could no longer use the garage entrance at the State Department to avoid the press and public. Instead he would have to walk through the front entrance. The elimination of this "courtesy," one of the détente fig leaves, is more than just a symbolic gesture. Now every time the representative of the USSR wants to personally deliver a message, he runs the risk of

being blown away by some crazed Ustashi terrorist. Already in the anti-Soviet climate whipped up by Carter following the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, air traffic controllers in New York "boycotted" an Aeroflot jet carrying Dobrynin, nearly causing a crash landing. And, of course, Soviet diplomats in Washington and New York are regularly the targets of gusano Bay of Pigs veterans trained (and often funded and equipped) in their terrorist activities by the CIA.

Despite the best efforts of Brezhnev & Co., détente is dead. Even the trappings of "human rights" are being stripped away. Reagan's first foreign visitor is Jamaican leader Seaga, known at home as "CIAga" because of the considerable U.S. "destabilization" effort which aided his election last October. Next

came Korean dictator General Chun, who was spared embarrassment by the postponement of a State Department report on the torture, assassinations and suppression of democratic rights in this blood-drenched outpost of the "Free World." Haig then sacked the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, accused of being a "social reformer" ('80s equivalent of "com-symp") for sponsoring a Vietnam "pacification"-style "land reform." And to top off Week 2, Reagan brought on board an ultra-conservative think-tanker who thinks "human rights" is none of the United States' business. His post: Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

Meanwhile, the new administration is issuing rapid-fire threats to Moscow
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Bye-Bye "Human Rights"

Reagan Stands By His Butchers

Now that Reagan is in, so is South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan ... and it's bye-bye "Human Rights." As a message to every terror regime from Central America to the Philippines, the White House put on a "state visitor" extravaganza for this strutting tyrant. All were thus apprised that the U.S. will no longer be embarrassed by torture cells and police state terror so long as it is done in the name of "freedom loving" anti-Communism. As the *Wall Street Journal* (3 February) put it: "President Reagan seized the visit of South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan to signal to the world that the U.S. intends to stand by its friends." More accurately, Reagan intends to stand by his hutchers.

During the days when the White House needed a "human rights" cover

for its anti-Soviet war drive, the likes of Chun were too repulsive for public parade. But with Reagan/Haig aiming straight at the Soviet Union, Chun has become something of a Washington hero, a sort of Far Eastern shah. In his toast to the little dictator, Reagan, with his usual sense of history, pointed out that "in the short time that you've had, Mr. President, you've done much to strengthen the tradition of 5,000 years' commitment to freedom" (*New York Times*, 3 February).

Chun Doo Hwan came up through the Korean military and took over in 1979 after the assassination of ex-dictator Park Chung Hee by the Korean CIA. A clone of Park, Chun declared martial law, banned all dissent and
continued on page 8

Polanski Witchhunter Gets Burned

Bigot Boomerang

"My dear Candide! You remember Paquette, the maid-servant of our august Baroness; in her arms I enjoyed the delights of Paradise which have produced the tortures of Hell by which you see I am devoured; she was infected and perhaps is dead. Paquette received this present from a most learned monk, who had it from the source; for he received it from an old countess, who had it from a cavalry captain, who owed it to a marchioness, who derived it from a page, who had received it from a Jesuit, who, when a novice, had it in a direct line from one of the companions of Christopher Columbus. For my part, I shall not give it to anyone, for I am dying."

"O Pangloss!" exclaimed Candide, "this is a strange genealogy! Wasn't the devil at the root of it?"

—Candide by Voltaire

LOS ANGELES—It's not the best of all possible worlds for California state senator Alan Robbins. The man who was one of the loudest howlers in the witchhunt against prominent filmmaker Roman Polanski for "illegal intercourse with a minor" now faces prosecution for identical "crimes"! On January 16, the state of California indicted Robbins (Dem.-Van Nuys), a vicious anti-busing demagogue and advocate of tough "anti-rape" legislation, on ten felony counts of "sexual misconduct with teenage girls." However, the charges against him have been alternately dropped and refilled, and as a measure of their confidence his senate colleagues appointed him to a committee chairmanship.

On the other hand, internationally acclaimed director Polanski was kicked out of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" America following a nightmare official persecution. Arrested in 1977, Polanski (whose pregnant wife Sharon Tate had been grotesquely murdered at the hands of the Manson "family") was subjected, among other things, to 42 days in Chino State Prison and degrading "psychiatric observation." Under threat of further defamatory imprisonment and deportation, he finally fled the country. Polanski could not even film his latest movie, *Tess*, in Britain for fear of extradition to the U.S. Nor could he come to New York to

receive the film critics award. All this for the "crime" of having sex with a consenting sexually experienced 13-year-old model—and Robbins goes free!

The charges against Robbins stem from the period March 1978 to March 1979—the same time he was using the Polanski case to rise to power in the state senate. Allegedly, Robbins tried to seduce girls who "came to his office to interview him as part of a high school civics project" on the inner workings of state government (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 November). He even involved one young college student in volunteer intern work on his proposed anti-rape bill. For his sponsorship of this draconian legislation, Robbins won the support of numerous women's groups, at one time even distributing "rape whistles" to dramatize the bill. Meanwhile he was known in the senate as the "No. 1 foe of mandatory busing of school children." He authored the anti-integration Proposition 1 adopted by California voters in 1979.

To boost his "anti-rape" legislation, Robbins went after Polanski with a vengeance. He declared in 1977, "I have nothing against Polanski. If he is innocent, let him prove it. But if he wants to harass this 13-year-old girl, he has me to deal with." One of his laws prevents the defense from exploring the sexual history of rape victims—Robbins then used this law to undercut Polanski's defense that the so-called "innocent victim" in his case had an active prior sex and drug life. Of course, it's a different matter now that Robbins has to defend himself. Reportedly he has hired private investigators to look into the past of at least one teenage girl he's accused of seducing!

Not since Anita Bryant got divorced has there been such a satisfying fall from grace of one of these consummately hypocritical, holier-than-thou bourgeois politicians. The feminists took the orange juice queen to their bosom as soon as she announced she was "off men." (Ms. Bryant subsequently got together with an Alabama businessman.) Conversely, now that Robbins is up on a morals charge, the "feminist socialists" who once supported him are now out for his blood. Meanwhile the California Peace and Freedom Party is circulating a recall petition against Robbins. As they say, "It couldn't

happen to a nicer guy." But what about back in 1977 when this sanctimonious anti-busing bigot was the feminists' hero for his "law-and-order" rape law?

While feminists and liberals lined up with the "new right" to preserve the sanctity of home and hearth, the Spartacist League stood alone on the left in defending Polanski. Our article



Fry/LA Times

Film director Roman Polanski.

("Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski," *WV* No. 192, 2 October 1978) demanded the charges against him be dropped, explaining:

"The Polanski case has stirred up the poisonous fears and vicious repression which underlies bourgeois morality. As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding principle for sexual relations between people should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own concern, and the state has no business interfering in human sexual activity."

Roman Polanski became an early prominent victim of the mounting puritanical morality which is likely to reach new peaks with Ronald Reagan, the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan. Unlike so-called leftists who periodically make common cause with the "Moral Majority" witchhunters, we know full well that everything from the

anti-abortion crusade to the furor over "kiddie porn" to reintroducing prayers in the schools is done in the name of "saving the children" for bourgeois morality. Already there is a California "fink law" on the books requiring doctors to turn in every unmarried female under the age of 18 who they suspect has engaged in sexual activity! In the current sharp political shift to the right, it is doubly urgent for Marxists to demand an end to censorship and that the government get out of the bedroom. For the "new morality" crusade is the leading edge of a broad attack on democratic rights.

This ought to be a matter of first principles for radical democrats, let alone Marxists. Yet the one-time "consistent feminists" of the Socialist Workers Party have come out for "age of consent laws"—particularly used against homosexuals—as part of their "turn" to the labor bureaucracy, trying to make themselves presentable by capitulating to backward social attitudes in the working class. The feminists in turn have joined hands with anti-gay bigot Bryant to boycott *Penthouse* and *Playboy*. Thus "age of consent" socialists and "anti-porn" feminists link up with the Robbins and Bryants in the political equivalent of Voltaire's "syphilitic chain." The latest example of this bloc for book burning in Reagan's America was the court injunction (subsequently lifted on appeal) won by Moral Majority preacher Jerry Falwell stopping distribution of the March issue of *Penthouse*. Socialists must denounce this right-wing moralism which rants about getting government off our backs only to send it prying into the bedrooms.

So one of the witchhunters got burned. Beyond the poetic justice in seeing one of these self-righteous blue noses tripped up by his own laws, we should remember that the bourgeois figures who run afoul of the Moral Majority will be in the minority. The real victims will be homosexuals, women, minorities, the left and democratic rights themselves. That sinister racist Alan Robbins, demagogic champion of pubescent female chastity, has temporarily fallen prey to the "new morality" only testifies to its ominous growth. Drop the charges against Roman Polanski! Abolish all laws against consensual sexual activity! ■

Medical Bulletin on Comrade Murry Weiss

We recently received the following communication from Clara Fraser of the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party, which we reprint below for the interest of our readers.

January 30, 1981

On December 29, 1980, Murry Weiss, a veteran of American Trotskyism and current co-chairperson of CRSP, returned to New York City after two weeks in Madrid and Paris (for the World Conference of the Fourth International (International Committee)). He returned in excellent health and spirits, but after less than a week in the vile New York weather, Comrade Weiss fell victim to the city's flu epidemic, coming down with a severe cold.

At the insistence of his comrade, Susan Williams, M.D., Murry reluctantly entered New York's Doctors Hospital on January 2, 1981. His cold swiftly developed into pneumonia and his temperature reached a blistering 104 degrees. For four days,

Murry lingered near death. He was delirious and completely disoriented.

By January 6th, Murry's pneumonia and fever had stabilized, but he developed kidney failure and intensive breathing difficulties, and began slipping in and out of a coma.

He was transferred to the 24 hour intensive care unit, a kidney specialist was summoned, and a respirator brought in to aid his breathing. Nurses were stationed at his bedside around the clock. His New York comrades and close friends were with him also, having maintained an around-the-clock vigil, in shifts, from the outset of his hospitalization. Comrade Mary Ann Curtis of Seattle had already been sent to New York on January 5th, to devote full time to coordinating Murry's care, visitations, and business affairs.

The next ten days in intensive care were a period of extremely dangerous touch and go. But by January 16th, Murry's condition had miraculously improved to the point where he was taken off the respirator, although he still had to use an oxygen mask and engage in daily breathing exercises to improve his lung capacity. His kidneys, which had ceased functioning, started to mend.

Internal bleeding had further complicated his recovery during this critical period, but by the morning of January 16th, however, the bleeding had stopped. And from that time on, his condition improved steadily.

On January 22nd—finally!—Murry Weiss made the great leap forward: out of intensive care and into a private room across the hall! After more than two gruelling weeks of being kept alive by machines, he was able to function on his own.

Murry's doctors have testified to their amazement at his power of recovery, drive, and enormous will to live. It will not be long now, hopefully, before Murry is out of the hospital. Already he's impatient to be back in the thick of revolutionary politics, and his conversation bubbles over with accounts of Paris and Madrid and his experiences with the U.S. CRSP delegation there.

To all of you who have known and respected and loved Murry as an intransigent lifelong fighter for revolutionary socialism and socialist feminism, we ask that you write him cards or notes of greetings, encouragement, and cheer. Murry's health responds positively to signs

of affection and concern, and correspondence, more than anything, spurs his recovery.

Also, his family, friends, patients, and comrades request that you feel wonderfully free to send him what funds you can. The costs of his illness are enormous, over and above his bare hospital coverage, and a (surprise to him) *Murry Weiss Recovery Fund* has been set up to freshen and refurbish his apartment for his homecoming and to take care of his mounting expenses and loss of income from his private practice as a psychologist.

Please send all mail to Murry to Morris Weiss, 115 West 15th Street, No. 2F, New York City, 10011. No flowers or plants, please. Send all financial donations to Dr. Susan Williams, 301 West 17th Street, No. 2E, New York City, 10011.

Thank you in advance for your sympathy and aid. We came very close to losing Murry, and we feel you will want to help make him as comfortable as possible in his time of recovery. A revolutionary life is a precious thing.

Clara Fraser,
Freeway Hall
Seattle, WA

Madison:

SYL Leads 400 in El Salvador Rally

MADISON—Chanting "No U.S. aid to the murderous junta," over 400 students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison joined in a militant rally February 4 against American imperialism's support to the bloody generals in El Salvador. The successful united-front demonstration was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League (SL), to protest the Reagan administration's clear intention to crush left-wing forces in Central America as the first step in its Cold War drive against Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The rally was organized around three demands: "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Stop U.S. Aid to the Murderous Junta! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!" Among the organizations and individuals endorsing the demonstration were, in addition to the SL/SYL: the Union of Arab Students, the Chicano students' organization MEChA, the Teaching Assistants Stewards Council, the Wisconsin Students Association Staff, Graphic Arts International Union Local 507 president Wil Haasch, the student newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, and professors Harvey Goldberg and Steve Stern.

Speakers at the rally included spokesmen for the SL and SYL, members of Community Action for Latin America and the Progressive Students Association (PSO) and Bob Lotz, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1014 from Gary, Indiana. Lotz drew applause from the crowd by calling for labor action to halt U.S. arms shipments to El Salvador and for strikes against any U.S. intervention. SYL spokesman Dorie Reed stressed that "the Soviet Union is the real target of Reagan's war drive." As Trotskyists we call for defending the gains of the Russian and Cuban Revolutions, she said, but also for the ouster of the ruling bureaucrats and their replacement by



University of Wisconsin, February 4: Successful united-front rally for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!"

revolutionary workers governments.

Gene Schubert of the Spartacist League called for military victory to the left-wing rebels in El Salvador while denouncing the bourgeois strategy of the popular-front Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) coalition. The FDR has pledged itself to a capitalist reform program and is seeking a diplomatic deal with imperialism which would cheat the workers and peasants out of the victory they have already paid for with their blood. At the end of Schubert's speech a good part of the crowd joined with the SL/SYL in chanting, "No popular-front illusions—For workers revolution!"

Opposition to "another Vietnam" in El Salvador runs deep on campus. During the week preceding the rally Madison students clustered around SYL literature tables, eager to protest Reagan's threats of intervention and to discuss not only the role of American imperialism in El Salvador, but also the Trotskyist program of proletarian

opposition to popular frontism and military defense of Cuba and the USSR. This was all the more notable as various opportunist "left" groups try to hide from sharp political debate by limiting protest to "U.S. hands off" and calling for "self-determination" for El Salvador. The 400 students who protested with the SYL constituted one of the largest recent rallies at the Wisconsin campus, long a focus of left-wing and student protest.

A right-wing provocateur from the South Korean CIA-supported "Unification Church" of Sun Myung Moon attempted to disrupt the rally by entering the hall where the meeting was held with a sign reading, "Nicaraguan Commies Out of El Salvador." The Moonies' real purpose was revealed at the rally's end when the reactionary cultist got a cop to arrest a member of the SYL on trumped-up charges of "disorderly conduct" and "not answering questions." The SYL protested this police provocation and demands that the charges against our comrade be

dropped!

Notable for their boycott of the rally were all the other organizations in the Madison left. The PSO, a front group for the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade; the reformist Democratic Socialist Alliance, a lashup of Michael Harrington's DSOC, the New American Movement and the Socialist Party; the local March 28th Movement and the Progressive Labor Party all refused to endorse the demonstration. The idiosyncratic Stalinist PLP/INCAR refuses on principle to engage in united fronts with other left groups and even opposes military victory for the Salvadoran leftists because they are not led by the PLP. The other reformist organizations, despite supposed acceptance of the rally demands, refused to share a platform with the SYL because of our opposition to treacherous political alliances with "progressive" capitalists and "democratic" colonels. Thus they proved in practice that it is they and not the Trotskyists who are the true "sectarians." ■

Union Boycott of Military Goods to El Salvador Ruled "Out of Order"

Bay Area Labor-Fakers Cover for CIA/AIFLD

SAN FRANCISCO, January 22—The first meeting of the "Trade Union Committee on El Salvador" looked familiar: chairman was the ubiquitous Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, flanked by fawning supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And crawling around the SWP were the cockroaches from the minuscule "Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist)" (SL-DC) and the so-called "Trotskyist Organizing

Committee" (TOC). Johnson has led so many fake "labor support" coalitions that he even forgot whether this one was for Chile, Cuba or El Salvador until someone reminded him! And aside from the usual protest rally, his only proposal for "action" was to place an ad in the *San Francisco Chronicle* begging Reagan not to intervene in El Salvador.

However, longshoreman Howard Keylor, a member of ILWU Local 10's Executive Board and spokesman for the Militant Caucus in that union, raised a program of resolute working-class action against imperialism and its puppets, both here and in El Salvador:

"This meeting calls upon the American labor movement to hot cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and further calls for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. We urge our class brothers in El Salvador to politically break with the patriotic bourgeoisie and to struggle for a workers and peasants government in El Salvador and throughout Central America. U.S.-OAS-Latin American bourgeoisies—all hands off El Salvador!"

Johnson ruled this out of order with the sneering remark, "We don't want to be telling the peasants in whatever countries what to do." But Johnson does not mind having the "American Institute for

Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), the CIA's labor front for Vietnam-style "pacification" in Latin America, telling the workers and peasants "what to do" at gunpoint! When members of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA tried to present a motion calling for an immediate break from the AIFLD and condemning "the policies of the pro-capitalist labor leaders who for years have collaborated with big business and the CIA in setting up and maintaining the AIFLD," Johnson would not even recognize them. And a subsequent leaflet of his trade-union committee listed among the Salvadoran junta's crimes the murder of "two AFL-CIO representatives." So these shameless reformists shed tears over the deaths of two exposed operatives for the CIA/AIFLD's El Salvador "land reform" hoax!

As usual, the SL-DC and TOC spent their time trying to persuade the skunks to change their stripes: the SL-DC even appealed explicitly to Lane Kirkland, a founder of the AIFLD, to "cease all cooperation" with it! But Johnson would not tolerate even this house opposition. When a supporter of the TOC tried to present a watered-down motion to "investigate" and "expose"

and 'perhaps eventually "withdraw" from the AIFLD, Johnson denounced it as "emoting" on unrelated issues. SWP flunkies like Jeff Mackler chimed in

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs

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13 February 1981

Boston SYL Forum

**U.S./OAS Hands Off!
Defense of Cuba, USSR
Begins in El Salvador!**

**For Workers
Revolution
in Central America!**

Speaker: Jan Norden, editor,
Workers Vanguard
SL Central Committee
Wednesday, February 18
7:00 p.m. Philips Brooks House
Harvard

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Don't Let Them Get Away With It!

SWP: Thought Police of the Left

~ "Trotskyists are being excluded from this meeting!" The protest came from supporters of the Spartacist League as they were refused admittance to a publicly advertised Socialist Workers Party (SWP) rally to kick off the SWP's "socialist Watersuit" against government harassment. This incident at the February 7 meeting in New York is the latest in a long line of SWP political exclusions of the SL aimed at sealing off the SWP membership from our revolutionary criticism.

What makes this incident so gross is that this meeting was not just one of the routine Militant Forums, so deadly dull that even most SWP members don't show up. This "Watersuit" rally was a maximum-effort mobilization, billed as the major event in the left's battle against repression. The advertising crowd: come hear the ideas the FBI is trying to suppress. SWP speakers at the rally boasted of the "broad support" behind their case and touted the "Watersuit" as an anti-sectarian blow in defense of free speech on behalf of all the oppressed. And all the while, an SWP goon squad was maintaining the reformist ideological purity of the meeting through the cowardly exclusion of communists. The hypocrisy of these professed civil libertarians boggles the mind.

The SWP began by harassing our comrades as they tried to sell and distribute literature on the sidewalk outside. The action got going in earnest when three Spartacist comrades tried to enter the meeting hall to attend the rally. As they mounted the steps, a goon squad of at least a dozen SWPers forcibly blocked their path. Then this wall of beef backed the three SL women down the steps and onto the sidewalk.



New York City, 7 February: Reformist SWP excludes communists from its "public" civil liberties meetings, but it is proud to debate the Klan.

Our photographer was prevented from photographing the incident. Another comrade was summarily ejected from the meeting when he identified himself and requested permission to set up a tape recorder.

A gay rights group which includes several ex-SWPers was also excluded from the meeting. After the incident one of its supporters commented to an SLer: "Aren't you glad these people don't have state power? If they did, you'd be in jail and I'd be in an insane asylum."

All protests against the SWP's scandalous policy of political exclusionism were met by charges that the Spartacist League is "disruptive." This is a simple slander. We are not disrupters, as the SWP well knows. We are socialists who simply seek to exercise our right as members of the public to

attend public meetings and speak from the floor during discussion periods. This is what the SWP is really afraid of. For the SWP to masquerade as "Trotskyists," it must muzzle those whose authentic Trotskyist politics would expose the SWP's reformist renunciation of its past revolutionary tradition.

This shameful violation of workers democracy must not go unanswered. As an SL leaflet distributed at the meeting explained:

"Workers democracy is not an empty phrase. It is not even just a tactic. It is a principle fought for by Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement against the Stalinist gangsters whom Trotsky call 'the syphilis of the workers movement.' The Stalinists' organizational practices of exclusionism and slander have a logic. This logic was demonstrated in the Minneapolis Smith Act trials during World War II when the Stalinists

chanced on the government prosecution of Trotskyists by laws it would soon fall victim to. The social-democratic SWP now partakes of those practices because it shares the Stalinists' fear of open political debate before the socialist and working-class public."

Indeed, these days the Communist Party—more explicitly revisionist than the SWP and therefore less threatened by the prospect of Trotskyists quoting Lenin (and Trotsky)—is rather less systematic in anti-Spartacist exclusionism than the SWP.

Exclusionism (and the accompanying slanders about "disruption") is soft-core violence, an attempt to create a climate of opinion that communists are non-people, undeserving of workers democracy. On a much more ominous scale, the government uses this same tactic when it hides behind professed concern about "terrorism" to itself do violence to leftist, black and labor militants, branding them as criminals about whom anything can be said and to whom anything can be done. In SWP lingo, "ultra-leftist" and "disrupter" serve the same function as "extremist" and "terrorist" in the mouth of the government—to turn communists into non-people with no rights.

For its own petty factional reasons, the SWP now makes use of the notorious Stalinist tactics of exclusionism and slander which have played no small role historically in undercutting genuine solidarist defense of victimized leftists. The practice of political suppression is the mortal enemy of the struggle for consciousness in the working class. Any unionist who has ever found himself speaking into a suddenly dead microphone will have no trouble understanding what the SWP is all about. ■

Helmut Schmidt is Enemy of Central American Revolution!

20,000 March in Frankfurt El Salvador Demo

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Probably the largest El Salvador "solidarity" demonstration outside of Latin America took place in this city on January 31. Twenty thousand spirited student-youth marched through the financial capital of German imperialism as hundreds of cops carrying body-length shields lined the march route and police helicopters hovered overhead. A few anarcho-spontaneists predictably broke some shop windows, provoking a screaming headline from the local tabloid the following day, "Terror in Frankfurt."

Looking at the surface, one might have thought one was back in the heyday of New Left Third Worldism of the late 1960s. Pictures of Che Guevara were sprinkled among the demonstrators, who chanted: "U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador!" In reality the politics of this demonstration were very different. The basic aim of the demonstration was to pressure Helmut Schmidt's ruling social-liberal coalition government into bringing peace, democracy and "human rights" to Central America. The main demand was for the West German imperialist state to recognize the popular-front Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). This is also the basic strategy of the FDR, whose leading spokesman is a fellow member of Schmidt's Second



Spartakist

(social-democratic) International. The demonstrators' other main demand was that Schmidt pressure Reagan to negotiate with leftist insurgents in El Salvador.

Reagan is not likely to give Schmidt the time of day, much less El Salvador. Still the Frankfurt demonstrators are not wrong in thinking that they have some friends in the Bonn ministries. For some time now the social-democratic flunkies of German imperialism have been trying to make inroads into the Yankces' backyard. In order to keep Latin American radicals

in the "free world," West Germany's "socialists" have aided the Nicaraguan Sandinistas as well as Salvadoran leftists. One of the reasons the Frankfurt demonstration was so large is that it corresponded to the line of a section of the West German ruling establishment.

A militant contingent of about 40 supporters of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) participated in the demonstration. The central axis of our intervention was opposition to popular frontism

(in both El Salvador and Germany) and defense of the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. Our slogan, "Down with NATO! Defend Cuba and the USSR!" clashed with the social-democratic prejudices of many of the demonstrators and drove the anarcho-spontaneists and Maoists into a frenzy. And not least, the TLD sought to impress on the thousands of radical West German youth that the liberation of the Central American masses lies in *workers revolution*, not Schmidt's "détente" cake in place of Reagan's Cold War whip.

AFL-CIO Tops—Hands Off Poland!

Western imperialism figures it has an opening in Poland, an opportunity to strike a blow against the Soviet Union deep in its own sphere. From the Pentagon to the Common Market Commission to the Vatican, plans are afoot on how to recapture Poland for the "Free World." In the mouths of such certified labor haters, all their talk of "free unions" really means "free enterprise"—a call for restoring capitalist exploitation through bloody counter-revolution. And it should surprise no one that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is heavily involved in these efforts.

Throughout most of the 1960s-'70s, the Meanyite labor fakers attacked the State Department from the right, for being "soft on Communism." George Meany and his chief lieutenant, Lane Kirkland, were hawks on Vietnam even after Nixon and Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause. Now with Reagan in the White House, the AFL-CIO tops have a president whose foreign policy at least is more to their liking. Under the slogan "Solidarity with Solidarność" (the Polish union body), they are leading the charge on the Polish front of Cold War II.

Early last September, right after the Gdansk agreement recognizing independent unions, the AFL-CIO Executive Board announced it had established a "Polish Workers Aid Fund." At the same time, Doug Fraser of the more liberal UAW said the Auto Workers union had sent \$120,000 to the Polish strikers' families. By early this year the AFL-CIO fund had amassed \$160,000, which had been "used by the Paris office of the American labor federation to purchase office equipment and supplies to help the Polish union..." (*New York Times*, 7 January). Nobody could remember the AFL-CIO showing such

encouragement to workers defying the American government—e.g., postal workers in 1970.

Seeking to give this anti-Communist and probably CIA-connected operation a thin cover of trade-union militancy, a special September issue of the federation's *Free Trade Union News* praised the Polish workers for demanding "the right to strike." The AFL-CIO Exec Board, champions of the right to strike? Tell that to the coal miners! Meany, Kirkland & Co. didn't lift a finger when Jimmy Carter tried to break the 1978 coal strike with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Supporters of a 40-hour workweek in Poland, these pro-capitalist bureaucrats go along with compulsory overtime throughout U.S. industry, often resulting in 50-60 hours of labor a week.

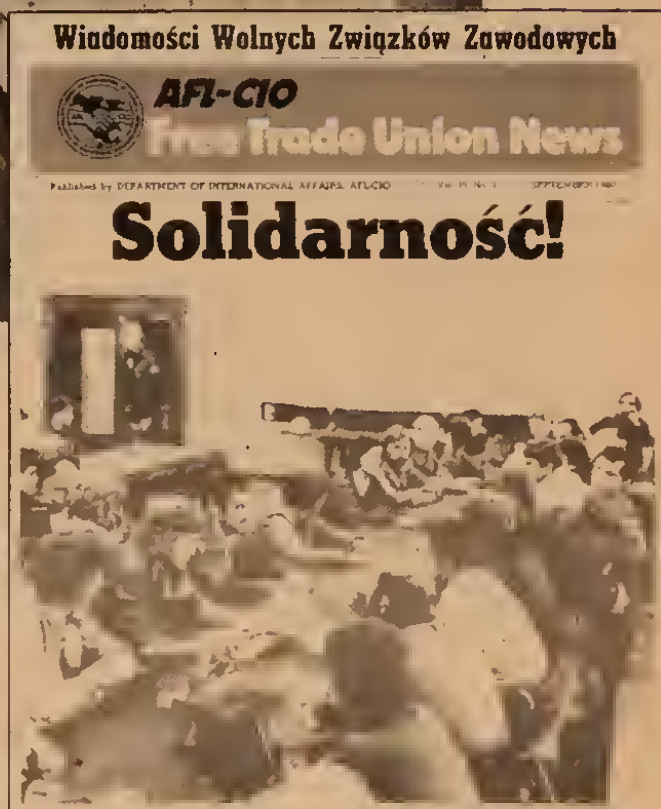
So it is entirely appropriate that this same special "Solidarność" edition of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News* (also published in Polish) has a picture of federation president Kirkland shaking hands with strikebreaker Carter. The "aid" fund was preceded, of course, by the reactionary ILA longshore boycott to cut off commerce with "Communist" Poland. Even the Machinists' "socialist" president Winpisinger fell in behind conservative ILA chief Gleason by agreeing to cut off airline service to Warsaw. As we pointed out at the time, both the hucks and the boycott are "designed to strengthen the cold war drive against the Soviet Union" ("No to ILA Anti-Communist Boycott!" *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980).

In Latin America, It's Called "AFL-CIA"

The AFL-CIO dollar-laundering operation, mostly via European unions (such as the Swedish labor federation,



Right-wing CIA-connected U.S. labor bureaucracy sends money, propaganda to Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarity.



which passed along a \$50,000 printing press to Solidarność) was immediately denounced as a provocation by Warsaw and Moscow. Even Carter's "détente"-

minded secretary of state Muskie first opposed it, though the State Department soon came around. When in
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SWP: Lawyers for Polish Kulaks

The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continues in its role as self-appointed lawyer for the forces of social



Clerical-nationalist Walesa: "I'm not a socialist." UPI

reaction in Poland. Last fall it presented a friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of the Catholic church's demand for access to the mass media (see "SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October 1980). Now it has taken on the job as advocate for the Polish kulak. The 6 February *Militant* contains an article polemizing against Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, entitled "Poland: Why Alliance with Farmers Is Vital for Working Class." It is relatively easy to take out the Marcy group, which condemns Solidarność Wiejska (Rural Solidarity) while claiming that the Polish Stalinist ruling party is the only organized political force capable of "redirecting Polish society in a genuinely socialist direction." But championing the cause of the petty-capitalist farmers is another matter altogether.

It is one of the ABCs of Leninism and Trotskyism that in a backward workers state a landowning peasantry is a potent social base for capitalist restorationism. That is why one of the central elements of the Left Opposition's program was agricultural collectivization. Now the long-since ex-Trotskyist SWP quotes Trotsky's statement that millions of private peasants constituted the "fundamental source of the capitalist tendencies in Russia," only to deny that it is at all applicable to Poland today! In Russia in the 1920s, you see, the peasantry was the large majority of the population, whereas in Poland "the

percentage of the population employed in farming has declined steadily." The *Militant* does not inform its readers that the landowning peasants still number 3.5 million or one quarter of the total labor force (*New York Times*, 12 January).

Reading the *Militant* article, one would think Poland's peasants are true-blue socialists almost to a man. There is no mention whatever of the well-known fact that the peasantry is the primary social base of the Polish Catholic church. That is why Pope Wojtyla in his recent interview with Lech Walesa counseled moderation on the part of the industrial workers, while forthrightly championing recognition for the peasant organization. And the priest involved in the Solidarność Wiejska sit-in in the Rzeszów townhall agitates his followers: "The economic disruption caused by your strike is nothing in comparison with the damage which the rural economy has long suffered under the Communists" (*Der Spiegel*, 26 January).

Although the *Militant* has written a lengthy article on "Rural Solidarity," it carefully does not list the demands of the peasant organization. On the contrary, the *Militant* is misleading in this regard: "A rich landowner, or an aspiring one, would not be demanding better medical and social benefits and a guaranteed income." But Solidarność Wiejska is demanding rather more than

this. It is demanding an end to restrictions on the buying and selling of land, the return to private hands of fields taken over by the authorities for cooperatives, the right to bequeath land to one's children or others and an end to economic favoritism toward cooperatives and state farms (e.g., cheaper credits, first access to new equipment). The peasants' non-economic demands include the construction of more churches, no restriction on religious education for their children and the end to compulsory teaching of Russian in the schools.

Essentially social-democratic in its political outlook, the SWP naturally amalgamates the industrial proletariat with the rural petty bourgeoisie. As Marxists, we hold that "A landholding peasantry is everywhere a deeply conservative potential bastion of reaction, whose immediate interests run counter to those of the working class" ("The President's Pope," *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). Despite the strong clerical-nationalist influence among Poland's industrial workers, their demand for independent trade unions had a contradictory character, and so we gave it equivocal support. No such contradiction is present in Solidarność Wiejska. Given its social composition and reactionary program, legitimizing this particular peasant organization can only strengthen the forces of capitalist restorationism in Poland. ■

Reformist Answer to KKK Terror: Lobby Your Congressman

California Bill Thro

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With black America under the gun of Reagan racism, pressure is mounting in the ghettos. Unemployment exceeds Great Depression levels, social programs face the Republicans' budget-cutting ax and the race-terrorists grow bolder daily (according to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, incidents of fascist violence have *tripled* in the past year). Even black liberals are feeling the heat. As a result, efforts are already under way to put together a new "people's front" to undercut the appeal of the left by tying labor and blacks to out-of-office Democrats with "fight the right"

that their program is "not a call for 'lobbying' in the classical way of behind the scenes manipulation, but instead a call for a mass people's lobby."

Actually, the NAKN's "lobby of a new type" is standard CP-style reformist fare—appealing to the bosses' state as some kind of "neutral" arbiter which supposedly can be pressured into defending the exploited and oppressed. This flies in the face of history, not to mention the Marxist understanding that the ruling class cannot dispense with the fascist terrorists to whom it will appeal, *in extremis*, as its last line of defense against the spectre of workers revolu-

long-time leader of Mike Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML). "Why does Jarvis have to lead a tax movement? Why can't we lead one?" she complained. This appeal to compete with the ultra-right on the terrain of bourgeois populism is certainly in keeping for the CP-ML. The Klonskyites are the American Maoist group with the "Chinese franchise" and have supported every rightward shift of Peking foreign policy toward an open anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. Earlier this year, in the wake of Afghanistan, they refused to oppose the draft, and now Wells wants to vie with California senator Jarvis, whose "tax revolt" is a cover for racist backlash. Reportedly these policies coincide with turmoil in the CP-ML, whose China-loyal policies have made it a shameful voice for domestic and imperialist reaction.

Another component of the conference centered on radical fellow-traveling lawyer Arthur Kinoy and his Center for Constitutional Rights. Kinoy says the answer to race terror is enforcement of the old "KKK statutes" passed during Reconstruction. His "weapons" in the struggle against fascism are the grand jury and the federal injunction. Kinoy distributed copies of his testimony before Conyers' House subcommittee hearings, claiming that this "was precisely the approach which was taken in the early 1960s after the brutal murders of the three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney in Philadelphia, Mississippi." But a year after the COFO three were slain, appeals for Justice Department and court protection didn't prevent civil rights marcher Viola Liuzzo from being gunned down on the road to Selma. It wasn't hard to find the killers, though they were never brought to justice, because FBI agent Gary Rowe was in the car (and may well have been the triggerman). Neither Kinoy's legalism nor Wells' populist appeals offer any perspective for stopping the KKK/Nazi killers or the racist reaction now entrenched in Washington.

Meanwhile, the conference heard numerous disturbing reports of growing racist attacks, from the rise of the Klan in Midwest steel plants to fascist activity in the Pensacola, Florida post office to cross-burnings from Connecticut to Mississippi. In particular, the labor workshop, one of the best-attended, reflected concern among trade unionists over spreading KKK activity. A number of union officials made presentations, including a USWA Steelworkers District 15 rep and a leader of the all-black National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. Yet their only answer was "exchange of information by labor groups" and to "share consciousness-raising techniques." In contrast, the Spartacist League has pounded home that organized labor is the only social force with the power and class interest to stop the fascists in their tracks. How to do it: not with bureaucratic committees but by mobilizing workers and blacks to prevent the KKK/Nazis from parading their race-hate in the streets.

This strategy of independent labor/black mobilization was the program of SL-built demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco which successfully interdicted the fascist terrorists following the Greensboro massacre. While the local AKN in San Francisco last April 19

appealed to the mayor for legal action against the Hitler-Invers and held its own popular-frontist, non-confrontational" demo hlocks away from the Nazis' announced site, a Spartacist-initiated demo drew 1,200 (more than three times as many), including contingents and representatives from two dozen unions, to occupy the front of City Hall.

Today It's "Anti-Fascist Unity"

While the various "constituencies" were "sharing experiences" in the workshops, the Stalinist organizers were papering over their quarrels in the name of "anti-fascist unity." Les Freedman of the Greensboro Justice Fund intoned from the podium, "We can heal these wounds between our coalitions. Both sides made errors." What wounds and errors? Only the initiated would know that barely a year ago this same NAKN tried to exclude the Communist Workers Party (CWP) from a February 2 demonstration in Greensboro protesting the murder of five of the CWP's own members on 3 November 1979. In fact, the AKN grew out of an anti-communist conference in Atlanta that December called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Kinoy's CCR, the National Council of Churches and the Inter-Faith Council of the Rev. Lucius Walker. A *New York Times* (18 November 1979) article reported the preachers' real concern: "They are

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There is a sinister legal trap being set in California, and much of the left is walking right into it cheering and clapping. Warning: on January 29 California attorney general George Deukmejian announced a proposed new bill to "outlaw extremist groups" which "advocate violence." Against the background of outrage over growing Ku Klux Klan/Nazi terror and provocation in California—particularly recent attacks against Jewish institutions in Los Angeles—there are promises that the proposed bill will be used only against fascists. Don't believe it. It is the left which is targeted.

The language of the bill ought to set off paddy-wagon sirens inside the heads of every leftist, black militant and trade unionist: "It shall be unlawful for any group or organization that knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches or encourages the commission of acts of violence and force...." Reporters at the news conference pointed out that the bill could be used against "unpopular groups"; one joked that it could even outlaw the Oakland Raiders football team. But for the left this proposed bill, modeled on the notorious witchhunting Smith Act, is no joke.

"Don't worry," says the right-wing Republican attorney general, "Trust me." Black State Senator Diane Watson, who intends to introduce the bill, promises it won't "impact on labor and non-violent civil rights groups" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). The bill

C. P. Recipe For Fighting Fascism!



Then-revolutionary SWP cartoon: Socialist Appeal, 1939.

rhetic. This is the task which the "National Anti-Klan Network" (NAKN) set itself last weekend. Its program: beg, wheedle and cajole the man the KKK proclaimed its presidential Kandidate to "enforce the law!"

The second annual conference of the NAKN, held at Howard University January 30-31, was an attempt to rope in such a broad liberal-left coalition, complete with a black Democratic Congressman as figurehead, recruiting from a "wide spectrum of religious, labor, political and community groups." The approximately 500 people who turned out were a familiar array: "grassroots" Southern organizers, Northern ghetto preachers, "concerned" church organizations, liberal lawyers, "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats. With a hodgepodge of Stalinist outfits (indistinguishable in their coalitions, ad hoc committees and other front groups) running the show behind the scenes, it was your standard popular-front meeting, American style—a throwback to the Vietnam-era "People's Coalition for Peace and Justice" and many more before it.

The Anti-Klan Network's focus is on Congressional hearings into "Racial Violence Against Minorities" before the House Subcommittee on Crime, chaired by Michigan congressman John Conyers. The conference adopted a call for a "Spring Offensive" to "mobilize a National Lobby" around the hearings. Of course, "write your Congressman" has been the hallmark of many a Communist Party (CP) loser campaign for decades. So trying to look a little more militant, NAKN organizers insist

tion and black emancipation. But where the CP calls for "Ban the Klan," even in its own terms the NAKN formula is *below* reformism. Rather than calling on the government to "outlaw racism," they raise only two demands:

"1. Demand that the Reagan administration...declare a national state of emergency concerning the rise of the Klan and racist violence.

"2. That all federal, state, and local governments enforce the existing laws...which have been on the books since Reconstruction and strengthened in the 1960s."

Talk about spreading illusions! Were these demands ever acted on, they would be downright dangerous. Even as direct U.S. complicity with the November 1979 Greensboro massacre is proved, even when a year later the courts released the KKK/Nazi killers while persecuting their victims—these starry-eyed reformists continue to call on the armed bodies of the class enemy to reform themselves into fighters of fascism. Such "anti-extremist" laws to outlaw fascists, when passed, are invariably used against the left and minorities seeking to defend themselves against the reactionary killers. Calling on Washington (under Reagan!) to "protect" minorities against the Klan is inviting a deadly occupation of the ghettos on the order of Little Rock 1956 or Birmingham 1963.

NAKN "Strategy": Populism and Legalism

One of the main themes of the conference was that "we have been out-organized by the right." This note was sounded particularly by NAKN executive committee member Lyn Wells, a

Don't Rely on Bosses State!

What's Wrong With "Ban the Klan"



Mobilize Labor, Blacks to Smash Fascist Terror!

Ron Layner

K Terror:

California Anti-"Extremists" Bill Threatens Left

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"Don't worry," says the right-wing Republican attorney general, "Trust me." Black State Senator Diane Watson, who intends to introduce the bill, promises it won't "impact on labor and non-violent civil rights groups" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). The bill

provides the legal framework for court tests, prison sentences, injunctions, demands for membership lists, contempt of court citations and years of litigation. Watson said an earlier draft of the bill provided that membership in an "extremist organization" would itself have been a felony. That provision, she says, has been dropped in favor of "go[ing] after the organizations" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January). The bill would empower the attorney general or local DAs to get court orders to disband "extremist groups" and slap contempt of court charges on their officers and members. It also raises the penalty for defacing "someone else's property" with a swastika or cross.

When Robert Harris of the California Association of Black Lawyers and a drafter of the bill says that he is "fed up with the constitutional nonsense that has been going into advocating that nothing can be done to deal with racial violence" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January), we can sympathize with his sentiments. In the name of the First Amendment, the "constitutionalists" of the ACLU have helped the fascists in court, refusing to recognize that the KKK/Nazis take to the streets not for "speech" but for race-terror. In Skokie, Illinois the ACLU went to court to help the stormtroopers with their plan to stage an anti-Semitic provocation in that community of death-camp survivors. No wonder civil-libertarian objections aren't cutting much ice with people who think Deukmejian & Co. have found a way to deal with the fascists.

But in this instance the California ACLU recognizes what the Deukmejian bill is all about. On February 1 Deukmejian stumped for his "anti-extremist" bill at a rally against anti-Semitism in San Bernardino Valley. He did not mention the Klan once. The ACLU's Brent Barnhard observed that those who favor the bill "have amazingly short memories. They should know that this sort of legislation has turned against people like themselves" (*Recorder*, 30 January). She pointed out that the proposed bill is "patterned after the Smith Act"—another law which was "supposed" to be directed against the Nazis (it was passed in 1940 as the U.S. was preparing to enter World War II) but was used to terrorize the left. Barnhard also noted the more recent California Terrorist Act of 1977, which was used against the United Farmworkers in San Diego. She could have added the infamous COINTELPRO counter-intelligence program, originally offered up as a measure to combat growing KKK/Nazi terror. In fact a few disruptions against fascist organizations were engineered by the government's secret police. But COINTELPRO's disruption of far-right terrorists was a cover for its real purpose as an instrument of vicious repression against the antiwar and militant black movements of the 1960s.

The official court calendar newspaper for San Francisco, the *Recorder* (9 February), reports that just last week the Second District Court of Appeals ruled as constitutional the 1977 California "terrorism act" which defines terrorism as "to create a climate of fear and intimidation by means of threats or violent action causing sustained fear [!] for personal safety in order to achieve social or political goals" (our emphasis). The case involved a Muslim man arrested on a marijuana charge who quoted "eye for an eye" passages from

the Islamic code to the cops. The court ruled that this was "terrorism" and not "protected speech" under standards of the First Amendment because the Islamic code was "foreign to the precepts of the U.S."

The Communist Party which suffered most as victims of the Smith Act witchhunt greets the Deukmejian bill as a prime example of its strategy of relying on the government to "Ban the Klan": "The *People's World* has long been on record favoring the outlawing of the KKK, Nazis and similar groups. Public demand is now swinging more toward that view." The editorial praises the

ist state has given the KKK/Nazis a green light for terror while arresting anti-Klan demonstrators who survived the murderous attack.

The "law enforcement" Deukmejian wants is the legal framework for police action against the left, replacing the legally discredited Smith Act. The Smith Act and "Criminal Syndicalism" laws against "advocacy" were rendered moot by court decisions beginning in 1957. The Justice Department dropped hundreds of its cases against the Communist Party (CP). With a new "advocacy" law aimed at "terrorism," Deukmejian expects a new lease on legal



San Francisco, April 19, 1980: Phone workers contingent spearheads labor/minority mobilization to stop Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday.

California bill as "historic, brought about by the demand of and outcry of millions," and calls for "a full scale campaign to secure their passage and then we can get on to the business of a national ban on the KKK and Nazis, and the illegalization of the teaching and all acts which foment anti-Semitism and racism" (*People's World*, 31 January).

Deukmejian Targets the Left

Headlines in the *Oakland Tribune* read: "Deukmejian Takes on the Klan." But by the time it reached the *New York Times* it was: "Violent Groups Face Curb in California." Just which groups are these "violence prone" "outlaws"? And why does Deukmejian need a new law to deal with them? We don't have to guess. We know.

Why does the attorney general who says he wants to be governor in 1982 need a new law? After all, there are already any number of laws on the books that could be used to prosecute Klan/Nazi violence. Deukmejian claims that "the current laws do not provide law enforcement and concerned citizens with the tools that are needed to stop extremist groups" (*New York Times*, 1 February). But it wasn't because of the lack of laws that the Greensboro massacre became a legal licence to kill for the fascists. There is already a law against murder on the books. We call to jail the killer Klansmen for their cold-blooded, racist murder. But the capital-

witchhunting, with charges of "terrorism" replacing the old "advocacy to overthrow." The proposed bill instead talks about the "advocacy" of acts "which may result in death or great bodily injury." This means nearly anything could be prosecuted, from "advocacy" of a picket line to "encouraging" the future formation of workers defense guards against fascist attack. In fact every basic proposition of proletarian class struggle could be prosecuted under this bill.

Deukmejian "concedes" that "it is going to be difficult to get the kind of evidence that will hold up in court" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January). And this is precisely the project that Deukmejian has in mind for himself, the stuff of which witchhunters' careers are made—gathering the "evidence" through surveillance, provocation and disruption of leftist, black and labor groups. Deukmejian speaks openly of the need to "infiltrate" the "violence prone" groups and do "police undercover work." Is there anyone who does not know what that means? The attorney general has explained that he is "establishing a task force in his office to coordinate efforts against violent groups." Of course, the Red Squads, FBI and the rest of the government apparatus do it anyway, but this new law poses a dangerous escalation and legitimization of repression.

And just who is a "violence prone" continued on page 10

Don't Rely on Bosses State!

What's Wrong With "Ban the Klan"



RON LAYNER

Mobilize Labor, Blacks to Smash Fascist Terror!

War President...

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over everything from El Salvador to Poland. As we pointed out in our last issue, Reagan & Co. have not so much a "domino theory" as a domino tactic: "From El Salvador to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Poland, to the Soviet Union." It is not just the Spartacist League that says so; Reagan's own advisers see this clearly, witness a recent column by former Nixon staffer William Safire:

"We could also buttress the Polish worker with the threat of an effective Western response to a Soviet invasion. The United States should let it be known that if the Russians are going to clean up their front yard, the Americans are going to clean up their back yard: instead of countering Nicaraguan aid to the rebels in El Salvador, we would help the friendly defeat the Sandinists in Nicaragua, and put a cordon sanitaire around Cuba, which is fighting the Soviet Union's battles in Ethiopia and Angola."

—New York Times, 5 February

This is not just idle talk by an ex-Nixon speechwriter. The new U.S. ambassador to San Salvador is a former Pentagon official who spent recent months preparing for "a large military aid program for El Salvador, including military training teams" (they called them "advisers" in Vietnam). And on 6 February NBC-TV News reported State Department sources saying the U.S. was considering sending troops to Central America.

Draw the line in El Salvador, knock off Nicaragua, capitalist restoration in

Americans will never be able to do this to us again!" (Charles Bohlen, *Witness to History, 1929-1969*). Reagan's dreams of eyeballing it with Brezhnev aside, today the Soviet Union has the military muscle to back up its envoy's warning. In any such confrontation, Trotskyists pledge their unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Down with Détente Illusions!

In response to the Reagan/Haig diatribes, lifted straight out of J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit*, Moscow pleaded innocence. It is a sad testimony to the destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party by Stalinism that imperialist accusations of "exporting revolution" are quite literally a slander. Even the *New York Times* (30 January) pointed out:

"Mr. Reagan's description of Soviet leaders as seeking a 'one-world' Communist state was historically debatable. 'That was the view of Leon Trotsky, one of the early Soviet leaders who preached a doctrine of 'permanent revolution,' but since his downfall in 1926, Soviet leaders have generally espoused variations on the theme of what is now called 'peaceful coexistence' and have denied trying to foment 'world revolution'."

On the other hand, when top administration adviser Prof. Richard Pipes seeks to buttress Reagan's claim of Kremlin world revolutionary ambitions, he too refers back to Trotsky. In a round-table discussion on "Detente or Cold War" (*International Herald Tribune*, 29 January), the Harvard professor cites a letter to the Bolshevik Central Committee in August 1919 in which the



Herkes/UPI

Butcher Chun and his Uncle Sam.

and Soviet "international terrorism," plus a mammoth Western arms build-up dragging out of the mothballs everything from the B-1 bomber to the neutron bomb. This is to be accomplished by a whopping \$40 billion cut over the next two years in domestic social programs (food stamps, welfare, education, etc.) plus a \$32 billion increase in the war budget. Thus the domestic consequences of Cold War II lead to a frontal assault on the labor movement and minorities, both economically and through race-terror/union-busting attacks spearheaded by the most virulent reactionary forces. The American working class and blacks must not fall for the vicious anti-Soviet war propaganda, which means their own ruin. But limp "butter vs. guns" economism is not enough to stop the brinksman who think the stodgy Brezhnev is a fiery Trotsky. For it is not a matter of warmongering policies or mad hombers run amok, but of the war drive inherent in imperialism.

For decades the Stalinist bureaucrats have fostered illusions in a "peaceful" imperialism, a "democratic" capitalism. Only when forced by threats to their own stability and existence—as in Vietnam, or more recently Afghanistan—do they half-heartedly and defensively take up arms against the rapacious class enemy they otherwise seek to conciliate. Yet history teaches that Cold War is no temporary aberration but the essence of imperialism's unwavering determination to "roll back" the historic gains for mankind achieved by the October Revolution of 1917. Thus the fight against Reagan/Haig's policies can only be a class fight against capitalism. Thus also from an international perspective the battle over Central America today is not a question of some out-of-the-way "Third World" region beset by bloody tyrannical dictators, but a focal point for U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary drive. Hence our slogan: the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador.

If in Russia of 1917, the question of socialist revolution was posed by the three slogans, "peace, land, bread," then in America today it comes down to: fight the Klan/Nazis, respect picket lines, defend the Soviet Union. And, of course, the necessary conclusion—for a revolutionary proletarian dictatorship, without which the imperialists will sooner or later reduce the world to nuclear rubble. As the Trotskyists have repeatedly stressed, the choice today is between socialism and irradiated barbarism. ■

Butchers...

(continued from page 1)

stamped out resistance with an iron heel. He jailed the most popular, best-known bourgeois oppositionist, Kim Dae Jung and later sentenced him to death. When Kim's hometown province erupted in full scale revolt, Chun ordered the U.S.-trained army to crush the revolt with maximum brutality. In the city of Kwangju 200,000 students and workers battled the troops for nine

days. Korean oppositionists charge that 2,000 people were slaughtered.

As testimony to Chun's "commitment to freedom," Amnesty International reports that during the three months beginning May 1980 the government closed 617 publishing firms and 172 periodicals, "detained" 34 journalists for "interrogation" and fired 400 journalists for "lacking anti-Communist zeal" (*Amnesty International*, December 1980). The liberal Korean opposition party estimates that 25,000 have been arrested since Chun took power.

As soon as Chun got invited to the White House he announced that his political opponent's death sentence would be changed to life in prison (for now anyway). And Haig requested that Congress suppress their annual "report card" on human rights because Chun's grades were not expected to be passing in human decency. The report, said a State Department spokesman, would be "too controversial."

But if Chun was assured a warm welcome from the U.S., this hated despot could expect a different reception from the Koreans of the U.S., many of whom are family and friends of his victims. So the Korean CIA prepared the way by sending threatening letters to the U.S. Koreans saying their families' "honor," i.e., safety at home, was at stake if they didn't show up to wave the flag when Chun arrived. Corporations doing business with South Korea (the U.S.' 12th biggest trade partner) spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on 16 full-page ads in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* praising a "new era of Korea-U.S. friendship." But despite the efforts of the KCIA, protesters showed up in Washington, Los Angeles and New York with the message: "Chun is a Murderer." In Los Angeles the KCIA-connected Moonies were mobilized to attack anti-Chun demonstrators.

And what is the content of this "new era of Korea-U.S. friendship"? It's military hardware and U.S. troops. North Korea, says the Reagan/Haig gang, can attack "any minute." Thus they justify the brutal regime of Chun and fortify this anti-Soviet arsenal. "I hope you'll understand," Reagan told Chun, "that the United States will remain a reliable Pacific partner." This means that the 40,000 U.S. troops Carter pledged to remove when he took office (but never did) will remain. And the F-16s are on the way. ■

SYL Forum

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Aviation Week

Almed at the Soviet Union.

Cuba, again in Poland, then on to the Soviet Union: here we have the counter-revolutionary strategic perspective of the Reagan administration. But things have changed since the Cuban Revolution two decades ago. Should Washington again attempt to blockade Havana, the Kremlin could itself decide to "draw the line" at Berlin... or the Persian Gulf. The Soviet diplomat who negotiated the withdrawal of Russian missiles from Cuba in October 1962 remarked: "You

founder of the Red Army remarks that, 'the international situation is evidently shaping in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal' (from *The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922*).

So the new regime in Washington is accusing Brezhnev & Co. of "Trotskyite deviations"! But the *Times* is right: Stalin's anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country" meant abandoning the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. In 1927, on Stalin's orders, the Chinese Communist Party subordinated itself to the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang, and thousands of proletarian fighters were beheaded by Chiang Kai-shek, then an honorary member of the Stalinized Comintern. During the 1930s Stalin paralyzed the German proletariat in the face of rising fascism, then deliberately sabotaged the Spanish revolution in order not to frighten the "democratic" imperialists. After World War II revolutionary opportunities were scuttled in Italy and France as the Kremlin scrupulously heeded the Yalta agreements. Today Stalin's heirs carry on the same policy by a different name: whether "peaceful coexistence" or "détente," it means "sacrificing workers revolution for the illusion of a deal with imperialism."

Their reward: Reaganite sabre rattling against "Russian imperialism"

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Chrysler Workers:

"Don't Let It Shut Down—Sit Down!"

DETROIT, February 3—"That does it. We'll make it," sighed United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser when it became clear that the union bureaucracy had delivered the membership vote to slash auto workers' wages and benefits at Chrysler. The contract vote, announced at a press conference today, was 26,942 in favor and 18,859 against—more than 40 percent voting "no." Considering that there are 120,000 active and laid-off Chrysler workers, this means the sweetheart deal was passed with only 22 percent of the eligible vote! While Chrysler workers wonder how they will "make it" with a devastating pay cut March 1 in addition to continued mass layoffs, UAW vice president Marc Stepp boasted to reporters that "we have always been a responsible union" and he was "exceedingly pleased."

The bureaucracy succeeded this time by intimidation: workers at failing plants like Jefferson Assembly, Eldon Gear and Axle and Mack Avenue Stamping, their jobs hanging by a thread and seeing no strategy to win, gave in to company blackmail. And of course many of the thousands of laid-off workers, deliberately forgotten and discouraged by Solidarity House, did not even bother to vote.

But Chrysler is only round one: Ford and GM are preparing now to reopen their contracts for similar concessions. Last week, GM president F. James McDonald, commenting on the Chrysler contract, told a reporter: "I'm sure we're going to have conversations along those lines.... And I don't think we're going to wait around until 1982" (*Detroit Free Press*, 28 January).

Despite the bureaucrats' hard sell, there was resistance: the big assembly plant in Belvedere, Illinois voted the pact down by more than a two-to-one margin, and stiff opposition came from "defense" plant and Canadian workers. The leaflet printed below calling for sit-down strikes, distributed by militants from UAW Locals 600 and 140, received enthusiastic responses especially at Chrysler's Lynch Road plant, which is scheduled to close in April. (One Lynch worker reportedly remarked that the only thing the leaflet lacked was the date for a sit-down strike.)

So the contract vote is in and Solidarity House says the Chrysler take-aways passed by a narrow margin. It settles nothing. Even with a gun to your heads, thousands of Chrysler workers voted against the government/company blackmail and displayed a desire to fight. What is lacking is a strategy to win—but there is such a strategy: the sit-down strike.

We are a group of militants from Chrysler Dodge Truck Local 140 and Ford Rouge Local 600 who are here because Chrysler workers are on the front lines of a battle not just for their

own jobs and financial security, but that of all autoworkers, city workers and organized and unorganized labor throughout the country. The Rouge Militant Caucus, which was formed after successfully driving out two Klan-hooded foremen at the Rouge last year, knows that we all have a stake in this fight. Like the brothers from Local 140, we have fought for sitdown strikes against layoffs and plant closings since the announcement of the Dodge Main closing a year and a half ago. We are all in a battle for our union and our lives.

The solutions of surrender like the bailout scheme have only imposed devastation on working families throughout the country. If there were a betting pool, which of you would wager on having a job next year? Look at Dodge Main. If the government and the auto barons have their way, Detroit will become a ghost town!

Our jobs are on the line whether Chrysler survives or not. Now Fraser announced that Lynch Road will close in April. The cost of these concessions isn't only wage slashing and union-busting, it's also thousands of Chrysler workers thrown into the streets with no prospects of a job in Reagan's America. We've let Doug Fraser and his cronies on the Chrysler Board of Directors spin our wheel of fortune—no wonder we are handed defeat after defeat! For many of us, there's nothing left to lose. We want our jobs! We can fight for them in the

same way we built our union in the thirties—the sitdown.

Once taking the plant, we're sitting on \$100's of millions of machinery. That's a real bargaining position to demand the junking of all concessions and restoration of parity with GM and Ford workers. For those laid off we demand unlimited unemployment benefits and government-guaranteed SUB and pension benefits. A sitdown against Ayatollah Iacocca and the government would win immediate support from every worker in Detroit, employed and unemployed. It could be the spark that ignites the workers in this city into a full scale fight against the Chrysler blackmail, and a fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay.

The government and Chrysler want to close down plants and sell them to pay off the banks and the stockholders. Why should they get the loot from their failures? We have spent our lives sweating blood in these plants. If the plants have to be sold, not a penny should go to Chrysler. The workers occupying the plant should hold an auction to sell off the machinery, metal, cars, everything. And the proceeds could be distributed to Chrysler union members on the basis of one share per year seniority.

Brothers and sisters, we do not have to lie down and die. We still have the power that built our union in the first place—let's use it! Don't let it shut down! SIT DOWN! ■

Poland...

(continued from page 5)

December *Pravda* again protested U.S. financial support to the Polish unions, pointing out that the AFL-CIO frequently acts as a conduit for the CIA. Washington cried slander. Yet this is a well-established fact, ever since the post-World War II years when the AFL operative Irving Brown doled out hundreds of thousands of CIA dollars to split the West European labor movement and thus undermine Communist influence.

It is also a fact that the AFL-CIO has done little or nothing to support workers' organizations in savage capitalist police states friendly to U.S. imperialism—South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, South Korea, the list is endless. On the contrary, AFL-CIO largesse has been consistently directed against left-wing governments. The notorious "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), a long-standing joint project with such blood-sucking multinationals as United Fruit and ITT, has been responsible for (and bragged about) "destabilizing" elected governments like the nationalist Goulart in Brazil in 1964 and "Marxist" Allende in Chile in 1973. (In his book, *Inside the Company*, ex-CIA agent Philip Agee describes the AIFLD as a "CIA-controlled labor center financed through A.I.D. [the U.S. Agency for International Development].")

Significantly, the June 1980 *Free Trade Union News* ran a front-page article lauding the AIFLD's "land reform" in El Salvador (locally known as "reform by death") written by its architect, Ray Prosterman, whose previous credits include the "Phoenix Project" for mass assassination of leftists in Vietnam. And when two AIFLD men were recently killed by right-wing gunmen in San Salvador, one of them, Michael Hammer, was given a special "hero's burial" in Arlington National Cemetery. Shortly after, the U.S. solicitor general (attempting to justify the lifting of Agee's

passport) revealed that the AIFLD pair were working "under cover" (*New York Times*, 15 January). It's no wonder that the AFL-CIO is known in Latin America as the "AFL-CIA."

Such "labor"-flavored imperialist subversion is not limited to Latin America. The AIFLD has since spawned the Africa-American Labor Center, the Asian-American Free Labor Centers and, since 1978, the Europe-based Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI). FTUI director is the same old Irving Brown. As for FTUI president Lane Kirkland, while George Meany used to boast he "never walked a picket line," his successor could brag that he was never even a worker. A graduate of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Washington, the long-time AFL-CIO treasurer served on the post-Watergate Rockefeller Commission on the CIA (which did not mention its labor ties), worked with Nelson Rockefeller in AIFLD and with brother David at the Trilateral Commission. He may have a friend at Chase Manhattan, but he's no friend of Polish workers.

What Solidarity?

Some liberal and leftist trade unionists may oppose the AFL-CIO's notorious activities in Latin America, but still see nothing wrong with its supporting the Polish unions. Pseudo-leftist groups even call for such "aid"—for example, the social-democratic International Socialists who write, "We hope the Polish workers will gratefully accept the western union leaders' money and courteously reject their advice" (*Changes*, December 1980/January 1981). Such illusions in "no strings attached" Western support are also spread by the German fake-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten, which has been campaigning for the DGB trade-union federation to show "Solidarity with Solidarność." Yet the DGB is led by the same Social Democrats who served as a funnel for CIA money to Portugal in 1975 and whose

infamous Ostbüro was for years a vehicle for imperialist meddling in East Europe!

On the other hand, it's no accident that the Solidarność leaders have awakened such "disinterested" financial support from the West. This is no bread-and-butter trade union, simply fighting for better wages, hours and working conditions. And the wily old CIA-connected operators in AFL-CIO headquarters know this. They understand that the group around Lech Walesa and many of the local activists see themselves as leading a Catholic-nationalist-inspired revolt against Soviet-imposed "Communism." This is especially clear from their wholehearted support to "Rural Solidarity," even threatening a general strike on behalf of this peasant group whose demands point toward full restoration of capitalism in the countryside.

Solidarność leader Walesa's links to counterrevolutionary forces go above all through the Roman Catholic church. "I am a union man and not a socialist," he says, adding that "without my religion I would be a dangerous man" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 16 November 1980). And he doesn't just pray to the "Queen of Poland" (the Virgin Mary) for counsel; his advisers are largely drawn from the associates of Cardinal Wyszyński. When Walesa recently paid a triumphal visit to the Vatican, receiving honors usually reserved for heads of states, John Paul

Wojtyła assured his disciple he had aided Solidarność "in every way discreetly possible." When the time is ripe, of course, the Polish pope could be a powerful rallying point for capitalist restoration—and then his intervention would be anything but discreet.

The Polish proletariat has historically had a strong Marxian socialist tradition. The forces of clericalism and nationalism were never predominant among industrial workers. It is a devastating condemnation of Stalinism that after 30 years of so-called "socialism," much of the Polish working class now looks to the Vatican for salvation and to the "AFL-CIA" for financial support.

As Trotskyists, however, we do not write off the Polish proletariat, consigning it to the camp of clerical-nationalist reaction. The central task for a revolutionary communist vanguard in Poland today would be to *split* the new union movement politically, winning over the mass of workers from the Catholic church-led forces. Key elements for a revolutionary program in Poland are the strict separation of church and state, the promotion of agricultural collectivization, defense of the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states against Western imperialism, and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In the intervention in Poland the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats of the U.S. and West Europe are essentially acting as instruments of their imperialist masters, whether or not the money comes directly from the CIA. Strengthening the connection between the clerical-nationalist Solidarność leadership and the AFL-CIO (or, for that matter, the social-democratic West German DGB) only increases the potential for counterrevolution. For these are the direct conduits of capitalism-imperialism into the Polish workers movement. American trade unionists who want to serve the *real*, class interests of the Polish workers must demand: AFL-CIO Tops—Hands Off Poland! ■

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Reformist Answer...

(continued from page 6)

fearful that the [Greensboro] killings might provide Communist groups with a foothold among poor, Southern blacks whom they have not been successful in recruiting over the years."

So there is bad blood aplenty between NAKN and the CWP/Greensboro Justice Front. But since then the CWP has oscillated from its frenzied-adventurist phase to its "broad unity" equinox while SCLC leaders Josea Williams and Ralph Abernathy have gone over to bear-hugging Reagan. With the SCLC more or less out of the picture, the people running the NAKN appear to be grouped around the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, the vehicle of Irwin Silber's Line of March group and its neither-Russian-nor-China "anti-revisionist trend" (see "Where Is the 'Trend' Going?" in *WV* No. 273, 30 January 1981). So in the name of fighting sectarianism the anti-communist exclusion of last February is to be forgotten and all red-baiting is supposed to stop. Unless, of course, someone challenges their defeatist program of "anti-fascist" class collaboration. Then the knives come out in a hurry.

The NAKN organizers had allowed no time for discussion during the two-day conference, obviously intended as a rally for their "Spring Offensive." But when the Shachtmanite social-democratic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) ran around threatening a floor fight over "democracy," the chair finally allotted 90 minutes for debate. However, the RSL's demands were so soft and vague—"unite to fight racist terror," "fight for jobs" and "expose government collaboration" with the fascists—that the session chairman, NAROC's Phil Gardiner, remarked, "To be frank, we don't see much difference." But a fight did ensue over reliance on the capitalist government, so the Stalinists pulled out all the stops: a "Third World" woman race-baited the RSL, an NAKN board member denounced them for "disrupting," a Trender red-baited them. To all of which the RSL replied, "Despite our differences" they would "go forward together" and "build the strongest, most effective mass anti-Klan movement"—precisely on the program of postcard campaigns and Congressional lobbying they had opposed! The bankruptcy of these tame left critics couldn't be clearer.

The axis of the National Anti-Klan Network's "new strategy" is appealing to the supposedly "neutral" state to come to the aid of embattled minorities. But when it came to the high point of the conference, it turned out that keynote speaker Congressman John Conyers was absent. Conyers was so damn "neutral" that he wouldn't even grace their popular front for fear of compro-

Nazis Vandalize Wiesenthal Center in L.A.

Mobilize Against Anti-Semitic Terror!

LOS ANGELES—In the L.A. area an unholy alliance of racist capitalist politicians has begun pushing "anti-extremist" laws of their own to match California attorney general Deukmejian's bill. Legislation to ban "hate groups" is no answer to KKK/Nazi violence, but there is indeed an urgent need for action to stop this terror. The past weeks and months have seen a stream of anti-Semitic attacks:

- Two self-proclaimed Nazightriders set a Temple City synagogue ablaze.
- Three Jewish cemeteries have been extensively desecrated.
- In the early morning hours of January 7, the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies in West L.A. was defaced with Nazi slogans: "Simon is a Murderer," "Death to All Jews, Beware the SS is Coming," and "Nationalist Socialist White Peoples Party Awake."

On January 25, 2,000 people rallied for a ceremonial "cleansing" of the Nazi slogans and swastikas painted on the walls of the Wiesenthal Center. The Nazi-hunter flew from Vienna to participate. Apart from a ritual cleansing, the only other "action" proposed was the circulation of a petition calling on Ronald



Los Angeles, January 25: Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal speaks at Holocaust Center.

Reagan (the Klan's favored candidate) to form a blue ribbon commission to blueprint ways to deal with "extremists." And who occupied the most honored seat next to the courageous Wiesenthal? Newly elected congressman Bobbie Fiedler, the founder of the anti-integration group Bus-Stop!

Fiedler said she was submitting legislation making it a "crime for

'hate groups' to cross state lines to violate the civil rights of individuals or cause harm to private or public institutions." But when Bobbie Fiedler talks about "hate groups" she includes busloads of black children who want a decent education. Genuine race-hate groups like Bus-Stop and the paramilitary South Boston Marshals have been the cutting edge of racist reaction in this country and have accelerated the growth of fascist outfits like the Klan and Nazis. It is outrageous for this anti-busing bigot to now promote herself as a champion of the fight against anti-Semitism. Suffice it to say, if the fascists had their way blacks and Jews would be on the same trains.

As if to spit on this symbolic "cleansing" at the Wiesenthal Center, the very next day a temple in the Valley was defaced with the slogan, "Die, Jew Boys, Die." Nazi flyers distributed in the predominantly Jewish Fairfax neighborhood of L.A. have threatened a march in that area. This threat must be taken seriously. It cannot be met with witchhunt legislation that will boomerang against the fascists' intended victims. Nothing less than a powerful and united labor/minority mobilization in Los Angeles will stop these Nazi provocations.

mising the "objectivity" of his hearings! For Marxists this is no surprise: popular fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie didn't stop fascism in the '30s, so why should they now? As we wrote in "Anti-Klan Network Doesn't Fight Fascism" (*WV* No. 273, 30 January 1981), the Trotskyists counterpose to this recycled bloc with discredited Democrats a class-struggle program "to mobilize the power of labor and blacks to smash the KKK/Nazis as part of the struggle for socialist revolution." As Trotsky wrote of Germany as Hitler stood before the door, proletarian revolution is "the only way" to smash fascism. ■

Anti- "Extremist" ...

(continued from page 7)

group according to Deukmejian? The *New York Times* refers to the California attorney general's "Annual Report to the California Legislature" for 1979. In Part II on "Terrorism," Deukmejian makes clear who is targeted. The report whitewashes the KKK/Nazis. It down-

plays their threat to blacks and Jews, instead focusing on the "extremists of the left," who are even held responsible for creating the danger of KKK/Nazi terror:

"The danger, therefore, lies not in their [KKK/Nazis] strength, but in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left. That ability was evident when eight Nazis holding their rally on October 13, 1979 in Walnut Creek drew no fewer than 1200 counter-demonstrators."

Following a pattern of "law enforcement" applauded by Deukmejian, the Nazis at Walnut Creek had hundreds of cops, helicopters, dogs, special tactical squads to protect their racist provocation and to arrest the anti-Nazi demonstrators.

This report is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left. Besides the KKK/Nazis, some motorcycle gangs like the Hell's Angels, some fascistic prison gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood, etc., the report also brands as "terrorists" various so-called "extremists on the left"—including the Spartacist League:

"Left-Wing: Extreme left-wing groups, primarily the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Communist Workers' Party, along with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the Spartacist League and various self-proclaimed militant caucuses of labor unions emerged in 1979 as yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal. So close are their radical ideology and advocacy of violence that members of one group often are also members of several others. They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible. Their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counter-demonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings. Members often travel widely in California and out-of-state in order to attend rallies sponsored by their groups, and many of them have been convicted several times for assaults on peace officers, inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons."

The purpose is clear. These so-called

"terrorists" are proclaimed outside the law, targets to be treated militarily. Now there may be those on the list who feel some sort of macho pride in making Deukmejian's hit list. For all we know, the nutty cult of Bob Avakian may think it is a sign of their imminent revolutionary potential that they have been selected while the CP and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) reformists were omitted. But we know better.

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the struggle for mass proletarian revolution. We will not be branded as terrorist criminals without a full-fledged political and legal fight. And because everybody knows we are not terrorists, we are in the best position to make that fight. We have said it before: we do not intend to be among the nameless, faceless victims to be blown away quietly in the night. With all the political, legal and moral resources at our disposal, we will fight this slanderous effort to set us up for government violence.

What's Wrong with "Ban the Klan" Laws?

The Deukmejian bill cites two legal precedents for the authority to outlaw organizations for "advocacy" of violence. It concedes that *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969) shows that "mere advocacy or abstract teachings cannot be punished." But it insists that *Scales v. United States* (1961) proves "that there is no constitutional right to maintain active membership in any organization whose known purpose is to teach, advocate or encourage lawless action." Are these two cases contradictory? Not at all. For *Brandenburg* was a Klansman and *Scales* was a Communist.

Brandenburg was a leader of the Ohio KKK, arrested and convicted in 1968 for a speech threatening the president, Congress and the Supreme Court for "suppress[ing] the white Caucasian race." In 1969 the Supreme Court overturned his conviction, saying that advocacy was not punishable except when it "is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action."

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Junius Scales was the CP's secretary for North and South Carolina. He was arrested for the crime of "knowing membership" under the Smith Act in 1954, tried in Greensboro in 1955, convicted and sentenced to six years. When the Smith Act prosecutions began to be reversed, Scales' conviction was dismissed on appeal. But he was rearrested in 1958, retried in North Carolina, again convicted and again sentenced to six years. In 1961 the case came before the Supreme Court, which upheld the verdict on the basis of "knowing membership." Scales was never accused of any violent act, merely of membership in the CP.

This is the legal precedent for the new "anti-extremist" bill which the CP says is a "Ban the Klan" law! And the precedent is no accident. The overwhelming weight of historical example demonstrates that it is the left and not the right which is persecuted for "advocating," "teaching," "encouraging." When the fascists are harassed by the government (for example, the sedition trials during World War II) it is the exception. The left, on the other hand, is almost always harassed for their ideas, not for violent acts. And the reason is obvious. The capitalists are not threatened by the ideas of the Klan/Nazis. Bourgeois circles generally find the fascists too grimy and vulgar for the moment. Some may honestly object to disgusting race hate. But the speech they must try to shut up is that which issues from the class struggle on the proletarian side of the barricades.

Why the CP Can't Learn from History

In supporting what they take to be "Ban the Klan" legislation, the CP cannot be expected to be Marxists, to possess an adequate evaluation of historical experience, even their own experience. But why do they seem to lack the most elemental reflex of self-defense? This is not the first time that the CP has hailed such a law. In 1941 the Smith Act's first victims, the leadership of the then-Trotskyist SWP, were prosecuted. The CP said that these revolutionary defeatists who did not support the Great Patriotic War to End Fascism were "fifth columnists" who deserved to be jailed. Of course, by the late 1940s and into the 1950s it was the CP which was brutally victimized under the "anti-fascist" Smith Act. By the end of 1956 there had been 145 Smith Act indictments of CP members, leading to 108 convictions. Combined sentences totaled 418 years with fines of nearly half a million dollars.

In 1934 the precursor of HUAC, the anti-Communist Dies Committee, was masking itself as an "anti-fascist" committee. Writing about the Dies Committee, Leon Trotsky pointed out: "The outlawing of fascist groups would inevitably have a fictitious character. ... Under the conditions of the bourgeois regime, all suppression of political rights and freedom, no matter whom they are directed against in the beginning, in the end inevitably bear down upon the working class, particularly its most advanced elements. That is a law of history."

—Writings [1939-1940]

Of course, after the McCarthyites got started, the CP got a little wiser. In the 1950s, CP pamphlets sagely observed that "Believe it or not, the way Dies got the OK from Congress was by offering to use the committee to investigate native Nazis" ("Smear and Run"). And today the CP is "self-critical" of its original support to Smith Act repression. But they continue the very same thing today. Why can't they learn?

Like fated characters in an ancient tragedy the CP repeats the same deadly pattern. It is not stupidity, and it is certainly not innocence. It is politics. The CP campaign to "Ban the Klan" is the programmatic extension of their desire for a class-collaborationist alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie." The idea of an "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie and even an "anti-fascist" capitalist state

is fundamental to Stalinism, ever since the popular-front congress of 1935. They yearn for the "good old days" of World War II and FDR. They quote anti-fascist sentences from the Potsdam Treaty and the UN. For the CP the McCarthy period must be seen as an aberration. The popular front "against fascism" has been the CP's historical model since the mid-'30s. Behind the campaign to "Ban the Klan" and the support for the Deukmejian "anti-extremist" bill is an appetite to reform the capitalist state into an "anti-fascist, anti-racist, anti-monopoly" state.

Now the U.S. is entering a period of heightening anti-Soviet hostility. The sinister General Haig recently told reporters that the Russians' supposed "international terrorism will take the place of human rights in our concern." The KKK/Nazis are growing at the fringes of the new Cold War drive. Still the CP cannot catch which way the wind is blowing. But as soon as Strom Thurmond took over the Senate Judiciary Committee he created a new subcommittee on "security and terrorism" to take up the broken tradition of McCarthy's SISS and HUAC. When critics muttered objections to starting up this witchhunt machinery again, Thurmond responded: "There is a valid role for the subcommittee to examine the role of the Soviet government in influencing U.S. policy." Does the CP need to wonder who is the natural target for persecution as "terrorist agents" of this "terrorist superpower"?

The Power of Labor Must Smash the Klan!

That there is some base of support among blacks, liberals and leftists for government "anti-fascist" repression is due in no small measure to the "consistent civil libertarians" like the ACLU and SWP who uphold "free speech for fascists." When the SWP refuses to confront the fascists in the streets, when it boasts that it "debated" Klansman Tom Metzger on TV, it drives black people into the arms of the sinister Deukmejian, who promises to outlaw the deadly race-terrorists.

As Leninists we know that the state is ultimately the instrument of class terror. The capitalist state can never become class-neutral, much less "anti-fascist." Strategies that call on the capitalist state to "Ban the Klan" prepare the ground for anti-left witchhunts while they disarm the working class and minorities whose organized strength is the only way to stop the fascists. We work to mobilize the power of the labor movement to keep the KKK/Nazis off the streets as we did in exemplary actions in Detroit (November 1979) and San Francisco (April 1980).

The capitalists need the fascists in the wings. They are meant to be the shock troops against the proletarian movement at a time of acute social crisis. The struggle between the fascists and the workers/blacks will not be decided in the courtroom, or at a TV debate. It is a matter of life and death and no matter

where the battle starts it will end in the streets. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in 1938:

"Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language."

—Socialist Appeal, 9 July 1938

That too is a "law of history." And the political preparation for that fight today and in the future is an important part of the struggle to build the party of proletarian revolution. ■

Sit-Ins...

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With the union running the phone system, one worker commented, "This is the most pleasant day I've spent in this place in my three years here."

The TWUers—traffic, clerical and plant—have loudly proclaimed their determination to win. They know that if their occupation is ended without a decisive victory that B.C. Tel will lock them out and keep the highly automated phone system more or less running with management scabs. The company indicated its intentions on February 5 when they staged what one unionist described as a "mock fire drill" in an attempt to empty the crucial main long lines facility in downtown Vancouver. One of the occupation leaders in Prince George, when asked by an SC reporter if they'll stay put, replied:

"I've got no option. I've either got to do this or lose my house.... I can't afford six months on the bricks or four months on the bricks. I've got to have some bargaining power. So as far as I'm concerned, we're here to stay."

Unfortunately, the TWU leadership doesn't share this perspective. Supervisors and company security have been allowed to remain in most of the occupied buildings. TWU president Bill Clark has told the public not to pay their phone bills, but the billing equipment is still running. While threatening "passive resistance" to any attempts at forcibly ending the occupation, Clark and the TWU Executive have not established mass pickets outside the occupied centers to seal them off. Clark's "strategy" meant nine months of working without a contract with not even a strike vote, and he leapt to accept the Peck report, offering to extend its terms for an extra year.

The most serious blow came after the TWU button suspensions when Clark & Co. simply folded and tried to take the matter to arbitration. The TWU membership had a different response: they spontaneously walked off the job in the hundreds. Phone workers desperately need a new leadership committed to a program of victory through some good old-fashioned class struggle. As *Spartacist Canada* wrote in its January/February issue:

"The TWU can win, and win big. Effective mass occupations backed up by the solidarity of the entire labor movement as part of all-out strike action could turn the tables. Demanding the expropriation of B.C. Tel with not one penny going to the phone bosses, the TWU could garner widespread public support. But these are the tactics of struggle, not capitulation."

Sick and tired of B.C. Tel management's attempts at union-busting, the TWU has long been demanding that the phone company be turned into a "Crown corporation," a semi-autonomous operation. Anti-American sentiment runs deep as workers feel that the U.S. parent company pulls all the strings but has no contact with the workers. A Crown corporation is also what the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) offers as a panacea. Given that it was Dave Barrett's NDP that staged the largest strikebreaking action ever in British Columbia back in 1975—ruthlessly smashing a forest workers strike, as well as sending supermarket employees, Teamsters and trainmen back to work without the right to strike—TWUers ought to be wary of such a proposal from the start.

While the TWU leadership temporizes the employers are preparing a counteroffensive. Injunctions are starting to fly and no doubt the RCMP has already planned assaults on phone centers and picket lines. The British Columbia labor movement, the most militant and class-conscious section of the English-speaking North American proletariat, can turn back the capitalists' attack. United workers action can rid B.C. of anti-labor legislation, whether Socred- or NDP-inspired, and win the demands of all the striking unions. With cross-Canada political impact and ties to workers up and down the coast through common unions such as longshore, a militant response here could have reverberations continent-wide.

For the union brass and various left groups, the maximum goal in this strike is for a "Crown corporation" to replace the U.S.-owned company. But Canadian bosses for Canadian workers will not stop layoffs, speed-up and harassment. B.C. phone strikers must take up transitional demands striking at the heart of the capitalist system of profits for the bosses and crumbs for the workers. In the battle for public support they should dump the billing records and declare free phone service for the duration of TWU management. While they're at it, open the company's books to reveal the real financial state of affairs, and demand expropriation without compensation of B.C. Tel. Should the struggle escalate, this occupation could become the beginnings of workers control. And in the face of double-digit inflation and unemployment the strikers should demand a big wage boost, full COLA, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; in short, the sliding scale of wages and hours.

Such aims can only be really secured through socialist economic planning by a workers government that expropriates the bourgeoisie. The social-democratic NDP will undoubtedly try to make electoral hay out of this strike to bring down the anti-union Socred government. But Barrett has nothing to offer except more strike-breaking, and perhaps the sop of a "Crown corporation." No less reformist is the Communist Party, which is content to give a slightly more militant face to the NDP's "social democracy in one province" or even "one municipal council." The road to a revolutionary workers government lies through the construction of a Trotskyist party which can lead labor's struggles to victory rather than bowing to capitalist legalism or diverting them into reformist dead-ends.

B.C. Tel workers: show the way! No injunctions, contempt citations or fines! All out to smash the anti-labor laws! ■

CIA/AIFLD...

(continued from page 3)

about the sanctity of the single-issue committee—i.e., the AIFLD was not a relevant issue! Needless to say, the SL-DC and TOC satellites did not see this as any reason to politically split, and they didn't—the SL-DC even tried to present a motion to make the committee more "democratic."

The action of Johnson & Co. was no surprise. These were virtually the same people who formed the "labor support" coalition to squash sympathy strikes for the coal miners in 1978, who subsequently let the OCAW oil workers strike go down without lifting a finger and recently refused to mobilize labor to defend blacks against the KKK in Contra Costa County. So once again they refused to turn the ILWU's paper boycott of military goods to El Salvador into a working-class challenge of Reagan's imperialist threats. Today they may gavel down proposals for real action. But when the American working class moves, it will be remembered who were the labor fakers that covered for the counterrevolutionaries of the CIA/AIFLD. ■

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

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Toronto

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

"We've Got You Hostage Now"

Sit-Ins Sweep British Columbia Telephone

VANCOUVER, February 7—Fourteen months without a contract, harassment, suspensions, threats of a lock-out: phone workers in British Columbia have had it. So this week 10,000 members of the Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) across the province occupied every major B.C. Telephone Co. installation around the clock, keeping the phones working but "Under New Management—TWU." From Vancouver to Prince George TWUers are saying, as one shop steward put it to *Spartacist Canada*, "We'll stay until we get a goddamned contract."

B.C. Tel has run to the courts, demanding injunctions, contempt citations and huge fines against the union. But the signs outside the Nanaimo plant on Vancouver Island tell the story: "Possession is 9/10ths of the law," "The workers made you, the workers can break you" and "Ayatollah MacFarlane [B.C. Tel chairman], we've got you hostage now."

The fuse is lit in British Columbia. Municipal workers in towns and cities throughout the province, including 11,000 in greater Vancouver, are out on strike facing court-ordered limits on picketing as scab trucks crash through the lines. Hundreds of area bus drivers wildcatted yesterday and the strike could spread to all Vancouver's mass transit. The teachers' federation is threatening to strike against vicious government take-away demands and the contracts of labor's main battalions—steel, wood, mines—expire soon. And today, B.C. Federation of Labor president Jim Kinnaird proclaimed at a press conference, "The gloves are off.... We're declaring industrial relations war." If the cops, courts and company try to break the TWU's occupation, the entire labor movement must rally behind them with a province-wide general strike. An injury to one is an injury to all!

B.C. Tel is notorious for its anti-union arrogance. It took a bitter 81-day strike to force management to sign the last contract, and since it expired the company has been on a concerted campaign of threats, provocations and



Phone workers occupy B.C. telephone installations in province-wide sit-down strike.

intimidation. Amazing even bourgeois commentators, B.C. Tel ostentatiously rejected the recommendations of federal conciliator Ed Peck whose September 8 report offered a miserly wage increase while sidestepping the crucial issues of contracting-out and jurisdiction. Two TWUers were so fed up that one month later they took over the Prince George central switching office for 12 hours to

express their "frustration, anger and bitterness" (*Vancouver Sun*, 20 October 1980). They rigged buckets of water over the computers so that they would spill if anyone were foolish enough to storm the offices.

In December, TWUers wore buttons demanding a government takeover: "Crown Corporation Now—TWU." Management struck hard, suspending hundreds of workers in a blatant provocation. Thirteen workers in Nanaimo were suspended indefinitely over the last few weeks for "low productivity." Prince George linemen, currently on occupation duty, reported to *Spartacist Canada* that Company supervisors invaded TWUers' homes to fire them in front of their wives and children. In Burnaby a lineman was laid off just five days short of retirement after 30 years. The last straw at one plant was management ordering a female shop steward home for wearing a pro-union T-shirt. TWUers responded by marching from department to department, gathering strength to occupy the entire facility.

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"An Inspiration to All Phone Workers"

West Coast Phone Workers Send Support Telegram

Brothers and sisters of the TWU—Solidarity with your sitdown strike against B.C. Tel's union-busting provocation. Your militancy is an inspiration to all phone workers. Victory to the TWU and CUPE strikers. All out to defeat government strikebreaking.

Militant Action Caucus in the
Communications Workers of America,
Locals 9410 and 11502

Sit-In Sold Out

VANCOUVER, February 10—Last night TWU president Bill Clark stabbed his union in the back. Capitulating in the face of a provincial supreme court contempt citation, Clark called off the powerful and dramatic occupation of B.C. Telephone buildings. He even had the gall to call it a victory!

As the sellout was going down, the Trotskyist League of Canada issued a leaflet appealing to the strikers to hold on. Entitled "Sit-Ins Can Win," the TL leaflet urged, "TWU: you've shown your power—use it!" But the union tops forced the members out of the B.C. Tel installations.

Though greatly weakened by this treachery, the strikers can still defend themselves from fines and victimizations. Mass picket lines at every office to prevent management scabs from entering could defeat the court-ordered lockout and turn the sellout around.