

Smash Hitler's Heirs! For Mass Workers Action—Not Popular Frontism!

Fascist Terror Explodes in Europe

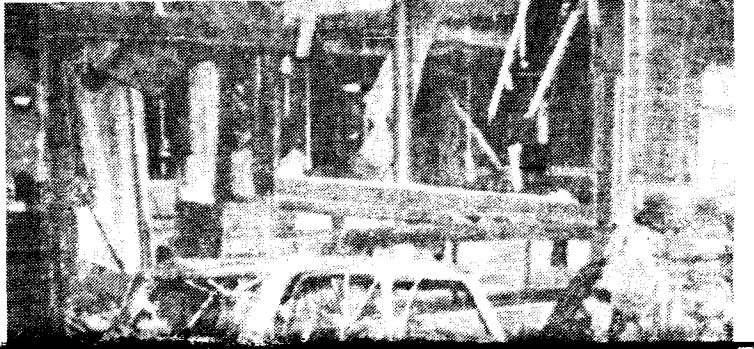
PARIS—*Bologna, 2 August:* Eighty-four people are killed and nearly 200 wounded when a bomb explodes in the 2nd-class waiting room of the central railroad station, overflowing with tourists and working-class vacationers. *Munich, 26 September:* The annual Oktoberfest is rocked by an explosion from a bomb placed in a trashcan near the entrance to the fairgrounds—13 people are killed and a dozen more injured. *Paris, 3 October:* Hundreds are observing the last day of Succoth in a synagogue not far from the Arc de Triomphe when a bomb on a parked car across the street is detonated. Four passers-by are killed and a dozen more injured; the force of the explosion hurls worshippers inside from their seats, overturns four parked cars and shatters windows in buildings blocks away.

Paris reverberated in horror at the temple bombing, the most dramatic attack on Jews in Europe since World War II. "Monstrous" and "Assassins" ran furious banner headlines in the bourgeois papers, and the outraged population of France poured out into the streets in protest. The blast immediately riveted attention back to those nightmare years of Vichy France when 75,000 French Jews were exterminated—indeed, the Nazis had blown up the same synagogue, the "Israelite Union," in 1944. But even as they were leading the protest demonstrations, the reformist misleaders of the French workers movement were once again seeking to answer the fascist threat, not with mass mobilizations to smash the fascists, but with a big show of "national unity." The



Munich: Oktoberfest bombing

demonstrators' popular slogan, "From Marchais to Rothschild," expressed this yearning for popular-front alliance with the bourgeoisie—that strategy which for the past 50 years has immobilized the workers' power to smash the fascists and led to the present situation.



Quick

Paris: Synagogue bombing

Latreille/France-Soir

The crescendo of fascist violence in Europe today comes in the midst of an economic depression and rapidly increasing mass unemployment. Egged on by the strident anti-Sovietism of the NATO governments, neo-fascists and far-right groupings have been escalating their violent attacks against foreign workers, blacks, Jews and the working class. And the imperialist governments are in the thick of it, whether it is Thatcher's racist immigration policies in Britain, government refusal to go after the neo-Nazis in West Germany or the well-known links between the fascists and secret services in Italy.

Barre: "It struck down innocent Frenchmen"

The Paris synagogue bombing came on the heels of some thirty attacks against Jewish schools, places of worship, cemeteries, organizations and individuals over the last several months. The weekend before this bombing, there were five early-morning machine gun attacks in Paris against Jewish schools, synagogues and day-care centers. No one has been arrested for any of these acts of terror. French government policy consisted of warning against

"exaggerating" their seriousness. Meanwhile the fascist scum quietly prepare to kill, secure in the knowledge obtained from their members and sympathizers in the police that they would get off scot-free.

According to witnesses, two men on a motorcycle placed a 22-pound charge of dynamite on a car in front of the synagogue, moved the charge around until they were satisfied and then drove off. The two policemen stationed outside the front door of the synagogue to "protect" it saw no evil and heard no evil—until the bomb exploded. The blast killed four passers-by—three Frenchmen and an Israeli tourist—and injured a dozen others. Had the bomb gone off a few minutes later when the 300 worshippers would have been streaming out of the Friday night services for Simhat Torah, dozens could easily have been killed. After the bombing, French prime minister Raymond Barre inadvertently revealed his true feelings and those of the French government: "The bombing was aimed at Jews and it struck down innocent Frenchmen."

In the day following the bombing

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SPECIAL
ELECTION SUPPLEMENT

Socialist Union Militant for S.F. Board of Supervisors

SEE PAGE FIVE

British Troops Out of Ireland!

Hundreds Protest Prince Philip in NYC



WV Photo

NEW YORK—Two hundred protesters turned out October 1 to "greet" Britain's Prince Philip at Lincoln Center. As the Irish tricolor and Scots, Welsh and Cornish flags flew overhead, the demonstrators chanted, "Down with the crown, Philip go home!" and "England out of Ireland now!" The prince was across the street addressing the New York Zoological Society on the subject of "rare birds," but the protesters were there to tell the royal consort that British imperialism's bloody occupation of Northern Ireland and the torture cells for Irish political prisoners were not forgotten in New York.

A Spartacist League contingent at

the spirited picket line carried signs including such slogans as "Down with the monarchy, recall the fate of Charles II," "Abolish the licensing hours, the House of Lords and the monarchy!" and "For a socialist federation of the British Isles!" After demonstrators, some shouting "Guy Fawkes was right!", torched the Union Jack, the protest took to the streets, marching crosstown to the Waldorf Hotel. There the demonstrators gathered to "watch the prince eat" as "His Royal Highness" chowed down at \$400 a plate to raise money for "vanishing species," a category in which all such crowned parasites will soon be included. ■

"Sinhala Slogans in New York"

The leading independent bourgeois newspaper of Sri Lanka—*The Sun* and its Sinhala-language edition *Davasa*—carried articles in its September 1 papers on recent Spartacist demonstrations in

New York and London protesting the anti-labor repression of the July general strike. "Sinhala Slogans in New York," headlined *Davasa*, in reference to the picket signs in Sinhala that were carried in the August 29 protest outside the Sri Lanka Mission to the UN. The signs read "No political or electoral support to popular fronts" and "Forward to a workers and peasants government" in Sinhalese. A week later the *Weekend* (7 September) also mentioned the New York Spartacist protest as the only "international solidarity with the working class" in Sri Lanka so far reported on the island. Then, both *The Sun* and *Davasa* carried front-page photo stories of the protest in their editions of September 16. Notorious for their muckraking yellow journalism, *The Sun/Davasa* quoted anonymous "informed sources" who claimed the protest was organized by unnamed "ultra Leftist Lankans" in the U.S. and Britain and was attended by paid "Instant Protestors." "What has surprised most Lankans," added *The Sun/Davasa*, was that "the slogans were directed against the present administration as well as against the former government" of Mrs. Bandaranaike. If this is "surprising," it's only because the

WORKERS VANGUARD

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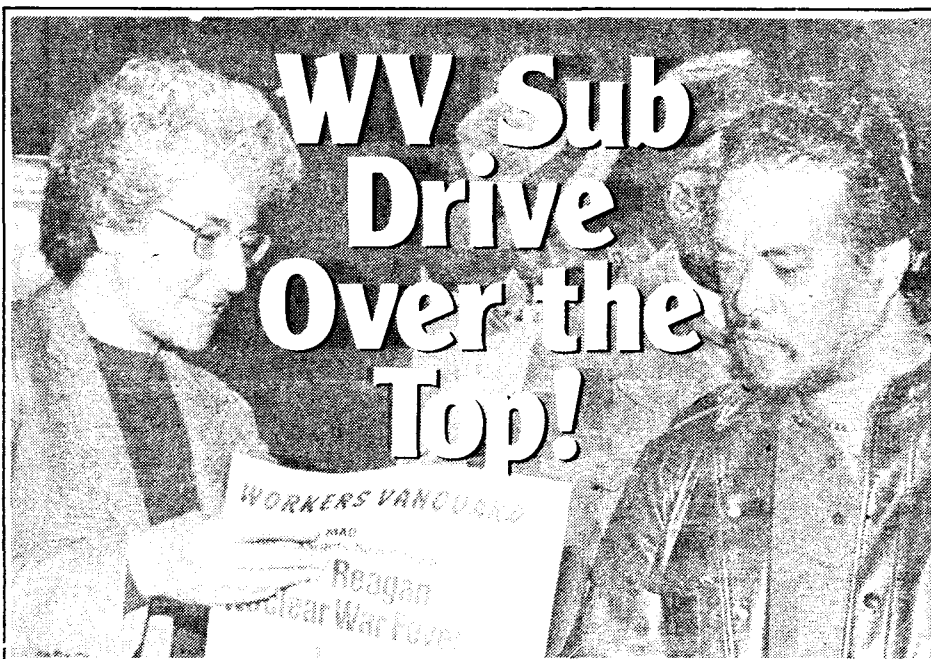
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The WV sub list has reached an all-time high with the completion of the 1980 sub drive. The five-week drive reached 141 percent of its quota nationally, led by Boston's amazing 196 percent. Included in the 4,500 subs sold are 676 subs to *Young Spartacus* and 399

Local	Quota	Points	Percent
Berkeley/Oakland	500	626	125
Boston	220	431	196
Chicago	370	599	162
Cleveland	220	260	118
Detroit	320	383	120
Los Angeles	350	531	152
Madison	80	119	149
New York City	740	940	127
San Francisco	400	569	142
at-large	—	42	—
Total	3,200	4,500	141

to *Women and Revolution*. Of the WV subs, more than 80 percent were full-year subscriptions.

The national quota was set at 400 points above last year's, reflecting the modest growth of the SL. The internal sub drive circular noted, "It is not anticipated that we will match last year's spectacular overfulfillment" given the rightward-shifting climate of opinion. This prediction was not borne out, and we were over the top by the end of the third week.

This year's drive did encounter greater anti-communist harassment on campuses in some areas. These difficulties were offset by shifting over to more door-to-door canvassing in working-class and black neighborhoods and more sub sales by industrialized comrades to co-workers.

L.A. garnered 50 points door-to-door; Cleveland had 45 and Detroit 40. Neighborhood teams were also important in the sub drive work of the S.F. Bay Area locals (131 points) which were simultaneously campaigning for a Spartacist electoral candidate. In

industrial sub sales, Chicago led with 72 points, while S.F. had 58, Detroit 52, Oakland 45 and L.A. 33. Some of our long-time subscribers helped the drive along by sending in subs for friends. Our special favorite was the reader who added a note: "Please rush—these folks are bedeviled by reformism."

This year's individual winner is comrade Jane (SF) with 125 points. Honorable mention (and a prize) also goes to Seth (Boston) with 110, Jeff (Oakland) with 94, Mark (Chicago) with 81, Alden (SF) with 75 and Steve (NYC) with 72. But all the comrades had a share in the literally thousands of hours of work that made this year's drive such a resounding success, and can take pride in bringing WV to thousands of new readers.

Demos near Lanka's UN mission

BY REX DE SILVA IN NEW YORK

Rush hour traffic on busy Third Avenue of New York City was interrupted on Friday evening when a group of demonstrators picketed outside Sri Lanka's permanent mission to the United Nations. The protesters, who were carrying anti-trade union signs in Lanka. The usually crowded street, just two blocks away from the United Nations Headquarters, became clogged with traffic as the demonstrators, many of whom were carrying signs with slogans such as "No political or electoral support to popular fronts" and "Forward to a workers and peasants government," moved along. The demonstration was organized by a group which calls itself "Spartacist League" and is for the League of Nations. It is international, it is added. According to eye witnesses about 25 people, most of them Americans, staged a demonstration carrying posters in English which were in evidence critical of trade union laws, alleged suppression of workers' rights, as well as other issues in Lanka. Only a handful of Asian faces, probably Lankans, were seen among the protesters. One or two posters were written in Sinhala too. Demonstrators distributed printed handbills to passers-by. Allegations of racialist rights violations were mentioned in these pamphlets. What has surprised most Lankans living here is the fact that the slogans were directed against the present administration as well as against the former government. One of them charged the latter regime with alleged atrocities during the 1971 abortive insurrection.

entire left in Sri Lanka to one degree or another is promoting a new popular-front coalition as the "alternative" to the present UNP regime. For our part, we

are only too happy to be known as the tendency that stands opposed to both the UNP and any new popular-front combination. ■

Spartacist League Holds Sixth National Conference

"Toward a Class-Struggle Workers Party"

In late summer, the Spartacist League/U.S. held its sixth National Conference, highest body of the organization. It was attended by 373 comrades, including visitors from several other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), making it the largest SL/U.S. gathering in our history. The party conference was preceded by a meeting of the iSt's International Executive Committee which centered on the recent events in Poland and a national conference of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the SL.

Pre-conference literary preparation was extensive. Six internal bulletins centering on last summer's delegated international conference of the iSt were produced by the International Secretariat, while eight internal bulletins were published by the SL and SYL.

Contradictory Period

The "perspectives and tasks" adopted by the conference contained no surprises and no "turns." The main conference resolution ("Toward a Class-Struggle Workers Party!") noted that it is the objective situation, characterized above all by economic uncertainty and imperialist warmongering, which can be counted on to provide the surprises: ultra-rightist terror attacks on minorities and leftists, as in Greensboro; ghetto upheavals; bitter working-class struggles; "wars and revolution."

The conference took account of the

continued disintegration of the U.S.-dominated capitalist order which emerged from the Second World War. The document stressed that "the objective difficulties of U.S. imperialism do not make the bourgeoisie's global anti-Soviet ambitions less dangerous." Domestically, the document noted:

"The present political climate is marked by a rightist mood... and the bourgeoisie's strident efforts to whip up a climate of anti-Soviet hysteria. At this point, the U.S. population has certainly not returned to the fanatical anti-Communism of the 1950s, when the U.S. ruling class enjoyed widespread moral authority. In the labor movement, the anti-Communist discipline (which ran in an unbroken line from International president right down to local exec board member) created by the witchhunts is corroded. The present generation of youth can best be described as resigned to rather than converted to the ideals of U.S. imperialism.

"...The United States is still a fat country and the social reserves of U.S. capitalism are great. In retrospect, the Watergate parliamentary crisis proved to be an embarrassment to the bourgeoisie rather than a cataclysmic event like the fall of France in 1940, which changed the whole social configuration."

The conference discussion stressed that the present period is not the stultifying 1950s, but a contradictory situation which can present fruitful opportunities for revolutionary intervention. The prevalent mood is not the "silent majority" complacency of the 1950s but one of frustration and



WV Photo

Participation of international comrades showed increased weight of other sections of Spartacist tendency.

increasingly of desperation. The groundswell of Reaganite sentiment among working people is not only the logical extension of Carter/Brzezinski's anti-Soviet cold-warriorism but a reflection of plebeian dissatisfaction with politically bankrupt liberalism and its economic policies. Thus, despite the aggressive ideological anti-communism being pushed by the bourgeoisie, communist nuclei in the working class do not find themselves more isolated from their fellow unionists. The exemplary agitation of SL supporters for a fighting labor movement—for concrete acts of labor solidarity, for bringing the mass power of organized labor to bear against marauding fascists—has registered some impressive successes. Even among traditionally conservative sectors of the workers, we can get a hearing; as against the bureaucrats who class-collaborate for "austerity," our program points the road to winning the class struggle.

The document noted that:

"Trade-union work is inherently a grinding, parochial routine punctuated by exciting bursts of class struggle. It is to intervene in the latter that we are in the unions. We are not 'parliamentary cretinists' in the unions, understanding that the road to deeper influence and eventual hegemony flows through these dynamic class-struggle episodes rather than through electioneering."

The main political report by SL National Chairman Jim Robertson noted that the present period presents a host of instabilities and unknowns, from the sick economy to the thus far unsuccessful attempts to whip up mass support for "Cold War II." He recalled a statement made about Lenin by one of his opponents: "Lenin may not know where he's going, but he's going there with great determination." And he commented:

"We must do our work with determination, take what luck we can, and struggle to grow, struggle to become a factor in history. So that we do not have to merely be wise, often after the event. So that here and there we can intervene and actually shape things. That's why it's painful to discuss Poland. Because we have no means."

Completing the "Transformation"

The theme of the conference was indeed the struggle to acquire the means to shape history. One crucial aspect is the cohering of a black cadre compo-

nent, which had been the one outstanding goal of the SL's "transformation" (the interlinked tasks projected by the 1971 "Memorandum on the Transformation of the SL") from an "unstable sub-propaganda group" to a "vanguard nucleus."

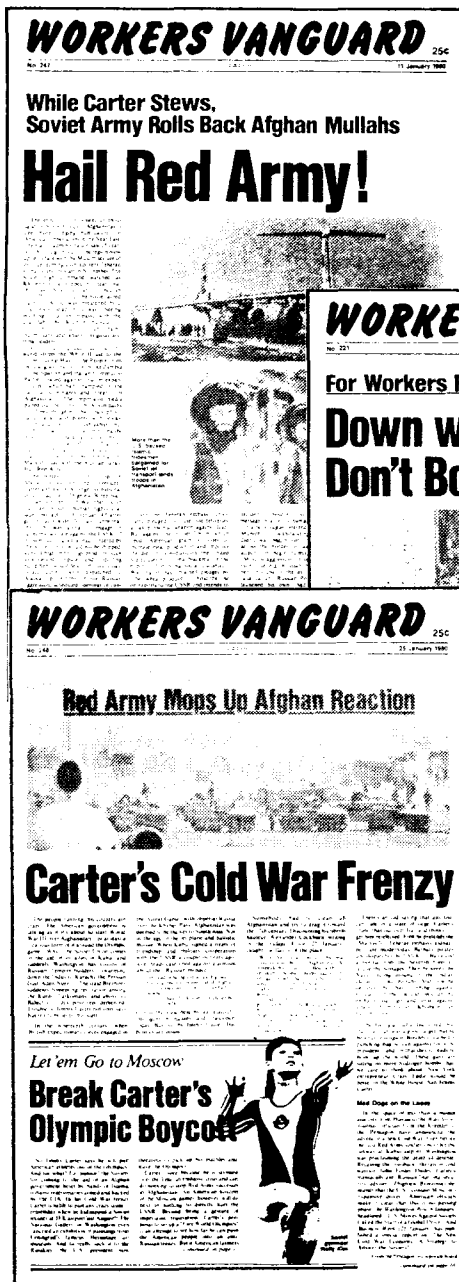
The necessity for black Trotskyists who take responsibility for the work and leadership of their party was the focus of the previous national conference, held in 1977. The WV report of that conference ("Forging a Black Trotskyist Cadre," WV No. 166, 15 July 1977) referred to "softness on the part of many of the black comrades toward modes of functioning and attitudes characteristic of a lumpenproletarian existence," and went on to explain:

"The deforming effects of lumpen existence are far from solely ideological. The observation that 'being determines consciousness' is true not only in the mass but among subjective revolutionary elements. The communist vanguard, defined by its commonality of program, must exert its conscious will to transform its lumpen-derived members into disciplined Leninist cadres.... Only on the basis of a rough equality between comrades—in living standards, educational skills, etc.—can a truly communist cadre be forged, free from servility, patronizing and pretense. "...A disciplined black communist cadre is forged by transcending a previous experience characterized by degradation and manipulation. The fake-left organizations... recruit politically raw minority-group youth who sit on the sidelines of the party, passively accepting the dictates of the leadership or suspiciously sniping at the program with guerrilla-warfare methods.... We want to cohere a black cadre component, fully integrated into the leadership of our party as into the ranks."

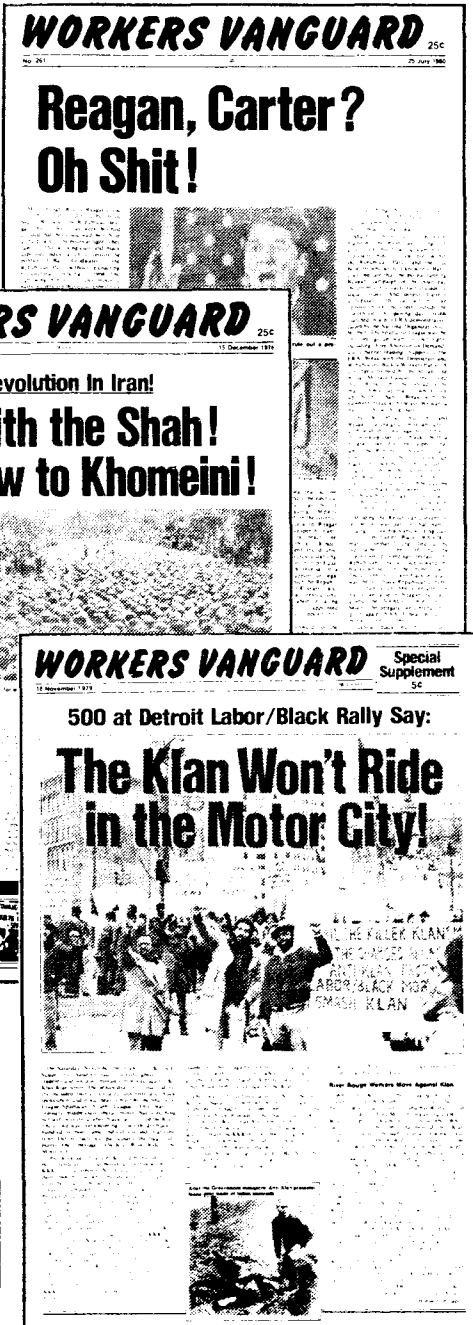
Perhaps the most striking feature of the 1980 conference was the demonstration that the black cadres of the SL have acquired the taste for power within the party, many coming forward as leaders in their locals and as members of the youth and party leading committees elected at this year's conferences. At a well-attended Black Commission, several speakers also emphasized the greater role of black comrades in the youth and party press, the training ground for a future black journal of the SL.

The conference document noted that "the next 'transformation' must be one, crudely put, of numbers." The need to fully implement the recruitment drive projected over a year ago by the

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Our line made recruitment drive possible.



SL Conference...

(continued from page 3)

previous national youth conference was a recurring theme of the discussion. The delegates observed that the SL possesses not only key elements of the prerequisites for a Workers Party—systematic industrial implantation, a fine press, a black cadre, and so forth—but also a membership of hard and tested cadres fully capable of assimilating many new members. There appear to be no “shortcuts” here comparable to the rich opportunities for revolutionary regroupment which confront the small European sections of the iSt; indeed, an index of the wretchedly rightist and cynical character of the American “ostensibly revolutionary organizations” is the fact that we appear to have recruited recently more ex-SL members than ex-members of other organizations (as one speaker remarked, “the new members of today are the new members of yesterday”). Presently lacking any evident targets for substantial regroupments, the SL must grow through linear recruitment.

The past year has presented its share of opportunities but frequently we failed to aggressively exploit them. One problem was the loss of the building where we had had our headquarters for a number of years. In the middle of the recruitment drive, it was necessary to move our national/international offices and to replicate all at once the modifications effected over years at the old location to suit the new premises to our needs (for instance, to set up a new facility for the production of *Workers Vanguard*). This drastically reduced our “public face” in New York as well as absorbing attention in the center that was needed to direct the work of the locals.

The work of the SL/U.S. in recent years has seen some significant changes. Most notably, the center of gravity of the iSt has tended to shift toward the sections outside the U.S. through rapid growth and regroupments particularly in Europe. The SL/U.S. is now merely the preponderant section of a disciplined international tendency, a development which we have worked toward consciously through substantial reallocations of financial and leadership resources (“affirmative action for the European sections”) befitting our greater opportunities outside the U.S.

On the national terrain, the SL/U.S. has sharply raised its “profile” and deepened its authority among selected layers of the working class. Perhaps most striking has been the success of the party and its trade-union supporters in galvanizing exemplary militant working-class action against threatened fascist demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco. This work has gained us new authority among trade unionists and blacks which must be translated into new recruits to the party and youth organization.

Development of the Communist Program

What made a recruitment drive possible and necessary was not any new “turn” or special tactic, but the accumulated political capital of the Spartacist tendency in presenting over the past years an authentic Marxist analysis of the major events shaping the world situation and the unique program for working-class power. The conference document reviewed some of the line questions which have been the test of the revolutionary capacity of would-be Marxists:

“The centrally anti-Soviet intent of Carter’s ‘human rights’ crusade has now taken center stage. From the beginning, the Spartacist League recognized the bourgeoisie’s ‘human rights’ rhetoric as an attempt at ‘moral rearmament’ against communism, aimed at undoing the damage done to capitalist political authority by the dirty, losing colonial

war in Vietnam and the Watergate scandal... In this context, the Spartacist tendency’s principled Trotskyist position on the ‘Russian question’—defense of the deformed workers states against imperialist and capitalist restoration, for political revolution against the parasitic nationalist bureaucracies—is sharply highlighted. Our forthright line of ‘Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!’ calls for the victory of the Red Army, which is militarily supporting a (for a change) genuinely progressive cause: the liberation of the Afghan masses from feudal backwardness, expressed especially over the question of literacy for women.

“The Spartacist tendency responded to the 1979 Chinese attack on Vietnam in evident collusion with U.S. imperialism by sharply denouncing this provocative foretaste of the military implications of the U.S./China diplomatic anti-Soviet alliance (already more than diplomatic, as shown graphically in Angola). Had the Soviets retaliated, this would have taken the China/Vietnam conflict out of a regional framework and made global power relations decisive. Our slogan, ‘China: Don’t Be Cat’s Paw of U.S. Imperialism,’ exposed the class treason of the Chinese deformed workers state in serving as the overt spearhead of imperialist appetites for reconquest of the Soviet deformed workers state.

“We pointed to our 1969 prediction of a U.S./China rapprochement which correctly perceived as the greater threat to imperialism’s global anti-Soviet appetites the military-industrial might of the USSR rather than the then still more verbally ‘militant’ Maoist bureaucracy. While the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) strenuously denied that the ‘Russian question’ was in any way posed (as it has done again over Afghanistan) and the New Left/Stalinoid *Guardian* simply wrung its hands, the Spartacist program for ‘Communist unity against imperialism through political revolution’ was powerfully confirmed.

“The Spartacist tendency’s unique line of ‘Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!’ in Iran has been powerfully vindicated, as Khomeini’s attacks on national minorities, leftists, women and ‘sinners’ confirmed our insistence that the clerical-reactionary ‘mass movement’ in power would be viciously Persian-chauvinist, anti-democratic and anti-communist. Our perspective of a proletarian axis of struggle in Iran—a backward country whose ‘combined and uneven development’ created a powerful and militant proletariat—could not have been more sharply counterposed to the tailism of the rest of the left, which failed to defend not only the working class but even the most elementary democratic rights won in the capitalist West by the bourgeois revolution. Our line has the capacity to appeal directly to all those to whom the enforced veiling of women and stoning of adulterers does not look much like ‘freedom.’”

Many of the conference delegates spoke also to the question of Poland. The Spartacist tendency alone recognized that the recent strike wave could, as one speaker said, “as easily go in the direction of a clerical counterrevolutionary nationalist upsurge as it could in the direction of an incipient political revolution.” Another speaker pointed out:

“In Poland today the simple democratic demand for the separation of church

and state is one of the basic dividing lines between the struggle for proletarian democracy and for capitalist restoration... Now the other thing is that everybody in Poland—the Gierek regime, the church, all wings of the dissidents—inculcates anti-Soviet nationalism. The regime always threatens, there’s a stock formulation: ‘our fraternal allies are worried’... So that one of the things that will mark us off [from the nationalistic dissidents] is the demand for the revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat.”

Development of the Leninist Vanguard

Our task has been, and remains, to translate the power of our Trotskyist line into more new members. The conference resolution summed up:

“The balance sheet must be that continued imperceptible growth is not a very good showing for a recruitment drive... In return for a very high level of work and financial sacrifice from our members, we have acquired a lot of political vindication but nothing significantly closer to breakthroughs. Measured by routinist indices—e.g., against our opponents—the SL has certainly not done badly... But measured against our tasks—in other words, against the leaps necessary to grow by orders of magnitude from the SL of a few hundreds to a Workers Party capable of addressing the question of power—we have just about stood still.”

Not surprisingly, therefore, the pre-conference period saw sharp fights in virtually every local. These internal struggles showed, perhaps surprisingly, no tendency to generalize nationally; indeed, no two locals seemed to find the same issues controversial. Nor did they produce many resignations or confirmed oppositional individuals. Nonetheless there were recurring themes—the Russian question and the “party question”—appropriate to a period of aggressive bourgeois anti-Sovietism and rightward drift. The main conference resolution explained:

“The relative lack of domestic class struggle giving our line the appearance of abstractness and the rightist character of much of what presently passes for activism (anti-nukes, eco-freaks, a narrow anti-draft ‘movement’ appropriate to the ‘me-generation’) have tended to generate breaks in the ‘thin red line’ of communist consciousness... The increasingly visible line-ups for the next world war, the Reagan candidacy, the Greensboro massacre, the attempted murder of our comrade Fred in Germany, the Secret Service mugging of Jane Margolis, even our own successes are bringing home the realization that being a communist is not a game.”

This realization accounts for a certain rise in the SL “quit rate.” In the pre-conference discussion it was necessary to sharply point out that the ex-comrades whose resignations read like membership applications in professing “no political differences” actually have a difference on the “party question”: they no longer believe that bolshevism requires concrete expression in a vanguard party. One recent applicant summed up this discussion very well:

“I am applying to join the Spartacist League at a time when the question of membership is being posed sharply

within the party. I feel fortunate to have been present for some portions of the internal struggles being waged around the meaning of membership in a bolshevik organization. It has made clear in a living sense, not just on paper, the depth and intensity of the commitment necessary to the building of an international revolutionary movement to smash capitalism. I have understood that an organization containing members who vacillate on the question of bolshevik loyalty and dedication is vulnerable to degeneration, and that such weak links must be either strengthened or discarded.”

The conference participants spoke to the need for a hard communist party in these troubled times. There is no leeway for vestiges of New Leftism: anti-party spontaneism, cliquism, flinching from the hard questions in the unions (the Russian question in particular) in favor of a social-worker mentality. We can expect recurring internal struggles as we seek to push back against the pressure of rightist moods among the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. One delegate graphically illustrated the rightward drift of this stratum when he described the last conference of the National Lawyers Guild, where the various warring Stalinists, old New Leftists and feminists united around a crusade for censorship of “dirty” books. This puritanical campaign to make the capitalist state the arbiter of “decency” against essentially innocuous activities like pornography (and smoking) is of a piece with state repression against homosexuals and other “social deviants.”

The main reporter, comrade Robertson, addressed the question of our “communist cutting edge”:

“It tends to dull and sharpen and dull, depending on what we do... Here we are, a small organization moving into increasingly conservative times. I’d say that the pressures put us at risk of losing a communist cutting edge. And you don’t go without a communist cutting edge for very long before you get somebody else’s cutting edge cutting at you.”

The need for a hard cadre in this period again brings to the fore the black communists. Comrade Robertson noted that the myth of the “American dream” which looks like an option for ex-student ex-radicals is certainly not an option for blacks—and they know it. Another speaker recalled that it was not the black members who backed away from the Communist Party during the witchhunt period.

“For blacks,” one speaker at the Black Commission noted, “the American dream is a nightmare.” Speakers in the main session returned to this theme. In his report, comrade Robertson mocked the would-be careerists who give “the best two years of my life” to the revolutionary movement and depart to pursue upward mobility as factionalists in some office or academic department. “Take a look at the ex’s of the previous generation,” he remarked. “It is miserable to revert to a biological existence.”

Another comrade from an unusually socially advantaged background drove this point home. Her speech was a high point of the conference and stands as a good summary of its thrust:

“Let me tell you something about the American dream. I had that once, when I was a kid. My father noticed that I had become 16 and he said, look, why don’t you learn to drive—go buy a car. So I went out and I picked out a big car (you buy big cars in those days), I picked out a bright red convertible and I learned to drive it. And I drove to the boutique... and I drove to the drive-in and played with my boyfriends in the back seat. I had a real good time and fundamentally it was all shit. The boyfriends left, the car broke down, the miniskirts got out of style [laughter]. I got to be thirty and the only reason I’m not an embittered, wasted housewife is that I became a Marxist and I remained a Marxist... I always liked the real simple way Trotsky put it. His last words on his deathbed (and apparently Deutscher thinks that Hansen made this up, but I prefer to think that Trotsky really said it), he said, ‘Go forward!’... So let’s go forward!” ■

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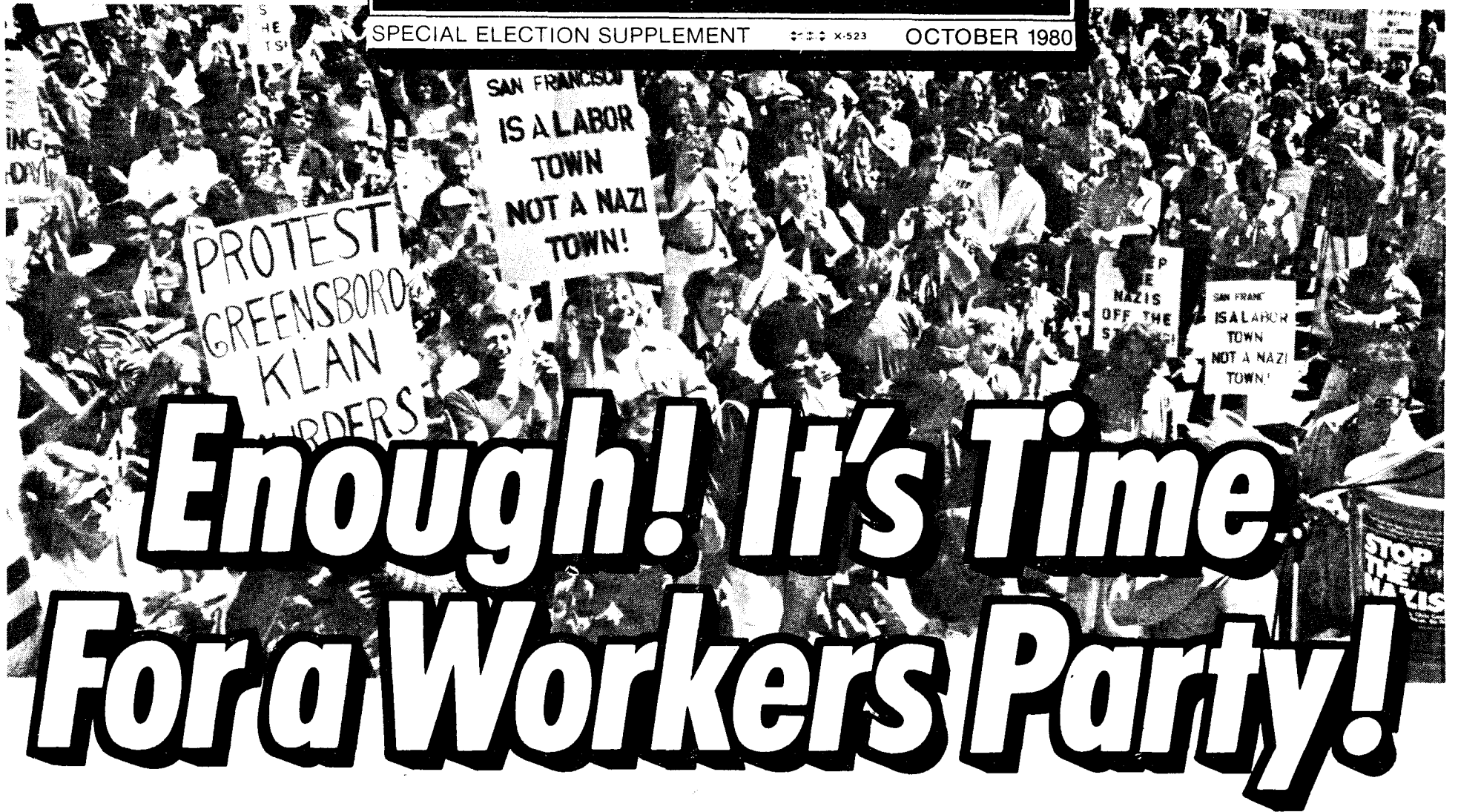
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VOTE COLEMAN!

WORKERS VANGUARD

SPECIAL ELECTION SUPPLEMENT OCTOBER 1980



Enough! It's Time For a Workers Party!

Remember what happened when the Nazis boasted they were going to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco on April 19th? They said they were going to "celebrate" Dachau and Auschwitz in the Civic Center. And if it were up to Mayor Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors, the Nazis would have goose-stepped right into Civic Center Plaza. But the Nazis were stopped because 1,200 unionists, socialists, blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans and gays showed up at the Civic Center at the same time, determined to keep these fascists from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Faced with a massive mobilization of labor and socialist groups the Nazi creeps turned tail and ran. This mobilization was organized by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN). The demonstration was endorsed by 35

union officials and nine Bay Area unions.

Now Diana Coleman, a supporter of the Spartacist League, the labor/socialist organization that initiated ANCAN, is running for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Diana Coleman says, "Enough! It's time for a Workers Party!" In the unions, in the black and Latino neighborhoods, on the campuses, millions of Americans have had it with Carter, Reagan and Anderson. They have had more than enough of economic depression and runaway inflation. Enough of racist injustice, warmongering and the drive for the military draft. Enough of capitalist parties that have billions for war and peanuts for the cities: schools that don't teach, hospitals that don't heal, homes that either you can't afford or are unfit to live in, streets that can't be

walked in safety. Enough of union busting and scab-herding cops: paychecks that don't pay the bills, factories boarded-up, obsolete—like the empty shells lining the Embarcadero. Enough of Anita Bryant reaction in the White House and cop terror on the streets. Enough of a president who tells poor women who can't afford an abortion: "Life is not fair."

As Carter whips up chauvinism in his mad drive toward imperialist war, as the economy goes to hell, the ultra-right grows bolder. Even as ANCAN rallied, night-riding Klansmen blasted four black women with a shotgun in Chattanooga—and got acquitted. The KKK and Nazis are the fascist fringe cheering on Carter and Reagan's campaigns to whip up sentiment for World War III against the Soviet Union. With Carter and Reagan on the warpath

against communism overseas, the KKK/Nazis feel it's open season on leftists, blacks, Latinos, labor and Jews here.

Diana Coleman is running on a program of mobilizing the labor movement and minorities to struggle for what they need in order to live a decent life. A vote for Diana Coleman is a vote against Carter, against Reagan, against the bosses. It is a vote for mass labor/minority action to keep the Klan/Nazis on the run. It is a vote against the capitalist politicians' drive for a thermonuclear war aimed at the USSR.

Diana Coleman says the working class needs its own political party. That need has been sharply revealed in San Francisco. Mayor Feinstein and her fellow union-haters on the Board of Supervisors are carrying out a one-sided war against the labor movement. They are trying to make "union" a dirty word in this union town. In 1976 Feinstein and the supervisors did everything they could to crush the city craft workers strike. Today Feinstein's cops escort scabs through union picket lines.

The 1976 city workers strike was a showdown. For an instant San Francisco teetered on the edge of a general strike. The workers were ready to fight but the union bureaucrats loyal to the Democratic Party sold out the strike. The union busting city government can be defeated. But it will take militant action, labor solidarity and mass picket lines to win. The main obstacle to taking on the union busters is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats who keep the labor

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Diana Coleman, 34, is a socialist union militant born in San Francisco. Her experience as an activist in the civil rights movement, the antiwar and women's movements and in the unions brought her to a militant socialist perspective of support to the Trotskyist Spartacist League.

At an early age she took part in demonstrations at City Hall which rode the witchhunting, McCarthyite HUAC out of San Francisco in 1960. In 1965 she went to Gulfport, Mississippi to work with the militant civil rights organization—SNCC. She came back to the Bay Area to become active in the Vietnam antiwar movement. Coleman was a prominent leader of Oakland

Women's Liberation and an active union militant for ten years, six of them at the phone company in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) as a member of the Militant Action Caucus. Coleman was a spokesman for the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment which won an apology and legal settlement from the U.S. Secret Service for its illegal seizure of San Francisco CWA militant Jane Margolis at her union's 1979 convention. Most recently she was an organizer of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), the Spartacist League-initiated united front which stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center.



SPARTACIST SUPPORTER RUNS FOR S.F. SUPERVISOR!

victory to Labor Struggles

San Francisco can be a town of labor victories again. But it will take a militant fight to bust the union busters.

- **Strike to win**—For labor solidarity—Picket lines mean "Don't Cross"! For mass picket lines to stop the scab-herding! No "give-backs"!

- **Organize the unorganized!**—For a massive union organizing drive in the Silicon Valley! Stop runaways! Jobs for all—30 hours work at 40 hours pay! A penny-for-penny cost-of-living escalator!

- **For sitdown strikes against mass layoffs**—Seize closed plants! For unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Triple welfare! Free quality health care for all! Stop rent gouging—Expropriate the real estate corporations! For a massive program of public works under union control! Build the sewers! Finish BART—around the Bay and airport to airport—Make it free! Finish the freeways! Cancel the city debt! Expropriate the banks and the blood-sucking utilities.

- **Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats**—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Defend Democratic Rights

The capitalist government stands with the anti-busing racists, the anti-homosexual bigots of the Anita Bryant reaction, the right-to-lifers. The reformists rely on the courts and Congress. Now the courts and Congress are leading the backlash and only a fight by labor can even restore the limited democratic gains won in the 1960s.

- **For free abortion on demand**—Free quality, 24-hour child care!

From this election platform, we raise our revolutionary program: Enough of Reagan and Carter! Down with the Klan and Nazis!—IT'S TIME FOR A WORKERS PARTY!

Pass the ERA! Free available safe birth control—Equal pay for equal work!

- **Keep the state out of consensual sexual activity**—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Full democratic rights for gays! No laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution. Down with all censorship!

- **No to gun control—No guns for cops! For the right to self-defense!**

- **Defend the rights of smokers!**—For adequate ventilation!

- **End discrimination in schools, housing, education, jobs!**

Not union-busting "affirmative action" but special union programs for upgrading, recruiting, training of minorities and women! Jobs for all! For union hiring halls! Cops out of the unions—Courts out of the labor movement! For free quality higher education for all! Open admissions! Nationalize the private colleges—For free tuition and living stipend! For bilingual education!

For a Working-Class Strategy to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror

From Fontana, CA to Connecticut the Klan/Nazis get bolder! The capitalists will someday resort to these fascists, armed shock troops of race terror, union-busting and anti-communism in a desperate attempt to preserve its rule over the working class—the one force with the power and unified interest to smash the capitalist onslaught of depression and war.

- For mass mobilizations of labor and minorities to stop the Klan and Nazis—Not confrontations of little

bands of leftists—Not appeals to the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." **More San Francisco April 19ths—No more Greensboros! Jail the killer Klansmen—Not the Greensboro anti-fascist demonstrators!**

- **No platform for Nazis/KKK—For labor/minority defense against right-wing attacks!**

Down with the Carter, Reagan Anti-Soviet War Drive

U.S. missiles and foreign policy are aimed at restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. Carter used the seizure of the hostages in Teheran and the invasion of Afghanistan to whip up public support for the imperialist U.S. war arsenal.

The Spartacist League called for workers revolution in Iran opposing both the bloody shah and the clerical reactionary mullahs of Khomeini.

In Afghanistan the Muslim fanatics the capitalists call "freedom fighters" make the fanatical nut Khomeini look like a flaming liberal by comparison. They buy and sell women like cattle, flog beer drinkers and kill school teachers who want to teach women to read and write. In Afghanistan the Soviets stand on the side of social progress.

As Trotskyists our movement has fought for 50 years against the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary policies and suppression of workers democracy. But our call for the overthrow of the Kremlin usurpers through proletarian political revolution means uncompromising opposition to Carter's imperialist appetites to restore capitalism in the

Soviet Union, Cuba, China and all the deformed workers states. The socialist property forms of the USSR and the deformed workers states are an historic gain of the working class internationally and must be defended against the imperialists.

In Poland we call for trade unions independent of the control of the Stalinist bureaucracy and based on a program of defending socialized property. Insofar as the recent strike settlement enhances the Polish workers' power to struggle against the bureaucracy, revolutionaries can support the strike and its outcome. But our call for workers political revolution is one hundred percent counterposed to the pro-imperialist dissidents and the Catholic clergy, who aim to restore capitalism and oppress the Polish workers and peasants.

- **Defend the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution!** For workers democracy! For proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—For a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets)!

- **Down with Islamic reaction! No to the veil!** Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran! U.S. imperialism, hands off Iran!

- **For strict separation of church and state in Iran, Afghanistan, Poland and the U.S.!**

- **For international labor solidarity!** No to protectionism! Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of the black trade unions! Throw out European and American colonialism and imperialism! For African self-destiny!

- **Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for undocumented workers!**

- **Down with the draft—Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war drive!**

- **Down with imperialist "human rights" hypocrisy—The main enemy is at home!**

Enough!...

(continued from page 5)

movement under the thumb of the bosses' Democratic Party, the party of "open-shop" Carter and Klansman Metzger.

Working people need their own political party, but not one like the British Labor Party, the kind that runs the capitalist state for the capitalists. We need a workers party based on the unions that fights to put an end to capitalism—that fights for a workers government, a completely different kind of government based on the power and organization of the working class. This kind of government isn't going to be voted in at the polls. The capitalists have made a complete mess of society. It's going to take a socialist revolution to set things right.

Diana Coleman stands against the frenzied and despairing program of the

middle-class eco-freaks. These liberal faddists march in lock step with the vicious capitalist austerity drive of Carter and Reagan, proclaiming that less of everything (especially for the working class) is better, cleaner and more "natural." When Governor Jerry Brown cuts back social services he proclaims that "small is beautiful." The eco-faddists all cry for "no nukes," meaning nuclear power plants, while ignoring Pentagon plots to blow up the world. These utopian liberals, who think they know best, what's good for you and bad for you, care more about man-eating Great White sharks than people who can't find work. They want to outlaw pornography, guns and cars. The working class and poor need more of everything, not less.

Diana Coleman and the Spartacist League stand opposed to the divisive and crippling "me first" ethnic/sexual politics of the reformists. Enclaves of the oppressed cannot "save" their "communities." For instance, San Fran-

cisco's gay Castro St. district is no fortress against the spreading wave of reaction that has made every sort of so-called "social deviant" its target. The hoopla over district versus city-wide elections is a smokescreen to avoid the real issues facing the people who have to live and work in this city.

The situation cries out for the unions to launch a *workers party* to cut through the futile pork-barrel politics of each against all—to defend the interests of labor, the poor, minorities and the hard-pressed middle classes against the capitalists' assault. Not only in San Francisco but throughout the nation, workers need a party of their own to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation and institute a planned economy in the interests of all working people.

You don't have to be a socialist to know that San Francisco is sliding into deep trouble. The crisis of American

capitalism will not spare the city.

And you don't have to be a socialist to make a list of things we need. Every election the reformists like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party draw one up and peddle their penny-ante reforms and "tax-the-rich" schemes. They think you can change the priorities of capitalism at the voting booth. "People before profits," they say. But capitalism puts nothing before profits. The capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interest of workers and poor people. It must be replaced by a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get one.

Diana Coleman's candidacy gives San Francisco working people a unique opportunity to vote for a candidate who stands for a revolutionary platform addressing the needs of the working class and oppressed minorities. A vote for Diana Coleman is a vote to create the mass workers party necessary to successfully lead the fight for a socialist revolution. It is necessary to begin. ■

For more San Francisco Berkeley/Oakland information call: (415) 863-6963 (415) 835-1535

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Coleman Needs Your Help

In this year of the Carter/Reagan and KKK election, Diana Coleman's candidacy is the only one *anywhere* which offers working people a chance to cast a vote in their own interest. Behind the capitalist candidates stand the big party machines with their "big bucks." Behind Diana Coleman stands a program of working-class struggle, a program to change the world. But it takes endless hours of hard work *and money* to get her program onto the streets and into the factories of San Francisco.

- I would like to work on the Diana Coleman campaign
 Please send further information on the campaign
 Enclosed is \$_____ contribution to the campaign
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Address _____
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Make checks payable/mail to Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, Suite 729, 55 Sutter St., San Francisco CA 94101 (415) 863-6964



ANCAN stops the Nazis in S.F. April 19.

WV Photo

Union Militant...

(continued from page 8)

October), not to be outdone in social-pacifism, actually promoted such a bake sale under the identical slogan.

The CP and the SWP are indeed the twin parties of reformism. And this year their various opportunist appetites have brought them to the same electoralist policy. The CP, which used to flaunt its support for Democratic candidates, has felt obliged to talk a lot about running independently of the parties of big business. And the SWP, which used to regularly score points against its reformist rival by talking about working-class independence from the Democrats, is now the group openly pushing a well-known Democrat for supervisor.

And who is this Stan Smith "critically" supported by the SWP? He is secretary-treasurer of the SF Building and Construction Trades Council. Why "critical" support? An SWP supporter explained that Smith is "not clear enough around the labor party" question. Actually, Smith's party allegiance couldn't be clearer. The SWP may try to hide behind the fact that the supervisors election is officially "non-partisan," but Smith's own campaign brochure openly boasts that he is a "Delegate, 1980 Democratic National Convention." At the convention this phony "labor" candidate organized for Ted Kennedy.

Stan Smith was one of several craft union leaders responsible for the defeat of the 1976 craft union strike in SF. These Democratic Party loyalists wouldn't carry out their own threat to call a general strike against their friend, Mayor George Moscone. (Moscone appointed Smith to the "San Francisco Assistance to Business Committee" to "study ways of attracting business to San Francisco" according to Smith's brochure.) There's not a shred of working-class independence in Smith's campaign. The SWP, having spent years manning the goon squads for Jack Crowley, Dick Groulx and other Cen-

tral Labor Council buzzards hanging around the mayor's office, finally picked one of this Democratic flock to support electorally.

While the SWP has a candidate in the race for supervisor, the highlight of its electoral activity in California this year has been its proudly trumpeted public debate with Tom Metzger, the Klan-Democrat candidate for Congress (see: "Klan Kills, SWP Debates" on this page). The SWP leadership is afraid to defend its increasingly reformist policies from the sharp criticism of revolutionaries. In the Bay Area it has excluded members of the Spartacist League from its public forums for years. Behind its rightward-moving line is a three-point program: debate the fascists, support the Democrats, exclude the revolutionaries.

DSOC and the "Closet Socialists"

If the SWP and CP twist and turn to give backhanded support to Democrats, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) is up-front and up to its neck in "the Party." One of the incumbent SF supervisors is a DSOC leader, gay politico Harry Britt. With the gay bloc vote which he inherited from Harvey Milk, Britt carries some weight in the San Francisco Democratic Party apparatus. But "closet socialist" Harry Britt isn't running as a DSOC leader. He's just plain Harry, gay spokesman.

When DSOC leader Michael Harrington spoke in the Bay Area on October 10 for the Democratic Party, Diana Coleman answered him from the floor: "Even some DSOC members are gagging at supporting Carter." But Harrington, who in 1976 backed Carter with the line that he'd vote Democrat if Mickey Mouse were the nominee, was unflappable in his attempt to avoid taking the blame for Carter's record in office. "DSOC is not supporting Carter," he said, "DSOC is not supporting any candidate. DSOC members are supporting Carter, DSOC members are supporting Commoner." When Cole-

Coleman Puts Cops on Trial

"I Accuse the Board of Supervisors"

San Francisco gay supervisor Harry Britt and other city politicians tried to channel an October 10 hearing on anti-gay violence into a call for increased police patrols and more gay cops, and entertained a veiled call for racist vigilantism. But candidate Diana Coleman was among those who turned the focus to the violence of the cops themselves—to the repeated applause of the audience of over 250. There was no applause from the rad-lib supervisors, who as the Board's Committee on Public Safety are really the cops' bosses. As radio station KYA put it, "The hearing turned into a critique of the police."

Diana Coleman: "I'm a labor socialist running for the Board of Supes. I have been the victim of cop violence and I saw what happened the night after the Dan White verdict came in, with cops beating peoples' heads, and I've listened to the testimony today. And I want to say that unlike Harry Britt, I say 'no to more cops in this city.' We don't need them [applause]. They are thugs and they are scabherders. That's what they do and they are not going to be pro-gay. I think you are kidding yourself if you think so."

"Now I want to say something about this situation in San Francisco. There's a lot of tension and one of the reasons is there's a deadly struggle for affordable housing in this city. Rather than the Latino and gay populations fighting it out with each other, what we need to do is expropriate major industry and the real estate speculators who have made this city unaffordable for working class people [applause]."

"One thing that no one has brought up here today is that Jerry Brown (California governor) recently vetoed a bill making hand guns easier to get. I am in favor of the right to bear arms. And let me tell you something: karate and whistles are not going to work against people coming at you with lead



WV Photo

At anti-gay violence forum.

pipes and chains. It doesn't work. People should have the right to bear arms in this country [applause]."

"I accuse the Board of Supervisors, too. Because they stood by idly making futile motions when the Nazis wanted to march into San Francisco and celebrate Hitler's birthday and the kind of genocide they are trying to perpetrate against gays, blacks, trade unionists and everyone else. As a supporter of the Spartacist League, I am proud to say I helped organize the demonstration to stop those Nazis. It's no wonder the present Board of Supervisors can't stop the attacks on gays, because even the most liberal ones like Britt and Carol Ruth Silver are coexisting in the Democratic Party, which includes people like Tom Metzger, who is an avowed Klansman."

"So I want to say, 'Enough of both capitalist parties—It's time for a workers party.' Thank you [applause]."

man pointed to the Democrat-Klan connection, Harrington offered his solution: vote Republican against the Klan. This Social Democrat might recall that his political forebears' "solution" to Hitler was to vote for Hindenburg.

Harrington boasted that he had built a "socialist caucus of the Democratic Party" at the 1980 convention. If only the Democrats would dump the Carters, the Metzgers, the Dixiecrats and the anti-labor capitalist politicians who

control it from top to bottom, then Harrington and his "socialist caucus" could clean it up. Harrington has been telling that one for 30 years.

Cynical reformists, "progressive" union hacks and "socialist"-talking Democrats won't be voting for Diana Coleman. But working people who are tired of the big-business parties and their left-wing boosters can cast a ballot for a genuine socialist union militant on November 4. Vote Diana Coleman for SF supervisor! ■

Klan Kills—SWP Debates

When the Nazis said they were going to march into San Francisco's Civic Center to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" last spring, the Spartacist League (SL) knew what to do. ANCAN—the April 19 Committee Against Nazis—was formed, and Diana Coleman, the SL-supported candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, was one of its organizers. Some people hoped the city government would prevent the fascist march while others warned against violating the Nazis' "rights." But ANCAN knew that the brownshirts' provocation called for action. Organizers went to black, Chicano and Asian organizations, to Jewish survivors of the holocaust and into the working-class districts. Above

all, ANCAN went to the unions to build the labor-centered mobilization that kept the fascists off the streets. Nine Bay Area unions and 35 union officials endorsed the demonstration, and 1,200 militants answered ANCAN's call to "Stop the Nazis!"

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, was not at the Civic Center on April 19 because this reformist outfit seeks not to smash the fascists but to *debate* them!

As part of the SWP's never-ending bid for bourgeois respectability, the 10 October *Militant* boasted of the "extensive" and highly-publicized debate between Mark Friedman, the SWP's congressional candidate in

southern California's 43rd district, and his Democratic Party opponent, Tom Metzger. Metzger, however, is better known in California as a "Grand Dragon" of the Ku Klux Klan who led armed patrols against "illegal aliens" at the Mexican border. You'd hardly know it though, to read the *Militant*. In the entire article there is not so much as one negative word about the murderous Klan! Instead, the Republican candidate who, to his credit, objected "to giv[ing] Metzger a forum for his ideas," was attacked for refusing to participate in the SWP/KKK debate.

In eagerly debating the assassins of Greensboro and Chattanooga the SWP helps the KKK to mask its racist terror as a parliamentary alternative. While calling for "free speech for fascists," these reformists have another policy for revolutionaries. For years,

the SWP has routinely excluded supporters of the SL from its public forums. For the SWP the slogan is "Bourgeois democracy, yes! Workers democracy, no!" But though the SWP pretends that the struggle against fascism is won or lost at the ballot box, the Klan and Nazis know different. So do Trotskyists.

In 1938, when the SWP was a revolutionary organization, the fascist Silver Shirts announced a meeting in Minneapolis. The Trotskyist-led Teamsters in Local 544 sent their flying squad to the site and forced the Silver Shirts to disperse (see *Teamster Politics* by Farrell Dobbs). These militants knew that fascists understand just one thing and it is not the language of debate. Today, that tradition, spat upon by the SWP, is proudly upheld by the Spartacist League.

Not CP-Democrats, DSOC-Democrats, Gay Democrats, Labor-Democrats—

Elect a Genuine Socialist Union Militant!

Over the years the people of San Francisco have seen quite a few reformist leftists running for public office. They've seen plenty of card-carrying Democrats and supporters of Democratic candidates trying to pass themselves off as "socialists." But this year San Franciscans have a chance to vote for the real thing. Diana Coleman, Spartacist supporter for Board of Supervisors, is a trade-union militant running against the capitalist politicians under the slogan, "Enough! It's time for a workers party!" But you can bet that groups like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) won't be campaigning for Coleman. The CP will be too busy rounding up votes for the likes of East Bay "progressive" Democrat Ron Dellums, and the SWP prefers the Democratic Party labor bureaucrat Stan Smith for supervisor.

The Bay Area Democratic Party has an unusually high number of burnt-out "Marxists" who spend a lot of their time talking about eventually breaking from the capitalist Democrats—but, of course, not now. The party machine has made good use of these "socialist" vote hustlers to fill the ballot boxes for Jimmy Carter, Dianne Feinstein and Jerry Brown. In this city of the great class struggles of 1934, union bureaucrats like AFL-CIO leader John Henning mouth hypocritical phrases about a "labor party" even as they endorse mainstream Democrats.

The CP is the master in this con game, if only because it has a head start of several decades, going back to its "people's front" backing of FDR in 1936. Even while Jimmy Carter drives

toward war against the Soviet Union, the CP's *People's World* is busy pushing the "progressive" Democratic vote. The CP is ducking the vital question of defense of the USSR with appeals to "peace-loving" imperialists to "return to détente." In contrast, Diana Coleman is sounding a warning in the unions and working-class districts against the anti-Soviet war drive, and calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union.

With Jimmy Carter at the top of the ticket, the CP cannot simply say, "Vote Democrat." Instead, they carry out their support for "progressive" Democrats by giving back-handed support to the incumbent Board of Supervisors. By opposing the citywide balloting restored in a recent referendum, the CP supports the strikebreaking incumbents who were elected on a district basis. Thus the CP backs the "community" liberal "San Franciscans for District Elections" (SFDE), noting that "SFDE appealed to progressives to support the eleven incumbents, ignore the citywide balloting, and to concentrate on saving district elections" (*People's World*, 13 September).

When the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club sent Diana Coleman a letter calling on her to step down in favor of the district-elected incumbents, she responded:

"The hoopla over district vs. city-wide elections is just a smokescreen to avoid the real issues facing the people who have to live and work in this city.

"The silent 'progressive' incumbents you support were not the ones who stopped the Nazi/Klan scum from celebrating Hitler's birthday in our labor town—it was the April



At Bethlehem Shipyards.

WV Photo

19th Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN), of which I was an organizer. "As a socialist union militant, I have no interest in seeking endorsement from those in the same party as Tom Metzger, Klansman...."

CP, SWP: Twin Parties of Reformism

More than in the recent past, the campaign of the ex-Trotskyist SWP is hard to distinguish from that of the Stalinist CP. Not only do these reformist outfits campaign with nearly an

identical political line, they even chose the same slogans. The CP's main election banner is "People before profits," and the SWP has plumped for "Human needs before profits." A few years ago the SWP ran a candidate for SF Board of Education on one of the silliest pacifist-utopian slogans in political history: "It'll be a great day when our schools, hospitals and day care centers have all the money they need and the Pentagon has to hold a bake sale." This year, the CP's *People's World* (4 continued on page 7

Interview With Diana Coleman

I Saw the Power of Labor in the South

In an interview with Workers Vanguard on October 8, Diana Coleman described her experiences in the civil rights, antiwar and feminist movements of the 1960s, and how these experiences led her to a revolutionary working-class perspective, to Trotskyism and the SL. Printed below are excerpts from that interview centering on her SNCC activities in Mississippi in 1965.

WV: The urban ghettos are worse than ever, and even the token gains won by the civil rights movement have been under attack by the courts, Congress and racists in the streets. When you look back at your experience in the civil rights movement, how do you evaluate your work in SNCC?

Coleman: Well, I went down to Mississippi as a pretty naive kid—I was 19 years old at the time. But there were a number of things that I did there and a number of things that made me pretty unhappy. First of all, we were registering people to vote Democrat—now, we talked about the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, but essentially we were talking about registering people to vote Democrat. And I was unhappy because I didn't register to vote Democrat myself and I was quite uncomfortable about registering people to vote Democrat, although I saw that they had the right to register people to vote and I saw that as important. So that was one

thing: I became increasingly uncomfortable about the ties of the civil rights movement with the Democratic Party. Secondly, I wanted to talk also about the war in Vietnam and the organizers told me this was a single-issue campaign, I could not talk about the war in Vietnam and other issues of this sort.

WV: Black people today are increasingly facing serious threats and outright terror from the Ku Klux Klan and other fascists. You were an organizer for SNCC, which advocated liberal pacifism at that time. How was that strategy treated in practice, when faced with racist violence?

Coleman: I was never a very convinced advocate of non-violence, but my experiences in Mississippi made me even less so. I had friends who spent their every night driving around in small towns in the Mississippi Delta, with a bunch of guys in the back with guns. They patrolled the black section of town, because they knew that since they were encouraging blacks to register as voters, they needed protection, and they knew the cops wouldn't protect them: ... So they put out the warning: you come into a black section of town, you bomb, you burn, you kill, whatever, and you're going to be shot. And let me tell you, the Klan didn't come. And that was something I learned about non-violence, that people have to protect themselves.

Armed black self-defense, especially in the South, is really a crucial issue. That's what I learned, because that's what experience taught me—that the town where they patrolled, the Klan did not come.

WV: In hindsight, what course would you have advocated for the civil rights movement? Why did SNCC's subsequent break from the Democrats lead to a dead end?

Coleman: Well, more generally, where I worked was Gulfport, Mississippi, a port town. We were protected in large part by the International Longshoremen's union, the East Coast longshore union, which was a black local, because they put out the word, and it was very explicit. We were downtown, integrating lunch counters and having to build demonstrations when they wouldn't serve white and black—they put out the word that if we were arrested, if we were jailed, if we were beat up, if in any other way the cops came after us, that there would be a strike. I mean everything would shut down in the city. And that's the word that they put out. And so we won.

So I saw down there the real power of the labor movement, and the labor movement when it comes down on the side of the oppressed. Now, the civil rights movement and SNCC was not able to take advantage of that opportu-

nity. The leaders of SNCC—this was 1965—were moving eventually towards a sort of black nationalist position, so they did not know how to take advantage of the power of the labor movement.... So we really didn't take advantage of that situation, but it remained with me. Probably that's why I'm here today. A number of people died down there.... ■

Spartacist League Public Forum

Speaker

Diana Coleman

socialist union militant,
candidate for
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Hall/Davis...

(continued from page 12)

the "democratic" militarism of Roosevelt whom it had supported for years?

No. The Gus Hall/Angela Davis election campaign neither defends the USSR against imperialism nor stands for political independence of the American working class from the twin capitalist parties. The campaign is at bottom a pressure tactic aimed at the Democratic Party.

Reagan/Carter may be running on the question of Afghanistan, but the CP is not. Instead of intransigent military defense of the Soviet Union (expressed for instance in our slogan, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan"), Hall/Davis duck every crucial question, following the suicidal line of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which bases its global "strategy" on the illusion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. "Return our national policy to the road of detente and peace," says the CP election brochure. But all "detente" ever meant to the bourgeoisie was a tactical maneuver, born of the losing war in Vietnam, to give the U.S. war machine time to rearm and to reestablish domestic support for Cold War policies.

American imperialism's national policy has never been "our" policy, anyway. There is no era of bourgeois "peace" to "return" to! When does the CP think it was? During Kennedy's Bay of Pigs? "Detente" was bought with the blood of the Vietnamese; its high point coincided with the saturation bombing of Hanoi and Cambodia.

The Kremlin bureaucracy's "detente" policy means that workers in the capitalist countries are supposed to ally with the "peace-loving" wing of their own ruling class. Undermining at every step the need for working-class independence from its class enemy, the Stalinist misleaders perpetuate the isolation of the USSR by preventing the extension of the October Revolution which Lenin knew was ultimately its only defense. At the same time, the privileged Soviet bureaucrats repress and demoralize the workers of the Soviet Union and foster powerful counterrevolutionary forces (reactionary nationalists, capitalist-restorationist "dissidents"). Defense of the USSR demands the Trotskyist program of political revolution to restore political power to the Russian working class through the rule of workers councils (soviets) and extension of the gains of October through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries.

Looking for Henry Wallace

Of course the CP is still looking for bourgeois "doves" to support. Nothing really new here. Ever since the Roosevelt years, the CP has pushed for a popular-front alliance with the class enemy. The CP has always told its supporters to vote for the "progressive" imperialists. With the onset of the Cold War in 1948, the Stalinists opted for the bourgeois "third party" candidacy of former vice president Henry Wallace (who represented a short-lived tactical difference within U.S. ruling circles). But by 1952 the CP was voting the Democratic Party's choice again with Adlai Stevenson and his Dixiecrat partner, John Sparkman.

The instinct to vote Democratic became so overwhelming that after 1972 the CP was forced to admit, with some embarrassment, that a large chunk of its Central Committee had actually voted for George McGovern instead of the party's own candidate! Today with Carter and Reagan declaring Cold War II, the pro-Moscow Stalinists cannot find even a single prominent bourgeois "dove" analogous to Wallace.

The old Rooseveltian coalition of liberals and labor is disintegrating: some labor bureaucrats are making feeble noises about a "labor party" while others, like the National Maritime Union, are even backing Reagan (see article page 12). More than ever, the

Gus Hall on Poland

Bureaucrats' Complaint

It's a dog's life putting out a Stalinist paper, especially when you have to run cynical headlines like, "Poland Public Opinion Urges Strikes to End." That specimen from the 30 August *Daily World* was typical of the Communist Party's coverage of the recent Polish workers strikes. At the height of the unrest the disingenuous headline was "Polish Unions Working for Improvement." But apparently "public opinion" wasn't enough to convince the strikers for then came "Polish Cardinal Asks for End to Strike." What's next, we wondered—"God Demands Strikers Go Back to Work"?!

The Communist Party is obviously having problems in its own ranks explaining away the Polish strikes. On September 17, a crowd of 600 packed the Unity Center in New York City to hear Gus Hall speak on "What Happened in Poland?"—a good four times what they draw to the CP's annual May Day rallies. When it came to analyzing the origins of the crisis in Poland, Hall sounded for all the world like some New Leftist who stumbled into the CP by mistake. The trouble with those bureaucrats in the leadership of the PUWP was they didn't engage in "constant discussion" with the ranks, or see the need for "mass participation," for "exchanges of opinion," for the people to "become part of the power structure."

But their economics were a disaster, Hall went on, indicating that Moscow had long criticized the Polish leaders on this point. And here he's right. Look at the massive foreign debt, the insufficient collectivization of agriculture, the power of the Polish Catholic

church. Of course the leaders of the PUWP had "the best of intentions," said Hall, but then the road to hell... And the hardest swipe of all: "Much of the unrealistic good intentions [of the Warsaw leaders] were fed by feelings of unrealistic nationalism."

But the audience was far from satisfied. As the question cards came up to the podium, Hall carried on what was essentially a discussion with himself. "What about the special stores" for the bureaucracy? Lots of cards about that one. "I personally never liked them." What about the pope? Hall accused Wojtyla of encouraging anti-socialist elements. (But we recall that last year the *Daily World* was singing a different tune: "Pope's Visit Welcomed by People of Poland.")

In closing his presentation Hall remarked, "The statement that the party in Poland must reestablish a relationship of confidence in the PUWP is a most serious self-criticism." C'mon Gus. Your real gripe with the Gierk gang isn't that they were out of touch with the masses—which is putting it mildly—but that they didn't listen to Moscow. (Of course Russia has a right to be worried about counterrevolution in Poland.) But neither diligently toeing the Kremlin line nor cosmetic democratic reforms will resolve the crisis of Polish Stalinism. Every few years the leadership deck is reshuffled, a new deal promised and it is only a matter of time before the house of cards comes falling down.

At root is the contradiction inherent in all the Stalinist deformed and

need for an independent working-class political party is obvious, but the CP refuses to call for it. Instead Hall/Davis dream of "a great people's coalition" which will one day "lay the basis for a mass anti-monopoly party." This reformist mush doesn't mean a thing—except a pitch to the liberals to please make some popular-front overture. Nor will the CP even campaign for its own candidates where it counts—in the labor movement, where class-conscious workers must oppose union endorsement of capitalist candidates.

The Hall/Davis campaign preaches both reform of the bourgeois state and reliance on it now. "People before



Angela Davis

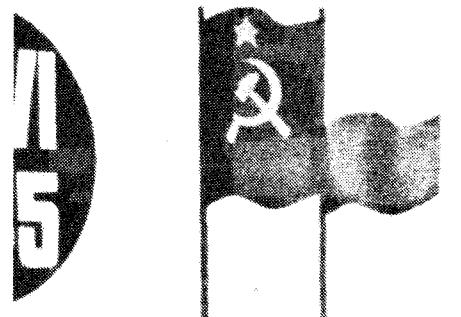
profits" is their classic reformist slogan. "Compel the monopolies to disgorge some of their obscene profits." Only "some"? "Cut the military budget," says the CP. U.S. missiles in Europe are targeted on all major Soviet cities, but Hall/Davis want only to "cut" the budget. We must ask: which of these cities do you want to see bombed?

The CP offers no program for black people. "Outlaw racist acts, the KKK and the Nazi party" demands the CP campaign literature—in other words,

not mass militant action but reliance on the state. The CP counsels support to the black Democrats—Ron Dellums, Coleman Young, Al Vann, the "black elected officials" who were the main beneficiaries of a liberal civil rights movement which left the masses just about as oppressed, poverty-ridden, unemployed and segregated as ever. According to the *Daily World*, with Young "the people's representatives hold power" in Detroit!

Yet the CP still recruits blacks and other young radicals who hate this capitalist system. Why? It's like what Frederick Douglass said about the Abolitionists: he'd heard all his life they were the evil people who burned down the masters' mansions, so as soon as he could he looked them up, because it sure sounded good. So the CP's still got the name "Communist," and it's got Angela Davis' reputation as a heroic black leader who stood up to the cops for George Jackson and the Panthers. And most people haven't heard about the Spartacist League, which defended Angela Davis and the Panthers (and Ruchell Magee, the man the CP left to rot in prison, and the Japanese-Americans whom the CP abandoned to Roosevelt's concentration camps, and so many others).

As for socialism, Gus Hall openly admits the CP isn't even raising it: "That question is not on the historic agenda. And socialism is not on the ballot in 1980" (*Daily World*, 27 September). Not on the CP line, it isn't. But a fighting program for socialism is on the ballot in San Francisco. The SL is supporting Diana Coleman for SF Supervisor because her campaign tells the truth: socialism won't be won at the ballot box, but on the battle lines of the class struggle. Diana Coleman demands that labor break from the twin parties of capitalism. Her program is a revolutionary alternative to the CP's reformism and points the way forward to the things



Polish workers: Don't need to discuss much, Gus?

degenerated workers states between the collectivized property and the bureaucracy that rules these countries. A caste based on the monopolization of governmental power, the bureaucracy is opposed—for its very survival—to workers democracy and incapable of "keeping in touch with the masses."

Only a Trotskyist party can undertake the real defense of the gains of the workers against the dangers of counterrevolution. Not by whispering advice in the ear of the bureaucracy, but by intervening in the workers' struggles to turn them toward political revolution to oust the bureaucracy in the deformed and degenerated workers states and open the road to socialism through international proletarian revolution.

we need and the only way we will get them: class struggle by the workers movement, fighting on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

NMU Tops For Reagan...

(continued from page 12)

And now our union officials have offered up our union to provide additional leverage in the rightward shift. Reagan's election would probably lead to more open and harder anti-labor, racially repressive government policies. In addition, as a symbol of the ultra-right, Reagan's election would be seen as a signal to the right wing in this country that they have an open field. Carter's policies and Reagan's popularity have already been accompanied by a meteoric rise of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis across the country. This fascist filth must be smashed.

Blacks face increasingly desperate poverty and rising Klan/Nazi/cop racial attacks. They now find many more white workers driven to unemployment and welfare offices as lay-offs hit record peaks. There is no active leadership or organizations amongst blacks and the trade union leadership is completely bankrupt and calcified.

We need a leadership to forge a vanguard of the working class to unite blacks and whites in fighting capitalism, the root cause of our problems. In the NMU we must reject this atrocious support for Reagan and break from the Democrats as well. Only a new leadership of our union could mobilize our union to form Labor/Black Defense organizations with other unions to smash the Klan/Nazis and start organizing to build a workers party to struggle for a workers government. ■

Fascists...

(continued from page 1)

over 100,000 people demonstrated against this fascist atrocity in Paris and almost all major cities in France. On 7 October a giant demonstration in Paris drew nearly 200,000. Strikingly absent from the demonstration were the mass of immigrant workers, understandably, given the stark contrast between the respectable protests over anti-Jewish violence and the total silence which habitually greets racist murders of North Africans and black Africans. Even the government parties, the Giscardians and Gaullists, were forced to send token delegations in an unsuccessful effort to deflect criticism from the government and to present the demonstration as one indicating "the unity of the French people."

The demonstration certainly was an expression of anger. But its organizers, ranging from the Jewish bourgeois establishment, led by Guy de Rothschild, to the reformists of the Communist and Socialist parties, did their best to contain this anger in respectable limits by calling merely for the resignation of the minister of the interior and for "purging" fascists from the police. They all agree on one thing: under no circumstances should the workers organizations be mobilized to crush the fascist terrorists; under no circumstances should Jews and immigrant workers defend themselves against fascist attacks.

In sharp contrast, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) marched in the demonstration behind a big banner calling for "United Front Self Defense by Workers, Jewish and Immigrant Organizations" and for "Workers Militias" to "Crush the Brown Plague." The fascists will not be scared off by talk of "national unity." They are a terroristic paramilitary action group which must be crushed by the working class.

The "restraint" of the "responsible Jewish leaders" has opened the door to the most right-wing Zionists, ready followers of the butcher of Deir Yassin, the current prime minister of Israel, Menachem Begin. Zionist leaders around the world have blamed the anti-Semitic violence on the French government's pro-PLO/pro-Arab foreign policy. The Zionists want to exploit the wave of popular revulsion against the fascists to pressure the Giscard government to take a more pro-Israeli position. They make the reactionary equation between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. But the fascists want to liquidate the Jews because they are Jewish, and their genocidal ambitions wouldn't change in the least if Giscard stopped selling military hardware to the Arabs or voted against the PLO in the United Nations.

In France the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO) has come to the fore, especially among young Jews who are fed up with pacifism and "responsibility" when faced with fascists. The JDO openly declares it is out hunting for Nazis. And in Israel, Shmuel Flatto-Sharon—a French Meyer Lansky who emigrated to the "promised land" to escape a jail term for fraud—is trying to organize Zionist mercenaries to go to

France to "protect" the Jews. If the Zionist hit squads bag a few fascists, instead of going after Palestinians and North Africans, they will have done something worthwhile for a change. But it's just as likely that the Zionists will overreach and knock off some prominent anti-Zionist in France. This would call forth a hostile reaction against them to which we would not be averse.

Memories of Nazism in France are strong and could put the government in serious trouble. The authorities have made a great hue and cry about finding and punishing the guilty, while doing everything possible to put the lid on. It is being charitable to the French government to say that its attitude toward prosecution of the fascists is worthy of the police chief in the movie *Casablanca*: "round up the usual suspects."

The "usual suspects" of course are the left. The attorney general, Gaullist



Paris, 7 October: 200,000 march in outrage over fascist atrocity. France-Soir

Alain Peyrefitte, has "speculated" that the bombing was not committed by fascists at all, but was a provocation by a leftist group. Likewise, interior minister Christian Bonnet baited a Communist deputy that the direction of the government's inquiries "might surprise you." In this Peyrefitte and Bonnet are in chorus with the fascists, who have suggested that the bombing was masterminded by the KGB or Libyans, with Guy de Rothschild, who maintains the source of all terror is Marxism, and with the Israeli ambassador, who accused the Palestinians. Anybody but the fascists!

Was Giscard d'Estaing in the OAS?

Historically the French government, like the governments of Italy and West Germany, has been up to its neck in fascistic activity. In the early 1960s there occurred a sharp split in the French right over de Gaulle's neo-colonial solution to the Algerian war of independence. The "Algérie française" ultras formed the Secret Army Organization (OAS) which carried out a terror campaign in metropolitan France and led the "generals' revolt" in Algeria in 1961. However, this break was largely overcome in the wake of May 1968, when in order to guarantee the loyalty of the officer corps de Gaulle had to amnesty the OAS generals.

It was public knowledge that in the 1974 presidential campaign the goon squad which protected Giscard was made up of members of the OAS and also Ordre Nouveau, then the main

fascist group. According to one account published at the time, Giscard himself, together with future minister of the interior Prince Michel Poniatowski (a descendant of one of Napoleon's marshals), was part of an OAS ring.

It is well known that the authors of fascist attacks are rarely caught. When the Italian fascist Marco Affatigato was arrested by French police after the Bologna railway station bombing, he openly laughed at the idea that he would ever spend any significant amount of time in jail. His laughter was based on experience.

Both the fascists of the European National Fascists (FNE), which is generally held responsible for the Paris synagogue bombing, and the police "unions" claim that 30 of the FNE's reported 150 members are highly-placed police officers, in particular in the Renseignement Général, a sort of

combined FBI and Red Squad. In fact, the government was obliged to fire Paul-Louis Durand, an inspector, not because he was a member of the FNE leading body, but because he was reported to have met with Italian fascists shortly before the Bologna railway station bombing in early August. Inspector Durand had an important job in the police—personal bodyguard to the Grand Rabbi of France!

The point however is not to "purify" the police force, to make it more democratic and "republican." The police cannot be "purified"—they are part of the armed might of the capitalist state and must be smashed. Revolutionists demand police out of the union movement.

Neo-Fascists: The Tip of the Iceberg

In the last five years or so the far right in France and the rest of West Europe has after a lull emerged from its ratholes and acquired an increasing respectability. The neo-fascists have recently concentrated on immigrant workers and a broader-based racism. But now the fascist groups are reminding the rest of the right-wing racists that anti-Semitism is an integral part of any mass fascist movement. The fascists need the Hitler regalia and crude anti-Semitism to maintain their self-image of fighting against a secret clique which dominates society. And poor North African or Turkish workers (like blacks in the U.S.) won't fit the bill. But a Rothschild will

do fine—or a Jewish communist like Leon Trotsky.

In 1978 with much fanfare the French Parti des Forces Nouvelles got together with the Italian MSI and the Spanish Fuerza Nueva to create the "Euroright," supposedly as an answer to "Eurocommunism." These "legalist" parties maintain close links with the state apparatus in their respective countries and serve as a conduit for fascists. While usually keeping their distance from the paramilitary fascist groups (at least in public) they serve to rally racist and reactionary sentiment and function as a recruiting reservoir for the fascist-terrorist groups.

The small paramilitary neo-fascist groups have increased their activity apace. Their not-so-secret conspiracy uses the tactics of murder and arson to encourage tendencies within the bourgeoisie toward a "strong state" until the social disintegration of capitalism and the miserable failure of the reformist leaders of the working class allow them to come to power. In West Germany the Hoffmann group, reported to have done the Oktoberfest bombing in Munich, is simply the best known of over 50 (!) neo-Nazi groups with a combined membership, according to West German police, of over 15,000. In addition to the indigenous neo-Nazi groups, fascism in West Germany has been augmented by the murderous Turkish "Grey Wolves." And in England there are a number of similar groups which have split off from the National Front.

In France the right wing has for decades organized private militias and fascistic unions with the aim of strike-breaking and union-busting, especially in the auto industry. The rightist union, the Confédération Française du Travail (CFT), dominates the Citroën plants in particular, terrorizing immigrant workers and forcibly enrolling them under threat of deportation. The CFT also furnishes squads of "unionized" workers to break strikes, intimidate militants, even going so far as to murder them. In 1977 a CFT commando killed Pierre Maître, a young worker in the Communist-led CGT walking his first picket line in Reims. And in 1972 it was an ex-member of the CFT who killed a Maoist, Pierre Overney, leafleting outside Renault-Billancourt in Paris.

Anti-Immigrant Hysteria

The present growth of the far right cannot be understood in terms of a plot by this or that intelligence service to "destabilize" their government, but only in terms of the economic and social background which allows such plots, where they exist, to have even a slim chance of success. Following the 1974-75 economic crisis, West European governments turned to anti-working-class austerity programs, the leading edge of which is anti-immigrant policies. They thus give semi-official sanction to racist attacks on immigrants, which have become commonplace and regularly go unpunished by the police. West Germany has avoided drastic rises in domestic unemployment by sending Turkish and Yugoslav workers back home. Thatcher's Britain not only sharply limits immigration, but government harassment of immigrants includes the scandalous racist practice

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
editor

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Iran/Iraq: Dirty War, Strange Bedfellows

Were it not fraught with the danger of escalation into World War III, the unlikely and rapidly shifting sets of allies and enemies formed over the Iran-Iraq war would be comical. When the shah was overthrown, a delicately balanced, U.S.-brokered regional stability went down with him. The American imperialists' Persian Gulf policeman was no longer on his throne, and the neighboring states, both those which had feared him and those which had depended on him, had to readjust.

The Iraqis prepared for war. The royal families of the Gulf sheikdoms, as fundamentalist in their Islamic bigotry as Khomeini, nevertheless felt their fragile and narrowly-based regimes threatened by the ayatollah's Shi'ite Muslim "Islamic Revolution." So while the Gulf states' public statements on the current war have reflected a studied ambiguity, the sheiks, emirs and kings have covertly sided with Iraq despite the Baghdad colonels' republican anti-monarchism and expansionist ambitions. Jordan's King Hussein has decided to overlook the fact that his Hashemite royal cousins were killed by the Iraqi military's 1958 revolution and has openly sided with Iraq, allowing war goods to be transported from the Jordanian port of Aqaba to Baghdad.

The Soviet bureaucrats, seeking diplomatic and military advantage on both sides, have signed a friendship treaty with Syria, the sworn enemy of Iraq, despite the fact that Iraq is their chief military client in the region. Thus, they find themselves tilting toward support for the virulently anti-Soviet Khomeini, whom Syria backs as the enemy of its enemy. The U.S. offers spare parts for Khomeini's Phantom jets in exchange for its hostages while U.S. NATO allies simultaneously rush to Baghdad to replace the Russians at the



Bani Sadr poses in the trenches of the "Islamic Revolution."

arms bazaar. But Khomeini prefers to hold on to the hostages and purchase war supplies from, of all sources, Soviet client North Korea.

In the interests of convenience in a world of ever-changing alliances, the American and Soviet arms industries might consider the use of interchangeable parts. Their fickle clients among the repressive Middle East regimes could then grind each other's military forces to pieces no matter who was supplying the ammunition.

If most of Iran's new-found friends have been less than candid about their

links with Khomeini, two stalwarts have stepped forward to cheer on the ayatollah's war in public. But the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) must find it at least somewhat embarrassing to be leagued with Libya's Colonel Qaddafi in this dispute. For Qaddafi, it's simply a matter of Islamic duty to back Khomeini's *jihad* against the Iraqi "infidels." But the SWP has been bending, twisting and just plain ignoring the truth lately to justify "socialist" support for the ayatollah.

In tailing feminism, black nationalism, gay liberation, etc., the SWP used to say, "If you believe in [fill

in the blank], join the Young Socialist Alliance." Now it's not so much a question of belief but of suspension of disbelief. Do you believe that Carter is directing the Iraq offensive? Do you believe that Iran's Arab and Kurdish minorities, victims of savage repression by Khomeini's *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards"), are now flocking to fight alongside this Shi'ite mosque militia? You do? Well step right up and join the YSA. You'll belong in a party that said Khomeini's veils for women were "anti-imperialist," that mullah-run clerical councils were embryonic "soviets" and that closing the universities to smash the left was "revolutionary." Still, we wonder if even the SWP is so shameless as not to blush at the thought of blocking with the American Qaddafi-ites of the Workers League, who consider the SWP to be a nest of FBI and KGB agents. Dirty wars make for rotten alliances.

One thing's for certain: whichever gang of bloody-handed bourgeois nationalists wins this sordid border war, the working people of both Iraq and Iran will be the losers. Down with the Iraqi colonels and the Iranian mullahs! U.S. out of the Persian Gulf! For the right of self-determination for Kurdistan! Forward to a Socialist Federation of the Near East! ■

NYC Spartacist League Forum

Iran/Iraq Blood Feud— For Workers Revolution in the Middle East!

Speaker: Reuben Samuels

SL Central Committee

Thursday, October 23, 7:30 p.m.

602 Hamilton Hall

Columbia University

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of subjecting Pakistani and Indian women to vaginal searches.

In France a series of decrees aimed at getting rid of some 40,000 North African and black African workers a year. Last December the right-wing National Front poster France with the slogan "1,500,000 unemployed is 1,500,000 immigrants too many. France and Frenchmen first." The notoriously chauvinist French Communist Party (PCF) contributed with its own calls for total national economic protectionism ("Produce French").

Stalinists Still Look to the Bourgeoisie

If the Stalinists contribute to chauvinist sentiment, the CP-dominated unions in France and Italy also have done nothing against fascist attacks on immigrants or even their own members. Instead they call on the bourgeois state

to cleanse itself. The CGT sits back and allows the fascist CFT to dominate Citroën, resorting from time to time to law suits and calling for new laws against the fascists and "heavy sentences" for bosses who infringe on union rights. The PCF/CGT response to the killing of Pierre Maître in 1977 was to call for a *five minute* "general strike"!

And their response today is no different. The PCF/CGT has refused to act. It would have taken the 200,000 workers who demonstrated in Paris just a few minutes to deal with the fascist scum. But the Stalinists want to avoid just that because it would pose a risk to their bureaucratic domination of the workers movement and their aspirations for a new "popular front" with a section of the bourgeoisie. The fact that the office of the neo-fascists is located only 200 yards from the PCF national headquarters on the Place Colonel Fabien should be felt as a provocation by every Communist worker. Yet the local Communist Party cell merely distributes leaflets in neighborhood mailboxes calling on all the "democratic-minded" to protest to the government.

Fascism or Communism

Through calls on the state to ban the fascists, through schemes to resurrect the popular-front "Union of the Left," the reformist workers misleaders chain the powerful labor movement to its bourgeois rulers. Those who would seek a new popular front, those who sentimentalize "The Resistance" and the "glorious tradition" of World War II—"The Great Patriotic War to End Fascism"—must now answer a burning question posed by history: Why are the fascists back again?

During the 1930s, Stalin's party in France prepared the masses to accept their own bourgeoisie in a popular front

"against fascism." The French working class was "re-educated" to learn that the main enemy was no longer at home but across the Rhine. And when the war was over the popular front remained, and the Stalinists organized ignominious defeat for the proletariat. It was the Stalinists who forced workers to turn over their weapons so that the "democratic, anti-fascist" capitalists could maintain their rule. Instead of a Socialist United States of Europe the imperialists were handed the reins of state power. Thus continued the cycle from popular frontism to bourgeois reaction. As Trotsky put it:

"Incapable of solving a single one of the tasks posed by the revolution—since all these tasks boil down to one, namely the crushing of the bourgeoisie—the People's Front renders the existence of the bourgeois regime impossible and thereby provokes the fascist coup d'état. By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."

—"The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (July 1936), in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-1936)*

Unlike the 1920s and the early 1930s, fascism is now no longer a new phenomenon. The experience of the holocaust remains within the living memory of the European working class, and there is little chance that the fascists can pretend to be what they are not. The demand to crush the fascists wherever they raise their heads will find enormous receptivity, for it taps into the workers' deep, almost instinctive hatred for Hitlerite scum.

When the main Nazi criminals were placed in the dock at Nuremberg 35

years ago, their deeds horrifying the entire world, social democrats, Stalinists and liberals believed that never again would fascism reappear on the Western political stage. Yet from Greensboro to Paris, from Bologna to Munich, fascist terror is on the rise. The fascists are growing, perhaps not so much in sheer numbers but in boldness, in the belief that things are going their way.

They are encouraged above all by the NATO chiefs' strident calls for a new crusade against Soviet Communism. "We need more and more weapons to kill Russians," cry the leaders of West Europe and the U.S. The only thing that rivals the anti-Communism of the speeches of bourgeois politicians today is their chauvinism and racism. Franz-Josef Strauss campaigns to drive foreign workers out of West Germany. The Giscardians and Gaullists, partly to be on the right side of Arab oil, indulge in scarcely-veiled attacks on the Jews. "Ethnic purity" Carter slashes social welfare for blacks, while KKK leaders state that the Republican electoral platform could have been written by them. If Strauss, Giscard, Carter and Reagan all have to dissociate themselves from the fascist terrorists, it is precisely because their ideological affinity with them is so obvious.

Of course, the situation today in the Western bourgeois democracies is not Germany in the early 1930s. To think so is to lose all sense of scale. Yet the basic thrust of imperialist-capitalist society—toward war with Soviet Russia, toward wage-slashing and austerity, toward racist scapegoating and violence—all find their realization in fascism. United working-class action against the fascist terrorists, *urgently needed right now*, cannot ultimately succeed without overthrowing this rotting capitalist system throughout the world. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Why We Can't Vote Stalinist in '80

CP's Hall/Davis in Search of "Peace-Loving" Imperialists

In this election season of reaction, as Carter/Reagan campaign to lead U.S. imperialism's accelerating war drive against the Soviet Union, we had to think about the slogan, "Vote Stalinist in '80!" How politically useful it would be for workers to have a chance to vote against the warmongering, the racism, the anti-working-class austerity of the Democrats and Republicans. How satisfying it would be to call for a vote to the Communist Party, identified in the public mind with defense of the USSR. But the political platform of the CP in no way merits electoral support from workers and socialists.

In the past couple of elections, the CP had run simply as the Democrats' stalking horse. This time around it had to adopt a more nominally "independent" rhetoric. After all, Teddy Kennedy had been washed out and "détente" is dead for the time being. And that raised the interesting question: would the CP by force of circumstances (its support to Soviet troops in Afghanistan, for instance) run a campaign that in some way represented a break from support to the bourgeois liberal "lesser evils"? Would it adopt some key element of an independent class stand, even hypocritically, as it did in 1939 when the Hitler-Stalin pact forced it to come out against

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Gus Hall at NYC
May Day rally:
Stalinist
gentlemen cry,
"détente, détente,
détente," but
there is no
détente.



WV Photo

Break With the Republicans and Democrats!

NMU Tops Grab for Reagan's Right-Wing Coattails

We print below excerpts from a leaflet distributed by the oppositional Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union (NMU) which expresses the outrage of the membership over the bureaucracy's support to the arch-reactionary and racist Ronald Reagan announced at the NMU national convention October 9 in St. Louis.

We protest the expulsion from the convention of the Workers Vanguard reporter. He was fingered by Roy Rydel, a backer of the Communist Party-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, before the "big switch" to Reagan was accomplished.

* * * * *

Our NMU officials, at the union convention, endorsed right-winger Ronald Reagan for President, jumping on the Reagan bandwagon along with the Ku Klux Klan. Millions of working people in this country are disgusted with this election. They see in Carter a pro-business incompetent whose "cure" for inflation is more unemployment. Reagan is a hard-line right-winger and outright racist, who wouldn't have a prayer of winning except that people can't stand the idea of four more years of the same under Carter. Perhaps our narrow-minded officials simply feel Reagan will win and are concerned about the crucial role of the federal government in the maritime industry—regardless of what

Reagan symbolizes.

It is outrageous that the NMU, a key CIO union during some of the most critical struggles of labor in the U.S. with a *majority* of our membership black and Hispanic should support one of the most *openly* anti-labor, racist capitalist politicians that ever ran for President! For 19 years Reagan has continually and explicitly advocated and administered policies for "right-to-work" laws, extending anti-trust laws to cover organized labor, smashing the predominately Chicano United Farm Workers, "states rights"—the code word for racist segregation—and cutting back on unemployment and welfare benefits. No wonder the executives in the

capitalist, union-busting organizations like the National Chamber of Commerce, Business Council, and National Association of Manufacturers have been joined by the Ku Klux Klan in backing Reagan.

Lesser Evilism Is Suicidal

On most of these critical points there is no fundamental difference between Reagan and Carter. Both of these men and their parties stand for the anti-labor, racist, repressive policies of the capitalist class and they are equally hell bent on preparing for a nuclear war that may destroy human civilization. Both represent the enemies of labor, blacks and other minorities. Neither offer an alternative for poor and working people—lesser evilism is suicidal. With U.S. capitalism in decline, it was Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter who plotted the course which has led to a right-wing shift in this country. As governor of Georgia Carter ran an open shop state, attracting run-away textile/clothing companies. He continued these policies in the White House attacking the coal miners with Taft-Hartley....

It is Carter's right-wing course that has made the election of Reagan, the open ultra-rightist, a real possibility.

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