

## Feds—Hands Off Teamsters!

The government is out to destroy the Teamsters union. Word leaked earlier this month that the Justice Department is preparing a lawsuit to remove Teamster president Jackie Presser and the union's entire executive board, replacing them with a court-appointed "trusteeship." Under the cover of fighting "mob influence" in the labor movement, the gang of influence peddlers, contra war criminals and witchhunters who make up the Reagan administration intend, for the first time in history, for the government to take over an entire union. Cleaning up corrup-

tion has *never* been what's at issue in the endless government assault on the Teamsters. Since Robert Kennedy's vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa 30 years ago, both Democrats and Republicans have used the "mob connection" as an excuse to break the Teamsters' union power. One of the feds indicated their real appetite: "Probably the only way to really solve the problem would be to dissolve the entire union and start all over again" (*Daily News*, 11 June).

As one Teamster official commented on the attack, "obviously this was a calculated political ploy de-

signed to take the pressure of numerous problems off the Reagan Administration" (*New York Times*, 11 June). It's a recurrent pattern: When they get 240 Marines blown up in Lebanon the White House responds with the brutal rape of black Grenada. In trouble over Iran/Conragate, they try to provoke a shootout in the Persian Gulf and declare war on the most powerful union in the United States. The charges against the Teamsters are being brought under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). The name of this sinister

law is a description of the Reagan government! A New York TV news program couldn't find one trucker who bought the feds' line that a takeover would "clean up" their union. If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked "Justice" Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom? Is this a fusion, a hostile takeover or what? Is Ed Meese to be the new Teamster capo?

The Reaganites are aiming their guns at the heart of organized labor. It's no accident that this move comes at

*continued on page 14*

# Mass Protests Rock South Korea

JUNE 22—Mass demonstrations in South Korea over the past two weeks have tapped decades of pent-up popular hatred of one of the more viciously repressive regimes in the so-called "Free World." From the capital Seoul to the industrial city of Pusan in the South, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets since June 10. Despite the usually efficient brutality of the riot police, protesters have been able to regroup following pointblank barrages of pepper gas. And the demonstrations continue to escalate. On June 18, the center of Seoul became a battle zone as tens of thousands of students seized control of the streets from the police. The next night, demonstrators in Taejon rammed a commandeered bus into police lines; one cop was killed.

There is something of a tradition in South Korea of youth throwing themselves on well-armed police shock troops. However, as the *New York Times* (17 June) observed, "The political crisis here has been built instead on the sustained outbreak of disturbances in central Seoul and the growing participation of thousands of nonstudents of all ages and backgrounds." While students have elicited mass support from white-collar workers, so far there has been no mention of any participation by the South Korean industrial proletariat, the motor force of South Korea's "economic miracle" and the only power which can carry out a revolutionary overthrow of dictator Chun Doo Hwan and the generals.

Popular anger has boiled over in response to several events. One was the death by torture of 21-year-old student Park Chong Choi after his arrest for anti-government agitation on January 14 by a special anti-Communist police squad. Police torture in South Korea is routine, but this time the government was forced to admit to it. In April, Chun abruptly terminated negotiations with



Cops driven back by militant student protesters in Seoul, June 10.

the barely tolerated bourgeois opposition parties on revising the rigged constitution imposed in 1980. The present wave of street battles erupted June 10 following Chun's anointment of Roh Tae Woo, a long-time crony and fellow general, as his successor when the president's term expires next February.

Hundreds of students occupied the grounds of the Catholic Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul, where they were extended sanctuary by the Catholic

hierarchy and besieged, but not stormed, by the cops. An outpouring of support for the Myongdong students followed. On June 13, several thousand workers from downtown shops and offices gathered to taunt police. When students left the cathedral on the 15th, after police lifted the siege in a deal with church officials, thousands of Seoul residents spontaneously rallied nearby, chanting slogans denouncing the military dictatorship. On the 18th, as

protesters took over the city center, students overpowered 80 cops who had run out of tear gas, stripped off their riot gear and burned it in the street.

### Washington's Butchers

Washington is backing its puppet Chun. Despite some misgivings in the State Department, the Reagan White House is determined to stand by this butcher. On June 17, Shultz declared

*continued on page 6*

# Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

### Victory Against Louisiana "Creationism" Law!

The Partisan Defense Committee is proud to have joined with the Spartacist League in submitting an *amicus curiae* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court opposing the State of Louisiana's "Creationism Act" which mandated the teaching of biblical "creationism" in the schools whenever scientific evolution was taught. On June 19 the Court, in a 7-to-2 decision, struck down this reactionary law. In our brief's opening statement we warned, "At issue is the preservation of separation of church and state, the gains of the Enlightenment, and the education of future generations." A UPI dispatch observed that "the creationism case drew a stack of legal documents from groups ranging from the Marxist Spartacist League to the National Association of Evangelicals." Our intervention in this case, as in others reflecting a broad range of social issues, represents an important component of functioning as a tribune of the people.

Taking its cue from the White House, the fundamentalist Christian right is waging war on basic democratic rights won in centuries of struggle. As the

*amicus* brief noted:

"The gains of the American bourgeois democratic revolution of 1776 and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, codifying the defeat of slavery during the Civil War, were progressive developments in the history of mankind. They are part of the outcome of a long and complicated, and in the case of the Civil War, bloody struggle during which feudal fetters on political freedom, economic freedom, religious freedom and scientific freedoms were broken or transcended."

The anti-science, anti-humanist bible-thumping crusade against "atheistic evolution" is a stalking horse for a political and social agenda shared with reactionaries from the White House to the resurgent Klan and racist murderers across the country. Our *amicus* brief portrays the ideological connection between attacks on Darwin's theses and nightriding racist terror.

"...the study of scientific evolution is fundamental to man's quest for a materialist understanding of our world and human society, not the least because it provides material evidence that we are all part of the same human race, definitively destroying the myths of racial superiority."

The creationism case, particularly in its social context, invites comparison to the infamous 1925 "monkey trial" in which John T. Scopes was convicted for teaching evolution. The 1920s, a decade of rampant social reaction similar in many ways to the Reagan years, also saw the formation of the International Labor Defense (ILD) as a mass working-class defense organization. It is upon the formative years of the ILD, then led by James P. Cannon, that the work of the PDC is modeled.

Defense of basic democratic rights, including those proclaimed in the bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, is a fundamental of the modern communist movement. As Lenin counseled in *What Is To Be Done?*, communists must strive to be:

"the tribune of the people, who is able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects...."

Today, as the American bourgeoisie seeks to regiment the population as part of its mobilization for war, we have been in the forefront of defending basic democratic and personal rights. As stated in *WV*:

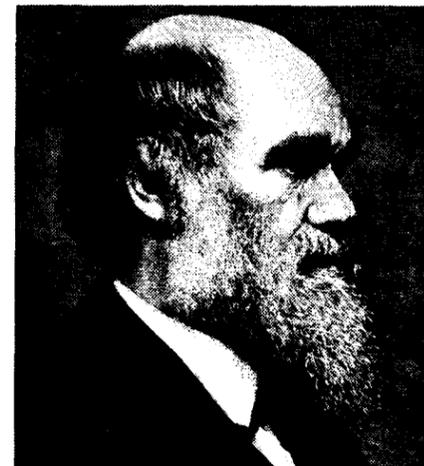
"The decay of capitalist society is dramatically demonstrated when the men who have their fingers on the button of the most advanced nuclear technology and weaponry have minds filled with the worst superstitions, ignorance and bigotry of the Dark Ages. They believe man's history is to be found in the literal interpretation of the Book of Genesis, and mankind's future is spelled out in the Armageddon of 'Revelations,' as they are preparing to plunge the world into a fiery end in an apocalyptic battle against the 'Evil Empire' of 'godless' Russia. The only future for humanity in which man may realize his full potential unfettered by dark obscurantism and social oppression must necessarily be a socialist one."

—*WV* No. 410, 29 August 1986

We welcome the Supreme Court's majority decision in which Justice William Brennan stated the obvious: that the purpose of the law was to "restructure the science curriculum to conform with a particular religious viewpoint." But we place no faith in this Court which recently approved preventive detention

and the Jim Crow death penalty. We look not to the courts of this racist capitalist state whose "justice" keeps Geronimo Pratt, Ramona Africa and numerous other class-war prisoners behind bars, but to the final court of the masses for a verdict over the superstition, reaction and bigotry which continues to oppress and endanger mankind.

Joining the SL in the *amicus* brief was an important advance of the PDC's work. We also helped publicize and pay legal expenses for the SL lawsuit against AIA (see article on page 16). The settlement and retraction won by the SL is an



NY Public Library

Charles Darwin

important victory for all defenders of democratic rights. But victories cost money. It has cost nearly \$10,000 in legal expenses and publicity. The junior Joe McCarthys of AIA have Big Brothers with deep pockets. Help defray the costs of this case. Send your contributions to the PDC.

We also encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$.75 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■



TROTSKY

#### For a Class-Struggle Leadership of Labor

The 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis general strike laid the basis for the transformation of the Teamsters into a powerful industrial union. It was one of three general strikes led by avowed socialists that opened the road to the rise of the CIO. In a 1942 lecture, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon set forth the principles of proletarian class struggle which imbued that strike.



LENIN

All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity.

—James P. Cannon, *The History of American Trotskyism* (1944)

**Spartacist/PDC Legal Brief on "Creationism" vs. Evolution**

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No. 85-1513

In The  
**SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES**  
 OCTOBER TERM, 1985

EDWIN W. EDWARDS, in his official capacity as Governor of Louisiana, WILLIAM W. GUSTE, JR., in his official capacity as Attorney General of Louisiana, LOUISIANA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, and THOMAS C. CLAUSEN, in his official capacity as Superintendent of Education of Louisiana,

Appellants,

—v.—

DON AGUILLARD, LOUISIANA BOARD OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, ORLEANS PARISH SCHOOL BOARD et al.,

Appellees,

ON APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

BRIEF FOR THE SPARTACIST LEAGUE AND PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE AS AMICUS CURIAE ON BEHALF OF APPELLEES

RACHEL H. WOLKOWSKY  
 General Counsel, Spartacist League  
 299 Broadway  
 New York, New York 10007  
 (212) 233-1886  
 (Counsel of Record)

VALERIE C. WEST  
 Staff Counsel, Partisan Defense Committee  
 299 Broadway  
 New York, New York 10007  
 (212) 732-8271

**WORKERS VANGUARD**

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon  
 EDITOR: Jan Norden  
 PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner  
 CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bonnie Brodie, Jon Brule, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 431 26 June 1987

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# Goetz Gets Off

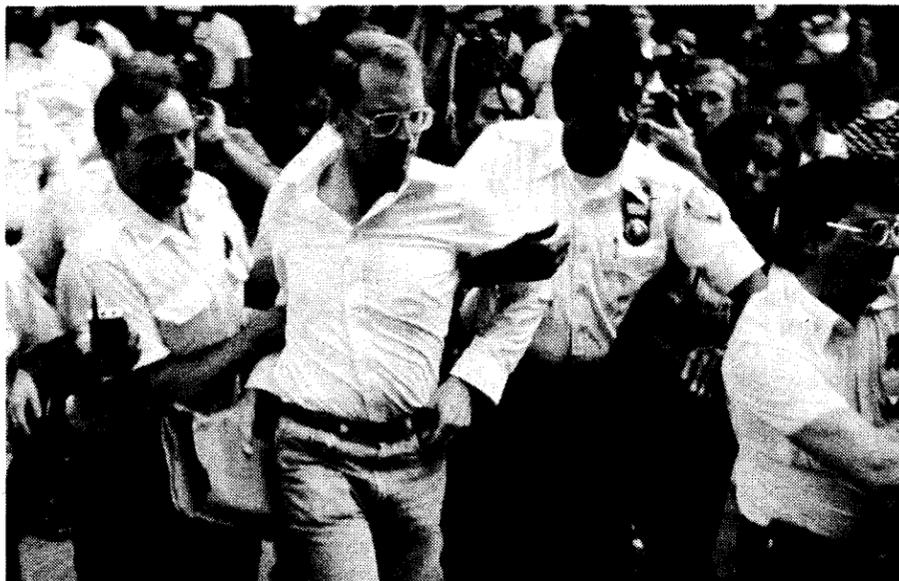
When Bernhard Goetz shot four black teenagers who were shaking him down on the IRT No. 2 express train in December 1984, it echoed around the country. The skinny white electronics nerd was hailed and reviled as the "subway vigilante." On June 16 a New York City jury found Goetz "not guilty" on four counts of attempted murder, four counts of assault, and one of reckless endangerment. The jury did convict him on a gun rap, a felony which carries a maximum sentence of seven years.

In the course of the seven-week trial, what actually happened in subway car No. 7657 was pretty clear. There's no doubt Goetz was in the process of being mugged: virtually every one of the youths admitted it, saying Goetz looked "soft" and was "easy bait." At the same time, Goetz reacted with qualitatively excessive force. After shooting the four, he walked up to Darrell Cabey and shot him again, saying, "You seem to be all right, here's another." The bullet severed Cabey's spine, leaving him brain-damaged and paralyzed for life.

Racist mayor Koch, his black police chief Ward and the rest of the apparatus of repression, concerned above all to keep the monopoly of armed force in the hands of the capitalist state, warned against taking the decision as a "precedent." But in fact the jury passed judgment not only on Goetz but also on life in New York City. Six of the jurors—including two blacks and one Hispanic—had been robbed or mugged in the past, three of them in a subway. This wasn't a stacked court, just a cross section of New Yorkers.

Liberals and black Democrats denounced the verdict as a racist "open invitation to vigilantism." But black residents of the South Bronx Claremont Village housing project where the four teenagers lived had a different view. Eugene Mitchell, 34, said: "I think what Goetz did was done in self-defense. Those young guys terrorized people around here." Joyce Robinson, who's lived in the project for 18 years, commented:

"I don't see this as a racial thing. Robbery is a big problem up here.... If it were me in the same situation as Goetz,



Goetz rushed out of court by cops, Guardian Angels after verdict. Suriani/Photoreporters

I would have shot them too. This is self-preservation, sweetheart."

A letter to the *New York Times* (21 June) compared the Goetz trial to a highly publicized 1926 Detroit murder case with ugly racial overtones and the spectre of vigilantism. Attorney Clarence Darrow defended Henry Sweet saying, "Every man may act upon appearances as they seem to him. Every man may protect his own life." Yet in this case, the defendant was a black man defending his brother's home against a lynch mob. The all-white jury acquitted Sweet.

With an individual facing a mob or a mugger, the right of self-defense is posed irrespective of color. But this is a racist, violent society. A Russell Baker column (*New York Times*, 20 June) caught the contradiction. Subway riders are subjected to violent assault, robberies, rapes, murders—and so you get a Bernhard Goetz. And "many black New Yorkers, in their first response to the Goetz verdict, said they feared it would encourage white vigilantes to go armed in the streets, making the normally dangerous life of young black men even more perilous."

Reactionary forces have tried to use this case to whip up a climate of vigilantism. Yet the term "subway

vigilante" which has been widely applied to Goetz is really a misnomer. When one is acting in self-defense, even excessively, that is not vigilantism. Vigilantes are self-appointed police acting (supposedly) on behalf of others, like Charles Bronson in the movie *Death Wish*. The Goetz case evokes deep passions because the issue posed is fear for self, for one's life and human dignity, not for one's possessions. It's not the standard contract where ethnically neutral criminals show you their weapons, you give them your valuables and they go away. It's suffused with race-hatred. And it's explosive in the tinderbox of New York, whether it's a skinny white guy who's a "mark" for black lumpen muggers or a young black worker facing a lynch mob of white ethnic punks in Howard Beach.

## For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!

In racist America, the spectre of vigilantism is a deadly threat to black people. It's all the more obscene that the vigilante groups riding the New York subways are largely made up of minority youth. Curtis Sliwa's Guardian Angels have tried to make Goetz a hero. Black demagogue Al Sharpton is anti-Goetz, yet like Sliwa's bands his "Disciples for Justice" are goon squads

acting as auxiliaries to the racist cops. Likewise, Sharpton's "anti-crack" vigilante spree against Arab storeowners in Harlem fan the flames of poisonous chauvinism.

Meanwhile, the liberals joined Koch & Co. in pushing gun control. As we wrote in "New York on the Edge" (*WV* No. 428, 15 May): "While the liberals and fake-radicals close their eyes to it, lumpen crime is an ugly reality in New York, particularly for black people—which is why there was substantial black support for Goetz." We insisted, *Gun control kills blacks*:

"We stand for the right of armed self-defense and actively defended black subway token clerk James Grimes who the Brooklyn D.A. and the TA [Transit Authority] tried to frame up for defending himself against a gang of muggers. To deny or ignore this fundamental right is to leave blacks utterly defenseless in the face of criminal and racist attacks and to push whites into the arms of the racist mobs."

Meanwhile, the biggest, most murderous racist mob of all is loose on the streets: the *New York police*. In Brooklyn on June 9, eyewitnesses saw a white cop shoot Eric Thomas in the head while he lay handcuffed on the ground. And in the Bronx on June 20, the cops executed a 29-year-old black man, Terrence Keane, for the capital "crime" of sideswiping a squad car. This wanton racist killing sparked outrage from hundreds of largely Caribbean black residents gathered along White Plains Road. As tires burned in the street, the cops threatened demonstrators: "A lot of you are going to die this summer!" This is no idle taunt coming from the armed racist killers in blue who murdered black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, then repeatedly mobilized, thousands strong, to make sure the triggerman, killer cop Sullivan, would walk.

The black and Hispanic minority populations of New York City are under siege today. The Spartacist League calls for mass labor/black defense against racist attacks. Following the lynch mob murder of black construction worker Michael Griffith in Howard Beach, Queens last December, the Committee for a Fighting Transport Workers Union called for integrated union defense guards to make the streets of New York safe for all working people and minorities. To unleash the power of labor requires a political break from the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism and forging a multiracial workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. ■

## Harlem Hospital Workers Protest Racist Atrocity

On June 11, some 250 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black, protested outside Harlem Hospital over a brutal police attack on a black doctor inside the hospital's X-ray lab! On June 1, Dr. James Gibson (holding megaphone) told white cop Dennis Carmody not to move or fingerprint a suspect who was being treated for a cerebral concussion. The cops did it anyway and when Gibson objected, Carmody whipped out his gun and shoved the doctor against a wall. In another case, police insisted on interrogating a stabbing victim before doctors and nurses had completed emergency treatment. If Koch's cops don't kill you on the street, now they come into the hospitals to finish the job.

The demonstration was called by the Coalition to Save Harlem Hospital and included officials and members of AFSCME Local 420 who work there as well as doctors and staff from Harlem Hospital, and others. Supporters of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense also participated carrying signs which read: "Stop Koch's Killer Kops!" "For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Racist Terror!" and "Break with the Democrats, Party of Racist Terror—Build a Workers Party!"



WV Photo

# Pat Buchanan's Little Brothers

# SWP Says: Let Nazi Butchers Live

Back in April a last-ditch campaign led by America's top cop Ed Meese failed to stop the deportation of Nazi war criminal and Estonian death camp commandant Karl Linnas to the Soviet Union. The unholy alliance to "save" this mass murderer from Soviet justice stretched from Meese and former White House propaganda chief Pat Buchanan to liberal Democrat Ramsey Clark and Amnesty International. Now there is a new member of this putrid anti-Soviet bloc—the Socialist Workers Party. The SWP opposes handing over Linnas to the USSR because he might be executed! Referring also to the SS "Butcher of Lyon," Klaus Barbie, an article in the SWP's *Militant* (12 June) by Ernest Harsch grotesquely declares, "Linnas, Barbie, and other war criminals like them are scapegoats." What a despicable outrage against all victims of fascist murder—these pseudo-"socialists" are acting as lawyers for the bloody perpetrators of the Nazi Holocaust!

Harsch was replying to a letter from a reader objecting to an earlier (22 May) *Militant* article on the death penalty which opposed Linnas' extradition as a "dangerous precedent." Because the

For Pat Buchanan, the now-departed Goebbels of the Reagan White House, such "accused war criminals" are just "innocent Americans" facing "irreparable injury and death" due to "revenge-obsessed Nazi hunters" (*New York Times*, 7 April). So those who would spearhead a fascist movement in the U.S. and civil libertarian social democrats "unite" in repulsive apologies for Nazi terror. In sharp contrast, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 427, 1 May) wrote of Linnas' deportation: "For our part, we wouldn't have been unhappy if a firing squad were waiting for this mass murderer as he stepped off the plane in Tallinn.... However the Soviets dispose of this heinous criminal, it will be too good for him."

As for Klaus Barbie, we called to "Avenge the Victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!"—the more than 10,000 Jews, Communists, Resistance fighters, the Gypsies, the children he tortured, ordered killed or deported to their death. Our headline declared starkly: "Kill Nazi Barbie!" Not least in our reasons for calling for death to Barbie is to deprive the mounting French fascist movement of a rallying point for racist



Ed Meese, Pat Buchanan defended Karl Linnas—SWP joins parade to belittle Nazi killer's crimes, claiming Linnas was a "scapegoat"!

willy-nilly oppose the expulsion from Bolivia of Klaus Barbie, who "advised" the U.S. in the murder of Che Guevara! They would have left Barbie there to continue the grisly work of his Einsatzkommando, the "Fiancés of Death." This puts the SWP sharply at odds with, among others, Castro's Cuba, which cheered the expulsion of Barbie. Instead they prefer the company of Linnas' lawyer, Ramsey Clark, LBJ's attorney general who ordered COINTELPRO and who today acts as PR man for the murderers of Grenadian leader Maurice Bishop. The Barnesites seem bent on giving new currency to the old Stalinist term "social-fascist." So as the insipid SWP is wont to say, where does Ernest "Pat Buchanan" Harsch go wrong on democratic rights for Hitler?

Harsch notes that the death penalty was abolished by the Sandinistas upon coming to power in Nicaragua in 1979, and adds: "No one, including the former National Guardsmen who murdered, tortured, and raped under the old Somoza dictatorship, can be sentenced to death." It's one thing to abolish the death penalty in a postrevolution legal code. But at the height of the insurrection that toppled the blood-drenched Somoza tyranny, the petty-bourgeois Sandinistas opposed mass demands to execute the sadistic butchers. The FSLN sought to prove their "generosity" to the bourgeois liberals by holding back the revolution. In addition to blocking revolutionary justice, they dissolved workers militias and kicked peasants off the estates of the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." So the Somozaist torturers high-tailed it across the border and soon these "contras" were murdering, raping and pillaging as before.

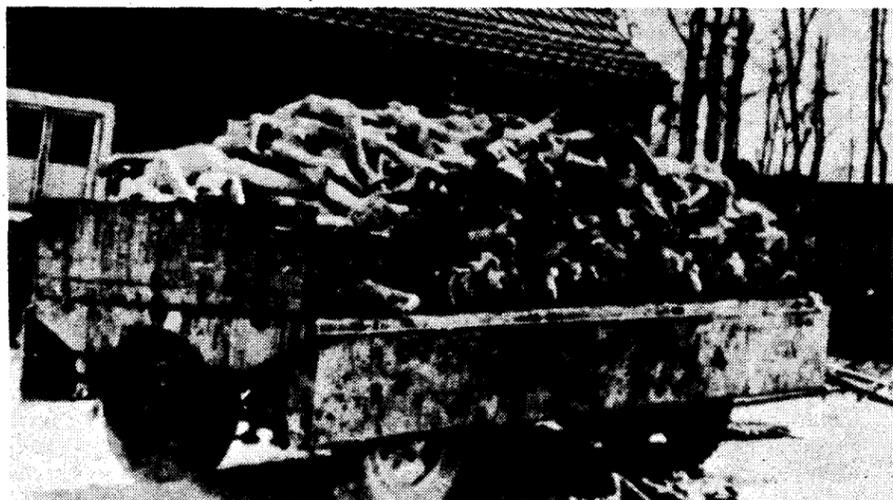
The SWP's craven defense of Nazi butchers from the firing squad goes to the heart of their quirky brand of social-democratic reformism. Barnes & Co. want to act as the salesmen for Castro/Sandinista-style Third World nationalist revolutions to the imperialist liberals. In the mid and late '60s, these "peaceful, legal" reformists policed anti-war marches, excluding the communists to keep the platform safe for the Democratic Party "doves" while LBJ was dropping bombs over Vietnam. Harsch's civil libertarian Amnesty International rhetoric is part of a political appeal to the liberals. And they're not just talking about a statute of limitations for genocide. Under the guise of a "debate," the SWP actually provides a platform for fascist KKK killers to incite racist murder. The Spartacist League, in contrast, like the Trotskyist SWP of the 1930s and '40s, has mobilized mass labor/black action to stop the lynchers. Marxists have always opposed the death penalty. Marx himself asked,

"what a state of society is that which knows of no better instrument for its own defense than the hangman, and which proclaims... its own brutality as eternal law?" ("On Capital Punishment," February 1853). When the Bolsheviks in 1917 led the first (and to date only) victorious proletarian revolution in history, they banned the death penalty in Russia. But they were also determined to defend the workers state, and in the face of a devastating civil war and intervention by 14 imperialist states, they used red terror against bloody counterrevolution. The Cheka (Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage) was set up and executions were reinstated as temporary measures. The death penalty became permanent under the Stalinist Thermidor as a bureaucratic caste usurped power and gutted the Bolsheviks' revolutionary program (see "Abolish the Death Penalty!" *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1977).

On the eve of the Russian October, in August 1917, the soldiers of the Second Machine Gun Regiment, part of the Petrograd garrison defending the city against Kornilovite counterrevolution, expressed themselves forcefully against the death penalty and for ruthless defense of the revolution in danger.

"We insist on the immediate arrest and trial of the counterrevolutionary commanding staff and the abolition of capital punishment, to become effective after the execution of General Kornilov and his supporters."  
—quoted in Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power* (1976)

As for Nazi butchers like Linnas, Barbie, Artukovic, Demjanjuk and their ilk, hauled out of their holes after decades of protection by U.S. imperialism; we say good riddance. These mass murderers should have been shot more than four decades ago by the workers tribunals of a victorious Europe-wide socialist revolution. ■



Yad Vashem

## Avenge the Victims of SS Butcher of Lyon!

# Kill Nazi Barbie!

MAY 21—For the past two weeks the trial of Nazi SS Butcher Klaus Barbie has raged in Lyon. As head of the Gestapo in Lyon from 1942 to 1944, Barbie was responsible for the murder of more than 10,000 Jews, Communists, Gypsies and others who were captured and killed on the spot, or shipped off to Hitler's death camps. After the war, he was tried by the U.S. as a Cold War spy, then was deported to "Karl Linnas" in Bolivia, where he set up death squads and concentration camps, according to the Bolivian official responsible for Barbie's capture. He was a key adviser to the CIA's master of Che Guevara. Although Barbie was brought to France in 1981, the Socialist Minister of Justice never brought him to trial.



SS Obersturmbannführer Klaus Barbie (left), chief of Lyon Gestapo, responsible for deaths of over 10,000 in that province. They publicly deplored French Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz in 1941 (above).

Victims of fascist genocide at Mauthausen death camp. Nazi mass murderers should have faced proletarian justice decades ago!

**WORKERS VANGUARD**  
29 May 1987

reader refers to "this Nazi butcher" and Meese's attempts to bundle him off to a South American dictatorship, Harsch accuses the letter writer of "focusing on Linnas' record as a Nazi war criminal"! So instead he should have focused on Linnas' activities as a Boy Scout leader? Harsch claims that Washington and other capitalist governments are "singling out individuals accused of committing mass murder more than 40 years ago to divert attention from the massacres and slaughters of today." Bunk. Washington and its allies helped these Nazi scum escape justice at the hands of the Red Army, used their "expertise" (from rockets to torture) in the anti-Soviet Cold War and have gone all out to protect these killers.

For Ernest Harsch, Nazi butchers like Linnas and Barbie are "scapegoats."

terror. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France wrote:

"As communists, we are opposed to the death penalty. But we know there are many justified executions following a bloody war. A court made up of their surviving victims should decide the fate of war criminals like Barbie. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, those tortured in Lyon, those who escaped the French and Russian villages he devastated, the Bolivians that his thugs tortured."  
—*Le Bolchévique*, May 1987

Or put another way: if nobody committed mass murder in World War II, then don't kill Linnas and Barbie.

The SWP says they want to be "consistent about opposition to all use of the death penalty," and oppose extraditing, deporting or expelling anyone to a country where they are under a death sentence. Thus Jack Barnes & Co.

## Preventive Detention: Guilty Until Proven Innocent

# Supreme Court Police-State Ruling

The police state yearned for by Attorney General Edwin Meese came a big step closer May 26 when the Supreme Court ruled that a person who has only been *accused* of a crime can be held in "preventive detention." All that's required is for a government prosecutor to convince a judge that the defendant represents a "danger to the community," and you're behind bars with no possibility of posting bail. Even as the patriotic hoopla over the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution was getting under way in Philadelphia, the Court's 6-to-3 decision erased one of the fundamental principles the Constitution supposedly protected—the presumption of innocence. And Meese already declared that suspects are *ipso facto* guilty: "If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." In Reagan's America, you can be jailed until proven innocent.

Two weeks after the Supreme Court's ruling, a federal advisory committee approved a major expansion of the National Crime Information Center's computerized files which would enable federal, state and local cops to track all those "under investigation," including people not charged with any crime. Various police agencies already send an average of 540,000 inquiries a day to the center's FBI-managed computers, getting a report in seconds. The advisory committee proposes a sweeping extension of domestic surveillance, creating an electronic "Big Brother" network with access to records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the passport office, IRS and more. Institutionalizing the frame-up principle, the feds would be given blanket authority to target *entire organizations*, including political groups. According to the *New York Times* (11 June), "The advisory committee said the national computer file should include the names of groups to which wanted persons were known to belong." The National Crime Information Center even wants to include the genetic characteristics of its subjects. The Nazis tattooed their victims; Big Brother in Washington wants your DNA embossed on your ID!

Chief Justice William Rehnquist's majority opinion upheld the Orwellian Bail Reform Act, passed, appropriately, in 1984, which provides for the denial of bail to certain defendants deemed to represent a threat to "the safety of any other person and the community." The decision reverses a U.S. Court of Appeals which struck down the law as unconstitutional in a case against Anthony Salerno, reputedly head of the Genovese crime family. The Supreme Court ruling has nothing to do with fighting crime. It's an American version of a South Africa-style "emergency powers" act designed for rounding up *any and all* opponents of the government. Rehnquist's ruling states:

"We have repeatedly held that the Government's regulatory interest in community safety can, in appropriate circumstances, outweigh an individual's liberty interest. For example, in times of war or insurrection, when society's interest is at its peak, the Government may detain individuals whom the Government believes to be dangerous."

The U.S. ruling class is regimentering this



Keza/Gamma-Liaison

**Blacks behind bars. Reagan/Rehnquist court decisions on death penalty, preventive detention: part of plans for racist police state.**



Der Spiegel

country for war and they're rubbing out the remaining vestiges of civil liberties which stand in the way.

In his dissenting opinion, Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote:

"This case brings before the Court for the first time a statute in which Congress declares that a person innocent of any crime may be jailed indefinitely, pending the trial of allegations which are legally presumed to be untrue.... Such statutes, consistent with the usages of tyranny and the excesses of what bitter experience teaches us to call the police state, have long been thought incompatible with the fundamental human rights protected by our Constitution.... [The] decision disregards basic principles of justice established centuries ago and enshrined beyond the reach of governmental interference in the Bill of Rights."

But as columnist Russell Baker quipped, "Talk in constitutional circles is that Justice Department types are saying Ed Meese should put Brennan and Marshall under preventive detention."

In Rehnquist's brave new world, pre-trial detention is merely "regulatory": "the mere fact that a person is detained does not inexorably lead to the conclusion that the Government has imposed punishment...." And what about the Constitution's insistence that "excessive bail shall not be required"? The chief justice answers: "This Clause, of course, says nothing about whether bail shall be available at all." The poor, the unemployed and minorities from whom excessive bail is demanded have *already* experienced "preventive detention" be-

cause they can't afford the price of freedom. The wealthy, however, are routinely released on their own recognizance.

### The RICO Conspiracy

The targeting of Anthony Salerno as a test case was no accident. In fact, this was the Justice Department's third try to have the draconian preventive detention law upheld by the Court, after previous attempts against a group of black radicals in New York and Puerto Rican independence fighters backfired. So who better to use to establish the "principle" of presumption of guilt than an alleged mobster? The feds want to use the Salerno case in their vendetta against the biggest union in the U.S., the Teamsters. Earlier this month, federal prosecutors in the Salerno trial presented the videotaped testimony of former Teamster president Roy Williams claiming that he had received money from Mafia leaders.

For our part, we believe that *everyone* is entitled to justice, including reputed gangsters. But they're not the government's real target (after all, some of the biggest drug traffickers and gun-runners in the U.S. are Reagan's contra buddies). What the feds want is a battery of repressive laws for use against the working class, minorities and the left. Preventive detention goes hand in hand with the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) dragnet which lets the G-men pick up whoever they want. The D.A. doesn't have

to convict you of a crime to get you on "conspiracy." "Patterns of racketeering activities" or alleged participation in a "criminal enterprise" is all they need. RICO and the Bail Reform Act let the government bankrupt the defendants (and thus cripple their legal defense) by seizing their assets as "proceeds of crime." So far the Marshals Service has poured about a half billion dollars in seized assets into government coffers.

Since the passage of the Bail Reform Act, some 4,800 people have been ordered held in preventive detention by the federal government. Thousands more are languishing in jail due to lack of funds or competent legal representation. Rehnquist claims that the period of detention is limited by the Speedy Trial Act to a maximum of 70 days. He lies—Salerno himself was held for 14 months without a trial. Rehnquist "explains" that the high court has "no view" as to when "detention in a particular case might become excessively prolonged, and therefore punitive." Now that the Supreme Court has spoken, the number of detainees will grow rapidly in federal and state pens alike. Twenty-four states already have their own preventive detention statute and that number, too, will now rapidly increase.

It all adds up to a sinister legal package of state repression. They can put you on Big Brother's computer on mere suspicion, pick you up without evidence for a crime that hasn't been committed, jail you without bail and then ensure that you can't afford to hire a lawyer by seizing your assets. In 1984 the Court allowed major exceptions to the "Miranda" law, justifying police interrogation of suspects without informing them of their legal rights. And it okayed evidence from warrantless searches if the cops claim they thought it was legal. Black people especially are in the government's cross hairs. In April the Supreme Court approved state-sanctioned murder of black people when it upheld capital punishment despite overwhelming evidence of racist bias. And last year the Court ruled that opponents of the death penalty can be excluded as jurors, ensuring a hanging jury.

A *New York Times* (28 May) editorial worried that with the new ruling, "tomorrow's prosecutor will find it easier to 'regulate' other defendants, who harbor unpopular ideas." *Tomorrow's* prosecutors? The feds have already used preventive detention at least twice against radicals. In October 1984, hundreds of agents of the FBI/NYPD "Joint Terrorist Task Force," armed with shotguns, machine guns and bazookas, raided the homes of radical black nationalists in Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan, framing them for



Anthony Salerno, held 14 months without trial.

"terrorist conspiracy." Under the provisions of the Bail Reform Act, passed a week before the raid, the "New York Eight" were held without bail until a judge determined they were not a "threat to the community." After months of intensive surveillance and dirty tricks, the government went to trial

*continued on page 11*

# South Korea...

(continued from page 1)

"the best thing...would be for the demonstrations, with their potential for violence, to stop and the dialog to resume"! The White House does not want to "jeopardize a smooth transition of power when [Chun] steps down," reported the *New York Times* (16 June). The military dictators who inhabit Seoul's presidential palace are U.S. creatures and have been since 1945. For over four decades South Korea has been a front line in the anti-Soviet Cold War. Indeed, U.S. imperialism's first major war against the Sino-Soviet states, between 1950 and 1953, was fought on this peninsula, a war which killed 3 million Koreans out of a population of 30 million.

Ever since, the U.S. troops stationed in South Korea have helped police this bloody police state. Shortly after Chun came to power in a 1980 military coup, he consolidated his rule by massacring hundreds to crush an insurrection in the city of Kwangju. In that battle, students and workers battled a full army division and seized military vehicles.



**Protesters hauled away in police vans for demanding freedom for bourgeois opposition leader Kim Dae Jung.**

ious and middle-class, looks to Washington for support. Its most prominent leaders are the "two Kims"—Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam—both mainline bourgeois politicians who recently founded the Reunification Democratic Party. Such is the hatred for the generals' rule that Kim Dae Jung almost won

cos. Kim remarked last year: "We need strong government to effectively control the military and to have a strong defense posture against the North Korea threat."

Aligned with the two Kims are Roman Catholic cardinal Kim Sou Hwan and other Christian religious organizations. Their base, particularly the Catholics, is an upwardly mobile professional elite which chafes under military rule. The shock troops of the opposition are the university students, numbering 1.2 million in a population of 41 million. Largely children of the middle classes, the students are the future administrators and technocrats of Korean capitalism. But while the Kims and the cardinal court the U.S. State Department and Congressional Democrats, the students chant "Yankee Go Home!" along with "Down with the Dictatorship!" To force the 40,000 U.S. troops out and bring down the military dictatorship will require a workers revolution. And workers revolution in the South also poses a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist-ruled North Korean bureaucratically deformed workers state.

## The Two Koreas—Offspring of the Cold War

From 1910 to the end of World War II Korea suffered under the savage colonial regime of Japanese imperialism, comparable to the Nazi occupation of Eastern Europe. In 1945, in order to get the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan, the U.S. imperialists agreed at Potsdam and Yalta to let the Red Army occupy the northern half of Korea down to the 38th parallel while the U.S. would get the south. On 8 August 1945, the Red Army moved in, bringing along the Communist-led guerrilla detachments who had been fighting the Japanese in Manchuria (and many of whom had been integrated into the Red Army during World War II). Among them was Kim Il Sung, the Stalinist ruler of North Korea. But after

pressuring Moscow to attack Japan, Truman dropped A-bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in large part as a warning to the Soviets.

In the South, mass demonstrations were organized to greet the Americans as liberators of Korea from Japanese imperialism. The U.S. colonial administration under General Hodge used Japanese troops and police to shoot down these demonstrators. That was a taste of what the Koreans could expect under U.S. imperialism. Syngman Rhee, a nonentity who had been living in exile in the U.S. for decades, was brought back and imposed as U.S. puppet.

While Stalin and the North Korean regime basically accepted the artificial division at the 38th parallel, the U.S. never did and transformed the divided peninsula into a principal battleground of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Far East. The victory of Mao's Red Army in the Chinese civil war, smashing Chiang Kai-shek and overturning landlord/capitalist rule, infuriated the imperialists. Particularly after the recriminations over "who lost China," Washington sought to "roll back Communism" to the borders of the Soviet Union. When the North Korean army responded to U.S. provocations by crossing the border on 25 June 1950, the puppet South Korean army collapsed with mass desertions.

Rhee's forces along with the U.S. contingent were driven back to Pusan on the southern coast in weeks before American troops massively intervened. Truman declared a "police action," which meant he didn't ask Congress for a declaration of war. Under General Douglas MacArthur (one of Ronald Reagan's heroes), U.S. forces (barely disguised under the UN flag) drove to and across the Chinese border on the Yalu River. However, the Chinese counter-attack drove the imperialists back to the 38th parallel. While Truman nixed MacArthur's plans to nuke Manchuria and sow a radioactive belt of cobalt across the peninsula, the use of nuclear weapons was held back only because Russia by then had the bomb.

Today the 40,000-man U.S. contingent is formally described as a "trip wire" in case of North Korean attack; in fact it is the forward position of the U.S. anti-Soviet war machine in the northern Pacific. According to the Soviet publication *New Times* (15 June) the U.S. in South Korea has "beaten all records for saturation with nuclear weapons, of which there are more than a thousand units. There is one per less than 100 square kilometers of South Korean territory." The peninsula is a trip wire... for World War III.

## From Rice Bowl to Industrial Dynamo

South Korea has been transformed in a historically short time from an overwhelmingly agrarian society to an



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**July 1953: Cheering North Korean POWs return home. Korean War frustrated Washington's anti-Soviet drive for world domination.**

The Special Forces troops which carried out the massacre were released from duty along the Demilitarized Zone with North Korea and replaced by U.S. troops. So it was quite appropriate that the butcher Chun was the first foreign head of state to visit the Reagan White House in January 1981. But the U.S. role in the Kwangju massacre has powerfully fueled anti-American feeling among the Korean masses.

The liberal opposition, heavily relig-

a rigged election in 1970 against Park Chung Hee even under conditions of virtual military dictatorship. Under Chun, Kim was sentenced to death, then reprieved as a favor to the U.S., and now lives under chronic house arrest in Seoul. During several years in exile in the U.S., Kim Dae Jung hobnobbed with the liberal Democrats who sponsored exiled Philippine patrician Benigno Aquino before he returned to Manila and was assassinated by Mar-

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**Worker-student protesters captured army vehicles in 1980 Kwangju-uprising.**

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industrial, largely urban country—albeit a poor one, with one-eighth the per capita income of Japan or the U.S. In 1930, 95 percent of the population in southern Korea was rural. The Japanese built up industry in the north under conditions of virtual slave labor. In 1940, factory and mine workers numbered 300,000. Today there are 13 million workers in the South, over 3 million in industry, concentrated in large modern auto, steel and shipbuilding factories. In 1986 South Korea registered its first-ever trade surplus of \$4.5 billion, mostly exports to the U.S.

South Korea's "economic miracle" rests on state-sponsored private monopolies, the *chaebols*—like Daewoo, owner of the world's largest textile mills in Pusan—which have made a handful of Koreans filthy rich. Seventy percent of the national economy is in the hands of just six companies. At the same time, South Korea is a major sphere of exploitation by American and Japanese capital. In fact, South Korea may well have the highest rate of exploitation of any relatively industrialized country. Industrial workers average 54-hour weeks with no overtime and get paid, on average, 43 percent less than the cost of subsistence living. The big plants are run like military camps. Unions have been effectively banned except for a



Asiaweek

**South Korea's growing industrial proletariat key to smashing military dictatorship, forging revolutionary unity with North Korean workers and peasants.**

ness; universal medical care; a national system of education and childcare.

### Militarism and Reaction

Given the intensity of the social contradictions, to maintain their rule the South Korean capitalists probably need bonapartism, and that means the army. It's no accident that the South Korean government has been a sequence of one



KOTRA

counterrevolution worldwide. No doubt many in the bourgeois opposition in Seoul dream of a Cory Aquino solution: chants of "people power" are heard in the streets. We don't know much about South Korea. But one thing is clear: "people power" sure won't work, and Reagan is not about to put Chun on a plane for Hawaii. Unlike the Philippines, there exists in South Korea

perspective in that half-country that does not also look northward across the DMZ. Everybody in Korea seems to be for "reunification." The generals dream of doing it through counterrevolution in the North. The opposition pays lip service to reunification as a national goal standing "above ideology." Nationalist students see the ouster of the U.S. as the precondition for claiming the heritage of a united nation. The North Korean bureaucracy proposes utopian schemes for a federated unity, while it opposes workers revolution in the South. Reunification will occur on only one of two counterposed paths: counterrevolutionary war on a short road to worldwide nuclear oblivion, or revolutionary reunification through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North.

The nationalism of the courageous Korean student youth reflects the strong influence on events of Korea's position between China and Japan, two major powers with a colonialist history. Japanese revolutionists have a special duty to oppose the Japanese bourgeoisie's racist, imperialist contempt for and exploitation of the Koreans—including the Korean minority within Japan itself—in order to forge revolutionary unity of Korean and Japanese workers. Only through the Trotskyist program of *proletarian internationalism* will socialism triumph in Korea. U.S. out of Korea! For military defense of the USSR, North Korea and the other deformed workers states! For revolutionary reunification of Korea! For Trotskyist parties in Korea, North and South! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■



UPI

**Reagan at the DMZ sets sights on war with Soviet Union. U.S. dirty war against Vietnam used South Korean troops, here tormenting captured Vietnamese woman in 1966.**



no credit

government-run "labor" federation.

Recently some illegal independent unions have arisen. Militant workers face the cops, gangs of company thugs known as "soccer teams," and a computerized blacklist jointly run by the Ministry of Labor, the bosses and the KCIA secret police. Nevertheless, on occasion the tinder explodes in defiant struggle, and it has happened more frequently over the past few years. In April 1985, thousands of auto workers seized the Daewoo Motors plant; two months later, thousands of women workers picketed with students at the Kuro textile factory in Seoul. Last May Day thousands of industrial workers in Inchon, protesting working conditions, confronted riot police with clubs and iron bars.

Stalinist-ruled North Korea under the other "two Kims"—Kim Il Sung and his son and anointed heir, Kim Chong Il—seems to be in a time capsule. With its planned economy, the North successfully industrialized long before the South, which for instance did not surpass the North in steel production until 1975, despite having twice the population, and despite the strain on the North of maintaining a 700,000-man army to guard against the imperialist/puppet forces on the other side of the DMZ. North Korea produces all its own weapons—but the technology in the factories is 25 years old or more. Kim Il Sung maintains a "cult of personality" that Stalin could envy, and pursues an isolationist policy of "self-reliance," *juche*, the Kim Il Sung version of "socialism" in half a country. Yet the social gains of the revolution are impressive: no starvation or homeless-

dictatorship after another. Syngman Rhee was brought down by mass student demonstrations in 1968 and fled to Hawaii. An elected government was overthrown nine months later by the army coup which brought Park Chung Hee to power. The KCIA blew Park away as he wined and dined during street demonstrations in October 1979. Chun came out on top in infighting among the generals that followed (with the help of his buddy Roh, who called in his Ninth Infantry at a critical point).

The South Korean army was begun in the 1940s with cadres trained by the Japanese officer corps, graduates of the Japanese-run military academies—i.e., they were puppet troops, the collaborators in a ruthless colonial repression. During the Korean War there was a vast anti-Communist expansion of the army, and in the Vietnam War they rented two divisions to the U.S. These South Korean troops had the highest kill rate of any units in the field in South Vietnam. Chun and Roh served together in Vietnam. This regime is also intimately tied in with an international network of counterrevolutionary terror. The sinister Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon is a creature of the KCIA. The Moonies organize not only glassy-eyed cultists but also Latin American death squads. And Korean Air Lines—also closely tied to the KCIA—was used in Reagan's KAL 007 provocation in which over 200 innocent passengers were killed in a spy mission over vital Soviet military installations in the Far East.

We would like very much to see this regime shattered: it is a sinister force for

a large and powerful industrial working class which can be held in check only by the army. If the current upheavals stop short of a workers revolution, there will be nothing to replace the bloody military regime with. Washington's butchers will simply become more brutal and repressive.

The monstrous police state that is South Korea is a product of the Cold War, and there can be no revolutionary

**JUST OUT!**

**Spartacist**  
English Edition

No. 40  
Summer 1987  
(48 pages)

\$ .75

(Spartacist is sent to all WV subscribers.)

Make checks payable/mail to:  
Spartacist  
Publishing Co.  
Box 1377 GPO  
New York, NY  
10116

**SPARTACIST** 4  
NUMBER 40 ENGLISH EDITION SUMMER 1987 75 CENTS/50 PENCE

**HONOR**  
**BOLSHEVIK LEADERS**  
LENIN, LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG  
PAGE 4

**For International Class-Struggle Defense!**  
PAGE 2

**The American Question at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International**  
PAGE 20

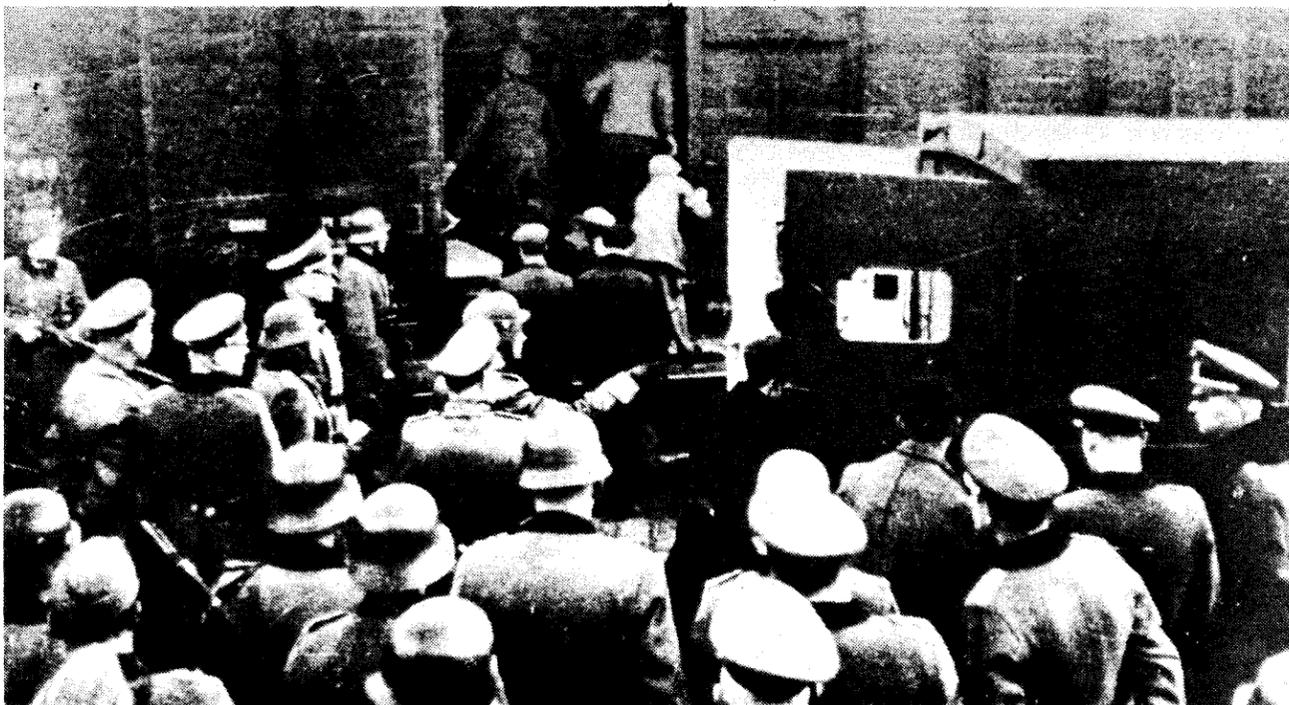
**Revolution and Counterrevolution in Bolivia**  
Reply to G. Lora, Parrot of Nationalism  
PAGE 29

**Gore Vidal: Bad Boy of the Bourgeoisie**  
PAGE 48

# From Pétain to Le Pen



Keystone Canada



Bundesarchiv Koblenz

Leaders of Nazi-collaborationist Vichy dictatorship (above left), Marshal Pétain and President Laval. Deportation of Jews (above right) from Marseille to Nazi death camps. More than 75,000 French Jews were deported, only 2,500 survived.

Adapted from *Le Bolchévick* No. 73, May 1987, newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

On May 11 the trial of the Nazi torturer Klaus Barbie opened in Lyon, where he was head of the Gestapo from 1942 to 1944. Many of those who succeeded in escaping with their lives from the clutches of the "Butcher of Lyon" have since died, but his surviving victims are still waiting, more than 40 years later, for justice to be done.

They haven't forgotten the sadist who tortured resisters and hostages with bestial ferocity in the cellars of the Montluc prison and the Ecole de Santé Militaire on the Avenue Berthelot. They haven't forgotten the SS *Obersturmführer* who personally took charge of the slaughter or deportation of hundreds of defenseless civilians and the carnage of whole villages in the countryside around Ain between February and April of 1944. They haven't forgotten the Jews who were sent to a hideous death, such as the 44 children rounded up in the village of Izieu on 6 April 1944 by Barbie's men and their French accomplices of the militia and shipped off to the ovens of Auschwitz.

Barbie was a fanatical Nazi, a member of the Gestapo beginning in 1935, and has many other crimes on his head. In 1940, in Amsterdam, he took on the persecution and deportation of the Jews with a savage zeal. During the German offensive against the USSR in 1941, he was transferred to a Gestapo unit which sowed terror in the wake of the Wehrmacht advance. And after the war, having fled to Bolivia with the help of the American secret services for which he worked from 1947 to 1950, he continued his fascist activities on behalf of

## French Fascism and the Holocaust

that country's oligarchy, and was made a colonel in the Bolivian secret service.

### Vergès' Sinister Role

Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Vergès, plans to use all the unpunished crimes committed by French imperialism, both under Vichy as well as during the dirty colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, to demand that the fascist butcher he is defending be acquitted. In other words, Vergès is demanding amnesty for *all* torturers! In his book *For the Fedayin*, Vergès had already characterized the Jerusalem trial of Nazi war criminal Eichmann as a "parody." Under cover of a pseudo "anti-imperialism" and a fake "anti-Zionism" which smacks of anti-Semitism, Vergès tried to "relativize" the horror of the Holocaust, the methodical, organized, cold-blooded extermination of six million men, women and children. This genocide is the ultimate horror of capitalist barbarism—which does not diminish the

atrocities of other crimes committed by capitalism: the victorious proletariat will avenge them *all*.

When Barbie was deported to France and arrived in Lyon in 1983, the daughter of a deportee (who herself had been sent to the Drancy camp at the age of five) was arrested in possession of a loaded rifle. It's really too bad that she didn't succeed (unlike Scholem Schwartzbard, a Jewish anarchist who, in 1926, executed the Ukrainian hetman Petliura, who had been responsible for pogroms during the Russian civil war; Schwartzbard was acquitted during a famous trial). For there can be no doubt: Barbie deserves to die.

As communists, we are opposed to the death penalty. But we know there are many justified executions following a bloody war. A court made up of their surviving victims should decide the fate of war criminals like Barbie. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, those tortured in Lyon, those who escaped the French and Russian villages he devastated, the Bolivians that his thugs tortured. But the French bourgeois state and its courts are quite incapable of this elementary act of justice. Since 1983 successive governments have dragged out preparations for the Barbie trial for four years (he is now 74). And now that it is finally beginning, the French bourgeoisie is visibly nervous.

For the Barbie trial could well bring to the surface the history of collaboration by the French bourgeoisie and its state with the Nazis, and its active participation in the extermination of the Jews. This would seriously endanger the Gaullist myth that all the crimes of the Vichy regime were simply the result of its systematic capitulation to German *diktats*—a myth which is also an article of faith in the French Communist Party (PCF), since it constitutes one of the

principal justifications for the PCF's popular-front alliance with the bourgeois "Resistance" against Pétain's "anti-national" regime. We are asked to believe that when it persecuted the Jews, Vichy was only giving in to Hitler's demands. Nothing could be more false.

### French Anti-Semitism in Power

In the conclusion to their noteworthy study *Vichy France and the Jews*, which scrupulously documents the anti-Jewish persecutions practiced under Pétain, historians Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton write:

"It is striking with what alacrity the Vichy regime, enjoying more popular support at the beginning than had most preceding French governments, deliberately adopted an anti-Jewish policy after the defeat of 1940. We hope there is no longer any possible confusion about the German role in launching that policy. We can find no trace of German attempts to extend their own anti-Jewish policy to the Unoccupied Zone in the summer of 1940; at the beginning, they envisaged France as a dumping ground for their own refugees. Vichy anti-Jewish policy was thus not only autonomous from German policy; it was a rival to it. Vichy struggled with the occupying authority in an attempt to assert its own sovereignty in anti-Jewish matters, and to keep the advantages of property confiscations and refugee control for itself."

At the end of the 1930s, the French bourgeoisie, haunted by the 1936 strikes, was defeatist toward Nazi Germany, an attitude which was summed up well in the famous phrase "Better Hitler than the Popular Front." But the Blitzkrieg defeat and collapse of the army in May-June 1940 conjured up for the bourgeoisie the threatening spectre of the Paris Commune, the outcome of their last military defeat. Frightened and traumatized, the bourgeoisie surrendered all power to the chiefs of staff in the person of Marshal Pétain, the "victor of Verdun" and more especially the man who drowned in blood the mutinies in the trenches in 1917.

The Nazis didn't object to letting Pétain have the means to "maintain order." In fact, Hitler didn't have the slightest intention of Nazifying France. He only wanted to neutralize it militarily and keep the economy trim in order to finance his upcoming war against the USSR. The 1940 armistice was therefore a deal (unequal, to be sure) between two imperialist powers: French imperialism would be militarily disarmed on the mainland and would place its industry and state apparatus at the service of the Nazi war machine, but at the same time it would be granted

*continued on page 10*



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Tallandier, Paris

French fascists take to the streets in the '30s (left). Anti-Semitic propaganda poster of the 1940s.

# The American Connection



Time  
James Jesus Angleton and Gen. "Wild Bill" Donovan in Rome 1945, architects of OSS "Rat Line" to funnel Nazi war criminals out of Europe.

## SS-U.S. Rat Line



World Publishing  
General Gehlen reviewing WW II Nazi puppet troops of "Russian Liberation Army." U.S. took over Gehlen group to use as West German spy network.

In its second month, the "trial" of Klaus Barbie, the Nazi Gestapo chief in Lyon, France during World War II, settled into a ritual. The state presented witness after witness of Barbie's bestial crimes against humanity, his roundup of 44 Jewish children from their refuge in Izieu to send them to the gas chambers, the extermination of Resistance fighters in pre-dawn "night and fog" operations, how the SS *Hauptsturmführer* personally tortured hundreds. The criminal himself is absent: he doesn't feel like facing the anguished survivors of his reign of terror, and the state is not eager to have Barbie, the face of modern barbarism, smirking over the hall. They already delayed the trial for more than four years, fearing his threats to put his prosecutors on trial for the widespread

Bolivia." There the "American connection" ended, they claim, an "excess" of the Cold War as long gone as the Vichy regime in France. But, as Claude Julien noted in *Le Monde Diplomatique* (May 1987), the Lyon trial is not just a "history lesson": "The collapse of the Hitlerite regime didn't put an end to the practices of the Gestapo. The brown plague simply contaminated other parts of the world.... it's impossible to judge the crimes of yesterday while ignoring the crimes of today."

Nazi monsters who kept one step ahead of the Red Army found safe haven in the American zone of occupied postwar Germany. Their techniques of genocide and commitment to smash Communism were a marketable asset in the "Free World." As we noted in 1983 when Barbie was at last expelled

them for 'service in imperialism's anti-Soviet spy agencies and anti-Soviet war drive.

### Anti-Communist Barbie: From SS to OSS

And this policy continues to this day as the CIA "networks" aging Nazis with mercenary contra scum from Nicaragua to Angola. The fascist death squads of Latin America who brutally tortured and murdered tens of thousands were organized and trained in Gestapo methods under the direction of the CIA, sometimes with the direct participation of SS bombers like Barbie. These death squads, especially the Argentine, were used in turn by the CIA to train the contras. One of the spoils of American imperialism's victory in World War II has been the wholesale nazification of South America's police and military as well as the widespread formation and deployment of fascist terror squads to augment the repressive apparatus of the state.

It was the Soviet Red Army that defeated Hitler's Reich, planting the hammer and sickle flag over the Reichstag on 1 May 1945. From the Truman White House and Pentagon on down, American rulers were obsessed with the "threat" of a "Communist takeover" of Germany. The U.S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps hired Barbie as an informer specializing in penetration of the German Communist Party (KPD) and intelligence operations in the French occupation zone, a hotbed of KPD activity. Index cards on Barbie, apparently drawn up by the Allied High Command before the war ended, described him as "very cruel," his "brutal character hidden under a jovial exterior." He was listed by the War Crimes Commission as early as 1945 and by the Central Registry of War Criminals in 1947 as "profoundly anti-Communist" and "a Nazi idealist."

The orders came from the top. "Denazification" was replaced by *renazification*. In his very belated "exposé," Dabringhaus tells how "we had received a directive from higher headquarters to the effect that after June, 1948, we were to turn our attention from former Nazis to the communists" (*Klaus Barbie* [1984]). General George Patton himself proposed that rather than disarming the SS divisions in his zone of command, they should be included in his army so he could "lead them against the Reds." When complaints from the Soviets

about footdragging in disarming the Nazis were conveyed to Patton by a U.S. official, he snapped: "What do you care what those goddam Bolshies think? We're going to fight them sooner or later. Why not now while our army is intact and we can kick the Red Army back into Russia? We can do it with my Germans.... They hate those Red bastards" (*New Times* [Moscow], March 1983). From defeated Japan, General MacArthur was proposing the same thing.

The Third Reich's "Russia experts" became the red squad for "Wild Bill" Donovan's OSS (Office of Strategic Services), forerunner of the CIA. In 1948, this policy was codified in National Security Council Directive 10/2. An "Office of Policy Coordination" was set up to recruit secret armies among East European Nazi collaborators, to be dropped into the Soviet bloc for sabotage activities. The U.S. took over General Reinhard Gehlen's infamous "Foreign Armies East" Wehrmacht counterespionage group which was instrumental in the deaths of over one million Jews on the Eastern Front. Renamed the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*, Gehlen's gang became the official spy and counterspy service of the new West German state, under close CIA supervision. The OSS escape hatch for the SS was the rule, not the exception. Over 30 Nazis ended up as instructors at the U.S. Army's Intelligence School. Others, like *Einsatzgruppen* Major Buchardt and SS General Franz Six, who headed Himmler's special staff to liquidate

continued on page 12



Wide World  
Reagan honors Nazi SS at Bitburg cemetery, May 1985, in preparation for nuclear Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union.

and enthusiastic collaboration of the French bourgeoisie with the Nazi Holocaust. Now they're staging a judicial proceeding which is a grotesque mockery of justice. Meanwhile, the fascist gangs of Le Pen are rampaging from Marseille to Lyon and Paris.

America's rulers, too, are nervous about the Barbie "trial." The *New York Times Magazine* (10 May) wrote: "a key element in the Barbie case—though one that will scarcely surface during the trial—is the American involvement with Barbie at the close of the war, itself the principal reason it has taken almost 44 years to bring the 'Butcher of Lyons' to justice. For Barbie was recruited as an agent by the United States Army Counter Intelligence Corps in 1947, and worked for the C.I.C. until 1951, when Americans arranged his escape to

from Bolivia and turned over to the French:

"...Barbie along with thousands of Nazis were enlisted as 'freedom fighters' in the U.S. Cold War apparatus. Thus Klaus Barbie is only one—and not even the worst one—of a large number of Nazi beneficiaries of the anti-Soviet crusade which periodically raises the bloodstained banner of 'human rights.' It is because Klaus Barbie is another 'human rights' Nazi that it is such a sticky mess for the imperialist bourgeoisies. It exposes again the CIA's Nazi network, the widespread Nazi collaboration by the French bourgeoisie, and the barbarous purposes of imperialism from Bonn to La Paz."

—"Klaus Barbie: From Gestapo to CIA," *WV* No. 324, 25 February 1983

Barbie was no rare exception but one of thousands of Nazi war criminals rescued by the U.S. government, many of



Tom Bower  
Klaus Barbie (right) with his U.S. Army Counter Intelligence controller Herbert Bechtold in Augsburg, West Germany after the war.

# French Fascism...

(continued from page 8)

broad latitude to apply its own reactionary policy, including in the zone occupied by the Wehrmacht in the north. Vichy no longer had an army, but it still had at its disposal the rest of the state apparatus, in particular police forces whose strength soon numbered 100,000.

On 3 November 1940 the Vichy government promulgated a "Statut des Juifs" (anti-Jewish laws) which provided the legal basis for transforming the Jews into pariahs. These laws closed a series of professions to Jews, in particular civil service and teaching (a Jew being defined as "any person with three grandparents of the Jewish race [sic] or two grandparents of said race, if the spouse is also Jewish," a definition broader than that used by the Nazis at the time), and instituted a system of quotas for the other professions. On November 4 a law authorized prefects to "intern in special camps" "foreign citizens of the Jewish race."

## The Statut des Juifs and "Aryanization"

Bourgeois opinion applauded these racist laws and "legal" specialists produced sage commentaries on their elegance. The eminent expert on cohabitation, Maurice Duverger, then a rising young jurist and former member of Doriot's fascist Parti Populaire Français (PPF), explained the link between

significant incident. On 22 October 1940, 6,504 German Jews were deported to Lyon in sealed trains. Vichy immediately swamped the German authorities with a flood of protests against this "violation of the armistice."

"As for the wretched occupants of the trains, they suffered as both French and Germans competed in inhumanity. After being shuttled back and forth in their sealed wagons while French and German authorities wrangled, these German Jews were finally deposited on 25 October in the French internment camp at Gurs, in the Pyrenees. When the cattle cars were unsealed at Pau, some of them contained dead bodies. At Gurs, more Jews died of cold, malnourishment, tuberculosis, and other diseases before the survivors were ultimately deported to the east in 1942 and 1943."

## Vichy and the Final Solution

Vichy and Nazi anti-Semitism returned to a parallel course in 1942, when the Nazis had decided on and organized the Holocaust. Vichy was enthusiastic over the fact that the Germans had now decided to definitively get rid of all Jews, and French imperialism didn't hesitate to place its state apparatus at the service of the SS killing machine. Even more abominable, the French government insisted that children under 16 be deported, which the Nazis at first didn't want to do.

In all, more than 75,000 Jews were deported from French territory (whether under German occupation or not), of which only 2,500 escaped death. The overwhelming majority of them had been identified, put on lists and arrested by the French administration and police, and then collected in the French



Le Pen and his fascist National Front march through Paris. Mitterrand's popular front paved the way for current wave of fascist terror against French and immigrant workers.

the "authoritarian" nature of the Pétain regime and the anti-Jewish laws as follows in the distinguished *Revue du Droit Public*: "This new regime is also deeply national: it is mounting a very clear reaction against the cosmopolitanism inspired by the philosophy of the eighteenth century. This national character explains notably the measures taken to exclude Jews and naturalized citizens from public functions."

Vichy's anti-Jewish laws were immediately zealously applied. The purge of the officer corps, the police, the judiciary, teachers and higher civil servants, was carried out in record time. The liberal professions enthusiastically applied the quotas which allowed good "Aryans" to take over the positions and clients of their Jewish colleagues. And the capitalists couldn't wait to get their hands on Jewish-owned businesses.

This "Aryanization" of the economy provoked considerable friction with the Germans over the question of whether the Germans or bourgeois Frenchmen would get to rob the Jews in the Occupied Zone. The anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis and Vichy came into even more serious conflict over the question of deportation of Jews to France. In 1940 and 1941, Hitler had not yet given the order for the massive extermination of the Jews. He was trying to deport as many as possible from the territory which was to form the Thousand Year Reich, and the Unoccupied Zone of a vanquished France seemed to him an ideal place to ship them to. Paxton and Marrus relate a particularly tragic and

concentration camp at Drancy (in the northern suburbs of Paris) before being dumped into cattle cars by French policemen and sent off to the Nazi death factories. Three thousand died of hunger and illness at Drancy, which was guarded by the French police. In December 1941 an official French report stated:

"Those who have not with their own eyes seen some of those released from Drancy can only have a faint idea of the wretched state of internees in this camp which is unique in history. It is said that the notorious camp of Dachau is nothing in comparison with Drancy."

## French Fascism

Why did anti-Semitism occupy such an important place in Vichy's reactionary program?

In 1940, France was no longer—and hadn't been for some time!—the country which liberated the Jews from feudal oppression and whose Napoleonic armies had literally blown away the gates to the ghettos all over Europe. Under the double shock of the Paris Commune and its defeat by Bismarck, the nationalism of the French bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie had hardened into a xenophobic and revanchist nationalism. This transformation presaged the coming of the imperialist epoch—an epoch of "reaction across the board," as Lenin said—in which decaying capitalism brutally reversed the process of Jewish assimilation.

The majority of Pétainist leaders were members or sympathizers of Action Française, a powerful clerical and roy-

1936 French general strike: Trotsky called for transforming workers Committees of Action (right) into revolutionary soviets. CP Stalinists sacrificed fight for workers power on altar of popular front.



alist movement founded by Charles Maurras in 1898 and forged, at the time of the Dreyfus affair, in the fight against Jews and the radical and anticlerical Third Republic. Anti-Semitism and anti-parliamentarism henceforth constituted the two inseparable pillars of the ideology of the French far right. Of course, after 1917 diehard anti-communism was added to it. A good idea of what this meant is encapsulated in this formulation from an "Appeal to the Workers," published by Action Française in 1924: "Twelve Jewish capitalists founded *L'Humanité*, German gold made possible the Russian Revolution, which was carried out by German Jews, Bronstein, called Trotsky, etc."

The world capitalist crisis of 1929 hit France, bringing with it massive unemployment and ruining whole layers of the petty bourgeoisie. From that point on, parliamentarism was doomed, as was the Third Republic and its mainstays such as the bourgeois Radical-Socialist Party.

By 1934, the fascists had already grown considerably and were organized into "leagues" which were mass organizations. The biggest of them, Colonel de la Rocque's *Croix de Feu* ("Fiery Cross"), had several hundred thousand members. But there were many others which were more virulent, though not as big: the *Camelots du Roi* (the militia of Action Française), the *Jeunesses Patriotes*, the "Franquists," etc. On 6 February 1934, they took the offensive: 40,000 of them launched an assault on parliament, confronting the police in a pitched battle which resulted in 16 dead and 600 wounded. The next day, the president of the Council of Ministers, the Radical Daladier (the prime minister), resigned in favor of a reactionary, Doumergue. The big bourgeoisie, which had financed and armed the fascist gangs, used them to issue a warning

to its Radical parliamentary servants at no cost to themselves and imposed a bonapartist government more in line with its wishes.

## Popular Front Paved the Way for Reaction

The political crisis had entered an acute phase, opening up a prerevolutionary situation. The working class did not remain inactive, and its struggles manifested its desire to take on the bourgeoisie and its fascist thugs. But to be victorious, this battle could only be a fight for power: "Above all the tasks and partial demands of our epoch there stands the QUESTION OF POWER. Since February 6, 1934, the question of power has been openly posed as a question of armed force" (Trotsky, "Once Again, Whither France?"). Organizing the political general strike and workers militias, crushing the fascist gangs—those were the immediate tasks of the hour.

The proletariat was not wanting in revolutionary energy. It proved it resoundingly with the May-June 1936 general strike, which shook the foundation of bourgeois domination. What it lacked was a revolutionary leadership. The Stalinist and social-democratic (SFIO) leaders of the French working class were only reformists who intended to "fight fascism" by forming a political bloc with the Radical party—the Popular Front. The bourgeoisie succeeded in turning back the working-class offensive in '36 by briefly entrusting power to a class-collaborationist government which came out of this alliance, led by the Socialist Léon Blum—with the active support of the leaders of the PCF, who stayed out of the government in order to avoid frightening the Radicals. Once the threat had passed, the bourgeoisie abruptly dismissed its "socialist" lackeys in 1938.

After the bloodletting of 1914-18, France was a country to emigrate to, and a number of Jews from Eastern Europe had moved there, especially to the Paris region. Trotsky viewed this immigration as a powerful factor for the regeneration of the French working-class organizations, which were based on a limited working-class aristocracy that left the masses of less privileged layers to one side:

"Sixty thousand Jewish workers in Paris is a great force.... Since the foreign workers represent in their greatest majority the lower layers of the country's proletariat, they are thereby close to, tied to, and share the same fate as the bottom layers of the native proletariat, which remains, however, most distant from the official organizations. The foreign workers are of a different mind, just because they are foreign; of an emigrant spirit, more mobile, more receptive to revolutionary ideas. That is why in the foreign workers, commu-



French captain Alfred Dreyfus, victim of vicious anti-Semitic frame-up in 1890s.

# Police-State Ruling...

(continued from page 5)

with a 66-count indictment that alleged not one violent crime. Fortunately, the jury threw out the "conspiracy" charges in August 1985.

The feds are still holding two Puerto Rican *independentistas* without bail on frame-up charges after a series of Gestapo-like pre-dawn raids in San Juan on 30 August 1985. Using a Wells Fargo holdup in Hartford, Connecticut as the pretext, an army of FBI agents with shotguns and automatic weapons broke into more than 30 homes. Seven defendants were given outrageous bails of up to \$1 million, but the judge (citing the Bail Reform Act) denied defense motions for release of nine others who remained in jail for over a year. In May 1986 a federal appeals court ruled that preventive detention on grounds of "danger to the community" was unconstitutional, but the judge again denied bail, citing new "evidence." After the appeals court ordered reasonable bail conditions set, four more were released. But Juan Segara and Filiberto Ojeda have been kept locked up for 20 months without bail, the longest pre-trial detention in the history of the federal courts.

## Anti-Soviet War Drive and Police-State Terror

With prisons jammed to the point of explosion and beyond, the government has even bigger plans to deal with opponents—concentration camps. A civil suit against leading Contragaters, filed last year by the Christic Institute, revealed that Reagan and Meese have plans to round up 400,000 Hispanic "illegal aliens" into concentration camps in the event of a U.S. invasion of Central America. Meanwhile, an Immigration and Naturalization Service "contingency plan" calls for rounding

**U.S. concentration camps: 120,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned in camps like Manzanar during World War II. New camps are waiting for Hispanics, Palestinians, other targets of U.S. war drive.**



up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. (The first arrests came in February, when seven Palestinians and a Kenyan were seized in Los Angeles on trumped-up "terrorism" charges.) This is hardly new. During World War II, 120,000 Japanese Americans were locked up in barbed-wire concentration camps and their property confiscated. At the same time 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters were jailed for opposing the imperialist war.

Today the corollary of the anti-Soviet war drive is escalating police-state terror. That is the meaning of Reagan's war on labor starting with the destruction of PATCO, and the bloody massacre of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia where eleven black people were deliberately *burned alive* by the cops and FBI. It is a bipartisan campaign. Preventive detention was part of a broad, election-year "anti-crime" package strongly backed by liberal Democrats like Ted Kennedy and passed 95 to 1 in the Senate, 406 to 16 in the House. For years, liberal darling Ted Kennedy tried to

shove through an omnibus criminal code, "S-1," which was defeated amid outcries of protest by civil libertarians. Now the feds have incorporated the essence of Kennedy's bill, amended to the Reagan "ethic" which equates political dissent with organized crime.

Reagan, Meese & Co. are installing an entire legal program of preventive counterrevolution. In addition to the death penalty and preventive detention, they have ABSCAM-style "stings" to snare troublesome Congressmen and the all-purpose RICO conspiracy laws. For radicals they're dusting off the sedition laws as in the case of the "Ohio Seven"; for blacks and Hispanics in the ghettos, the cops shoot first and ask questions later.

In Reagan's America you had better know what it means to be on the state's hit list. In the '60s and '70s, the FBI's COINTELPRO program gunned down scores of Black Panther Party militants and jailed those who survived. Panther militant Geronimo Pratt has been locked up in San Quentin for 17 years,

framed up by the California "justice" system then headed by Edwin Meese. Under Nixon, top cop John Mitchell announced that the myriad "subversives" pickup lists had been consolidated into one "administrative index" (ADEX), targeted for "special attention" by the FBI. Among the half dozen left groups listed was the Spartacist League. In 1983 we sued the FBI over its witchhunting "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines," forcing the FBI to drop its definition of the SL which falsely attributed to us a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government, and recognize us as the Marxist political organization we are.

This was an important legal victory for everyone on the government's enemies list. Such victories can buy some time. But to stop the Meese police and their insane nuclear war plans requires nothing less than a victorious socialist revolution to put this deadly dangerous, racist, capitalist system out of its agony. ■

nism has and can have the perspective of a mighty instrument for penetrating the deepest layers of the French working class."

—"Letter to *Klorkeit* and to the Jewish Workers in France" (May 1930)

These foreign Jewish workers, often communists or socialists, were perfect scapegoats for the fascists. In the early 1930s, with the economic crisis and the arrival of a new wave of refugees fleeing dictatorships and persecution in Eastern Europe and in Nazi Germany, and with the revolutionary danger, anti-Semitic xenophobia went far beyond its fascist audience and infested bourgeois opinion, which loudly demanded increasingly noxious anti-immigrant measures. In 1934, the forcible deportation of illegal aliens was authorized and more than 3,000 were deported in the first four months of 1935.

During the period of the Blum government there was a brief respite in the escalating repression, due not so much to the good will of the Socialist and Radical ministers of the Popular Front (who were careful not to repeal the hateful existing anti-immigrant legislation) as to the fact that the mobilization and combativity of the working class kept the reactionaries at bay. But persecution increased when Daladier succeeded Blum as prime minister. In May and November 1938 the Daladier government promulgated two anti-foreigner decrees granting the Minister of the Interior the power to deport, intern or imprison Jewish refugees judged to be undesirable, and to withdraw French citizenship from immigrants who had already been naturalized. Tens of thousands of refugees, including many Jews, were soon crammed into concentration camps. After the declaration of war, German Jews were interned in camps en masse as... citizens of an enemy power.

After the declaration of war against Germany in September 1939, the bonapartist character of the regime became

even more pronounced. The PCF was banned and its militants were subjected to fierce repression. After the defeat in May-June 1940, parliamentarism fell like an overripe fruit. In fact, it had been so discredited that the bourgeoisie saw no use in continuing to camouflage the dictatorship of the chiefs of staff and the bureaucratic clique behind the papier-mâché backdrop of the Third Republic. On 9 July 1940, by a huge majority of 569 votes to 80 with 17 abstentions, the Popular Front chamber of deputies (elected in 1936, and from which the PCF deputies had been expelled in 1939) turned full power, including constitutional power, over to Marshal Pétain. The majority of Socialist deputies voted "yes." The Republic fell without lifting a finger, and Pétain baptized the new regime simply the "French State."

## From Pétain to De Gaulle

There is no doubt whatsoever that the bourgeois class was virtually unanimous in standing behind Pétain and his clerical-reactionary program. It was only after 1942-43, when the Red Army began to repulse Hitler's forces and the Nazis' defeat became inevitable, that a non-negligible faction of the bourgeoisie suddenly discovered that it was "resisting" and rallied to de Gaulle, switching alliances at the last minute to enable France to be in the victors' camp in 1944.

Since the bourgeoisie and its state was up to its neck in Nazi atrocities, nothing short of an overthrow of the bourgeois state by a workers revolution could have inflicted on the auxiliaries of Nazi barbarism the punishment they deserved. The collapse of the Vichy regime and the insurrectional situation which prevailed in many places gave rise to a prerevolutionary crisis in which the working class could certainly have overthrown a bourgeoisie whose power was hanging by a thread. But to do that

a mass revolutionary party would have been needed, and the French Trotskyists—victims of savage repression by the Nazis, the Vichy police and Stalinist hitmen—were much too weak to carry out this task, although they stressed its urgency. As opposed to such a policy, the reformist PCF had already subordinated itself to the "Gaullist" faction of the bourgeoisie in order to salvage and consolidate the bourgeois state apparatus which had been serving Pétain and Hitler so loyally.

## Vengeance for the Victims of French Imperialism

Under these conditions, the "purges" ultimately spared the bourgeoisie and its state apparatus. Most of Vichy's cops, prefects, judges and ranking civil servants, who had merely zealously "served the state" by hunting down Jews, communists and supporters of the Resistance, got off free by taking shelter behind de Gaulle and the rare bourgeois who joined the Resistance from the beginning (among whom there were fewer anti-fascist democrats than dyed-in-the-wool anti-"Kraut" reactionaries). Thus a Maurice Papon, secretary of the Gironde Prefecture from 1941 to 1944, who was in charge of "Jewish questions" and directly responsible for deporting 1,700 Jews, was not only left alone at the "Liberation," but in August 1944 was named director of the Cabinet of the new prefect. This "respectable servant of the state," who subsequently became a Gaullist deputy and then a minister in the last Giscard government, served French imperialism as the organizer of colonial repression in Algeria from 1954 to 1956. Named prefect of police in Paris in 1958, he ferociously carried out the anti-FLN (Algerian National Liberation Front) repression and organized the police massacre of hundreds of defenseless Algerian demonstrators in the streets of Paris on 17 October 1961.

We Marxists seek justice on behalf of the victims of the Massus, Papons, Barbies, on behalf of all victims of imperialist barbarism. Obviously the trial of Barbie by French "justice" will be nothing but a sinister farce (including Vergès' scandalous defense of this Nazi). If the French state today were to send Barbie to live out his days in the French equivalent of Spandau prison (where the Nazi Rudolf Hess is incarcerated), it would not even be a half measure of justice. Justice will be had only when the socialist revolution ends the power of the bourgeoisie and finally, once and for all, sweeps fascist terror from the face of the earth.

[In writing this article, we have mainly used two reference works: *Klaus Barbie, Butcher of Lyons*, by Tom Bower, and *Vichy France and the Jews*, by Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton.] ■

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# SS-U.S. Rat Line...

(continued from page 9)

Soviet leaders, became key advisers to the U.S. during the Korean War.

In addition to espionage, the State Department and Pentagon placed a high priority on smuggling Nazi war criminal scientists into the U.S. to augment the technical capabilities of the imperialist war machine. Code-named "Operation Paperclip," over 1,500 Nazis "disappeared" as nameless cargo on aircraft waybills and boarded planes bound for the U.S. Among those "paperclipped" into the country were SS officers like Wernher von Braun and Arthur Rudolph, who used slave labor to produce Germany's V-1 and V-2 rockets and were swiftly employed by NASA and corporate military contractors. A handwritten notation on Rudolph's original "qualification form" for Paperclip reads "100% NAZI, dangerous type, security threat...!! Suggest internment" (*Nation*, 7 June 1986). Instead, he helped design the Pershing missile, then went to NASA, and in 1964 was awarded the presidential "Distinguished Service Medal." Two decades later, after his record as a Nazi slave-labor driver surfaced, Rudolph left for West Germany to avoid denaturalization hearings.

If they could have gotten away with it, the CIA would doubtless have imported the infamous Joseph Mengele as well. As one writer observed, "How could NASA not be interested in Mengele's meticulous notes on how long it takes a naked human being to freeze to death or burn to death, his research on organ transplants and skin grafts?" (*L.A. Weekly*, 15-21 February 1985).

## The Rat Line: Shuttling Fascists from Reich to Junta

Those Nazis whose profiles were too high for the U.S. to keep in anti-Soviet espionage in Europe were smuggled to Latin America on the infamous "Rat

springboard for the careers of future cloak-and-dagger big shots like James Jesus Angleton, then OSS chief of operations in Italy.

Barbie went down the Rat Line in 1951, when the U.S. could no longer stonewall on repeated French requests for his arrest. Paris knew where Barbie was all along—in fact they interrogated him four times while he was in CIC custody! But the U.S. would never allow Barbie's extradition to France, fearing an international scandal over how they had used him in spying in the French zone of occupied Germany. Barbie "vanished" under the auspices of John McCloy, the State Department's High Commissioner for Germany, who previously oversaw the detention of thousands of Japanese Americans in concentration camps after Pearl Harbor and commuted the sentences of scores of Nazi war criminals convicted at Nuremberg. In one of the more grotesque twists of the American "cleanup" of Barbie, the OSS gave him the pseudonym "Altmann," after the chief rabbi from Barbie's hometown, Trier. The real Altmann fled to Holland, where Klaus Barbie was working with Eichmann's IV Department. Like so many other Amsterdam Jews, Altmann was deported and perished in Auschwitz.

Nazi butcher Barbie was shipped to Bolivia, where he became part of a South American "diaspora of torturers." Paraguay got Mengele. Chile got Walter Rauff, the man who invented the "Black Raven" mobile gas chambers used by the *Einsatzkommandos* to asphyxiate hundreds of thousands of East European Jews. These professional killers did not "retire" to putter around their gardens, occasionally attending secretive ODESSA meetings of aging SS men barely able to raise their arms in a stiff-armed salute. Rauff later helped set up Pinochet's DINA secret police. Barbie remained an unrepentant Nazi war criminal, an ace in the hole for the CIA and right-wing Latin American dictatorships and a mortal danger to the international proletariat. So certain was Barbie's faith in his American and Bolivian guardian



Barbie helped plan capture, torture and murder of heroic Che Guevara by CIA/NSA in Bolivia, 1967.

American intelligence services, and then openly collaborating with the successive Bolivian dictatorships. Here he was an adviser in torture and assassination. In this regard, he had certain important political leaders executed, such as the Socialist leader Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz" (quoted in *El Periodista* [Buenos Aires], 6 March).

Barbie's work for U.S. spy agencies was far from over when he went down the Rat Line in '51. He furnished the CIA with intelligence through the Bolivian Ministry of the Interior (once, according to CIA records, offering the names of every KGB agent in the region). Most dramatically, in 1967 Barbie advised the CIA and its big brother the NSA (National Security Agency) in tracking down and exterminating the heroic leftist guerrilla Ernesto (Che) Guevara. Magnust Linklater, Isabel Hilton and Neal Ascherson document this in their excellent book, *The Nazi Legacy* (1984):

"The work for which Barbie was being considered would have suited him ideally. His connections in Bolivia and his anti-Communism would have equipped him well for the fight against Ché Guevara's guerrillas. The US army was clearly tempted to take him on; but it was, interestingly, the CIA, conscious of the potential for bad publicity which Altmann's past offered, who were eventually to dissuade them from employing him directly. On April 5, 1967 the CIA held a meeting in Washington with army intelligence to discuss the agency's findings and to seek an assessment of the merits and demerits of using him."

Gustavo Sánchez, in his recent book *Barbie: criminal hasta el fin*, is categorical, stating Barbie played a key advisory role in the U.S.-orchestrated capture/torture/murder of Guevara (*Toronto Globe and Mail*, 13 May).

The Company's employment of Barbie's "talents" was not limited to his new Andean Fatherland. According to Linklater et al., "a CIA report shows that the agency approved a meeting, organized by Barbie in 1977 in the tropical Yungas region of Bolivia, between representatives of the Chilean and Bolivian intelligence services.... the discussion centered around coordination between the two services, and the promotion of Condor," a "mutual aid" pact between right-wing regimes in Latin America, "promoted by the US to unify their anti-subversion activities." Operation Condor was no mere "information exchange." This international Murder Inc., the brain child of Pinochet's DINA, organized the 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier, a former Allende cabinet minister blown up on Embassy Row in Washington, D.C., and the attempted murder of Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton on a Rome street in 1980. An in-depth study of the fascist World Anti-Communist League (WACL), *Inside the League* (1986), by

Scott and Jon Lee Anderson, reports:

"Phase Three, according to a top-secret 1979 report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee... involves the formation of special teams from member countries assigned to travel anywhere in the world to non-member countries to carry out "sanctions"—including assassination—against Condor enemies."

But Klaus Altmann-Barbie went into high gear around the Bolivian "cocaine coup" of 1980, so named because its leaders, Colonels García Meza and Arce Gómez, were the godfathers of Bolivia's narcotics traffickers. In the late '70s, he put together with other expatriate fascists and Bolivian cutthroats and murderers the "Fiancés of Death," initially a hit squad for the drug kingpins. Barbie drew up military plans for a putsch (code-named *Amapole*, for the poppy flower) in a 145-page document that included economic plans for a New Order parceling out Bolivia's resources between the U.S. and Argentina. Financing was provided by Korean anti-Communist cult leader Sun Myung Moon and his CAUSA front group, which "offered 4 million dollars to the 1980 putschists" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, February 1985). Barbie's Argentine "Condor" allies provided death squads trained in the "dirty war" which assassinated and "disappeared" tens of thousands after the 1976 Videla coup. And in one of the bloodiest coups in Bolivian history, hundreds of leftists and labor leaders were gunned down, blown up or dispatched to jungle concentration camps.

## Fascist Torture: Made in the USA

We have documented various of Barbie's bizarre Bolivian escapades. At one point he founded a "shipping" company, the Transmaritima, as part of a grandiose scam by the Barrientos dictatorship (1971-78) to soak the population to buy a warship for landlocked Bolivia (see "Who Protected Nazi Butcher in Bolivia," *WV* No. 330, 20 May 1983). He also acted as "an agent for sales of Israeli weapons to the Bolivian regimes," according to a letter by Israel Shahak (see "Klaus Barbie: The Israeli Connection," *WV* No. 334, 15 July 1983). In return, facing an international arms boycott after the 1967 war, Israel contracted a \$50 million deal with Barbie whereby a shipment of Belgian and Swiss arms, ostensibly destined for Bolivia, was diverted to Israel on the high seas. This operation was in conjunction with army chief of staff Ovando Candia, the future Bolivian representative of the WACL. But the activities of the transplanted Nazis and fascist killers flourished in Latin America above all because of the patronage of the USA:

"They brought, too, the technologies of repression, from the old world to the



Nazi German scientists Wernher von Braun (above left) and Arthur Rudolph, who launched U.S. rocket program, used slave labor from Hitler's death camps in WW II.



Florea/Life

Line," organized by the CIC in 1946 to "save" Allied agents who found themselves behind the "Iron Curtain." Forged documents got them as far as Salzburg, Austria in the American zone; from there they went by train in the company of American escorts to Italy. There they were taken in hand by the Croatian priest Krunoslav Draganovic, a former "ecclesiastical adviser" to the quisling Ustashi regime, Nazi puppets who murdered over two million Serbs, Gypsies and other ethnic minorities before Tito's Communist partisans smashed these Balkan fascists. Draganovic, who had the patronage of the Vatican, provided the "rats" with Red Cross passports, which they used to board Latin America-bound ships in Naples and Genova. The Rat Line was a

angels that he had his subscription to *Newsweek* addressed to: "Klaus Altmann-Barbie, SS Hauptsturmführer" and delivered to a cafe in La Paz where he led chants of "Heil Hitler!" and rounds of Nazi war songs.

## Bolivia: The "Fiancés of Death"

The fleeing Nazis dreamed of establishing a new Reich in the Southern Cone. This corresponded neatly to the U.S.' desire to "stabilize" the region. Gustavo Sánchez Salazar, the former vice interior minister who expelled Barbie from Bolivia in 1983, recently commented: "I would like for the trial opening in France to highlight something essential: that Barbie continued to act as a Nazi the whole time after the war. First under the protection of the

# Army of Strikebreakers Targets Canadian Postal Workers

TORONTO, June 20—"It was terror, sheer terror," said one Canadian postal worker describing a bloody police riot against Toronto pickets of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). In the late hours of June 18, mounted cops backed by a phalanx of riot-equipped police charged picket lines at the main postal installation. Clubbed and beaten, strikers were described as "running for their lives," chased at a full gallop by the bosses' strikebreaking cossacks. Militants who tried to stop a scab truck from getting across the line were brutally attacked, rounded up and thrown in jail overnight on charges of "obstructing" a "peace" officer. Twenty picketers were arrested, including several members of the inside postal workers union, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW).

For months the Canada Post Corporation, and behind it the Canadian government, has been preparing for all-out war to bust the postal unions. An army of scabs was trained, thousands of security cops hired and a sinister outfit of ex-RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) agents recruited for "covert" operations against "union troublemakers." This is part of a nationwide union-busting offensive. In British Columbia, following a one-day "stayaway" strike on June 1 the bourgeois press ran headlines screaming "Sedition!" and "Conspiracy!" In going after the postal unions Reagan's junior partners in Ottawa are trying for their PATCO. And they thought they would have an easy win over the LCUC, traditionally considered the "moderate" postal union thanks to a leadership that has spent years conciliating the bosses.

But the postal management got more than they bargained for. On June 16, the LCUC started a series of "rotating" strikes across the country. Despite the union leaders' attempts to head off any militancy through limited strike action, when and where they went out the ranks built and defended pickets that drove potential strikebreakers away in fear. In



Postal striker in Sydney, Nova Scotia mauled by cop.

Canadian Press

Toronto 1,200 LCUC members surrounded the main postal installation chanting, "No scabs tonight or ever!" In Montreal flying picket squads removed scabs and their security cop "protectors" from postal stations. CUPW members joined the lines despite a despicable scabbing deal made by the LCUC/CUPW national leaderships agreeing to take down the picket lines to allow inside workers to go to work.

Unionists across Canada see in the postal workers' battle a chance to wage a real nationwide offensive against the givebacks, strikebreaking and union-

busting. In British Columbia, where organized labor is locked in a life-and-death battle for its very existence with the far-right Social Credit government, woodworkers joined the picket lines. In Toronto, bus drivers from the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union refused to drive scabs across the lines. When these workers were suspended, the union called a meeting to take strike action in their defense, forcing the transit bosses to back off.

Not only the government and its capitalist masters were scared that this strike could spark a nationwide labor

explosion. Their labor lieutenants were quaking, desperately looking for a way to head it off. Canadian Labour Congress president Shirley Carr appealed to Conservative prime minister Brian Mulroney to "resolve" the strike. As we go to press LCUC national president Robert McGarry is welcoming Canada Post's offer of a government-appointed "mediator." McGarry, who sat as a director on the Canada Post board of directors until early this year, is openly known as a company cop. But CUPW national president Jean-Claude Parrot, the supposed "militant" union leader, is ordering his members to scab.

The only "illegal" strike is one that loses. In 1965 it was an "illegal" letter carriers strike that won the right to strike for all government workers. Today the labor fakers are abetting the drive to hack up the unions by their cowardly legalism and racism. With their protectionist poison the labor misleaders have fed anti-immigrant hysteria and escalating racist terror against minorities. Postal management capitalized on this by recruiting desperate Tamil and Haitian refugees as strikebreakers in Montreal. Reportedly Montreal picketers carried racist placards and taunted scabs with racial slurs. This kind of disgusting crap has no place on a picket line! A fight by the union movement to defend the rights of and organize their foreign-born class brothers and sisters would strike a powerful blow against the bosses' racist union-busting.

The LCUC strike shows the potential for igniting some hard class struggle, from the militant Québécois workers to the combative B.C. proletariat. But labor is being handcuffed by the traitors in the leadership of the union movement. And the response to the strike from the right-wing social democrats of the New Democratic Party, Canadian labor's supposed "political arm," is to say that they wouldn't rule out voting for back-to-work legislation! In 1978 the government trashed the militant CUPW strike with strikebreaking legislation, RCMP raids on union offices and the arrest of union leaders. Postal workers must understand: any major labor struggle will become a political battle immediately posing the need for a class-struggle leadership and a revolutionary workers party that can unite all of labor and the oppressed in struggle against the bosses and their state. ■

new: Barbie introduced the fully-developed concentration camp to Bolivia, and lectured on the use of electrodes applied to the human body to extract confessions, a technique first developed by Gestapo investigators in France. Together with the Italian terrorist, Stefano delle Chiaie, he organized the squads of mercenary thugs which held down Bolivia by murder and intimidation, and which are seen performing the same task in El Salvador today.

"Not only the Bolivian dictatorship but General Pinochet in Chile, the officers who directed the 'dirty war' in Argentina in the 1970s, and today's exponents of counter-terror in Central America have drawn deeply on the skills and services of this very special immigration from Europe."

—The Nazi Legacy

This was not some Reaganite plot, but long predates the Iran/Contra conspiracy. In fact, the "Black International" terrorists were continuing the work of liberal Democrat John F. Kennedy, whose "Alliance for Progress" sent "advisers" from its Office of Public Safety (OPS) around Latin America as well as to other U.S. allies to train local police forces. Greek director Costa-Gavras dramatized this export of torture in his film *State of Siege*, the tale of how Dan Mitrione, former police chief of Richmond, Indiana, went to Montevideo to train the Uruguayan police for a dirty war against the Tupamaro urban guerrillas—and was then executed. The story of the OPS is told in A.J.



In Bolivia Klaus Barbie organized death squads led by fascist émigré henchmen.

Langguth's *Hidden Terrors* (1978), which documents how terror techniques were disseminated by the U.S. Hundreds of Latin American cops were sent to the International Police Academy in Washington, from which a select number would go on to the Border Patrol Academy in Los Fresnos, Texas for a special "Technical Investigations

Course" to study plastique bombs and assassination weapons.

The instruments of torture were supplied by the CIA's Technical Services Division and transported throughout Latin America via the U.S. embassy's diplomatic pouch. Soon the terror techniques took on a chilling sameness from the Santiago stadium to the naval engineering school in Buenos Aires to the body dumps in San Salvador. No wonder—they came from the same source. The Salvadoran death squads were the outgrowth of the ORDEN paramilitary squads set up by intelligence chief Colonel Medrano with the aid of the CIA under the cover of AID's Public Safety Program (Michael McClintock, *The American Connection*, Vol. 1: "State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador" [1985]). Death squad chief Roberto D'Aubuisson, a cashiered security agency officer, had worked with Italian terrorist Delle Chiaie in El Salvador, and joined him at the 1980 WACL congress in Buenos Aires. Barbie, with benefit of a Bolivian diplomatic passport, entered the U.S. several times and visited the huge U.S. paramilitary and counterinsurgency training center in Fort Meade, Indiana.

The fascist networks, death squads and international right-wing and terrorist organizations are all part of today's "contra international," supported and financed by U.S. imperial-

ism in its bloody campaign to roll back the gains of social revolution from Hanoi to Cuba to Moscow. Contragate luminary General John Singlaub unites these terrorists in his World Anti-Communist League, praised as "freedom fighters" by President Reagan. And the OSS Rat Line provided a living link for U.S. imperialism to the Nazi scum of the earth. In fact, the Nicaraguan contras have borrowed the tactics of the Croatian fascist Pavelic who once said, "A good Ustase is one who can use his knife to cut a child from the womb of its mother" (*The Nazi Legacy*). The horrifying crimes of Reagan's contras are an integral part of the same anti-Soviet war drive to which U.S. imperialism recruited Klaus Barbie and hundreds of his ilk.

The bombing of Philly MOVE, coming just days after Reagan's "Sieg Heil" to the Waffen SS at Bitburg in May 1985, bore a chilling resemblance to some of the crimes of Barbie. It was and is a searing reminder that the *main enemy is at home*. As we have noted before ("U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Only victorious workers revolution will sweep the fascist murderers from the face of the earth and prevent a future holocaust which is even now being prepared using the services of the technicians and executioners of the last one." ■

# Teamsters...

(continued from page 1)

the same time the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) is going into national negotiations with United Parcel Service and on the Master Freight Agreement, which enables the union to shut down trucking coast to coast. After the Teamsters, Reagan's mob has its eyes on the International Longshoremen's Association, the Laborers Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders union. They want to return to the days when all unions were treated as "criminal conspiracies." Reagan wants to "finish the job" on labor he began with the mass firing of 14,000 air controllers. But the destruction of the PATCO union was made possible by the treacherous stab in the back from the rest of labor officialdom who refused to shut down the airports. Now more than ever, organized labor must mobilize its power against this attack on the Teamsters by the capitalist state. Government's dirty hands off the unions!

## "Take the Word Justice Out of Justice Department"

The Meese mob is ripe for RICO. As Teamster attorney John Climaco said on ABC's *Nightline* (10 June), "The Justice Department should be concerned about cleaning its own skirts." According to the *Los Angeles Times* (10 June), "the lawsuit would include 'misfeasance' charges against Teamster leaders for their alleged failure to root out internal corruption." Look who's talking! The "sleaze factor" extends throughout the Reagan administration, where just about everyone is milking the government under the guise of privatization. Over 100 of the president's men have been charged with lying, cheating, stealing and other chicanery. Meanwhile, the government systematically breaks its own laws: the Environmental Protection Agency suspends hazardous-waste regulations, Health and Human Services drops thousands from the Social Security disability rolls, and "Justice" rips up civil rights legislation.

The feds' idea of law and order comes straight from Al Capone. The Justice Department used a "sting" operation to entrap auto executive John DeLorean and destroy his family. After a Detroit jury rejected RICO charges against him in December, DeLorean is filing suit charging that government agents committed 41 separate felonies in their repeated attempts to frame him: "They obstructed justice by fabricating false evidence. They tried to plant narcotics in my attorney's car... They backdated documents. They threatened witnesses. They even threatened my attorney in court during the trial" (*New York Post*, 4 April).

Then there's the money launderers, drug traffickers and gunrunners working out of the White House basement. As word leaked out about Oliver North's operations, the Justice Department repeatedly squelched investigations. In May 1986 they stopped an attempt to impanel a grand jury to look into illegal contra arms shipments from Fort Lauderdale, Florida. In October, after U.S. mercenary Hasenfus was shot down in Nicaragua, they called off an investigation of Southern Air (a "former" CIA proprietary). And when the Iran/Contra scandal was breaking in November, the Criminal Division was kept out of the "investigation," allowing North & Co. to shred incriminating files (*Village Voice*, 21 April).

Meanwhile, the FBI is up to its old COINTELPRO tricks, running a Salvadoran informer, Frank Varelli, in Dallas who infiltrated the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, aided FBI break-ins to CISPES' Dallas offices, helped compile "terrorist files" on almost 700 people (including two U.S. Senators, a House member and a former ambassador), and then



Union power in action: Teamsters blocked Philly streets, stopped scabs in 1983 Greyhound strike.

traveled to El Salvador to turn this "intelligence" over to the death squads.

Meese is in a class by himself. He is such a crook that his nomination for attorney general was held up almost a year by Congress investigating his financial chicanery. The attorney general has attempted to protect the "imperial presidency" by declaring that special prosecutors are unconstitutional. At the same time he keeps appointing special prosecutors because nobody trusts the crooked Justice Department to investigate its own. The latest case is the Wedtech Corporation (described by a grand jury as a "criminal racketeering enterprise"), where Meese is under investigation for peddling his influence to win government contracts for the South Bronx military contractor. Wedtech paid Meese crony Robert Wallach more than \$1 million (including \$100,000 which reportedly went for Wallach's expenses in defending Meese during his confirmation hearings as attorney general).

In setting the stage for the Justice Department's attempt to take over the Teamsters, Meese's Organized Crime Commission argued: "The systematic use of trusteeships by the courts may be necessary to prevent organized crime from continuing to do business as usual" (*New York Times*, 11 June)! Usually when the government imposes a trusteeship there is at least the pretense of something minimally reputable about the "trustees." But the kind of "trustee" you would get from the Justice Department might be government informer Michael Raymond. Scheduled to stand trial in Florida for the murder of a 67-year-old widow who he swindled out of thousands of dollars, Raymond was the G-man who blew the lid off the New York City corruption scandal. According to the *New York Times Magazine* (21 June):

"All the while, this street-smart, steel-nerved confidence man has pursued his own spectacular life of crime... traveled widely under a dozen aliases, carrying out swindles, embezzlements, thefts..."

As Fort Lauderdale chief of detectives Al Ortenzo commented: "maybe they ought to take the word Justice out of Justice Department."

But the mob connections with the gang now running the country go right to the top. A recent book by Dan Moldea, entitled *Dark Victory: Ronald Reagan, MCA, and the Mob* (1986) looks back at Reagan's activities as president of the Screen Actors Guild in the late '40s:

"... there remain numerous unanswered questions and allegations about the relationship between Reagan and MCA. These doubts raise delicate issues that involve possible personal and political payoffs—as well as links to major Mafia figures, particularly Beverly Hills

attorney Sidney Korshak, who has been described by federal investigators as the principal link between the legitimate business world and organized crime."

Reagan helped mobsters to break the strike of the left-wing Conference of Studio Unions in March 1945, hiring an armed bodyguard and carrying a pistol as he crossed the picket lines. And as FBI confidential informant "T-10," Reagan used his status as witchhunter and SAG president to "clear" actress Nancy Davis (later Reagan) of alleged Communist ties.

## From Kennedy to Meese: Targeting the Teamsters

Thirty years ago another investigator and attorney general used illegal wiretaps, informants, call girls and entrapment in an effort to break the Teamsters. Then it was liberal Democrat Robert Kennedy. He had been one of Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist witchhunters. From there Kennedy



Presser invited Bush (left) to '84 Ohio Teamster convention, endorsed Reagan re-election.

moved to chief counsel of the McClellan Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. Kennedy's vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa enlisted the IRS, FBI, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and the Justice, Labor and Treasury Departments.

To be sure, as one of Hoffa's followers once said, "Jimmy is no angel." Notorious for his underworld connections and shady pension fund deals, Hoffa was a convenient target. He was the epitome of the business unionist, even loaning Teamster pension funds to companies being struck by his own union. In Hoffa's words: "I don't think the drivers expect me to be holding social gatherings for them or to go on the air and tell what's wrong in Germany or Italy. Running a union is just like running a business. We're in the business of sell-

ing labor. We're going to get the best price we can" (John Bartlow Martin, *Jimmy Hoffa's Hot* [1959]).

But Hoffa delivered. From the power base of the Central States Drivers Council, he conducted a successful postwar organizing drive in the South and used the tactics of "hot-cargoing" and striking over grievances to circumvent the slave-labor Taft-Hartley law and its prohibitions on secondary boycotts. Hoffa had learned these tactics from Farrell Dobbs, a Trotskyist leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters whose powerful 1934 strike laid the basis for building the Teamsters into an industrial union.

The McClellan committee, following in the footsteps of the government witchhunt against the ILA in the early 1950s, was out to gut the Teamsters' power. In particular, the "Get Hoffa" campaign was aimed at his efforts to win the first national trucking industry contract. Hoffa was indicted on bribery charges, set up by one John Cye Cheatsy, a Kennedy fink who Hoffa had hired as an attorney. He was acquitted in July 1957 by a jury including eight blacks, as Hoffa's friend boxer Joe Louis visited the courtroom in solidarity with the Teamster president. A few months later, despite the vicious campaign waged in the courts and the press by Kennedy's more than 250 full-time investigators, Hoffa became IBT president. And culminating with the Master Freight Agreement in 1964, Hoffa consolidated bargaining for 450,000 over-the-road and local freight drivers.

The McClellan hearing produced the 1959 anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act (originally co-sponsored by John Kennedy), which specifically outlawed the use of "hot-cargoing" in the trucking industry. And after five separate trials over seven years, Kennedy finally entrapped Hoffa on jury tampering charges in 1964. Hoffa was jailed in 1966 for almost five years. After his release, he disappeared on 30 July 1975 during his attempt to regain the Teamster presidency.

The succession of Teamster leaders who followed Hoffa—Frank Fitzsimmons, Roy Williams and now Jackie



Presser—were groomed in the Hoffa machine. For the most part they had all of Hoffa's vices, with few if any of his virtues. In addition, the erosion of U.S. capitalism has rendered Teamster-style business unionism increasingly impotent. The union has lost 400,000 jobs in recent years, as major trucking companies have used deregulation of the industry to extract givebacks from the Teamster bureaucracy. The national Master Freight Agreement has been eroded by substandard "two-tier" contracts and the use of casuals.

Jackie Presser was placed atop Local 507 in Cleveland 20 years ago by his father, William Presser. "Bill" Presser served six months in Federal prison on mob-connected charges and "distinguished" himself in the 1970 Ohio Teamster wildcat by asking then-governor Rhodes to send in the National Guard against his own members.

# Morality Among the Supply- Siders

More than 100 Reagan Administration officials have faced allegations of questionable activities. While some are still in office, others have resigned under a cloud. Many of the allegations were relatively minor, but the accumulation of cases produces a portrait of impropriety on a grand scale



**Richard Allen**  
National Security Adviser  
Resigned amid controversy over a \$1,000 "honorarium" after arranging an interview with Nancy Reagan



**James Boggs**  
Chief administrator of NASA  
Indicted for defrauding Government while an executive at General Dynamics



**Anne Burford**  
EPA administrator  
Resigned after disclosures that she bent environmental regulations for certain industrial polluters



**Carlos Campbell**  
Assistant Secretary, Commerce Department  
Relinquished his job after charges of awarding dubious grants to friends' firms



**William Casey**  
Director, Central Intelligence Agency  
Suspected of lying to Congress about CIA involvement in Iran-contra affair



**Michael Deaver**  
Deputy White House chief of staff  
Indicted for perjury after investigation for violation of ethics statutes



**Raymond Donovan**  
Secretary of Labor  
Indicted for his company's involvement in defrauding the New York City Transit Authority of \$7.4 million



**John Fodders**  
Chief of enforcement for the SEC  
Resigned after disclosure of charges by his wife that he repeatedly beat her



**Guy Fluke**  
Deputy Secretary of Commerce  
Resigned after allegations of conflict of interest in contract negotiations



**Louis Giffiths**  
Director, Federal Emergency Management Agency  
Resigned amid allegations of misuse of Government property



**Edwin Gray**  
Chairman, Federal Home Loan Bank Board  
Repaid some \$26,000 in travel costs for himself and his wife



**Arthur Hayes**  
Food and Drug Administration commissioner  
Resigned while under investigation for overlapping reimbursements for travel



**J. Lynn Helms**  
Chief of the Federal Aviation Administration  
Resigned when grand jury probed his earlier business dealings



**John W. Hernandez**  
Acting EPA administrator  
Resigned after his staff disclosed that he allowed Dow Chemical to review a report naming it a dioxin polluter



**Robert Hill**  
Economic Development Administration official  
Convicted of accepting a gratuity from an anti-poverty group



**John Horton**  
Assistant EPA administrator  
Dismissed by White House for using Government employees for private business



**Max Hugel**  
CIA chief of covert operations  
Resigned after press allegations of fraudulent financial dealings



**Rita Lovelle**  
EPA assistant administrator for toxic wastes  
Convicted of perjury concerning preferential treatment for a former employer



**Robert McFarlane**  
National Security Adviser  
Under investigation for his participation in the Iran-contra affair



**Marjory Mecklenburg**  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of HHS  
Resigned after allegations of irregularities on travel vouchers



**Edwin Meese**  
U.S. Attorney General  
Under investigation for a special prosecutor for his role in helping Wedtech Corp.



**Jonathan Miller**  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Resigned after being accused of helping move cash to the contras



**Robert Munn**  
Head of Veterans Administration  
Resigned before a report criticized him for improper use of Government services



**Lyn Nofziger**  
White House aide  
Under investigation by a special prosecutor for his role in helping Wedtech Corp.

Who's calling who corrupt? Above, partial lineup from Time magazine of Reagan administration rogues' gallery: Is this new Teamster executive board?

Presser stated at the time, "It's a hell of a day when we have troops riding shotgun on a truck but somehow we must stop this violence through the law." After this strikebreaking duty, the Guardsmen regrouped against a less formidable target—antiwar protesters at Kent State University—where they opened fire, killing four.

Jackie Presser was elevated to the presidency in 1983, after Roy Williams was jailed under RICO. Presser has been charged with embezzlement, racketeering and padding the payroll of his home Local 507 in Cleveland with "ghost" employees. An earlier Labor Department investigation of Presser was quashed, apparently at the instigation of the FBI. (If Presser, who has admitted to a "relationship" with the FBI, was finking on other Teamster officials and the mob, the federal indictment may be the least of his worries!)

As in the case of Hoffa, the real target of the army of federal prosecutors and the organized crime "strike forces" is not the corrupt and venal Presser, but the Teamsters union itself. Ironically, as a union vice president in the late 1970s, Presser embarked on a campaign to improve the Teamsters' "image." He served Reagan as a "senior economic adviser" and delivered to the Republicans the Teamster endorsement in 1980 and 1984. With Reagan a crippled lame duck and a Baker regency in the White House, George Bush is left holding the bag as the "friend of the Teamsters."

### The "Clean" Labor Traitors

Pointing a finger at the Teamsters, ILA and other unions with alleged mob connections has always been a convenient way for the AFL-CIO labor fakers to channel membership heat away from the rotten fruits of their own class collaboration. At last year's United Auto Workers convention, UAW president Owen Bieber began with the proclamation that "his 50-year-old union was not involved in criminal activities" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 2 June 1986). Maybe the UAW tops don't take mob money—they "merely" traded the jobs of hundreds of thousands of auto workers for a seat on Chrysler's board of directors! All clean, aboveboard and "legal"—and a disaster for the working class.

"Obeying the law" has lost more than a few key strikes. Take Reagan's busting of the air traffic controllers union. Presser grotesquely *praised* Reagan—but what did the other trade-union bureaucrats do? International Association of Machinists chief William Winpisinger kept his members working, thereby ensuring the PATCO strike's defeat. The unions need a class-struggle

leadership that will not kowtow to the capitalist cops and courts, and is willing to risk a jail sentence to win a strike.

The difference between the Teamster bureaucrats and their counterparts in the UAW, IAM or CWA is one of style, not substance. Hoffa supported both Republicans and Democrats, depending on where he thought he could get a "better deal." The social democrats are more closely tied to the Democratic Party, the main agency for subordinating the unions to the American capitalist order, and pride themselves on being "labor statesmen" for U.S. imperialism. Victor Reuther of the UAW was the archetypical Cold War labor bureaucrat, breaking Communist Party unions in postwar Europe. In the early 1960s, as Kennedy was persecuting Hoffa, Reuther was advising the CIA:

"... a breakfast meeting was arranged with Attorney General Robert Kennedy at his home in McLean, Virginia. Walter [Reuther] and I reviewed the situation in Italy, as we understood it, and cautioned Kennedy and Schlesinger that new directives would have to be given to the CIA and its operators in Italy. Kennedy suggested this question be raised directly with the National Security Council and asked us to attend a meeting and present our view."  
—Victor Reuther, *The Brothers Reuther* (1976)

These are the "clean" union leaders who drummed the Teamsters out of the AFL-CIO!

Forging class-struggle unions requires independence from the capitalist state and its political parties. The Spartacist League has consistently fought the fake-leftists and union "oppositions" which have made a career backing Labor Department campaigns to "clean up the unions." The classic example was the United Mine Workers' Arnold Miller, a West Virginia coal miner and Democratic Party politico whose Miners for Democracy was swept into office with the aid of the government. Miller spent the next several years collaborating with the courts and Carter government to break wildcats and to derail the militant national coal strike of 1977-78.

In the IBT, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), originally brain-trusted by the anti-Soviet International Socialists (now mostly defunct), has pursued the same program of endless court suits against the union bureaucracy. The TDU works hand in glove with the Reagan "Justice" Department to smash the Teamsters. In a recent article, Ken Paiff argues that a Justice Department takeover is unnecessary because TDU would do the job for Reagan/Meese:

"TDU contends that this system [of elections] violates the Landrum-Griffin Act, a view backed by the President's

Commission on Organized Crime and some 15 present and former experts in the Labor Department.

"The RICO statute provides for 'reorganization' of any enterprise found racketeer-controlled. Two months ago TDU sent the Justice Department a detailed plan for such a reorganization...."  
—*Washington Post*, 21 June

In December TDU supporters filed their own RICO and Landrum-Griffin charges to remove Presser from all union positions (*Convoy Dispatch*, January 1987)! And their keynote speaker at the last TDU convention was none other than Victor Reuther. If the Teamsters are taken over by Meese and company, the TDU can claim its share of the "credit."

### For Class-Struggle Unionism!

It was the Trotskyists who laid the foundations of Teamster power in the Minneapolis general strike of 1934. They fought the strike politically, taking on not only the bosses but also the National Guard called out by "friend of the unions" Farmer-Labor Party governor Floyd Olson. Their victory laid the basis for breaking down traditional AFL craft unionism, laying the basis for organizing over-the-road drivers throughout the Midwest. The communist leadership also organized the unemployed into an affiliate section of the union, defended the struggles of federal public works employees, and successfully mobilized labor against the fascist Silver Shirts.

The leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters and the SWP were targeted by Roosevelt and Teamster International president Daniel Tobin. Their "crime" was opposing the imperialist World War II. While the Rooseveltian liberal unionists, business unionists and the

Stalinists all enforced the wartime no-strike pledge, speedup, etc., the Trotskyists stood their ground. Roosevelt prosecuted them under the Smith Act, and Tobin moved in with his thugs to "reorganize" the Minneapolis Teamsters. (Hoffa was one of Tobin's chief goons, and used the cops and courts to strip Local 544 of their office, funds, and the union's paper, the *Northwest Organizer*.) Following the war, the Meany and Reuthers—in cahoots with the government—extended the anti-communist witchhunt throughout the AFL and CIO, consolidating the anti-Soviet, viciously class-collaborationist union bureaucracy that today lords it over the ranks.

You can't fight the union bureaucracy with the capitalist government as an ally. Both corrupt business unionism, whether embodied in Hoffa or his more degenerate successors, and pro-Democratic Party liberalism are equally dead ends. What's necessary is a class-struggle leadership that refuses to subordinate itself to the bourgeois state and fights for genuine political independence: a workers party to struggle for a workers government. As Trotsky stated in his final message to the world's workers ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" [1940]):

"The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. "...the independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International." ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## SL Victory Against "Accuracy in Academia"

# AIA Witchhunters Retract Deadly Libel

We print below a press release issued by the Spartacist League/U.S. on June 22.

The Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, has won an important victory for democratic rights against the McCarthyite witchhunters of "Accuracy in Academia," SL spokesmen announced today. Last February the SL launched a libel lawsuit against AIA, its executive director Laszlo Csorba and Reed Irvine, AIA founder and chairman of the board (and head of "Accuracy in Media"). Attorneys for the successful SL action were Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein and noted libel attorney Jonathan W. Lubell. On June 19, a settlement of the suit was filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York, stating:

"Defendants AIA, Reed Irvine and Laszlo Csorba admit that the statement contained in the pamphlet, 'Appeasing the Censors. A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses,' that Spartacist publications (*Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge... the killing of police officers' is false and hereby retract said statement."

Further conditions of the settlement are that AIA must cease further publication and distribution of the pamphlet until and unless accompanied by a retraction. This retraction must also be prominently displayed in their publication *Campus Report* (with a circulation of 20-25,000). The retraction states:

"AIA and Laszlo Csorba now admit the falsity of a statement contained in a pamphlet published and distributed by them that the Spartacist League in its publications (*Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge... the killing of police officers. This statement about the Spartacist League is false."

*Workers Vanguard* (No. 423, 6 March) has pointed out that: "AIA/



Elaine Osowski

Reagan's witchhunter Reed Irvine.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

JAMES M. ROBERTSON, as National  
Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE,  
an Unincorporated Association,

Plaintiff,

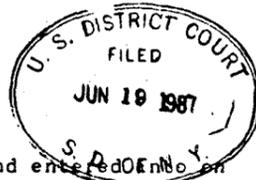
-against-

ACCURACY IN ACADEMIA, INC., REED  
IRVINE AND LASZLO CSORBA,

Defendants.

STIPULATION  
AGREEMENT OF  
SETTLEMENT

87 CIV. 2242  
(RJW)



THIS SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT is made and entered into by and between

AIA and Laszlo Csorba now admit the falsity of a statement contained in a pamphlet published and distributed by them that the Spartacist League in its "publications (*Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus*, and *The Spartacus* [sic]) urge... the killing of police officers." This statement about the Spartacist League is false.

SL won settlement requiring AIA to print above retraction in its journal *Campus Report*.

## Campus Contras Cry Uncle

AIM are part of the Reaganauts' domestic war to regiment the American population into acquiescence to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive... Irvine and Csorba are more than just ideological witchhunters. They're sinister Oliver Norths on the home front, reflecting the 'privatization' of the drive for counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. It's privatized McCarthyism." *Young Spartacus* has noted also that AIA stands squarely behind the racist marauders who've attacked black students and anti-racist militants on the campuses. When the staff of the conservative *Dartmouth Review* wielded sledgehammers to level a shantytown occupied by students opposing apartheid, AIA's *Campus Report* ran a prominent fund appeal for the racists' legal defense.

"Reed Irvine's pretensions to 'accuracy' in media or anywhere else have been exploded by his admission in court to a falsehood," said SL general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein. Furthermore, she pointed out, "Inveterate disinformers Irvine hopes to shift the responsibility for this libel to Csorba in their public retraction. It was Irvine himself whom

we served with the legal papers, as he was going into ABC studios at 6:30 a.m. to complain that his brain child, the anti-Soviet soap opera *Amerika*, wasn't anti-Communist enough! Today, this self-admitted and public exposure of Irvine & Co.'s 'Big Lie' technique is a victory for all the potential victims of their smear jobs in the service of Reagan reaction. Their admission of falsification should demoralize their supporters, and discourage those who would otherwise attempt to so libel us."

The Spartacist League has successfully beaten back other attempts to smear leftists and Marxists as terrorists. In settlement of the SL's lawsuit against the 1983 FBI "terrorism" guidelines, the FBI and Attorney General agreed to change the FBI's former sinister definition of the SL to exactly what the SL says it is—a Marxist political organization. In 1983, an SL lawsuit forced the Moonie *Washington Times* to retract their deadly libel that the militant union-backed, SL-initiated demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982 had provoked violence against cops. Reed

Irvine and Laszlo Csorba have also written for the *Washington Times*, Wolkenstein noted.

She added, "It is utterly incongruous that our organization, which attempts to influence important social issues and causes in the courts, could be terrorist. The SL has intervened in the courts not only in defense of itself, but also has filed *amicus curiae* briefs in the U.S. Supreme Court. We filed an *amicus* brief in support of separation of church and state and for freedom of association in the Sun Myung Moon 'tax fraud' case. And our brief in defense of science and the gains of the Enlightenment in the Louisiana 'creationism' case was noted by the *San Francisco Chronicle* (June 20), which commented that the case 'drew a stack of legal documents from groups ranging from the Marxist Spartacist League to the National Association of Evangelicals'."

"We have stood up in this decade of social and political reaction not only for our own rights, but for those of so many others who appear weak and alone," said SL spokesman Marjorie Stamberg. "Many groups have been smeared without redress, since they were without funds and resources to fight. Our victory against Reed Irvine and AIA is a victory for every trade unionist, every student and academic protester, every minority, everyone in opposition to this reactionary government. Leftists must not be attacked with impunity! We will continue to fight with every legal and political means at our disposal to ensure that."

AIA has especially targeted university professors, including Howard Zinn of Boston University, who gave the following statement to the SL: "I understand that Accuracy in Academia has claimed that the Spartacus Youth League advocates the killing of policemen. Whatever my own political disagreements with the Spartacus Youth League, I have seen no evidence of their belief in such tactics, and to falsely accuse an organization of that is to set them up for violence directed against them. My own experience with Accuracy in Academia is that they are dishonest, especially in claiming to be objectively interested in accuracy, when it is clear that they are interested in purging left-wing and even liberal faculty from universities. In short, they do not believe in academic freedom, are contemptuous of the ability of students to think for themselves about the important issues of politics, and have no faith in the democratic value of pluralist opinions."

The SL suit won endorsements from many teachers and civil libertarians, including individuals such as Harvard Law School professor Derrick Bell, *In These Times* editor James Weinstein, CUNY professor Bogdan Denitch, Michael Meeropol, Nathan Hare, Chip Berlet of the National Lawyers Guild Civil Liberties Committee, and many others, including trade unionists. ■