Carter, Reagan: No Lesser Evil

The War Elections

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

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

But for the millions who positively support neither candidate and wonder only which candidate to vote against, the hostage factor could throw the election to Carter. That is, in any case, the judgment of the Reagan and Carter election staffs. These reactionary campaigners recognize that there is no "Great Debate" between the candidates on any fundamental question facing U.S. imperialism. The election is therefore dependent on TV performance and all-round media hype. They have even

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

2,500 Jewish Protesters Run Off Nazis in Evanston

CHICAGO—A victory was scored here Sunday, October 19 when 2,500 anti-Nazi demonstrators, many of them concentration camp survivors, drove eleven goose-stepping Nazi punks from Evanston's Lovelace Park, only minutes after they had arrived for an officially sanctioned race-hate rally. The Sunday action was a welcome sight, particularly coming after years of Nazi threats in Chicago's Marquette Park district and nearby Skokie when liberals from the B'nai B'rith refused to counterdemonstrate and the American Civil Liberties Union came out for the fascists' supposed "right" to organize. But although last Sunday's Nazi rally in the middle-class, heavily Jewish suburb of Evanston sparked mass protest, the following week when the Nazis announced they would march to the Ingleside black ghetto, the liberals could care less. Neither could the black reformists: Jesse Jackson, for his part, was too busy stumping for Carter to be bothered protesting fascist terror on the edge of the black ghetto.

The Nazis' arrival in Lovelace Park immediately sparked jeering catcalls and a barrage of eggs and rocks (one of which decked a cop) from the outraged crowd. Then the Hitler-lovers unfurled a banner bearing the provocative continued on page 9
S.F. Hotel Strike
San Francisco, Calif.
9/6/80
Dear comrades,

In the August 8th issue of Workers Vanguard there is a so-called "article" about the S.F. Hotel Strike. The article is not signed, nor does the article state at any point what your organization, the Spartacist League, actually did in the course of the strike. (You have lots of advice to offer, but advise and slogans at the bottom of an article don't win strikes.) The fact is that the Spartacist League had almost zero participation in the strike...other than selling a few newspapers to strikers. On the left, only the SWP did as little. Before 9/6/80...You have dozens of copies and can check for yourself.

WV replies: It is satisfying to get confirmation from a political opponent that our WV coverage has hit home. As Bolsheviks we use our press to intervene actively in workers' struggles, shaping their demands and saying what is to be done. At San Francisco hotel strike picket lines and demonstrations, the Spartacist League called for mass picketing to shut the hotels as the way to win the strike. And that is exactly what the misleaders, Gilman among them, whose policies would lead to defeat.

For our readers' information, Gilman is an unconvicted Heatherly from his right-centrist days in the Workers League. Following that he was in a succession of left-centric Trotskyist groups who bumbled around to join Harry Turner's VNL, lonely hearts club, the CSL (which called for a "Fifth International"), the ill-starred "CRSP" (a Trotskyism of noMel Mander's in the U.S.), and now back to Turner's TOC. In other words, he is a professional anti-Trospist. As far as we know Gilman still holds one of the more mediocre cops and cads of the workers movement and can even be members of a revolutionary party? His idea of a labor party in San Francisco is to Sign with the Democorats in it. See WV No. 56, 8 November 1974.)

Gilman protests that his entire intervention in the Central Labor Council (CLC) was not it is not. And he cites the omission of "the motion to condemn Mayor Feinstein." Come now, Earl, you didn't raise building illusion was pre-capitalist bureaucrats. We support trade-union caucuses based on the Transition- Al Program to defeat and replace those pro-capitalist bureaucrats.

Gilman's Rank-and-File Coalition (a petty bourgeois social-democratic sandbox) includes the SL/DC, another ostensibly Trotskyist group. This is led by another unconvicted Heatherly who supports cops on strike. On paper the SL/DC gave lip service to "picketing scabbing unions." This is a completely bureaucratic response, seeking to punish the union membership for the crimes of their leadership. It affirms (as the bureaucrats claim) that the bureaucracy is the union.

What's behind this is that the SL/DC is led internationally in the "anti-scab" movement. The SL/DC has organized its own strike last year in England so as not to deprive the workers of their revolutionary leadership. We feel workers can defend their strike without leadership from the "anti-scabs." To exonerate Thornett, the SL/DC is slinging mud at the Spartacist League in a pathetic attempt to deflect the criticism and cover up for him. We suggest that if the SL/DC is so eager to picket scabs, they should begin at home.

As for the role of the Rank-and-File Coalition supported by both Gilman and the SL/DC during the hotel strike, we can only agree with the after-the-fact self-criticism written by a member of the majority-radical "Rank and File Negotiating Committee" and printed in the "Branch." "The Negotiating Committee...must bear a full share of the blame for this disaster." By no means was the committee all too quickly came under the domination of [International rep] Sirabella and Lamb, and allowed themselves to be led into a self-defeating negotiating strategy...thus helping to turn what could have been an unprecedented victory into a gut-wrenching defeat. The issue, confusion and, if there's any, the opportunity of the of the 'opponent' lines at Local 2 at this critical time is also a subject which must be addressed, but at more length than is possible here.

Unfortunately, the Maoists, social democrats and pseudo-Trotskists of the Rank-and-File Coalition will never find the space or time to do this because then they would have to confront the workers' class-struggle opposition to their practice of su ing the course of the strike, the petty bourgeois out-bureaucrat electoral blocs, for setting strikes by arbitration and all the rest. Having failed to break with the politics of "left-center coalition" and congenital reformism, the Rank-and-File Coalition would do it all over again.

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

Telling the Truth on Iran
13 September 1980
Spartacist Publishing.

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

I usually read every word of everything you folks print. In fact, there's little else in news periodicals worth bothering with, glancing through the pages of other newspapers while impatiently awaiting the true news. Your Workers Vanguard has been the only intelligent one on Iran and you guys are the only organized force in the USA who understands how to fight fascism (KKK & Nazism).

G.S.

"Changing History"?
31 July 1980

Comrades,

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

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

In the WV of 24 July 1980 you say "Fascism with Class Struggle?"--you say "Our strategy was the basis for the successful anti-fascist mobilizations of 500 mainly black auto workers in Detroit on November 10."

Is this what your organization calls "changing history"?

Comradely,

D. Golden

WV replies: We appreciate the careful attention of our regular readers. The Detroit anti-Klan rally on November 10 was not the only one attended by black protesters, among them many workers from local factories. But as the letter writer correctly points out, this does not make the participants "mainly black auto workers." We do intend to change history, but not that way.
Since the beginning of the year, the U.S. has dramatically escalated its Cold War drive against the Soviet Union, threatening World War III over Afghanista.

From the start the international Sparta­

Communist movement is popularly identified with the Free World, revolutionaries must also at­

militant Labour and minorities to stop fascist terrorists,

To the right of the CPUSA, for one, has due to the iSt, this week issued a leaflet projecting "savagely critical support" to CPF candidate Marchais in the April 1981 elections. The call was conditional on the PCF "continuing the anti-'unity,' i.e., conjuncturally anti-popular-front line of its election campaign." The savage criticism will be directed in particular against the Communist Party's notorious anti-German chauvinism, from "Everybody get a Kraut" in 1944 to "Mighty that's all." The LTF's campaign is directed not only at the PCF ranks, but particularly against the fake-Trotskyists who have tailored after the popular front for years and today wail for "unity." The leaflet concluded with the slogan, "DOWNTOWN WITH UNITY— VOTE P.C.F."

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

In his report to the recent PCF nominating convention, Charles Fiterman remarked, "For the first time we are directly placing… the question of a Communist alternative at the center of the battle" (L'Humanité, 13 October). In contrast, Gus Hall declares that "socialism is not an option, it is a necessity." His party, the CPUSA, is committed to "fighting to save the workers to 'progressive' sectors of the capitalists' last weapons to stave off proletarian revolution; that by tying the workers to 'progressive' sectors of capitalism, it opened the road for the bourgeois, it reversed the role of the workers, it opened the way for the bourgeois, it reversed the role of the workers to the workers: until now they didn't have to take up previously taboo subjects. Thus during the PCF's October 12 nominating convention at Nantes, several PB and CC members explicitly criticized the party's past experience in popular-front alliances:

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Three times, that's all.

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

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

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

The strike carried their struggle against the DR’s management, demanding higher wages from a transport system which already stands in the roost of West Berlin, DR (elevated railway) costs East Germany 140 million Deutsche marks yearly. In West Germany the West Berlin Senate clearly maintains the entire operation only to demonstrate through its presence in West Berlin that Berlin is not, and never has been, an integrally part of West Germany, that Berlin is still administered under the four-power Potsdam agreements. And the job action exerted no economic pressure to speak of: only 70,000 people use the S-Bahn daily and rail freight was hardly shifted over to trucks. East Berlin authorities had already asked the West Berlin Senate to subsidize the S-Bahn. But this attempt at enticing the capitalist powers to financially underwrite East Germany’s transport system was, of course, immediately rejected by the Berlin Senate. (20 September)

The strike movement was the direct result of an extended series of defeat of West Berlin workers and sympathizers of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW), a branch of the Stalinist East German SED. Consequently the sympathy of “public opinion” toward the strikers was not exactly due to proletarian solidarity but to something quite different. As the Frankfurter Rundschau (20 September) reported: “Schadenfreude [malicious glee] characterized the hotly debated criticism for the ‘great sympathy’ (of West Berlin public and politicians) for the strike movement of East Germany’s railwaymen.”

Frankfurt’s mood was not so friendly. The railwaymen bitterly complained that for years they had been reviled, and that if they dared to go into the streets with their uniforms on, a striker who had worked 12 hours in the signal tower told a comrade of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the International Spartacist League) that he couldn’t rent an apartment if he mentioned his job. In contrast to the hypocritical and cynical applause from the bourgeois press and politicians, for Trotskyists the strike by West Berlin Reichsbahn workers was extremely important coming on the heels of the August strike movement in Poland, (an opportunity) to give the latter a more unambiguous political character. (The Polish strikes, while they won significant concessions from the Stalinist regime, were strongly influenced by the Catholic church and social-democratic dissidents, which ultimately posed a counterrevolutionary danger.) But instead of appealing to their fellow workers and trade-union brothers in East Berlin to support them with solidarity action and strikes—ignoring a powerful anti-bureaucratist workers protest—the strikers appealed increasingly openly to Western trade unions and the West Berlin Senate, a course which led to the collapse and then desperate defeat of their action.

Development of a Derailed Strike

The strike of the West Berlin DR workers came about following an initial wave of layoffs last spring. So in mid-September when management announced major cutbacks in the S-Bahn schedule, as well as the imminent closing of half the West Berlin freight depots, the railway workers saw themselves threatened with mass firings. And this is a company that in the last ’60s recruited about 100,000 workers. Naturally, as we’re well aware, the DR railwaymen was to be transformed into a company that in the late ’60s recruited about 100,000 workers. The workers followed the call of their leaders immediately to occupy the Moabit container freight depot, thus crippling all freight transport to and from West Germany. On the evening of September 17 West Berlin S-Bahn employees joined the strike and the signal towers were occupied. The DR management therefore sent in scabs (imported in part from East Berlin) to run the S-Bahn, and the East German news agency ADN slandered the strikers as “criminals, terrorists and provocateurs.” Eighty strikers were fired. The battle intensified on September 20 when strikers occupied the signal tower at the Zoo train station, cutting off passenger traffic with West Germany; West Berlin police blocked DDR railway police from storming this key position with pickaxes and crowbars. The next day about 100 SEW members tried to retake the signal tower, leading the strikers to clash with the West Berlin police; this time the strikers lost the occupied tower. On Monday, September 25 there was a fundamental turnabout in the strike as its leaders declared the strikers were no longer willing to work for the Reichsbahn. They now turned to the West Berlin Senate, demanding that it negotiate with the “Allies” and the East Berlin government to take over operation of the S-Bahn and the railroad right of way. Driven to despair by the stubborn refusal of the DDR tops to make the slightest concession or even to negotiate with the strike committee, the strikers fell into the anti-Communist stream. But to no avail. The Senate promptly rejected this new political demand, and over the next few days West Berlin police let the DR railway police clear one occupied signal tower after another, despite appeals from the strikers; the British military police also stood aside when strike headquarters at the container freight depot were forcibly taken on September 23.

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

What Kind of Solidarity?

When those professional strikebreakers, the police, are supposedly protecting strikers, watch out—for the bourgeoisie which dispatches them it’s not the strike that counts. What began as a justified strike of the Reichsbahn railwaymen was to be transformed into a campaign against the DDR. In the last ten years over 100,000 jobs have been eliminated in West Berlin, there have been mass firings at AEG [West German General Electric]—but all this was swept away in the response of bourgeois “public opinion.” The DR strike was just the thing to appeal to West Berlin
The day after the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) signed a deal with J.P. Stevens Co. on October 19, the United States Supreme Court let stand an NLRB ruling which would have forced the company to open its plants to union organizers for two years. But this legal victory was rendered useless by the day’s events.

J.P. Stevens granted a substantial giveaway’ underscored the desperation of the union bureaucrats to bury the entire J.P. Stevens organizing campaign. After 17 years and a reported $10 million spent by the AFL-CIO, the ACTWU has won contracts for about 3,000 workers out of 6,000 in the J.P. Stevens textile empire.

On the day after the NLRB decision, the union leaders had only the same old warmed-over pathetic ‘solutions’ to hurl the working class to sleep when what is needed is labor/black mass mobilization to stop the Klan. A number of union exiles has delivered its recognition to the union by signing which included dues checkoff and some grievance procedure. But on the whole it was a wholesale defeat, the result of the dead-end ‘strategy’ of the ACTWU officials, who had counted mainly on their Democratic Party ‘friends’ like Jimmy Carter.

The intention of the union tops was to wash their hands of this experience. Even the Klan in Pennsylvania, the AFL-CIO and Murray Finley of ACTWU trumpeted a ‘victory.’ In the meantime, the AFL-CIO spokespeople atTestData–Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

March 1977 protest outside J.P. Stevens headquarters in NYC: SL called for militant labor action against the company and assembled thousands who dared to mobilize.

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

“We wish to inform you that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has never advocated or agreed to ‘hot-cargo’ strategies, nor will it at any future date.”

In the name of ‘legality’ the ACTWU refused all labor action against J.P. Stevens, even in those plants where the union had won NLRA elections and the company trampled on the law and workers’ rights by refusing to recognize the validity of the elections. More than any other employer, J.P. Stevens got away with openly ignoring every NLRA ruling, every maul-mouthed court judgment, and became the symbol of the non-union Simon Legris sweatshop. Six-day, six-weeks, poverty-level wages, arbitrary firings, brown lung disease—enough drama for an Academy Award-winning movie—and with the current accords, the company has hardly been dented. Yet the lake, which has been tailing the ACTWU’s belly-crawling campaign—unions like CP, SWP, the GWU, the Maos—all echo the union claim of ‘victory.’

Organizing J.P. Stevens means organizing the South, the historic failure of the AFL-CIO. The South has remained an open-shop bastion by shotgun-equipped Klansmen who endorsed Reagan who have fueled the fascist terror—rally could have been stopped before it got off the ground. For the Klan’s black mobilization to stop the Klan! The protest reflected an awareness of the non-union Klansmen who have fueled the fascist terror—rally could have been stopped before it got off the ground. For the Klan’s black mobilization to stop the Klan! The protest reflected an awareness of the non-union Klansmen who have fueled the fascist terror—rally could have been stopped before it got off the ground. For the Klan’s black mobilization to stop the Klan!
The agreement came without violence and this shows we can work together. We've got all that's possible in the current situation. It's what we wanted and dreamed of. We've got independent unions."

—Interfactory Strike Commit­tee leader Lech Walesa

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

—Polish deputy prime minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski

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

In the less than two months' time since the Gdansk agreement, everyone senses Polish society has lost its moor­ings and is headed god knows where. The state of trade-union organization has become utterly chaotic and confus­ed. The regime is paralyzed, with the top leaders frantically scapegoating one another. Meanwhile, the Kremlin and its hard-line satellites, especially East Germany, speak incessantly of the growing threat of "anti-socialist forces" in Poland. This is the same language they used during the 1988 Prague Spring and Solidarnosc is Poland, and throughout Europe, knows how that ended.

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

Cold Dual Power

The leadership of the newly-formed Solidarity movement can't stand the ex­pansion and the regime have exchanged charges and countercharges that the other side is "pro-Communist." They won't admit the Gdansk settlement. Claiming the gov­ernment wasn't coming through with the agreed wage increases or giving the new unions enough publicity in the mass media, the Solidarity leadership called a successful nationwide one-hour work stoppage on October 3. In turn, the government refused to legally register the new federation on the grounds that it must have a monopoly of political power. The Gdansk-based strike movement turned to the retrenchment of its "leading role" in the ruling Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

Some Solidarity activists talked about a nationwide general strike to force government registration. Warsaw of­ficials replied that a new strike would be met by imposition of a state of emergency. Now the courts have regis­tered the union, but only after the judge "amended" Solidarity's charter to stipu­late the "leading role" of the Communist party. The Walesa leadership is defiant: they have threatened a general strike unless the government negotiates a new agreement. At the top of their list of demands is eliminating the "leading role" clause. The confrontation continues.

At first the Warsaw regime tried to put a good face on things. Trust a Stalinist to claim any defeat is pregnant with victory. But PUWP spokes­men reached new heights of bureaucratic polyannaism. The editor of the party's theoretical journal Polityka, Mieczys­law Rakowski, said of the Baltic coast general strike: "The events in Poland show that the working class regards itself as sovereign, and that is good for socialism." (Der Spiegel, 8 September)

Official news agency chief Mirosław Wojciechowski projects: "The new unions will gain self-confidence and the consciousness to be a permanent ele­ment of the social-political landscape in Poland" (Der Spiegel, 29 September).

But whatever rosy pictures they paint in the West European liberal press, at bottom the Polish Stalinists instinctive­ly must feel the "new, self-governing unions" as a grave threat to their power. At the time of the settlement the strike committee published an apparently authentic document by a high party commission which maintained: "Such unions would fulfill the role of a such media access for itself or for the "free trade unions" it sought to estab­lish. Rather, it singled out the Catholic church to break the bureaucracy's monopoly of the mass media. Since the regime has acceded to this demand, today Polish state radio presents two and only two ideologies: that of the Stalinist bureaucracy and that of the Catholic church.

With an air of democratic righteousness, the SWP declares: "Marxists support the principle of freedom of religion, and are against the use of coercion for or against it." (The Militant)

The Militant here implies that the Polish Stalinist regime suppresses individual religious worship. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is freedom of religious worship in Poland today, at least for the Catholic church. It has enormous resources and effective free­dom to express its views on a mass scale. In fact, it is the only organization with de facto freedom of political opposition. Since 1956 the Catholic ZNAK group has been the only legally recognized political opposition in Poland, indeed in any Soviet-block country. It publishes a number of newspapers and journals. Granting the church media access

SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction

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

"We support this demand." So began the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) testimony at an Interfactory Strike Committee did not even demand a segment in Hungary in the late 1940s? Was this also a symbol of Stalinist violation of "human rights"?

In the manner of 1984 Newspeak ("war is peace"), the Militant baldly states: "The separation of church and state is not at issue here." Is that so? Polish radio and television were and remain controlled by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The Gdansk-based strike committee did not demand general democratization of the media, allowing all political groups, for example, the social-democratic Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), to present their views. Significantly, the Interfactory Strike Committee did not even demand the rights of this charter or any religious group. The demand for church access to the media, we wrote, was an anti-democratic demand which would legitimi­ze the church in its present role as the "leading role" of the Communist party. The Walesa leadership is defiant: they have threatened a general strike unless the government negotiates a new agreement. At the top of their list of demands is eliminating the "leading role" clause. The confrontation continues.

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Workers Vanguard
general strike this August, KOR basically ran point for the church hierarchy, testing the regime's hostility to independent labor agitation. Kuron served essentially as an intermediary between dissident Catholic workers, like Walesa and Anna Walentynowicz, and the church leadership, especially the ZNAK people. But who needs Kuron now when Walesa and Wyszynski can and do confer directly. Church influence is so visible that Walesa felt the need to deny he was organizing a union for Catholics only: "I don't want to create church trade unions" (Wall Street Journal, 22 September). That Walesa is compelled to issue such a disclaimer indicates there are many Polish workers who want a union independent of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy, but one that is not the labor arm of Wyszynski's episcopate either. The Silesian miners, for example, traditionally a solid proletarian base for Polish Communist, are unlikely to want a union which kneels down before cardinal and pope.

But so long as clerical-nationalists like Walesa lead the new unions, they stand in imminent danger of subordination to the counterrevolutionary aims of the Catholic hierarchy and behind it Western imperialism. As we wrote at the time of Gomulka's replacement: "A central task for a Trotskyist organization in Poland would be to form these unions in such a way that will split the clerical-nationalist forces from among the workers and separate them out. These unions must defend the secularized means of production and proletarian state power against Western imperialism." [emphasis in original]

"Polish Workers More..." WY No. 203, 5 September

"The Party Is in a Shambles"

"The apparatus is frightened. The rank and file are under tremendous pressure. And the leadership is turning on itself in its typical cannibalistic fashion." So a "well-connected" Polish writer described the present situation (New York Times, 8 September). It was predictable that Gierok would be axed for the gross economic mismanagement that impelled the workers into motion against the regime. Whereas Gierok had been a credible and even somewhat popular figure when he replaced Gomulka during the 1970 workers' explosion, Stanislaw Kania is an anonymous apparatchik if there ever was one. "Who the hell is he?" was the typical reaction to Gierok's successor as PWP chairman. And Kania's former head of internal security is unlikely to endeavor him to Poland's workers.

The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has run out of leaders whom the masses respect and believe to be sincere reformers. At most, people are convinced whether it is hard-liners who are gaining the upper hand or "moderate" apparatchiks who will make concessions to preserve the system. Making a big show of cleaning up its act, the regime has publicized the like of Wojtyla, the pope, who is head of state radio and television and a crony of Gierok. Comrade Szczepanski's lifestyle appears to have been modeled on characters out of Harold Robbins' novels. This "socialist" media figure enjoys ten lavish residences, one off the coast of Greece. He is now being crucified for affronting the puritanism of Catholic Poland (according to the pope Wojtyla a man who "fucks" for his wife is an adulterer); much is made of Szczepanski's collection of 900 porn videos and video cassettes. Not being a passive observer, he reputedly also kept a harem. While his sexual affairs don't bother us Marxists, his financial ones very much do. He owned shares in Austrian companies, held $1 million in a London bank account, etc. Szczepanski is literally a representative of capitalist-restorationist elements within the demoralized Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

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

The Polish Stalinist regime has not only one leader to tolerate independent unions, but factional/equivocating is destroying the apparatus. The fact that their Warsaw counterparts appear to have lost control over Polish society is what makes Brezhnev, Honecker & Co. panicry.

The Polish Stalinists try to cow their masses with the specter of the Sovcon army, while Western social democrats (especially the "state-capitalist" fringe groups) rant about Soviet "imperialist exploitation" of Europe. In reality, in the past decade the Kremlin has tried to control the size of the Sovcon apparatus. The fact that their Warsaw counterparts appear to have lost control over Polish society is what makes Brezhnev, Honecker & Co. panicry.

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

liberal scholar Franz Schurmann indicated in November 1970 strikes/protests "Moscow... allowed the Poles to look back at their own experience while Moscow packed up the slack." Schurmann concludes that this present crisis indicates that following the violent December 1970 strikes/protests, "The Soviet has only two options if the Polish political situation is not to alter in Poland's current political structures may fall off again, or resist for force."

For the Revolutionary Unity of Polish and Russian Workers: Will the Russian Communist Party intervene militarily in Poland as they did in Czechoslovakia in 1968? They're certainly talking as if they might.

S-Bahn...

government" (while calling for U.S.

SWP...

"solidarity"!

Thus they appeal to the DBK [West German trade-union federation] with its traditional "operating rights" of the S-Bahn-i.e., "advantages of the Western system." Grosehrchen-back the wheel of history.

"If they want to break the military alliance-payoff once again, or resort to the West Berlin left? The SEW, Social-Democratic Chancellor Helmut Kohl, controls the SBahn for the "left"-Socialist Voice, Fall 1980

"I'm quitting the party tomorrow." The SEW, Social-Democratic Chancellor Helmut Kohl, controls the S-Bahn for the "left"-Socialist Voice, Fall 1980

For Revolutionary Reunification!

"The demand was also justified as a reaction to the Russian occupation of Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International."

Thus no matter how hard they tried, in 1945 the SWP was forced to confront the partition point between two blocs representing counterposed class interests. The SWP, the Socialists to the right of the proletariat, pursued two different strategies.

Another of the SWP meetings described the premier strike leader Lech Walesa as a "committed Catholic and anti-imperialist". The SWP thinks this is smart strike tactics: their little brothers of the Polish Christian Democrats. The SWP demands, they also had to warn against the "surprise" tactics:

S-Bahn... (continued from page 4)

front-line Cold Warriors. While Senate meetings were tolerating with barely a hysteric, the SPD were reacting with its customary anti-Communism. (A headline in the Springinger, 26 December: "The Left is Finally Sick of the East Storm the Train Stations") In the Social Democratic Party, German parliament spokesmen called for taking over the "operating rights" of the S-Bahn-i.e., for the Church to rise to the state power status of Berlin fixed by the Potsdam accords.

"Together with our friends in the Catholic church for the cause of this outcome which we as Trotskyists believe it is "neither liberating nor militant."

"Solidarity"! Thus they appeal to the DBG [West German trade-union federation] with its traditional "operating rights" of the S-Bahn-i.e., "advantages of the Western system." Grosehrchen-back the wheel of history. Unemployed in West Berlin is high. Important sectors of industry are moving away through a proletarian political revolution. In West Berlin and West Germany, section of a reborn Fourth International. Thus no matter how hard they tried, in 1945 the SWP was forced to confront the partition point between two blocs representing counterposed class interests. The SWP, the Socialists to the right of the proletariat, pursued two different strategies.

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first rose from the lower depths in a burst of "raiy" round the flag" patriot­ism. Khomeini, the Khomeini, for the Khomeini, for the Khomeini. The American embassy was seized and burned while Americans were under fire. Washington and the hostage seizure were an opportunity to pose as anti-American to a population that had been appeased by a decade of U.S. imperialism's installation and backing of the butcher gun. At a time of growing resistance to reactionary clerical­rule, the seizure of the U.S. embas­sey's "nest of spies" gave Khomeini a popular lease on life. Now Jimmy Carter is again applying for a similar lease on the White House for another four years.

The U.S. was always prepared to make a deal to maintain Iran as a bastion against that of "anti-Americanism" and the USSR. But a deal might come up short if the Khomeini regime is that the Americans are advancing unprecedented imperialist influence over the U.S. Does it make sense then to return the hostages at the very moment when their U.S.-backed allies are firing the bell out of Iranian cities? Of course it doesn't make sense to anyone who actually believes in U.S. imperialist supremacy behind the Iraqi military thrust. But such people are to be found only among the former nationalist bourgeoisies and the most naive of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mullah lovers here. How­ever, given the "football" same of Iran and the religious fanaticism of the

course supporting Khomeini's Iran in the war, it claims that the army of Moscow-allied Ba'athist Iraq (which has never been diplomatic relations with Washington for the past 13 years) is practically a regiment of the U.S. Marine Corps. When the war broke out, the SWP's Intercontinental Press (29 September) blamed on its front cover, "Washington and the hostages--Backs--Hands Off Iran!" An article entitled "Why Washington, Baghdad Attack Iraq's "Hajj"" so as the "anti-American" forces to resolve the struggle in a war between two such bloody-handed bourgeois regimes regardless of their transnational and reversible relations to Washington and/or Moscow. Thus we took a defeatist line in the 1971 India-Pakistan war although Nixon/Kissinger, the neocons definitely titled toward Yahya Khan's Islam before India's Gandhi's Iran. But now the SWP finds itself defending the same side as Iran. Khomeini's rabid anti-Americanism, based on Islamic fanaticism and Persian chauvinism, allowed the SWP to claim him as an "anti-imperialist fighter." But the imperialist bourgeoisie, even in the Persian case, know the basic political reality beneath the name­calling and diplomatic provocations, like the U.S. links arms with Carter in defending the "territorial integrity" of Khomeini's Persian-dominated prisonhouse of peoples.

Down With The Colonels, Down With The Mullahs! Arguing for revolutionary defeatism, "the Trotskyists in our own class and of the Working Class League Central Committee member Reuben Samuels addressed an audience of 300 at the York Community College on October 23. At a forum entitled "Iran/Iraq Blood Feud, Samu­els explained why the working class and oppressed people of both countries have no stake in the victory of either side. "Both of those regimes are equally unsavory, are equally reactionary. One [Iraq] is a republic, a regime that actually overlooks a king and landlord service to some degree, but also some kind of secularism. But it has created a state that is not only based on a national bourgeoisie, based on a religious minority, and the religious majority and all of the national minorities are terrifically persecuted, unreasonably persecuted in the case of the Kurds. "And likewise in Iran. There was a 'revolutionary' regime in the sense that the monarchy was overthrown. But it was certainly not republican in the vague sense of even paying lip service to the democratic rights of the bour­geois revolution—for example, the equality of women. In the discussion which followed Samuels' presentation, speakers sug­gested that for "tactical" reasons the workers of Iran "finish with the Iraqis first" or give "military support" to Khomeini. For revolutionaries, Samu­els explained, active opposition to the war efforts of both Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini is the key to advancing the struggles of the workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities of the region: "So the road to national liberation is the road to socialism through socialist revolution, through internation­alism that is much needed by the people in the refineries and oil fields of Iraq, the workers on the land, their social question is not being resolved in any socialist way as they exploit the war to advance their own social and democratic interests. "This is the opportunity for the Kurds to rise up and fight for their national emancipation and liberation. This is the time for the Iraqi and Iranian toilers to look to the Trotskyists and to appeal to their brothers in the armed forces to resist the struggle in a revolutionary fashion. And this re­quirement that political liberation must be extended by parties forged in the working classes of many countries through their own socialist revolutions, but part of an internation­al, a reborn Fourth International, standing on the tradition of Trotsky and Lenin."

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

**TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA**

**Los Angeles SFL Forum**

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

*Newspaper* 

Saturday, November 15, 7:30 pm 

Kansas City Convention Center 

1700 N. Vermont 

For more info. call: (213) 662-1564 

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SWP Excludes Anti-Klan Steel Workers

Chicago—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) brags that it debates with trade-unionists who want to struggle against fascism. But SWP supporters couldn’t be so free to leave as soon as they announced they would not vote for a labor party. The Socialist Workers Party was there, prominently, but the SWP was so concerned about protecting “free speech for fascists” that it did not even appear.

“It emphasized the importance of labor protest against fascist repression at our union meeting,” Leonard told IF, “but SWP supporters couldn’t make them do anything. . . . And when I spoke against an AFL-CIO lobbyist who urged us to vote for our ‘friends’ Jimmy Carter and Birch Bay, the SWP supporters didn’t so much as bring up their scalp police goons—and sometimes by fascist bullets, as tragically occurred in Greensboro last November—thus emboldening the KKK/Nazis. Only mass mobilizing of the NAACP for reliance on the capitalistic courts and cops. Nor is such subservience the rule. In the Park may never have read Trotsky; only a few may have heard of Trotsky’s last one of them understood the elementary fact that there will be no Nazi rally in Evanston, permit or no permit, police security or no police security—and they won.

The giant Spartacist League banner read, “Fascists, this is the spirit in which our French comrades are raising the question of critical support for fascists. And this electoral support will be as lenin suggested, like the rope ‘supporting’ the fascists, by an independent decision of the workers to fight laissez-faire and against the policies of their old parties and consequences of their current line. It recalls Trotsky’s call on the German workers to offer critical support to the Communist candidate Browder during the brief period of (1936-39) when the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Communist Parties Party to Fight for a Workers movement. While the Klan union militants! Therefore necessary to root out the fascists, a struggle whose perspective is embodied in the slogan, “Break with the Democrats and the Republicans! Build a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!”

The present political conjuncture in France is the spirit in which our French comrades are raising the question of critical support for fascists. And this electoral support will be as lenin suggested, like the rope ‘supporting’ the fascists, by an independent decision of the workers to fight laissez-faire and against the policies of their old parties and consequences of their current line. It recalls Trotsky’s call on the German workers to offer critical support to the Communist candidate Browder during the brief period of (1936-39) when the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Communist Parties Party to Fight for a Workers movement. While the Klan union militants! Therefore necessary to root out the fascists, a struggle whose perspective is embodied in the slogan, “Break with the Democrats and the Republicans! Build a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!”

French CP... (continued from page 3)

21 Paris municipal councillors announced they would not vote for candidates who wanted to postpone the date they were free to leave as soon as they wanted to. Marchais, speaking on the TV program “Le monde sur la table,” pointed out that even though PS leader Mitterand has been the perpetual candidate, this right wing is still in power: “Therefore we aren’t going to repeat, unity, unity, . . . ”

All the King’s Horses, All the King’s Men

In France “unity” has become the oedoword for reconstituting the defunct popular front. And it is a devastating condemnation of the several large opposition-Trotkist groups (OCI, LCR, LO) that they are the loudest parrots of all in scrunching “unity, unity, unity.” The Socialists may hail the Paris with postcards calling for “Unité PS/PCI” while the LCR denounced the Communist Party’s resolution that the deadline called on Marchais to step down (“Désistement”) in favor of the Socialists’ position of presidential voting. Earlier, while abstractedly criticizing the popular front, these factions eagerlyaggered after it in practice. Now, ever since0 Mumular-Potato” (Le Monde, 15 October).

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

A Spartacist forum on the election was October 25 meeting set for 7:00 p.m. at 2122 San Pablo

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

"There’s been a lot of talk about the need for a labor party from groups like the Socialist Workers Party...In Canada, there’s a kind of debate about whether they are talking about a reformist party, a bourgeois workers party. The NDP and the Workers party there are like a roadblock that will become more virulent, more vigorous as the possibility of attaining workers power becomes more real. I am extremely happy to be up here on the podium with Diana Coleman and other people being part of a revolutionary party that is being built in Canada that doesn’t care what we anywhere and has to be destroyed."

Most of the fake ‘socialists’ in San Francisco, confronted by Coleman’s forthright socialist program, have tried to ignore or run from the Coleman campaign. There was one tiny left group, though, which has given her critical support—as well as to the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and Socialists World Party! The Socialist League/Democratic Socialists of America members of the Spartacist League from the right were not matched by any criticism of Coleman’s campaign wins active support from class-conscious SF workers.

Khomeini Connection

(continued from page 12)

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

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

Sources said Metzger and Roeder met twice in San Diego County—august Metzger will confirm only the San Diego county meeting, the newspaper reported. Metzger said there is no official link between the Klan and Roeder’s group, the German People’s Movement. "I’m not a member of his group and he’s not a member of my group," Metzger told the newspaper. "But individuals from my organization are free to receive his literature and keep in touch with him. That’s why I have no qualms about having them put him up for a night or feeding him a meal while he was in the Bay Area." Police said they knew Roeder was in the United States, but that he was not arrested because no charges had been levied against him in this country. Roeder arrived in Oakland in May from Tehran, where he had been given political asylum by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

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

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

Metzger said his followers in the Bay Area harbored Roeder and chauffeured him around, but he said, “It was no big deal.” Metzger said he admired Roeder because of his anti-communist leanings.

Asked about the similarities between the Kian and the neo-Nazi, Metzger said, “There is one only movement. Our goals are similar.”

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

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

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

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

This connection between Metzger and Roeder points out the truth of what the Kian is all about. The Kian’s recent cleaned-up image should not distract us from the truth. Namely, that their feelings about Jews, blacks and other minorities have not changed.

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

Spartacist League/ Spartacists Youth League /Public Offices

MARKIST LITERATURE—
Bay Area
Tuesday 5:00-8:00 p.m. Saturday 3:30-6:00 p.m.
2233 Telegraph, 3rd Floor near 17th Street
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535
Chicago
Tuesday 5:30-9:00 p.m. Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
215 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003
New York City
Tuesday 6:00-10:00 p.m. Saturday 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. One block below Chambers St. near Church St.
New York, N.Y. Phone: (212) 867-1025
Trotskyist League of Canada
Toronto
Tuesday 6:00-9:00 p.m. 599 Queen St. W. Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 563-4348

VOTE COLEMAN
(continued from page 12)

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

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

Khomeini Connection

(continued from page 12)

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

Everywhere Diana Coleman and her supporters in the Spartanist Party Campaign Committee have gone—phone company buildings and phone workers' bars, union meetings of longshoremen, MUNI bus drivers and letter carriers, soapbox rallies in the black working-class Ingleside neighborhood, the Latino Mission and gay Castro districts—they have been well received. They have found that the work of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN), which stopped a Nazi rally on Hitler's birthday and in which Diana Coleman played an active part, is well remembered in the streets of San Francisco.

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

San Francisco is a city of contradictions—a labor town ruled by labor-haters and strikebreakers. It's a town with radical traditions where most of the so-called radicals directly or indirectly support the capitalist Democratic Party. While the "rad-lib" Democrats on the Board of Supervisors campaign virtually on the single issue of whether they are to be elected citywide or by district, Diana Coleman alone is appealing with socialist answers to the continued on page 11