

## Smash Zionist Terror—Arab/Hebrew Workers Unite!

# Mad Bomber Begin

Flying low, the American-made fighters came in three waves over the strife-torn city of Beirut last week. The raid lasted at most twenty minutes. But by concentrating their rockets and half-ton incendiary bombs on heavily populated areas, the Israeli fighters massacred 300 and wounded another 800. It was the most savage raid by the Zionist state in seven years. The Israeli government claimed it was targeting the headquarters of guerrilla organizations belonging to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In fact the main targets were apartment buildings, schools and a mosque.

With the logic of mass murderers who believe that one of "us" is worth at least a hundred of "them," and who have the accoutrements of state power (including, as Moshe Dayan recently confirmed, the A-bomb) to impose their will, Israel claimed the raid was in retaliation to a PLO rocket attack on northern Israel earlier that week in which three Israelis were killed. In reality the rocket attack was provoked by three Israeli air strikes which killed 65 and wounded 250. The Beirut bombing was only the most ferocious act in a two-week mass terror campaign in which Israel has been continuously shelling coastal towns and villages, blowing up roads and bridges, bombing and strafing Palestinian refugee camps.

The Beirut bombing raid was reminiscent of Deir Yassin, where in 1948 Zionist terrorists of the Irgun and Stern gang gunned down 254 unarmed Palestinians, mainly women and children. No wonder yesterday's Irgun terrorists are today's Israeli rulers. The bombing raid announced to the world that the Butcher of Deir Yassin and Irgun leader Menachem Begin had been returned to the premiership of the Zionist state. Following the bombing raid Begin issued a personal statement which was not so much a justification as an unabashed open declaration of genocidal warfare against Palestinians:

"We shall however, continue to attack terrorist bases and headquarters, even if they are purposely located in the vicinity of, or within, civilian concentrations."

As with Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, imperialist and Zionist "friends of Israel," especially in the U.S., expressed chagrin at the antics of mad bomber Begin. The bombing was timed

to cause maximum embarrassment to the U.S. It occurred on the heels of a visit to Israel by U.S. State Department counselor Robert McFarlane, who was sent to admonish Begin for the Iraqi nuclear reactor bombing. It came just after Reagan's "special envoy" to the Near East Philip Habib resumed his mission to resolve the so-called Syrian "missile crisis." And the Beirut bombing occurred in the last days of the imperialist summit in Ottawa where the U.S. was already catching some heat because Reaganomics was savaging American working people in a manner that did Washington's imperialist allies and economic competitors no favors.

On July 20, the Reagan administration announced that given the "escalation of violence" the shipment of four F-16 fighter-bombers suspended after the Iraqi bombing would continue to be held up, as would another six F-16s scheduled for shipment that day. On Wednesday Secretary of Defense Weinberger went on the TV program "Good Morning America" to state that Begin's policies "cannot really be described as moderate at this point." Not about to be called to account by imperialist butchers, Begin responded to criticism from Washington:

"I don't want to hear anything from the Americans about hitting civilian targets. I know exactly what the Americans did in Vietnam."

But not willing to strain relations with his imperialist patrons too far, Begin has accepted an American-brokered "cessation of hostilities" that will be as short-lived as those notorious Lebanese ceasefires.

### Begin Bombs Reagan's "Strategic Consensus" Again

The bombing of Beirut, like the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, blows up Reagan/Haig's Near East strategy of an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" uniting Israel and the Arab states against the Soviet Union. What we wrote about mad bomber Begin last month also applies to the Beirut raid: "In fact, sowing discord between the U.S. and the Arab states was as much the purpose of the raid as its direct military objective" ("Israeli Nuclear Terrorists," *WV* No. 283, 19 June). Fake leftists who believe that in order to assert the reactionary character of the



UPI

Natchwey/Black Star

Zionist mass terror bombing of Beirut massacres 300.

Zionist state of Israel it is necessary to pretend it is a completely subservient puppet of U.S. imperialism do not understand that the Israeli rulers' own interests are often in harmony with U.S. imperialism but are no less reactionary when they are not.

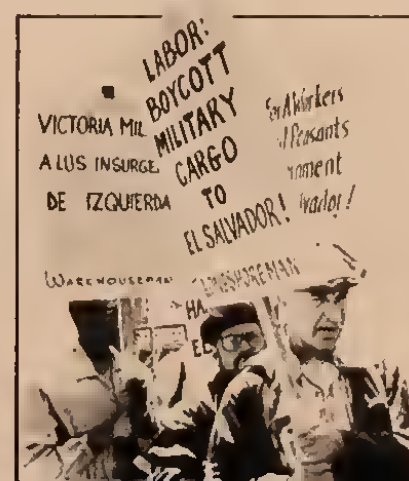
No doubt there is an enormous element of hypocrisy in the spats between the United States and Israel. The U.S., for example, is still very much dependent on Israel not only to police the Near East but as an arms supplier for

regimes so reactionary that the U.S. did not want to have direct dealings with them. Israel supplied over 90 percent of the arms to the Somoza regime and today Israel is the main arms supplier for the Salvadoran junta. The blood of the thousands of workers and peasants that have fallen in the civil war there is on the hands of the Zionists. Nevertheless, U.S. commitment to Israel is entirely subordinate to its global interests in which control over Mideast oil

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## SWP Gets Its Day in Court

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## Socialism vs. Irish Republicanism

To Editors of "Workers Vanguard"

I'm writing concerning the May issue of your paper [*Workers Vanguard* No. 280, 8 May] which included an article on the late Irish Revolutionary hero, Bobby Sands.

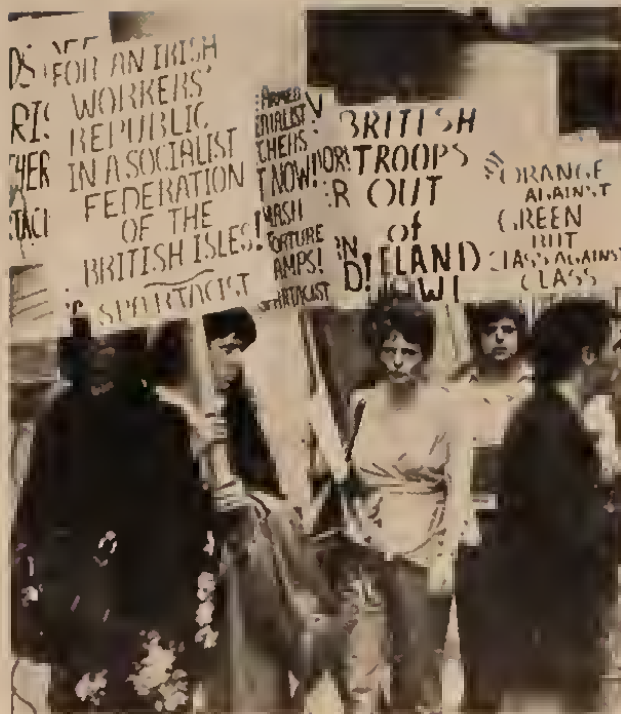
I'm glad to hear your organization joined the anti-British imperialist activity in New York and here in California. As a union man, a Socialist, and an Irish Republican I welcome you. I also agreed with most of your article. But towards the end there is a serious mistake. I hope it is unintentional. You state, quote, "the Republican's fight for cross-class Catholic unity—a capitalist united Ireland." That is not true. In "Republican News" the newspaper of the Sinn Fein and the I.R.A., it has been stated many times that the goal of the I.R.A. is for a *united Socialist Ireland*! That goal has also been stated by the Irish National Liberation Army, the other organization participating in the Hunger strike. The U.S. capitalist press clippings will verify this, there has been bitter anti-socialist attacks on the I.R.A. precisely because they do support, so strongly, a socialist Ireland with no place for "Shamrock Capitalism."

Please correct your error and continue your efforts to get the British occupation army out of my parents' homeland. Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Up the I.R.A.!

Sincerely,  
Tom Brennan  
San Francisco, California

*WV replies:* Brother Brennan raises actually two important questions. One, does the IRA stand for socialism in Ireland in reality and not just on paper? And two, should socialists support the slogan of a "united socialist Ireland"?

For the IRA, the "united" comes before the



Chicago demonstration against H-Block, 22 May.

"socialist" not only in the slogan but in reality. The Provisionals in effect advocate the forced unification of Northern Ireland with the existing Irish Catholic capitalist state (despite the fact that it persecutes them). As for the more "socialist" Officials (now Sinn Fein—The Workers Party), the overwhelming thrust of their politics is for a united Ireland, ignoring the class nature of the Dublin regime and the will of the Ulster Protestant working class. Neither wing of the IRA organizes the working class, North or South, for socialist revolution.

Brother Brennan takes for granted that any socialist should support a united socialist Ireland, ignoring the will of the Ulster Protestant community which constitutes two-thirds of the population of Northern Ireland and one-quarter of that of the entire island.

Northern Ireland is not a nationally homogeneous area seeking liberation from imperialism. It is a case of interpenetrated peoples, like Cyprus or Lebanon, where the will of the Protestant community must be taken into account in any genuinely democratic solution. The Ulster Protestant workers fear incorporation into an Irish Catholic state and are prepared to resist it violently. Possibly the Ulster Protestant workers can be won to a program of a unified Irish workers state, which would necessarily have a secular character. But such a workers state cannot be created through the forced incorporation of the Ulster Protestant community.

Instead of a "united socialist Ireland," we call for an Irish workers republic (not necessarily including the Ulster Protestant community) within a socialist federation of the British Isles. In addition to providing the framework for a democratic resolution of the national question, a socialist federation bears on the economic basis for unifying the Ulster Protestant and Irish workers. As poor as Ulster is, south Ireland is poorer still. If the Ulster Protestant working class is to accept being part of a unified Irish workers state, they (as well as the rest of the Irish working class) should have their share of the wealth available from the socialist integration of the British Isles.

As we wrote in "Theses on Ireland," our basic statement on the question:

"We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. While the establishment of a united workers state of the whole island may be preferable, the above demand is algebraic, leaving open the question of where the Protestants fall. This recognizes that the nature of the Protestant community has not yet been determined in history. As such, it is counterposed to calls for a 'united workers republic' or for a 'united socialist Ireland' (where this demand is not simply an expression of left/nationalist or Stalinist two-stage theories). Placing the demand in the context of a socialist federation has the additional advantage of highlighting the essential relationship of the proletarian revolution in the whole area and the virtual impossibility of the resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework."

—*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977

## LO and French Elections

June 15, 1981

Dear Comrades:

In *Workers Vanguard*, 13 March 1981, you stated that the Lutte Ouvrière group "basically approves of the PCF's municipal policy on immigration" and was guilty of "capitulation to the most backward layers of the proletariat, and even to their racism."

This is a distortion. LO supports *past* PCF policies of defending immigrant workers and opposing government racist attempts to exclude immigrants from living in certain areas. (See the 6-page article in *Lutte de Classe* No. 82, 20 January 1981.) As your *WV* article reported, LO opposes the new PCF policy inaugurated last December at Vitry, where the Communist mayor led a raid to destroy a housing project to which African workers had been transferred.

So the PCF has capitulated to racism; LO opposes this capitulation; therefore LO is guilty of capitulation to racism?

Other criticisms of LO likewise do not stand up to careful examination. LO is not "electoralist"; it uses election periods to broaden its propaganda without encouraging illusions in the electoral process. It is not "workerist"; it concentrates its propaganda on workers to win them to revolutionary politics. LO is not "state-

capitalist"; it rejects the concept of "deformed" workers states because it holds the traditional marxist view that workers' states can only be created by the conscious actions of the workers themselves.

In *Workers Vanguard*, 5 June 1981, you told a half-truth when you said that LO's election slogan was to vote for Mitterrand. This was only their *second round* policy. In the first round LO ran its own candidate, Arlette Laguiller, who got 660,000 votes. You thus give the false impression that LO's support of Mitterrand was uncritical, when in reality it was not only very critical, but *visibly* critical.

In fact, LO's policy of voting Trotskyist in the first round and Mitterrand in the second was the clearest way of putting your own slogan, "Giscard never, Mitterrand no!" into practice. Much better than total abstention.

Marion Syrek  
Berkeley, CA

*WV replies:* Reader Syrek, for many years a leader of the tiny syndicalist *Spark* group who now has his own one-man operation, seeks to defend the credentials of his long-time mentors of Lutte Ouvrière. But the facts do him in. On Vitry, as our 13 March article (*WV* No. 276) reported, LO's *Lutte de Classe* of 22 December 1980 supported PCF immigration policy of calling for "a maximum quota of immigrant workers for all towns" saying, "At bottom, we cannot criticize it [the PCF] because what it is saying is valid and well-founded." Vitry was a racist atrocity and initiated a chauvinist campaign against immigrant workers. But the PCF has called for chauvinist municipal immigration quotas for years. Would comrade Syrek like to advocate this in the U.S.? How many Mexican immigrants would he be willing to permit in Berkeley, for instance?

LO is notoriously electoralist—its main slogan in two presidential elections has been "Vote for a worker, vote for a woman, vote for Arlette Laguiller." And LO's policy of electoral support to Mitterrand was *not* limited to the second round (when their slogan was "Vote Mitterrand without illusions, but without reservations"). In *Lutte Ouvrière* No. 669 (28 March) Arlette Laguiller said, "The aim of my candidacy is not to create an obstacle to Mitterrand's election." This expresses the Ligue Trotskyiste de France's slogan, "Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!"? Only if "no" means "yes."

On the class nature of the East European states, it is

true that LO usually tries to hide in ambiguity. However, in an English-language pamphlet, "The People's Democracies: Are They Socialist States?" published by *Voix Ouvrière* in 1966 they state unambiguously: "Where the working class never took power and never smashed the bourgeois state, these state apparatuses remain bourgeois." LO not only rejects the Trotskyist characterization of them as deformed workers states (i.e., bureaucratically ruled but on the basis of proletarian, collectivized property forms), above all it refuses to defend them against imperialism.

## SWP Exclusions and Watersuit

New York  
30 June 1981

To the Editor:

As *WV* readers will recall, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) excludes Spartacist supporters from its public events. This "national policy" was enforced at the February 7 New York SWP rally held to publicize the SWP's "watersuit" against the FBI, even though such blatant political exclusionism risks estranging any principled defenders of civil liberties among those the SWP appeals to about its court case.

As a Spartacist supporter, I went to the June 6 "Watersuit" rally in New York. This one was sponsored by the SWP's "Political Rights Defense Fund" (PRDF). Peter Camejo was selling tickets. I asked him what the policy was on admitting Spartacists. He laughed and said something like, "Oh, it's \$50 for members of the Spartacist League." When I asked for a straight answer he referred me to the head of the "security" team. This guy, along with another who identified himself as a PRDF spokesman, told me this was not an SWP meeting but a PRDF meeting. The implication was that I was SWP-baiting an independent-minded civil-liberties organization.

I bought a ticket and went in. But I was not surprised to find out recently that the Spartacist League was excluded from the PRDF-sponsored public meeting held June 13 in Chicago. *WV* readers may draw their own conclusions.

Fraternally,  
D.M.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Labor and El Salvador: Class Struggle vs. Cold War

SAN FRANCISCO—More and more American workers are realizing that mass unemployment, racism and union-busting are the domestic face of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, currently targeted on the tiny Central American country of El Salvador. Already, AFL-CIO chiefs are forced to order state and local labor councils to toe the federation's official pro-junta line. In the Bay Area, an "Open Letter to President Reagan Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador" signed by 800 northern California trade unionists appeared in the 8 July *Oakland Tribune*. And in the union ranks there is a growing, angry opposition to the Reagan/Haig war and austerity policies. But the squabbles among pro-business bureaucrats—between those who follow the straight CIA line and liberals who call for an imperialist-brokered "compromise" in El Salvador—offer no way forward for working people. All wings of the American ruling class fundamentally support a Cold War II, and the only way to fight them is with sharp class struggle at home and abroad.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, heir to super cold warrior George Meany, directed union officials in a letter last March that any statements on El Salvador "should be in line" with a February federation executive council resolution. And he included an inch-thick "information kit" just so everyone would get the line straight: military and economic aid to the "reform-minded" junta while pressuring the Democratic Party to pressure Reagan to pressure the colonels for more Vietnam pacification-style "land reform," and "free elections" (in the middle of a civil war!) monitored by the Organization of American States (the notorious "Yankee ministry of colonies"). There was also a note of mild regret over the assassination in January of three officials of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in the San Salvador Sheraton. They don't mention, of course, that the AIFLD is a well-known CIA "labor" front financed by the American government. The policy of Kirkland & Co. is to prettify and shore up the hated junta,



WV Photo

ILWU militants demand union action against Salvadoran junta, San Francisco, July 19.

urging more "reform by death" and please stop shooting AIFLD/CIA operatives.

Meanwhile, self-styled "progressive" union bureaucrats in California are calling for a "political solution" in El Salvador—a coalition between elements of the present dictatorship and the popular-front FDR opposition. The Santa Clara County Central Labor Committee was hauled onto the carpet for taking out a paid ad in the 24 March *San Jose Mercury* titled "No Vietnam in El Salvador." Reagan and Haig could agree to that, since they're hell-bent to "win" this one over the corpses of the Salvadoran people, but it was too much for the AFL-CIO. The *Oakland Tribune* advertisement, placed by Trade Unionists in Solidarity with El Salvador (TUSES), suggests writing your Congressman to support HR 1509, a bill to end U.S. military aid to the junta. But it deliberately avoids calling for an end to the much larger economic aid, which is what keeps the Salvadoran regime afloat. This is the old tactical difference

between "hawks" and "doves" in Vietnam over how best to "fight communism": bomb 'em or buy 'em. But so far it's an academic question in El Salvador where Reagan wants to "teach the Soviets a bloody lesson."

## Loyal "Left" Lieutenants

The *Oakland Tribune* ad is the sole concrete "action" to come out of the Trade Union Committee on El Salvador (TUCES, predecessor of TUSES) in the six months of its existence. The founder and leading light of TUCES/TUSES is Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100. Johnson frequently sets up these labor "solidarity" committees in order to cultivate a "progressive" image and provide a sandbox for fake-lefts like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But he's careful not to step on toes in Washington, whether at the AFL-CIO or out at Langley. At the January 22 founding meeting of TUCES, when militant

phone workers raised a motion condemning the policies of "pro-capitalist labor leaders who for years have collaborated with big business and the CIA in setting up and maintaining the AIFLD" Johnson refused to recognize them. Later, a TUCES leaflet lamented the death of "two AFL-CIO representatives" in El Salvador. (On January 14, the AIFLD pair were described in court by the U.S. solicitor general as "some kind of undercover persons working under the cover of a labor organization.")

And no wonder. Johnson is a frequent emissary from his own Retail Clerks International Union (RCIU) for work with the Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), a counterpart of the Latin American AIFLD, to build CIA-dominated anti-communist unions in places like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. (For evidence of Johnson's AAFLI-related activities see *Local 100 Report*, 14 November 1980; also *UCFW Action*, March 1980 and September 1979, and *Local 870 News*, March 1978.) The RCIU along with the Communications Workers (CWA) gets prominent mention in the award-winning documentary *On Company Business* as the unions most up to their necks in CIA/State Department "free trade union" dirty work.

At a June 25 public forum co-sponsored by TUSES and Casa El Salvador/Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the main speaker was perennial teach-in "Latin American expert" Bill Bollinger, who pretended that the last two years have been a "democratic springtime" for trade unions in El Salvador! After this fantastical claim he tried to argue that the good outweighs the bad in the AIFLD/CIA: "An interesting feature of the AFL-CIO's work in El Salvador is that in trying to fight communism they also come into sharp contradiction with the landowning oligarchs." A Spartacist League supporter responded during the discussion period:

"...what we're getting is the view of Lane Kirkland, because no one but him  
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## For Military Victory to the Salvadoran Leftists!

During the 24th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), held in Honolulu April 27-May 2, Howard Keylor of the Militant Caucus (a class-struggle opposition in the union) presented the following minority report on El Salvador.

### WHEREAS:

Reagan's foreign policy is gearing up for World War III with the Soviet Union. The steps along this road to nuclear holocaust are clear—first El Salvador, then Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and finally the USSR; and

### WHEREAS:

The conflict in El Salvador is a civil war. On one side are the workers and impoverished peasants. On the

other side are the landlords, coffee barons, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. Every single union hall has been bombed and destroyed and the killing goes on; and

### WHEREAS:

The ILWU and the rest of the American labor movement has a stake in this fight and must take sides with the workers and peasants. Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. American labor must take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to win; and

### WHEREAS:

The International's policy to boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador is a first step toward

international labor solidarity. But the military boycott has to be made real on the waterfront and extended to Teamsters and Seamen. If war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines the ILWU and all labor must be prepared to strike to stop U.S. intervention; and

### WHEREAS:

Real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through independent struggle in their own class interests. This means the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America to expropriate the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates without compensation; and

### WHEREAS:

The ability to carry out this independent class struggle means breaking politically with the so-called progressive capitalists who are angling for a negotiated "political solution" that will maintain capital-

ism in El Salvador. Such a deal with the junta would leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for workers and peasants unchanged. For Salvadoran workers the only choice is victory or death;

### THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the ILWU:

1. Call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador;
2. Call upon the American labor movement to hot-cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and other Central American dictators;
3. Urge our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to politically break with the capitalists and to struggle for a workers' and peasants' government;
4. Demand an end to all U.S. military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta.
5. Demands U.S./OAS/Latin American capitalists—all hands off El Salvador and Nicaragua!







## Asylum for Refugees from Salvador Junta Terror!

# Reagan's Mass Deportations to Death

LOS ANGELES—The threat of mass deportation now directly faces tens of thousands of Salvadoran refugees in the U.S. The *Los Angeles Times* (15 July) reported that "the Reagan Administration has quietly taken the first step toward deporting thousands of refugees from El Salvador who have applied for political asylum in the United States." According to the article, some 1,200 State Department letters have been sent out to Salvadoran emigrants, telling the vast majority that their requests for asylum have been turned down.

In the past year alone, some 4,000 applications have been pending due to the outgoing Carter administration's decision to freeze all Salvadoran requests and leave the "refugee question" up to the new Reagan government. Now Reagan's decision sets the stage for mass deportations back to torture, misery and death at the hands of the bloody Salvadoran junta. On July 24 the *Los Angeles* paper, *La Opinión* reported that so far this month more than 309 people have been deported from the Los Angeles area to El Salvador, averaging about 15 people a day.

This "airlift to death" by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) came to light last January through a hunger strike at the concentration camp operated by *la migra* in El Centro, California after refugees had learned about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport. The Spartacist League was the first organization to mount demonstrations against this direct U.S. complicity in the slaughter of refugees by the Salvadoran junta. In March, SL-initiated united-front demonstrations drew attention to the nearly 12,000 Salvadorans sent back to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads last year. Now as Reagan's INS gears up to implement a policy of mass murder through deportations, it is urgent that the left and labor movement raise protests demanding "Stop Deportations to El Salvador!"

Fleeing in fear for their lives, many Salvadoran refugees have witnessed the brutal murders of family members, seen their houses burnt to the ground. Hitchhiking and walking over mountains and deserts, they are at the mercy of the "coyotes" who slip them across the border. Last July, 13 Salvadoran refugees were left by these cutthroat smugglers to die in the scorched Arizona desert. Once in the U.S., the refugees are picked up by the INS; unable to meet the bail, they are imprisoned for months in the "detention centers," more precisely concentration camps, of El Centro, El Paso and Fort Isahel. Now the Reagan

administration will not permit them entry unless they can show written "proof" that they are political refugees who will be persecuted if returned home. But civil wars claim their victims with bullets, not affidavits.

Take the case of Ricardo Hernández, a young trade-union organizer incarcerated for eight months at El Centro, interviewed by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Laurie Becklund. Assassins who killed his cousin pinned a note on his chest they were looking for Hernán-



SL spokesman Jose Silva at Los Angeles anti-deportations demo, March 23.

dez. He told Becklund, "The judge wanted concrete proofs! How am I supposed to give him concrete proofs? Three times they came looking for me because I was active in a labor union at my factory. The last time they shot at me, but they missed. I know who they were, they were National Guardsmen in civilian dress, and they had government guns. Everybody in El Salvador understands these things."

On July 15, some 90 Salvadorans were temporarily released from El Centro, due to the efforts of two community groups, the Tucson Ecumenical Council and the Manzo Area Council, to provide legal aid and raise thousands of dollars in bail. The

busloads of just-released refugees arrived in L.A. last week where they were greeted by cheers from their supporters. WV attended a "freedom party" where the Salvadorans told their stories:

Juan, a trade unionist: "I was the treasurer of my union. I was friends with the manager of a company where I worked. We went fishing together. So he told me that I and two other union officials (the president and general organizer) were targeted for assassination, so we should get out. I told the other two, but they didn't want to leave because they were afraid the union would fall apart. I went through Guatemala for six days. I called home and the other two (officials) had been murdered. I fled to the U.S. and applied for political asylum. I was denied."

Luis, a sharecropper: "I came to the U.S. because they did violence to me. They were really looking for me, but they didn't find me. They found my 21-year-old wife and one-year-old baby daughter and a woman living with us and shot and killed them. They came to my house for no reason. It is a daily occurrence that they go through the areas where farm workers live, burn homes and slaughter livestock. Because I opened my home to other farm workers who had their homes burned, they said I was a subversive. I was with the poor. I was on the side of the Catholic Church. I sold everything I had and bought a bus ticket. I was picked up at the border."

José, a self-employed mechanic, described conditions at El Centro, located in the middle of the desert where the temperature is 110° and there is no rain, no air conditioning and no medical treatment. Guards beat the prisoners here; there are weekly sweeps through the camp in the middle of the night during which everyone is awakened and his identity demanded. One kitchen worker described how he was forced to work from 5 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. for \$1 a day, how his life was threatened when he refused to work during a hunger strike in July. And on top of the daily abuse, there are the *orejas*, junta-planted spies in El Centro who report back via

telephone to the headquarters of the Salvadoran National Police.

At the Spartacist-initiated demonstration outside the INS office in Los Angeles March 23, militants pointed out how the U.S. has long been a haven for the Somoza lovers, the Hitler-loving Marshal Ky, the Nazi war criminals and CIA-trained *gusanos* who killed Orlando Letelier. Yet the door was slammed on the thousands of Chileans who fled Pinochet's terror, as it is being slammed on the Salvadorans today. In March, the Los Angeles-area CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) actively worked to sabotage the SL-initiated demonstration, calling up its mailing list with the lie that the demonstration had been canceled. Why? These sectarian reformists are guided above all by their fear of the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League, particularly our demands "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador."

These slogans would, of course, alienate the Democratic doves that CISPES tails—indeed, they never raised the deportation issue while Carter and the Democrats were at the helm. But now it's Reagan Country, so they have belatedly and half-heartedly taken up the issue. But you can't fight deportations with Democrats. Now hard-line U.S. policy is pushing for new bracero programs, South African-style internal pass systems for non-citizens and rapidly escalating mass deportations of Salvadoran refugees. As defenders of U.S. capitalism the Democrats will not fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers. Nor will the reformists—even the New Left's darling, Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers, at one point even called for the INS to pick up "illegal" Mexican immigrants!

To the thousands of Salvadorans in the U.S., deportation means death. Only the labor movement has the strength to beat back this deadly threat. Labor must come forward to demand "Stop the Deportations to El Salvador! Asylum for Victims of Junta Terror!" ■

## Congress Can't Whitewash U.S. Concentration Camps

# Japanese Americans Demand Reparations

During World War II over 110,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up into concentration camps for four years, in a frenzy of racist hysteria spearheaded by FDR himself and prominent liberals like Francis Biddle and Earl Warren. After the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at war's end, they were unceremoniously dumped from the barbed-wire compounds and told to "go home." Most found their property had been either lost, stolen or sold. Thousands more, trapped into renouncing their U.S. citizenship while imprisoned, fought agonizing court battles to avoid being deported to Japan. Today, some 40 years after this searing outrage, the U.S. government has established a "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians" which will "consider" some compensation to these citizens.

Whatever meager guilt-money the

government may decide to dole out, it will never be enough! Japanese-American groups testifying before the Commission have made this point, and of course we fully support their efforts to get as much restitution as possible. Today it's cheap enough for the bourgeoisie to shed a few crocodile tears over its old "excesses," while laying the groundwork for World War III. But America's concentration camps were no "tragic mistake," no "aberration." Tule Lake, Manzanar, Santa Anita—they are still ready and waiting. And they will be used again, unless the racist, warmongering capitalists who run this country are overthrown.

Today the reformists as well as the liberals support the Japanese Americans' claims; there was a recent article in the Communist Party's *Daily World* (18 July) on the case. But at the time, the CP was one of the most vehement

supporters of FDR's racist roundup—it expelled all its Japanese-American members, while the *Daily Worker* was full of chauvinist poison about "fifth column greengrocers" and "enemy aliens" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," WV No. 139, 7 January 1977, for full documentation of this vile betrayal). And that too was no "mistake," as the CP in a weasly 1972 "apology" tried to claim. It was the direct result of the Stalinists' strategy of supporting the U.S. imperialist war effort and the "progressive bourgeoisie."

It was only the Trotskyists (and a very few courageous pacifists) who dared to stand up for elementary human decency and who aided the Japanese Americans as best they could at the time. We stand in solidarity with this revolutionary tradition of American Trotskyism, which was then under terrible persecution from the government for its intransigent opposition to the American bourgeoisie's imperialist war aims. And as we said last year at our Hiroshima Day demonstration in Los Angeles, "To Remember Is Not Enough!" Only socialist revolution, which will rid the world forever of the inevitable racist atrocities and wars of imperialism, will avenge the agony of these victims of U.S. imperialism!

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## SWP Gets Its Day in Court

# REFORMISM ON TRIAL

On April 2 the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) finally got its civil suit against the government to court. The SWP launched the case nearly eight years ago in the post-Watergate period. Subsequent "Freedom of Information" revelations documented some of the FBI "dirty tricks" employed against the SWP under the vicious "COINTELPRO" disruption program. Testimony was heard by Judge Thomas Griesa through June 25, when the case recessed for the summer, after which both sides will submit their closing briefs.

To believe the SWP, the case has been an uninterrupted series of crushing blows against the FBI and its partners in crime. "By the end of the first day it had become clear that the government was reeling from the socialist strategy in the courtroom" was the modest assessment of the 17 April *Militant*. Every issue since has insisted on the same theme: the SWP has "put the government on trial." Unfortunately, what is most striking about the case is the extent to which it is the SWP and not the government that is on trial.

The government, as might be expected, concedes virtually nothing. It blithely reads into the record every slander ever "reported" by an FBI informer, insists it can "investigate" the left under grossly anti-democratic laws, brings into court scholarly Hoover Institution types to testify as "experts" on socialism. It apologizes virtually not at all for the bag jobs, warrantless wiretaps, poison-pen letters; it defends deportations, firings, evictions; it demands protection of the anonymity of its finks planted in leftist, labor and black organizations (so-called "informer privilege").

On April 24 the government announced that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was "reviewing" the SWP to explore the possibility that SWP members are "excludable or deportable" based solely on their political views. This vindictive provocation raises the spectre of some of the ugliest of witchhunt weapons—remember the Palmer Raids of 1919, in which hundreds of foreign-born Communists, anarchists and others were deported. During the McCarthy period deportation proceedings were instituted against hundreds of foreign-born members and ex-members of the Communist Party, some of them many-year residents of the U.S. Laws were passed making it a felony for a Communist or ex-Communist to even apply for a passport.

But the SWP went to court in a pretty strong position. Especially in the Nixon period of paranoid Watergating, the government—unable to distinguish a Daniel Ellsberg from a Bob Avakian—committed anti-democratic "excesses." When it all came out, the liberals were genuinely outraged over Nixon's having treated the Democrats like they were the GPU. The FBI backed away from the most obviously irrational of its crimes while the reformers/budget-cutters said: clean up your act. Meanwhile, a raid by

militant pacifists on an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania had brought COINTELPRO to light. It emerged that the FBI had committed god knows how many bag jobs against the SWP, an ostensibly socialist organization known for its penchant for chanting "peaceful, legal" at more left-wing protesters at antiwar demonstrations. Something like 90 "surreptitious entries" were shown to have occurred in the SWP's national headquarters alone. To top it all off, the government lied like crazy in the pre-trial process, affronting Judge Griesa's patrician ideas of fair play. A quicker settlement would have helped

the rightward motion of the whole bourgeois political spectrum. The SWP is secure in the illusion that American imperialism's war moves against Russia will have no domestic repercussions against the U.S. left (at least the non-Stalinist left). But the bourgeoisie's war on labor at home, its war drive for global anti-Communism abroad, spell witchhunting sooner rather than later.

In this context, both the government's efforts to justify its surveillance of the SWP with charges of "terrorism" and the SWP's attempts to show itself the very model of a tame electoralist party spell danger for the left. This is an

is that all leftists are at least dupes of an international Communist/"terrorist" conspiracy and they hope to bring that message home through the SWP trial.

The SWP's defense is its reformist opposition to USec centrism. The SWP wouldn't alter one word of its reformist program for all the centrists in the world; nor would Barnes & Co. allow themselves to be tainted with the "terrorist" label just to maintain their ceremonial "internationalism." When right-wing columnists mounted a witch-hunt scare against the USec in 1974, the SWP took swift bureaucratic action, expelling more than a hundred pro-USec SWP members (the Internationalist Tendency) on the Fourth of July. The internal bulletins of that expulsion soon turned up in court as the showpiece of the SWP's attempt to demonstrate its respectability before Judge Griesa. And the judge was reassured:

"There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.... In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

The SWP recently underscored its irreconcilable hostility to those ex-SWPers targeted jointly by the SWP and the government by the job it did on Hedda Garza (see "SWP's Lying Frame-Up of Hedda Garza," *WV* No. 285, 17 July).

For the SWP, the trial is the finale of a long period of rightward-moving reformism. The "Watersuit" has been their central focus for years, and their aim is ambitious to say the least: not merely to be tolerated by the bourgeoisie but to be officially certified as not harmful to the health of American capitalist class rule. The SWP wants to show once and for all that it is a pacifistic, legalistic party entitled to all the benefits of American democracy. It makes no attempt to suggest that the U.S. government is itself violent, racist, imperialist and lawless, thereby legitimizing the government's "right" to spy on, harass and frame up its perceived enemies—so long as it leaves the SWP alone.

### Who's on Trial?

It is really impossible for us, revolutionists, to discuss how this trial could have been conducted. The SWP's aim has nothing in common with our Marxist purpose. It is at least conceivable that the SWP could win its case on such a basis, for exactly the reasons that we could not: the SWP has renounced in advance the basic ideas of revolutionary Marxism and has taken the greatest possible distance from the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union (stopping short only of explicitly repudiating Trotskyism—the political line upheld by the revolutionary SWP through the 1950s). We differ with the SWP's most basic reformist assumptions about the nature of the capitalist state and could therefore hardly advise them on how to conduct their trial.

But we can say this: the SWP has put

### U.S. Reviews Stand on Deporting Alien Trotskyists

By ARNOLD R. LUBASCH

An immigration official testified yesterday that a review was being conducted to determine whether alien who belong to the Socialist Workers Party can be deported from the United States.

Glenn A. Bertness, acting associate commissioner of enforcement for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, presented the testimony in the four-week trial of the party's \$40 million lawsuit against the government in Federal District Court in Manhattan.

After the immigration review was disclosed, the Socialist Workers issued a statement saying that the action could subject hundreds of party members and supporters to deportation proceedings solely because of their political ideas.

Jack Barnes, the party's national secretary, added that the government was reporting to "threats and intimidation" to defend itself in the lawsuit which is

to believe that the Socialist Workers Party of the United States is an organization that advocates the economic, national and governmental doctrine of world communism.

According to the testimony of Mr. Bertness, the Immigration Service has taken the review of the Socialist Workers to decide if the party should be classified as a "subversive" organization that advocates totalitarian doctrine of world communism. If it is so classified, he said, deportation proceedings could be against alien who have been members of the party.

Authority to deport members and affiliates of organizations given their classification, Mr. Bertness said, comes in provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, known as the McCarran-Wallace Act.

Mr. Bertness testified that the Immigration Service reviewed the trial

called Workers

### PRESIDENT PARDONS 2 EX-F.B.I. OFFICIALS IN 1970'S BREAK-INS

#### HAILE THEIR BUREAU RECORDS

Felt and Miller Regard Decision as Vindication of Their Actions —Prosecutor Distressed

By ROBERT FEAR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 15 — President Reagan announced today that he had granted unconditional pardons to two former officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who were convicted of conspiring to violate the constitutional rights of Americans. The two men, authorized Government agents to break into homes to search of antiwar radicals in the early 1970's.

## The New York Times

In face of Reagan offensive SWP pretends its "Watersuit" has U.S. secret police on the run.

the SWP's chances, though they can hardly complain since their line is to deny any shift to the right in this country; according to the SWP every year brings a new "radicalization" and new SWP resolutions titled "The New Rise of the [Whatever] Struggle." The SWP's fuzzy vision of social reality outside the courtroom expresses itself in their view of the "Watersuit":

"Back in the 1950s, the big old courthouse was the site of some of the most notorious anticommunist frame-ups. Here the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death. Communist Party leaders were sentenced to years in prison.

"But now it's the 1980s, and the government is the defendant."

—*Militant*, 17 April

The SWP barely noticed the election of Reagan. It ducked the ominous Cold War intent of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and the implications of Reagan/Haig's campaign against "international terrorism." It draws no conclusions from the capitalists' assault on hard-won union gains and the defeatist passivity of the union tops, from the reversal of the token gains of the liberal civil rights movement and the bankruptcy of black leadership.

The SWP does not see the burning crosses of escalating Klan/Nazi terror from California to Connecticut. But the shooting down of leftists in broad daylight in Greensboro in 1979 by the emboldened race-terrorist "fringe"—and the subsequent acquittal of the fascist murderers—were a reflection of

important case which has been hailed by virtually the entire left—the *Guardian*, the National Lawyers Guild, a slew of long-time Communist Party fellow-travelers. But the SWP is suing to show itself the right wing of self-styled "socialism." Peter Camejo's June 25 testimony, that following a 1968 Bay Area demonstration where "violence" occurred the SWP stopped participating in demonstrations there to show that it does not promote violence, is a good example of the whole thrust of the SWP's "Watersuit" strategy.

The charges of SWP "terrorism" are at the heart of the FBI's court strategy. Its main "evidence" is the SWP's diplomatic bloc with the centrist United Secretariat (USec—one of several competing "Fourth Internationals"), which the government attorneys sought to paint as a sinister pro-terrorist conspiracy. While the SWP kept insisting (with perfect truth) that its "fraternal association" with the USec has no real effect on the SWP's political line or organizational practices, the FBI attorneys countered with "expert" witnesses on communist "doctrine" who noted that if the SWP considered itself Trotskyist it would abide by decisions of the "Fourth International" whether or not it were a section. The government lawyers sought to smear the USec, which underwent a period of vicarious enthusiasm for guerrillaism in Latin America in the 1970s, with everything from kidnappings in Argentina to the "Baader-Meinhof gang." The government's line



**SECRET  
POLICE  
ON TRIAL**  
**SOCIALISTS  
VERSUS  
FBI; CIA, INS**



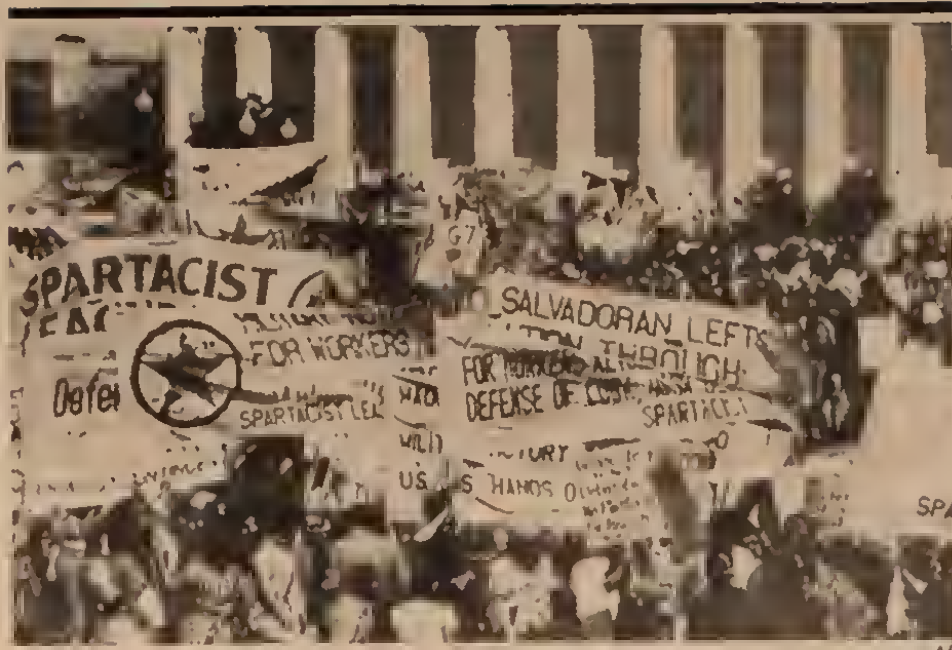
itself on trial by its passionate eagerness to display its own good faith. That the U.S. government, the number one enemy of the world's working people, has no right to demand proofs of good faith from the SWP—least of all after being caught in the act of stomping on the SWP's civil rights—is a case the SWP would not dream of making.

In the context of its general demeanor of sweet reasonableness, the SWP has managed a couple of offensive thrusts during the trial. One such occurred on June 3 during cross-examination of Robert Keuch, a high-ranking official of the Justice Department. SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter was asking Keuch about a June 1980 report concerning the cover-up of FBI burglaries of SWP headquarters. Judge Griesa was initially resistant to the line of questioning but the SWP—for a change—hung hard. Winter read from an unnamed FBI agent's report on a conversation with an unnamed Justice Department official about getting "confidential investigative information" on the SWP; the conversation was considered by the agent to be authorization for "black bag jobs." The embarrassed Keuch admitted to being the unnamed Justice Department official. It was an enjoyable moment reminiscent of Attorney General Griffin Bell's contempt citation in the case back in 1978.

The SWP is also very proud of wresting from the government a 1956 National Security Council briefing by J. Edgar Hoover setting up COINTEL-PRO disruption of the Communist Party. It is an interesting document which casts an unexpected light on the SWP case, for under "Methods" the document says: "Informants have been the key to penetration of the party.... While key informants have been exposed to date, through testimony required in court proceedings, we currently have 921 active informants..." (*Militant*, 19 June). By way of contrast, the FBI did not find it necessary to expose a single unblown informer in the "Watersuit," and the SWP had earlier agreed to a deal barring its attorneys from sharing with anyone information on informers released to them in unexpurgated FBI files on 18 "representative" finks (see "Bell Shields FBI Finks," *WV* No. 213, 11 August 1979).

Who's really on trial? The answer is expressed most clearly in the matter of disclosure. What secrets has the SWP wrested from the government? Aside from Ed Heisler, the former SWP National Committee member who last year told the SWP he had been a paid FBI fink, how many informers have been uncovered? Meanwhile, the SWP has turned itself inside out.

The government has spent what must be millions of dollars spying on the SWP. They ended up with god knows how many pages of agents' reports, which the SWP has had fun showing consist of generally inaccurate para-



SL organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May 3. "Peaceful, legal" SWP stayed home and violence-baited El Salvador demo of 80,000.

phrases of public SWP positions available to any *Militant* reader and some absurdities that only a J. Edgar Hoover could really believe. But in the course of pre-trial "discovery" and during the trial itself, the SWP has furnished the government with an incredible amount of high-quality information on its structure, leadership and pseudonyms, finances.

As we have written earlier, the SWP agreed to bar its lawyers from making public—even to their own party!—information obtained on government informers. This puts the SWP attorneys in the position of keeping the government's dirty secrets so that the informers can continue to function as spies and provocateurs inside the SWP and other left groups. Now, by obligingly furnishing the government with such items as party pseudonyms and international meeting dates (and on pain of perjury moreover), the SWP gratuitously validates information obtained from informers and gives the government a way to use the information in court without having to expose its sources. This amounts to a de facto bloc with the FBI's cherished "informer privilege."

"But we have no secrets!"—we can practically hear the SWP objecting. The SWP's acquiescence to virtually unlimited disclosure illuminates its basic reformist premises. To believe that peaceful, legal socialists have nothing to fear from disclosure is to believe that the good guys will never be harmed by the American rulers; the government will play fair, observe its laws, keep its promises. The SWP cross-examination of FBI fink Heisler on June 17 bore witness again to Barnes & Co.'s belief that the worst thing an FBI agent can do to you is... encourage pot-smoking (see "FBI Informer in the SWP," *WV* No. 268, 14 November 1980). The SWP's professed faith in American democracy may win bourgeois friends and influence judges, but it is wrong and deadly

dangerous. We know there are categories of people—leftists, non-citizens, ethnic minorities—whose democratic rights have been known to disappear in an instant: just ask the Japanese Americans in World War II. The SWP's congenital inability to believe this—even in the face of the evidence of their own court suit—places them somewhere to the right of your average socially concerned black minister on the question of the state.

This is not to say that an authentic revolutionary organization on trial would not make some efforts to show good faith. But the SWP posture is, quite simply: we have nothing to hide. Such a claim rests on two fundamental premises: that the SWP can prove to everyone's satisfaction that it is a "peaceful, legal" party and that law-abiding social activists have nothing to fear from the American government.

For the SWP, the only people who could possibly want to "hide" anything from the government are people who are guilty of something. The SWP's touching faith that it is safe because it is "peaceful, legal" means it believes that the U.S. capitalist government is "peaceful, legal" too. This is actually an important aspect of reformist ideology, though it sometimes comes looking like such fatuous naiveté that you have to wonder about cynicism (as for example when Larry Seigle told the 1980 SWP educational conference that the SWP leaders had never heard of a "mail cover" until they got involved in preparing the present suit). Reformists have to believe that the ruling class will play by the same rules it enforces upon everyone else; otherwise, there is clearly no percentage in trying to do business with the status quo.

Barnes' party, turning itself inside out, implicitly acknowledges the government's "right" to information on leftist organizations—and places itself squarely on the defensive. Such a case could have been a valuable means to publicize the government's filthy secret wars against the left and seek to wrest more disclosures from the government. Instead the SWP has made the axis of the case the legality of the SWP, thereby putting itself on trial from day one. Indeed, in the first days of the suit, many of the participants were visibly having some trouble refraining from referring to the SWP as "the defense" (rather than "the plaintiffs").

#### Indecent Exposures

The SWP from the outset behaved as committed reformists anxious to show their limitless trust in the court. An important indecent exposure occurred during Jack Barnes' April 9 testimony concerning relations with the U.S. Asked about the use of party pseudonyms during the morning session, Barnes took the line that party names are a precaution desirable in "dictatorial countries." To show his confidence in America as a free country, he identified the real names of all the SWPers listed

by party pseudonym in minutes of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the U.Sec.

The government opened the afternoon session by handing Barnes a piece of paper. "Are these the dates and locations of the IEC meetings" held in the last 12 years? Barnes was visibly upset. He replied that this was "protected" information; yes, says an SWP lawyer, this information was furnished in camera (privately). The real dates and locations of these international meetings—presumably differing from the accounts published, to provide participants some protection against repression—had been turned over to the government by the SWP in the secret "Barnes affidavit." Does Barnes really believe his fraternal comrades of the U.Sec are not endangered by turning over information to the U.S. government so long as it is kept out of open court? Or had Barnes hoped to suppress in open court the existence of the "Barnes affidavit"? In any case the pretext of a distinction disappeared on May 12, when Barry Sheppard testified as to the real names and corresponding party pseudonyms of seven non-American U.Sec leaders.

In the matter of financial disclosure, the SWP's cringing failure to confront the disclosure question directly significantly hurt the SWP's case in Judge Griesa's eyes. On April 9 Barnes testified that the SWP's policy is to destroy all financial books and records not necessary to the filing of tax returns. Griesa hit the roof. He wanted to know why and who was responsible. Barnes tried the "Rosemary Woods defense": I don't know, it's been our practice for 40 years.

Over and over in the course of the trial, Griesa would return to this question. He evidently found the SWP's unconventional business practices—wages paid in cash, no audits, etc.—at variance with the SWP's efforts to present itself as the very model of bourgeois rectitude in all things, a "socialist" party just like any other party. In an attempt to recover, the SWP put its treasurer on the stand. On April 21 he testified "that in view of documented proof of FBI burglaries, the party must take this step to keep records from being routinely turned over to local, state, and federal police agencies" (*Militant*, 1 May). Alas, too late. The SWP court case has been in litigation for nearly eight years. In the course of pre-trial "discovery" and in court, the SWP has turned over countless pages of minutes, internal bulletins, Young Socialist Alliance financial records, you name it. The SWP eagerly assumed the burden of showing it had "nothing to hide"; Barnes & Co. cannot have it both ways. When the FBI attorneys in 1980 made a specific demand for the current financial records, the SWP put a hold on the destruction policy and turned over the information—and not just the ledgers but the raw data (bills, receipts, etc.). On June 17 Griesa again brought up the destruction of the records, this time observing that the SWP could have litigated the government's request for financial disclosure in the first place. But the SWP posture was nudism in principle.

The SWP actually had in its legal arsenal a useful weapon with which to contest the demand for financial disclosure. Some years back the SWP obtained a federal court ruling exempting it from the law requiring disclosure of contributors to election campaigns, explicitly on the grounds that such disclosure in the case of the SWP would subject its campaign supporters to harassment. The SWP legal team made one timid effort to introduce this decision into the present trial during the testimony of Andrew Pulley on April 24; when the judge failed to recognize the relevance of the precedent, the SWP meekly dropped the subject.

To be sure, by the end the SWP was putting up inconsistent resistance to the

continued on page 8



Minneapolis SWP defendants, 1941—when socialism really was on trial. Barnes states that SWP hasn't "engaged in, planned or advocated illegal activity since 1941," implying the Minneapolis Trotskyists were guilty.



# SWP Trial...

(continued from page 7)

government's demands for more disclosure and still more disclosure. On the morning of June 23 the judge ordered the SWP to turn over unexpurgated some documents the SWP had submitted with deletions. The SWP lawyer objected that the SWP draws the line at turning over names. Griesa replied that a few more names wouldn't make any difference. Accordingly, at the beginning of the afternoon session, the SWP turned over the documents, said to contain names of SWP rank-and-filers and of members of other organizations.

The issue of "naming names" showed the SWP at its most panicky. On June 9 the SWP made what looked like an attempt to make the suit a class action (this was two months after the beginning of testimony). They submitted to the court affidavits from individual SWP members authorizing the SWP to receive on their behalf any award of damages—in other words, signed acknowledgements of individual membership constituting at least a partial membership list. It is not clear, given Judge Griesa's rejection of this apparent attempt to shift legal strategy in mid-stream, whether these waivers are now in the government's possession.

Equally scandalous is the story of the secret "Mandigo affidavit." Early on, Judge Griesa asked the government to supply a list of criminal acts it claims have been committed by SWP members. The government offered a list drawn up by FBI agent Mandigo but specified that the document would have to be kept secret from the SWP in order not to compromise sources. This was an invitation to the judge to openly collude with the FBI in putting the SWP on trial for alleged crimes while denying them the possibility of confronting their accusers. Judge Griesa quite properly declined the invitation. The *Militant* (12 June) describes the scene:

"Initially Judge Griesa was not going to look at the secret affidavit.... 'I'm not going to receive it'.... The first thing they [the SWP] did was to urge the judge to change his mind and read the affidavit...."

The secret Mandigo affidavit must by its very nature consist of lies. But the SWP again acquiesced to "informant privilege"—the idea that all men of good will must in the interest of national security agree to confidentiality for the FBI frame-up artists. Judge Griesa was ready to dismiss the affidavit as unworthy of consideration. But not the SWP, which apparently longs to have itself accused of crimes, the better to display its innocence.

If the SWP really expected that getting Griesa to read the affidavit would help the SWP find out the contents, it was to be disappointed. Throughout the trial the judge ruled out of order SWP efforts to elicit the information from government witnesses. "During the course of the trial," says the same 12 June *Militant* article, "possible hints as to the contents of the affidavit came out," and it cites one such "possible hint." On May 26 Griesa announced he would give no consideration to the affidavit in reaching his decision on the suit. The *Militant* trumpets this great victory and returns to its favorite theme:

"On top of this—and probably most importantly—the socialists have established their honesty and integrity by forthrightly answering any questions asked. They've made it clear they have nothing to hide. They have spoken frankly and in great detail...."

Yes indeed.

## Pleading Not Guilty

The SWP argues over and over that it should not be investigated because it does not commit crimes. The "Findings of Fact" document (*Militant*, 10 April) submitted by the SWP states: "The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have

engaged in, planned or advocated any illegal activity, at least since 1941." In 1941, of course, when the SWP was a revolutionary party, 18 of its leaders were prosecuted in the first trials under the Smith Act. The present-day SWP carefully refuses to challenge, even in passing, their conviction. Does the SWP think that socialist opposition to imperialist war and class-struggle unionism, the activities that led to the prosecution of the "Minneapolis 18," are crimes? On June 11 the SWP objected to the government's submission of FBI materials from 1941 on the grounds that "the conviction speaks for itself"! And it keeps repeating it has never been "successfully prosecuted" for anything since, affecting not to notice that this manner of pleading not guilty implicitly indicts the "Minneapolis 18," to say nothing of the Communist Party, which had its back broken in the 1950s by every kind of witchhunting weapon, including not a few successful prosecutions of its members for alleged crimes ranging from "advocacy" to income tax evasion.

The SWP is busily pleading not guilty

to register it to death. Therefore any trade union with international ties (like the American auto union, affiliated to the international metal workers' federation), to say nothing of Vatican-influenced political groupings like the anti-abortion lobby, hypothetically could be prosecuted as "illegal." The Voorhis Act was patently unconstitutional when it was passed and any credibility it might have claimed then has certainly been vitiated by its having been on the books for four decades without ever having been used in the prosecution of anyone. But the SWP has for years found the Voorhis Act useful as an excuse for its anti-internationalism, and anti-internationalism is an important credential in a country where "un-American" is a potent accusation.

This is not to say the Act never will be used. What determines who will be prosecuted and for what is not so much the state of the legal code as the class struggle. It was not "the law," that abstract Platonic ideal beloved of reformists, which executed the Rosenbergs in 1953, but the American ruling

the defense of "democracy" against "dictatorship." They parade their faith in the system, which they present as susceptible to peaceful "transformation" through the electoral process, and hope the court will reciprocate by turning the brutal apparatus of bourgeois state repression against other targets.

Their main problem is that they want to make sure nobody could confuse the SWP with a revolutionary Trotskyist party, but they do not want to explicitly attack "revolution," "Trotskyism" or the old SWP of Trotsky and Cannon (much as the Communist Party does not relinquish its claim to "Leninism" and "Communism"). They try to accomplish this by redefining words until they do not mean anything at all. On April 7 Jack Barnes responded to a question about the phrase "combat party" by dismissing it as just the "jargon of our movement, which is a pain sometimes." On June 18 Linda Jenness defined revolutionary socialism as meaning restructuring society more fairly. On a more sophisticated level, the testimony of Barry Sheppard was most instructive in the art of trivializing revolution.

On May 5 Judge Griesa interrupted the SWP lawyers' examination of Sheppard to ask him the difference between the SWP and the British Labour Party. What follows is a telescoped account of the questioning reconstructed from the notes of the *WV* reporter attending that session (and subsequently verified from the trial record itself):

Griesa: What differences are there between Trotskyists and the British Labour Party?

Sheppard: There are many differences within the BLP; some of its members are Trotskyists.

Griesa: Between Trotskyists and Labour governments, then?

Sheppard: They want to maintain capitalism and reform it some. We agree on many concretes, like socialized medicine. They want to limit it to that. We think fundamental change in the structure of ownership is necessary.

Griesa: If you were in Parliament, you'd propose bills that went further? You'd do it through the political process?

Sheppard: Of course, it can't happen all at once. We'd go much further through that process.

Griesa: Try to legislate, only much farther?

Sheppard: Yes.

Griesa: The word "revolution"—Harold Wilson doesn't use it much.

Sheppard: Tony Benn would use it.

Griesa: What place does the word "revolution" have?

Sheppard: The BLP doesn't think there has to be a social revolution, a change in the structure of ownership....

Griesa: The BLP has, I believe, a doctrine of nationalizing industry, banking. That would be a fundamental change in property forms. When you say fundamental change, what's the difference?

Sheppard: It's the same thing. Our quarrel is they never do it....

The SWP sees politics as a classless continuum of political parties: the Republicans, the Democrats, the BLP, the SWP. It sees capitalism as a collection of political forms of genuinely peaceful nature rather than as the brutally violent rule of a rapacious ruling class. The 15 May *Militant* summarized Sheppard's May 6 testimony as "SWP advocates peaceful election of workers and farmers government, which will need changes in Constitution to implement program." If Barnes' party used to be known for its belief that consistent pro-capitalist ideology leads to socialism ("consistent feminism," "consistent nationalism"), their perspective now might be summed up as: consistent Constitutional reform leads to socialism. What's wrong with this is expressed neatly in the 1938 founding Declaration of the revolutionary SWP:

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion."

During the cross-examination of Sheppard on May 11, Judge Griesa

## SWP: U.S. Constitution, Yes—Russian Revolution, No

### THE MILITANT

24 July 1981

**Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?**

**Jack Barnes:** Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the

### Russian revolution

**Winter:** Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?

**Barnes:** No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism and the mass of peasantry and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.

There are two aspects that

to all the various laws it is fond of characterizing in the *Militant* as "thought-control" legislation: the Smith Act, the Voorhis Act, the Alien Registration Act, and so forth. They have not challenged these reactionary, anti-communist laws. Certainly the SWP is under no obligation to turn its civil suit for damages into a constitutional challenge to witchhunt legislation. But the government's invoking of these laws as the justification for spying on the SWP demands a response other than just "not guilty." On May 15 Judge Griesa took over the questioning of FBI agent Greene, who was in charge of spying on the Young Socialist Alliance during the 1960s, to register annoyance that "all I ever hear about is the Voorhis Act." He wanted to know if Greene claimed the SWP had ever done anything really illegal, like bombings or assassinations.

To the legalistic SWP, though, a law is a law is a law. The SWP's complete prostration before the Voorhis Act is not just unseemly; it may be, from the standpoint of the government, the best thing to happen to this piece of legislation since it was enacted. The Voorhis Act was passed in 1940 in an effort to flatly legalize international political organizations. Under its sweeping provisions, you don't have to be a Zionist or a Moonie to be deemed "subject to foreign control." Any political organization whose policies ("or any of them") are "determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with" a foreign government or "a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization" is asserted to be in violation of the Voorhis Act unless it complies with regulations

class riding the Cold War tide. Black Panther militants were hunted down and massacred by the cops and FBI without benefit of special legal sanction.

The SWP doesn't much care about the Rosenbergs or the Panthers. What it wants is to get itself an exemption from repression by showing itself non-threatening to the system. Its protestations about "peaceful, legal" are not so much a legal argument as a political one. The SWP line has the virtue of simplicity: the SWP has never broken any laws (at least since 1941) and it never will. Almost nobody else in the world except Jack Barnes' SWP could make that statement. The 1978 miners' strike in violation of Taft-Hartley broke the law. The 1980 New York subway strike broke the Taylor Law. Undocumented non-citizens working in this country are "illegal aliens." Homosexuals (and most heterosexuals) break "morality" laws. And then there's the Voorhis Act.... To be sure, serious revolutionists don't sit around contemplating breaking laws; we accept that the bourgeoisie has state power and we are guided accordingly. But we defend striking unionists, immigrant workers, homosexuals, internationalists, etc. and we resent the SWP's attempt to purchase a special licence to practice reformism at the expense of all those who cannot or do not wish to make the same fulsome "peaceful, legal" guarantees.

## A BLP in Embryo

The SWP legal strategy is the direct expression of its politics. Barnes & Co. hope to convince the judge they are basically idiosyncratic democrats loyal to the political institutions of American capitalism and committed above all to



again took over the questioning. If a party believes there is a ruling class exercising a "social dictatorship" and the state defends it, he wanted to know, how can the SWP believe in peaceful change? Sheppard replied that "the lower classes can make gains" and democratic reforms can become part of the governmental structure. The judge persisted: if you believe in the inevitability of violent opposition by the rulers, then you don't think you're going to get anywhere through the electoral process. It's our prediction, said Sheppard, that the rich will organize fascist bands, but if we're wrong.... "But you think so, you would have to prepare." Not us, said Sheppard, mumbling something about the unions. The whole idea of gradualist, electoralist "revolution" in this violent, racist country with its irrational economic system and power-mad ruling class is so absurd that an intelligent bourgeois judge like Griesa has to wonder if the SWP is being disingenuous. No, if they sound like what Cannon once called "somewhat foolish people belonging to a party which is not to be taken seriously," it is because they genuinely are reformists.

The judge was concerned that the document under discussion, "Socialism and Democracy" (1979), did not explicitly state a preference for the "constitutional process." Sheppard could hardly have explained that the resolution was written for European consumption and social-patriotic obeisance to the American Constitution would not have gone over well.

The SWP has tried every way it knows to reassure the judge, from Fred Halstead's exposition of the SWP's role as part of the right wing of the Vietnam antiwar movement to condemnations of black self-defense as suicidal. Some of them have been perhaps too subtle. Take Fred Halstead's April 23 testimony on A.J. Muste, the ex-preacher who became a Trotskyist briefly during the 1930s:

"He was one of the people who was instrumental in introducing into the American strike movement in the 1930s the sit-down strike.  
 "You see, before that you would have situations where the majority of the workers in a plant would want the union, would even vote for it, would go out on strike.  
 "But there were many unemployed [who would scab].  
 "So fights would start on the picket line. To avoid that, Muste, among others, introduced the idea of occupying the plant, sitting down in the plant so you could win a strike without violence."  
 —*Militant*, 15 May

It probably takes a Marxist or a fake-Marxist to appreciate the true perniciousness of presenting a plant occupation—a frontal challenge to bourgeois property rights—as merely a less militant alternative to picket lines. Of course, the idea of the SWP leading sit-down strikes is ludicrous anyway; we can't remember the last time the *Militant* urged any union in this country to go out on strike! Griesa might have been impressed if the SWP had cited its restraint in calling for strikes, but to come out openly as anti-strike would undercut the SWP's vision of itself as a party of future labor statesmen.

### The Bourgeoisie's Bottom Line

On April 2 SWP attorney Winter asked Farrell Dobbs if the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were binding on the SWP. "Not at all," was the reply. But the disclaimers do not really dispose of the SWP's problem of nominal Trotskyism. On April 28 Griesa treated Andrew Pulley to a lecture on "dictatorship of the proletariat," "revolution," "democratic centralism": when the government reads these words, he said, they think you are serious about these things. "Why should the FBI translate these words into what Farrell Dobbs says they mean?" He asked Pulley if it weren't the case that the word "revolution" is used by people who don't have faith in the electoral process. "Partially," said Pulley. Later Griesa brought it up again: the SWP has all this rhetoric; they say it means something else. "But revolutions are bloody battles...."

The SWP hopes that nearly three months of expounding its reformist program will have shown the judge how hollow is its "Trotskyism" and how sincere the SWP was when it insisted its real politics are "not contravened" by anything Trotsky or others "might" have said. The SWP has not had anything in common with Trotskyism for a long time, except the copyrights to some books. In the long run, the Barnes clique will break from the label to facilitate blocs with "progressive" bourgeois elements. But right now, the SWP has nothing to offer any potential bourgeois partners—no base to sell out—and nobody's bidding; the biggest name the SWP ever pulled into active support for any of its "coalitions" was U.S. Senator Vance Hartke in the SWP's antiwar front group, and who ever heard of him?

— The SWP wants the government to recognize it as a kindred spirit to the



The Great Flint strike of 1937. According to SWP's Fred Halstead sit-down strike was a pacifistic tactic to "win a strike without violence."

### POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

## Ex-SWP member testifies for FBI

By Michael Baumann

NEW YORK—In the eleventh week of the so-called trial against government spying, attorneys for the FBI presented to a release more used in past for the use of the law movement.

They produced as a state witness a former member of the Socialist Workers Party in this case Hedda Garza who they revealed had colluded with them.

All this secret material was for the court without a previous hearing.

Did he indicate what the aid was?

"Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid."

"Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?" Williams asked.

"No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP," Garza replied.

"Did you understand it to mean that he had obtained it from the SWP?"

"... that would be conjecture."

10 July 1981

DAY 54: THURSDAY, JUNE 25

SWP leader Catalino Garza says Bolivian revolutionary Hugo González Moscoso stayed with him and his wife in 1967, but denies testimony of Hedda Garza that González Moscoso had told him the SWP had given him money.

Pedro Camacho, SWP 1976 president, denies charges.

Even the SWP's own 26 June *Militant* article (top) disproves account in 10 July issue (bottom). Workers Vanguard's 17 July expose was followed by weaselly "correction" in 24 July *Militant*.

British Labour Party, whose "socialist" veneer makes it often a more effective capitalist custodian than the Tories. But this isn't England; the arrogant American bourgeoisie in no way accepts that it needs the help of any working-class formation to rule over its wage-slaves. This is America, land of "my country right or wrong." Even Judge Griesa thought the SWP must be kidding when it said Andrew Pulley should have gotten his civil rights when he tried to persuade American soldiers to demonstrate against the Vietnam War.

The Russian question—a central question for authentic Trotskyists—is no less central to the bourgeoisie's minimum program for responsible critics. These are the guarantees the SWP must give. And when push comes to shove the SWP gives them. When the notorious Mandigo in his first affidavit (not the secret one) wrote that Cannon had said the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America in a world war, the *Militant* (13 March) denied it (see "SWP Slanders James P. Cannon," *WV* No. 278, 10 April). On April 6 and again on April 9 Barnes linked international democratic centralism to Stalinist degeneration, thereby equating Leninism with Stalinism and distancing the SWP from both. On May 11 the government asked Barry Sheppard, "Can you think of any case where you would support the U.S. against the Soviet Union?" Sheppard hedged around and the judge intervened to ask Sheppard if he would be "loyal." Sheppard's response concluded, "If the Soviet Union invades Poland tomorrow, we would oppose that.... We are politically opposed to the Soviet role in Afghanistan."

On June 25, the last day of testimony, the SWP in its rebuttal put Barnes back on the stand to espouse more loyalty to the Constitution and to try again on the Russian question. We quote from the excerpts published in the 24 July *Militant*:

"[SWP attorney] Winter: Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?

"Barnes: Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the extension of democracy, as counterposed to any authoritarian and totalitarian mode of functioning....

"...one would be a fool to trade in whatever democratic rights one has for promises to get rid of them for some other end."

He continued:

"But the answer also has to be no in this sense. The Constitution was written

with the philosophy which did not see a contradiction between the republican forms and checks and balances of the Constitution and chattel slavery....[and restrictions on the right to vote]."

Barnes defined "a workers and farmers republic" as:

"A constitution which would be in contradiction to chattel slavery, property requirements [for voting], restriction of franchise for any reason of sex or age or anything like that. It would also include the fact that the prerogatives of the largest property owners, the largest productive property owners, the owners of the big mines, mills and factories would be subordinate to the development and extension of the democratic rights of the great majority of the citizenry.

"In some ways maybe the Civil War is not the best example of this—the blood that was necessary to eliminate chattel slavery...."

Sounding for all the world like a high school civics teacher, Barnes has come out for "checks and balances"! Apparently the SWP's maximum program is now universal suffrage and the "subordination" of the capitalists to democracy.

Barnes said the SWP does not consider the Russian Revolution a "model" to be followed in the U.S. and posed instead Nicaragua: political "pluralism" and a so-called "mixed economy":

"The attempt not to be forced like the Russian government was to nationalize everything—but to try to evolve with a majority of the population, taking over more and more of the economy, by maintaining the small and middle farmers in the countryside, by aiding the small and medium businesses as part of the development of a workers and farmers regime...."

Nowhere does Barnes suggest that there is any contradiction between the democratic pretensions of bourgeois rule and the realities of capitalist exploitation, hideous racial oppression and imperialist rape of the underdeveloped countries. The deal is: Barnes will acknowledge the government's democratic credentials if they will acknowledge his.

### Catch 22

The SWP has staked a lot on winning the "Watersuit"; the big play given to it week after week in the *Militant* suggests that in the wake of the dismal results of the SWP's "turn" to the unions, the "turn" to the Watersuit has just about supplanted everything else. It is a foregone conclusion that almost any decision will be hailed as a victory by the SWP.

If the SWP loses, we all lose. Anything other than a judicial reproof to the FBI for its spying and harassment, its black bag jobs, its unleashing

continued on page 10



## SWP Trial...

(continued from page 9)

of ultrarightists like the Legion of Justice against the SWP, its lies and criminal cover-ups would constitute a declaration that leftists have no civil rights at all.

But if the SWP wins, we still lose. The SWP is trying to show the government that the eight million documents the FBI admits to having collected on the SWP are a misdirection of effort. The SWP does not even pretend to call for the abolition of the spy agencies; they couldn't care less what the FBI/CIA do to other organizations, especially to revolutionary socialists who do not believe along with the SWP that anything is possible including socialism by Constitutional amendment. They are offering the ruling class a chance to show by tolerating reformist dissent how permissive it is—while it targets unionists, black militants, revolutionaries.

The SWP issued an open invitation for repression when it violence-baited the organizers of the May 3 Pentagon march against U.S. El Salvador policy. At the same time as right-wing ideologues were calling for witchhunting investigations of the demo's organizers, the *Militant* (27 March) branded the march as "disruptive," "confrontational" and "almost guaranteed to result in a violent confrontation with the police or army." Who in his right mind would want to go to a demo like that? If anyone really had been listening to the *Militant*, look what happens: a small "hard-core" demo turns up in Washington; the SWP has egged on the cops and has already indicted the victims. This stuff can play as big a role in witchhunts as what's in the lawbooks.

Evidently the May 3 action—popular-frontist though its official leaders were—was too radical for the SWP. Of course the SWP is not in principle opposed to demonstrating, given the proper conditions. For El Salvador, the condition was to secure the cover of "responsible" labor bureaucrats; failing that, the SWP stayed home. But Barnes' party was wild for the March 28 "anti-nukes" rally at Harrisburg and came out in force for the "Atlanta mothers" march in Washington May 25. The latter triggered a *Militant* article (5 June) which proposed a "fightback" strategy for oppressed blacks consisting of support to the SWP court case and other court actions and:

"The national effort to force the Atlanta police and FBI to apprehend the killers of twenty-eight black youth in Atlanta is one of the most important ways of fighting back against government crimes against Black people...."

This is what the SWP has to offer black people, whose fight for freedom is a main motor force for proletarian revolution in this country. Court cases and pressuring the cops—a clearer expression of reformist fetishizing of the bourgeois state would be hard to find.

The SWP loved Harrisburg for precisely the sellout reason the United Mine Workers bureaucracy pushed it: as a safety valve for miners' militancy right before the coal strike. The SWP of course expresses it differently: Harrisburg, showing the union tops' supposed broader social consciousness, is obviously more politically advanced than "economist" things like strikes. Regarding the "Atlanta mothers" march the SWP chose to articulate and solidarize with precisely the demands of the most reactionary forces there (the black cops) though most of the other participants were undoubtedly more concerned with racist cutbacks, black joblessness, the Klan, etc. than with pressuring the FBI.

To all those who want to stop the race-terrorists, defend the right to strike, fight imperialist militarism, the SWP offers only reformist recipes for defeat. Like the "Watersuit," which even in the narrowest sense is a strategy for retreat in the struggle against repression. ■

## CP Waffles on Deukmejian/Watson "Terrorism" Legislation

# California Witchhunt Bill Threatens Left

On July 8 the California State Senate, by a narrow margin passed an ominous new witchhunting act—the Deukmejian Terrorism Bill. Introduced by Los Angeles black state senator Diane Watson, backed by black lawyers' associations and originally by the Communist Party as well, this bill has been touted as a legal weapon against the Klan and Nazis. In fact, even in its amended form the target of this law would not be the race-terrorists and murderers in white sheets and brown shirts. Like all such legislation its real purpose is to strengthen the hand of the bosses' government against the opponents of the fascists, first and foremost the left.

The law would give the attorney general and the rest of the cop force a green light to go after the left, labor and minority defense organizations for "advocating" anything that the state considers could lead to "violence." Under its provisions it is "unlawful" for any "group, association, organization, society or other assemblage of two or more persons to meet and to advocate... violent acts." In its original form the bill also made "knowing" membership in such a group a felony. The language was so broad and so obviously based on the notorious anti-communist Smith Act and California criminal syndicalism statutes that nearly everybody saw that it was a dangerous legal weapon that could be used against the left. Everybody, that is, except the Communist Party.

The CP's legislative strategy to pressure the capitalist state into outlawing the KKK led it to hail the bill as "historic." It was, they said, a step on the way to a "national ban" and they urged a "full-fledged campaign to secure their [such bills] passage" (*Daily World*, 31 January). But since then there has been a storm of liberal criticism, pointing out that the left will be prosecuted, just as the 1977 California Terrorism Act was used against farm workers. Ramona Ripston, ACLU director for Southern California, asked the obvious question: "What about a group planning to strike? Everyone knows that a strike can be violent. Are you going to prevent the meeting?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 April). The Communist Party squirmed. The Deukmejian-Watson bill showed too clearly what their "Ban the Klan" campaign really produced when successful. So they abruptly shifted gears. The CP legal-defense outfit, the NAARPR, wrote an open letter to Diane Watson complaining that the bill embarrassingly "omitted" the "expressed intent to prevent racist terrorism" and urged Watson to "tighten" the language (*Peoples World*, 18 April). The sponsors did tighten the language, in order to make the law stronger in facing constitutional court tests, but the outlawing of "advocacy" remains. Now the CP can only praise other "Ban the Klan" bills, offering a "legislative alternative" to the McCarthyite legislation they originally hailed.

The "Deukmejian Terror Bill" is an important part of the tidal wave of "law-and-order" legislation in California that has the Democrats and Republicans falling over each other to prove who can make the police and courts more repressive. Deukmejian hopes to ride the wave to the governorship in 1982 while Jerry Brown wants to go to Washington as U.S. senator on the basis that he can whip up racist, anti-crime hysteria as well as the next guy. Out of



Deukmejian wants to be California's Joe McCarthy.

the Brown/Deukmejian "anti-crime" meetings in the spring to find "a common agenda" came a state sales tax increase to raise \$5 billion for more cops and special squads of prosecutors and to build new prisons for 19,000 future inmates. But Deukmejian's office has called Brown a "born-again crime fighter." Deukmejian has submitted more than 30 pieces of legislation this year including proposals to throw out insanity defenses, speed death penalty appeals, eliminate "inconvenient" rules of evidence such as the Miranda rule and illegal search and seizure.

But on his way to the governor's mansion the Reaganite Republican, Deukmejian, wants more than a reputation as a law-and-order crime-fighter and that is where his "Terrorism" law fits in. For, to paraphrase his slick TV advertising campaign featuring McGruff the crime-fighting hound dog, Deukmejian wants to take a bite out of the left. In the present national Cold War political climate, he wants to be California's McCarthy. So his "Terrorism" bill would allow Deukmejian to "stop any group from meeting if it could be demonstrated that the group has a violent history" (*The Recorder*, 9 July). And how would he prove it in court? Deukmejian said it "would be necessary to either infiltrate such groups or have the cooperation of a group member to prove in court the group was teaching and encouraging violence" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). ACLU's executive director Dorothy Ehrlich pointed to the first dangerous step in this McCarthyite method of proving the advocacy of violence: "Well, what you do is get a list of groups you think are capable of doing that" (*Oakland Tribune*, 26 April).

Deukmejian has already cooked up that list. It's called the "Report on Terrorism." The connection between his bill and the report is clear and ominous. The "Terrorism Report" precisely supplies the "evidence" that a group has a "violent history." And this same report makes it clear who are the real targets of the attorney general. It whitewashes the fascists and the KKK, saying that the violence of the right is produced by the violence of the left. It is the Marxists of the Spartacist League who are among those branded in this report as terrorists (see article in this issue on the SL suit against Deukmejian). But the CP should take no comfort in having been "missed" in the "Terrorism Report" this time. For Moscow-loyal Stalinists in Cold War II, it's just a matter of time before the bill they once supported may

be used against them.

If so, it won't be the first time. For during the McCarthyite witchhunts the Communist Party was the primary victim of the Smith Act, which they had earlier supported when it was used to jail the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1941. Today the CP, caught out by the Deukmejian law, is busy pushing "good" "Ban the Klan" legislation as opposed to "bad" bills. But fundamentally, as a strategy to fight the KKK/Nazis, they are all the same. And they all will ultimately target the left. At a time when U.S. imperialism is steeply escalating its anti-Soviet war drive, when the initial steps of domestic Cold War witchhunting have already been taken, and while the Reaganite think tanks issue calls for a new McCarthyism, the CP can't seem to learn the lessons of history.

There is a reason why these Stalinists never learn. The CP can't help it. But as we have pointed out before the reason is neither stupidity nor innocence but 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' capitalist state is fundamental to Stalinism, ever since the popular-front congress of 1935.... 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."

—"California Anti-Extremists" Bill Threatens Left," *WV* No. 274, 13 February

Revolutionaries call neither for the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" as does the CP, nor for "free speech for fascists" as do the ACLU and the constitutional cretinist SWP. On the contrary, we build labor-centered mobilizations to stop KKK/Nazi terrorism and call for the mass mobilization of labor and blacks to sweep the fascists off the streets. When the SL-initiated ANCAN called for a demonstration to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the CP did everything it could to sabotage labor support while appealing to union-busting S.F. mayor Feinstein to ban the fascists. But the 1,200 from 22 unions who turned out for ANCAN on 19 April 1980 stopped the Nazis cold. And they haven't shown their faces in S.F. since. This is what the race terrorists and the Deukmejians fear above all else—the power of the working class. ■

## SL Suit Needs \$\$\$

The Partisan Defense Committee is raising funds for the SL/SYL suit against Deukmejian. Such suits can be costly. Already the PDC is in debt thousands of dollars to cover lawyers' fees and other costs necessary to file the suit. And many thousands more will be needed before it's over. The PDC urges *WV* readers to send generous contributions to help support this important case. Make checks payable to the PDC and send them to:

Partisan Defense Committee  
Box 99  
Canal Street Station  
New York, NY 10013



# SL/SYL Suit...

(continued from page 12)

We do not intend to meet the fate of the Black Panther Party. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can with impunity be blown away in the night.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. *The working class and its party have the right to organize.* But Deukmejian willfully confuses Marxist education with terrorism. Socialists who believe that the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, have the right to say so in the labor movement without being labeled as terrorists. The intent of this report is to restrict us from carrying out our activities by the not so implicit threat of murder.

Deukmejian wants to muzzle free speech. He expects a new lease on legal witchhunting. Diane Watson's Senate Bill 267, written with the guiding hand of Deukmejian, is a new version of the notorious Smith Act of 1940. The Attorney General speaks openly of the need to "infiltrate" the "violence prone" groups and do "police undercover work." This bill, which purports to be aimed at the Klan and Nazis, will not be used against these fascists. Instead, it will be used to persecute and harass the left and labor movement.

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists, Trotskyists, who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the working class struggle to abolish capitalism. We will not be branded as terrorists and criminals. We demand that our names be removed from this report. With all our political, legal and moral resources, we will fight this sinister effort to set us up for government persecution and violence. ■

## EASTBAY TODAY

### Marxists claim official has defamed group

SACRAMENTO (UPI) — A Marxist political group Thursday charged that Attorney General George Deukmejian was defaming them by labeling them as violent in a 1979 report.

## Oakland Tribune

### Marxists sue Deukmejian

SAN FRANCISCO — Members of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League filed suit Thursday against Attorney General George Deukmejian, claiming they were wrongfully labeled "terrorists" in Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

## Los Angeles Times

### Marxists Sue Deukmejian Over Report

By PATT MORRISON, Times Staff Writer

A California Marxist group filed suit in Sacramento Thursday against Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian, claiming they were wrongfully labeled "terrorists" in Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

"We're saying we don't belong in that report because we're not criminals and not terrorists," said Rachel Wolkenstein, attorney for the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League.

At a Los Angeles demonstration Thursday in front of Deukmejian's Wilshire Boulevard office—one of four protests statewide—Wolkenstein said, "We believe it (the report) targets us for harassment and

persecution and intimidation by law enforcement and right-wing organizations."

The suit demands a retraction and efforts to ensure that the amended version be sent to those on the report's distribution list, among them legislators and law enforcement agencies.

Gina McGuinness, spokeswoman for Deukmejian, said, "We stand by what we said in the report," the first ever made public and the first to include "terrorism" as a separate category, listing both left-wing and right-wing groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party.

The Spartacist group is named with other left-wing organizations

that, in the words of the report, "exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible."

That the Spartacist League is not included in the 1980 terrorist report indicates a "lack of activity" by it, McGuinness added.

Wolkenstein said the listing was an attempt by Deukmejian "to use the climate of law and order . . . as a means of whipping up sentiment," perhaps for a 1982 gubernatorial candidacy.

But McGuinness pointed out, "This report came out last year, I think before he (Deukmejian) ever had any serious inkling" of running.

## Group Sues AG Over 'Terrorist' Label in Report

## The Valley Times

### Marxists protest 'terrorist' label

AP) — A small Marxist group filed suit Thursday against Attorney General George Deukmejian, claiming they were wrongfully labeled "terrorists" in Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

The Spartacist League and its youth branch, the Spartacus Youth League, filed the suit, demanding a retraction that as widely as Deukmejian's 1979 report, which conference.

Wolkenstein said the listing was an attempt by Deukmejian "to use the climate of law and order . . . as a means of whipping up sentiment," perhaps for a 1982 gubernatorial candidacy.

—from the California attorney general's annual report, "Organized Crime in California—1979," Part 2 "Terrorism," Section "Political Terrorism":

"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. Thirty-eight subjects claiming to be members of the Communist Workers' Party, when arrested on November 11, 1979, in Greensboro, North Carolina, for carrying concealed weapons, were found to be in possession of rifles, shotguns and pistols, mostly high caliber. Several of those arrested were in possession of three handguns each."

## Excerpts from the SL/SYL Complaint

# We Accuse Deukmejian!

We publish below key sections of the legal complaint of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed by their attorneys Anne Flower Cummings and Valerie C. West against California state attorney general George Deukmejian. The 1979 attorney general's annual report on "Organized Crime in California" wrongfully branded the Trotskyist SL/SYL as "terrorists." In this complaint, the plaintiffs SL/SYL demand that defendants Deukmejian et al. publicly retract this dangerous smear. The suit is part of a campaign to defend the SL/SYL against this set-up by the top cops of the state of California.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE  
STATE OF CALIFORNIA  
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN  
FRANCISCO

SPARTACIST LEAGUE and  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN, ATTORNEY  
GENERAL OF THE STATE  
OF CALIFORNIA, DOES 1 through  
X, inclusive,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs allege:

I

Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE  
is a Marxist political organization

which has been politically active in the State of California (and other states) for more than 15 years and which regularly engages in constitutionally protected activity. Plaintiff SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE is also a Marxist political organization and is the youth section of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

VII

Defendants' report, as more fully described hereinabove, wrongfully and erroneously describes plaintiffs as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal," as a species of outlaws, and/or terrorists and/or criminal organizations likely and expected to commit criminal acts such as "advocacy of violence" . . . "attempt to incite the populace and create violence" . . . "force occupation of federal buildings" . . . "assault on police officers" . . . "inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons."

VIII

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the circulation and distribution of said report to members of law enforcement places in jeopardy plaintiffs' plaintiffs' supporters' and plaintiffs' potential supporters' legitimate exercise of constitutionally protected rights in that it purports to justify the infringement or denial of said rights by law enforcement officials. The "Report on Terror-

ism" is a directive marking plaintiffs and plaintiffs' supporters as targets for police harassment and violence. Further, said report provides official justification for the prosecution of plaintiffs and plaintiffs' supporters under existing statutes and proposed legislation, as well as providing the rationale for government surveillance, infiltration and disruption of plaintiffs.

IX

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the circulation and distribution of said report to the public further constitutes an incitement to right-wing and/or fascistic groups and/or individuals to commit acts of harassment and/or violence against plaintiffs, plaintiffs' supporters and plaintiffs' potential supporters.

X

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the distribution and circulation of said report to the public at large has the effect of discrediting the plaintiffs as political organizations by isolating, stigmatizing and doing irreparable harm to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE's public reputation upon which plaintiffs depend in their daily political activities.

XI

This Report was widely quoted and/or cited in newspapers throughout the state and nation. The section of this report on "Left-Wing Terrorism" has been cited and quoted as authority for the proposition that the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE is a "dangerous and violent" organization.

XII

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the distribution and circulation of said report, has had and continues to have a chilling effect on the exercise of plaintiffs' constitutionally protected rights, a chilling effect on the exercise of constitutionally protected rights of plaintiffs' supporters, and a chilling effect on the exercise of constitutionally protected rights of plaintiffs' potential supporters.

XIII

Plaintiffs are entitled to the protections afforded by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, made applicable to this state by the Fourteenth Amendment, the California State Constitution and other laws, to exercise their rights to free speech and association. The actions of defendants, and each of them, have, in essence, categorized plaintiffs as a species of terrorist organizations and/or organized criminal organizations and/or outlaws in violation of these rights and upon no authority. Moreover, the actions of defendants, and each of them, have branded and continue to brand plaintiffs with a "badge of infamy."

XVI

The plaintiffs desire a judicial determination that their names were wrongfully included in the Report entitled "Organized Crime in California, 1979." Plaintiffs further desire defendants, and each of them, to remove plaintiffs' names from said Report and for defendants to make a good faith effort to publicize the fact of the removal of plaintiffs' names to an extent comparable to the circulation of said report and the publicity about it.



# WORKERS VANGUARD

**SL/SYL Sue California Attorney General Deukmejian**

## Spartacist League: Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

*We print below the statement by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SL/SYL protest demonstration and press conference on July 23 outside offices of California state attorney general George Deukmejian in San Francisco.*

Today, legal papers were served on California Attorney General George Deukmejian at his San Francisco office. Press conferences and demonstrations are being held outside Deukmejian's offices in San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Diego.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, Marxist political organizations, are suing Deukmejian for wrongfully including and characterizing us as "terrorists" in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

In Part II on "Terrorism," Deukmejian makes clear who is targeted. The report whitewashes the KKK and Nazis. It downplays their threat to blacks, Chicanos, Jews and the labor movement, instead focusing on so-called "extremists of the left." According to this report the real danger of the KKK/Nazis lies not in their racist terroristic actions, but "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left."

This report is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and the labor movement. In it we are described as "a dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal." We are described as a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals and are lumped in with the Manson Family, the SLA, Hell's Angels, Mexican Mafia, Aryan Brotherhood and Black Guerrilla Family.

Deukmejian's aim is clear. The Spartacist League is proclaimed to be outside the law. We are labeled as dangerous people to be dealt with militarily, "mad dogs" to be shot down.

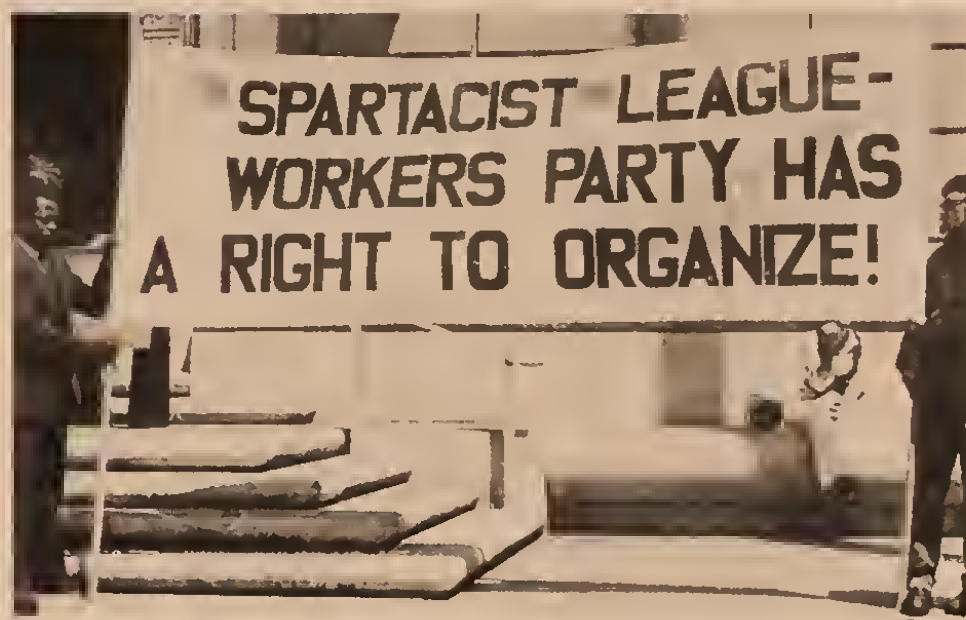


Al Nelson speaks at July 23 SL/SYL protest in San Francisco: "We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims." Demonstrations were also held in Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego.

Ten years ago this report would have included the Black Panther Party. In its best days the Black Panthers attracted a serious layer of young militants who tried to form a movement for black social liberation. They were destroyed by a coordinated governmental campaign of slander, provocation and murder. This has been well documented.

Deukmejian's report is a murderous effort to set the Spartacist League up for this same kind of government violence.

*continued on page 11*



WV Photos

## Fight Deukmejian's Red Scare!

On July 23 the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed civil suit against California Attorney General George Deukmejian, holding simultaneous protest demonstrations and press conferences at his offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego. Smeared by Deukmejian as "terrorists" the SL/SYL demands a public retraction of this injurious characterization (see excerpts from the legal complaint on page 11.) Press coverage of round one of this campaign was extensive including the major news services, TV and radio; among the many newspapers covering the suit were the *Los Angeles Times* and the

*Oakland Tribune* (see press display page 11).

To be branded as terrorists in Deukmejian's report is a set-up for government repression and right-wing vigilante attack. And the State of California has known its share of such attacks against the left, labor movement and minorities. There was the 1916 bombing frame-up of San Franciscans Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, whose death sentences were commuted through international protest by labor and its supporters. But even after this railroading was exposed, the victims were kept in jail until 1938-39 because the California

attorney general would not concede he was wrong. The IWW was the victim of widespread raids, arrests and grisly murders. The 1934 San Francisco general strike was met with a storm of red-baiting. There was the Dies Un-American Committee's red scare against the CIO and the black-listing of union men and the jailing of hundreds of subpoenaed "suspected subversives" in Stockton for refusing to cooperate with Sam Yorty's California "Little Dies Committee." The list goes on through the cop-court vendetta against the Black Panthers to the recent frame-up and conviction of the NASSCO defendants.

We will fight the defamation by

Deukmejian, this set-up, and point to the treatment received by the McCarthyite HUAC (then headed by Republican Harold Velde) when it opened a "subversive hearing" in San Francisco's City Hall: "Some 6,000 members of Local 10, ILWU (independent), 'hit the bricks' on December 3, 1953 to protest Velde's investigation. The waterfront was paralyzed. The CIO council in the East Bay area denounced the Velde committee as an enemy of democratic rights. The hearings were flooded with 'unfriendly witnesses' and 'unfriendly' spectators. Scheduled to last eleven days, the hearings were hastily terminated after five days. Velde retreated ignominiously. At the first real resistance by organized labor, the government witchhunters had to cut and run" (Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*).