

Washington, D.C., November 27

STOP

THE KKKK!

For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror!

The Ku Klux Klan is getting out its robes and crosses and threatening to ride into Washington on November 27. What the KKK wants for blacks in Reagan's America is the lynch rope! We say: stop these hooded fascists in white sheets before it's too late!

The Klan has obtained government permits to stage their race-hate provocation in black Washington. If they make good their threat to march in D.C., it will be the first time since 1925, when the Klan held the biggest display of racist "white power" in U.S. history. A massive mobilization of labor, blacks, minorities had better be there to stop them now, and drive these racist vermin back into their holes.

The Klan say they're going to assemble near the Capitol building. They say they're going to march to a park across from the White House. They threatened to march earlier this month and they didn't show. They're afraid of the outrage of the decent people of this black city and are using a

"heads they win, tails we lose" strategy. If militants mobilize against the Klan, they generally don't show up, or go off to hide in lily-white suburbs. But, brothers and sisters, if we don't mobilize against them, the Klan surely *will* march in Washington. If we don't stop them here and now, decent people will continue to pay with their lives. We want a massive counterdemonstration against these terrorists *right where they say they're going to start their march.*

When the Klan endorsed Ronald Reagan, they knew what they were doing. Their racist program is being pushed from the White House: repeal voting rights, tax breaks for segregated schools, roll back busing and smash "communism" everywhere. The KKK is the naked expression of what the racists in the White House, the Congress, and city halls think and feel. The Klan carries it out in ugly word and bloody deed. Overt racism is more and more the accepted practice. Unions, the elderly, all of us are under the gun. So you don't

have to be black to be miserable in Reagan's America, but it sure helps.

But the KKK better know that Washington is not Klantown. This city is filled with black residents who know exactly what the Klan is. Many families here have experienced firsthand the terror of the Southern nightriders. The memory of the lash and the noose is not forgotten. Within reach of Washington are powerful integrated unions whose members—hit hard with givebacks, union-busting, mass unemployment—know that the hooded labor-hating racists want to finish them off. But the unions can't let *that* happen without a fight. That is why many elected union officials are building this anti-Klan demonstration and mobilizing to stop the race-terrorists.

We don't need an impotent protest that amounts to a hat-in-hand appeal to Democratic politicians to fight Reagan reaction. We need to mobilize above all the power of labor and blacks, independently and fighting in their own

interests. After all the "New Deals" and "Fair Deals" and "New Frontiers," what does it all come down to? The see-saw two-party system sometimes promises we can go up, but in this desperation economy, we keep going down no matter which party is in power...and our sons are to go off to war again. Smash this endless capitalist racket—build a workers party!

Klan is the Violent Arm of Reaction

America must complete the Civil War. The Union victory became betrayal of the workers and farmers, black and white. The Klan arose to eliminate black political rights and bury Reconstruction. It was the violent arm of the reaction which robbed newly freed blacks and a young working class of most of their gains. Now the U.S. has grown into the imperialist world power opposing social revolution from El Salvador to Southern Africa. The KKK

continued on page 6

**Be where the Klan says they're going to start their march!
Rally 10 a.m. Sat.- First St. N.W. & Constitution Ave.**

TWU Militant: Labor Must Smash Racist Terror

Dear WV:

As a black member of the Transport Workers Union, Local 100, I find it particularly gross and disgusting that the recent KKK runout in Boston a few weeks ago has generated so much heat over the KKK/Nazis' "rights" to "free speech."

First, what are these "constitutional rights"? For whom are they guaranteed? And for what purposes? Well, I want to say that in my union we didn't even have the right to vote on our last sellout contract because of binding arbitration! And how about the Taft-Hartley injunction against the coal miners a few years ago? The point here is that the bosses and their state use the constitution to their own advantage against the working class, blacks and the poor.

Left groups who say that they are fighting for workers' rights and yet call on the racist capitalist state to "ban the Klan" are not revolutionaries. They want to teach us reliance on the same bourgeois state that is responsible for breaking our strikes, napalming Vietnam, and for brutal racist murders of blacks and Latinos across the country. The call by the Socialist Workers Party, which I was briefly associated with some years ago, to debate the fascists to "expose their ideas" is, in particular and in general, a social-democratic strategy of do-nothingism against racist terror. And this also places faith on the racists in blue and the capitalist courts—the enemies of working people. Witness the SWP's call for cops and federal troops to protect black schoolchildren from racist mobs during the 1974-75 busing struggle. The SWP, liberals, and our black misleaders should take the blame for the defeat of busing.

What I also wanted to touch on was the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC) letter sent to a black weekly newspaper in Boston claiming

that maybe the Klan was provoked, and that the weak presence of the "anti-racist movement" allowed the "political character of the demonstration to fall to immature and adventurist elements who emphasized physical attack over political confrontation" [quoted in *Workers Vanguard*, No. 316, 29 October].

Blaming anti-racist demonstrators for the violence of the Klan and Nazis is the same kind of anti-communism that comes out of the mouth of the liberals and the racist courts, for instance, on the Greensboro racist massacre. And I saw with my own eyes NAROC, along with union bureaucrats, black and church misleaders, that offered up black, white and Latino



Boston, October 16: 1,500 demonstrators run the Klan out.

anti-Klan demonstrators to the racist cops and their SWAT teams in Fontana, California on August 9, 1980. While the Klan were on the steps at City Hall organizing for their racist terror, these obstacles, NAROC and company, had the demonstrators singing hymns and praying! Meanwhile, Fontana cops and SWAT teams were staked out on rooftops and trees with their guns trained at the anti-Klan protesters. This strategy only emboldens the Klan because they recognize the impotence of these so-called revolutionaries.

And *WV* hit the nail right on the head when it stated

that "NAROC does not want to see the Klan smashed, but instead wants to use it as a focus for getting out the Democratic vote." For it was NAROC who marched in front of the Democratic Party headquarters in downtown Los Angeles in 1980 with the slogan "Democratic Party—Open your eyes, Don't be a fool for the Klan's disguise" to protest Tom Metzger running for office in the Democratic Party. This is nothing else but a vivid appeal to the Democratic Party to take hold of yourselves, reform the Party—don't let a known Klansman in—because you might lose some key votes in the black and Latino communities!

One does not have to "provoke" the Klan—they exist to carry out their genocidal policies and hope to be, one day, the shock troops of the U.S. imperialists. In New York, especially in the Rockaways where the Klan has been active, racists throw rocks, bottles and even take shots at motormen and conductors. They even went so far as to pour gasoline and set afire a token booth when a black woman attendant was on duty. Last summer, a gang of racist thugs killed a black transit worker and seriously injured his friends. After the death of William Turks, a group of militant class-struggle brothers in the TWU put out a call for union action against all racist atrocities. They called for the jailing of the racist murderers, the right to bear arms and for all 33,000 of us to roll down the streets on flatbed trucks to demonstrate to the racists and capitalist pigs that this is the most powerful union in New York City and to show them that Willie Turks has 33,000 friends. This is the only kind of action the Klan/Nazis would understand. We have to nip them in the bud.

As a militant TWUer, I support the views espoused by the SL/SYL—for labor/black defense guards against race-terror! For a workers party that will fight for a workers government! CP, SWP, YAWF/APC, BUF and all others who rely on the bosses' Democratic Party stand in the way of the SL's revolutionary Trotskyist program of international socialist revolution.

Fraternally,
E.H.

Anti-Soviet Apartheid Axis Flops in Black Africa

Reagan's South Africa Connection

Vice President George Bush was roving the capitals of black Africa looking for allies for the U.S. drive for nuclear war on the Soviet Union when he was diverted to Moscow for the Brezhnev funeral. After delivering pro-forma condolences, the former CIA chief was back in Africa less than 36 hours later, attempting to forge a new anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" there. But black African leaders are not buying.

The problem faced by the warmongers in the White House is that the foundation of that "consensus" on the continent is the growing anti-Soviet axis between Washington and the brutally white supremacist Pretoria regime. That axis expresses itself in everything from

secret meetings between South African military leaders and U.S. ambassador to the UN, Jeane Kirkpatrick, to the Reagan administration's pressure on the International Monetary Fund to loan the apartheid butchers a cool \$1.1 billion. Particularly grotesque was the issuance of an export license for 2,500 high-voltage cattle prods for south African police to repress the black masses.

Bush's tour of black Africa was preceded in September by that of the current CIA head William Casey. Casey met with his spy agency counterparts in Nigeria, Zaire, Zambia, and Mozambique as well as meeting with top ministers and military officers of the Pretoria apartheid regime. Casey and Bush tried to win support for their proposal to "link" independence for the South African colony of Namibia (South West Africa) to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. But Cuban troops are the only force preventing South Africa from reimposing white colonial rule on Angola, as it attempted to do in its 1975 invasion!

The Casey/Bush junket bombed, but not because the capitalist regimes of black Africa fight against South Africa's savage racist policies or its continued domination of Namibia. These neo-colonial regimes brutally repress their own labor movements and ethnic and national minorities. Even "Marxist" Mozambique continues to supply super-exploited labor for Oppenheimer's diamond and gold mines. But South Africa's regular invasions of Angola and its commando operations and support to guerrillas in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola force these regimes, no matter how exploitative and anti-communist, to view the presence of

Soviet and East German-backed Cuban troops in Angola as protection against South African expansionism. As a regional imperialist power, South Africa threatens to turn all of southern Africa into outright colonies like Namibia or subservient economic colonies like Swaziland.

Even the black establishment *Amsterdam News* (20 November) commented, "For whatever else may be said about Leonid Brezhnev, he was a friend of Africa and of African people. He was an outspoken opponent of apartheid and racism." Of course, while Soviet-backed

Cuban troops serve the cause of national liberation in Angola against the U.S.-backed Pretoria apartheid butchers, in Ethiopia the same troops serve the cause of a national oppression and genocide of the bloody Mengistu regime against the Eritreans, Somalis and other minorities. This is because the Kremlin seeks not world revolution but diplomatic alliances with various Third World "anti-imperialist" despots.

Only when the Soviet workers throw Andropov and the rest of the bureaucrats out and restore Soviet democracy can the full resources of Russia's planned economy, the gains of the 1917 October Revolution, be mobilized for world revolution. And it is South Africa's militant black proletariat that will be the motor force for smashing apartheid and making a socialist revolution, laying the basis for the social emancipation of all of black Africa. ■

We reprint for the interest of our readers a recent editorial from the Amsterdam News (20 November), one of the leading black weeklies in the U.S., indicating that even sec-

tions of the black establishment recognize that the anti-Soviet war drive means fomenting white racist terror in southern Africa... and, we might add, at home.

On Leonid Brezhnev

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News

Notwithstanding the boorish behavior of President Ronald Reagan regarding the death of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev there are reasons for a quite different reaction in Black America. Our African ancestry requires a sense of loss at the death of any friend of Africa.

The African nation in America obviously supports an accommodation with the Soviet Union. We too long for peace in the world. We too are opposed to the 1.5 trillion dollar arms budget projected by President Reagan. We too support the idea of a nuclear freeze.

Our yearning for peace, our desire to see America's resources committed to purposes that will improve the quality of our lives are not the only reasons that cause our interest in the passing of Mr. Brezhnev.

For as long as the government of the United States flirts with the racist regime in South Africa and seeks to justify that support with anti-Communist rhetoric we must unequivocally assert that which should be understandable to all the world - that the support of liberation movements in southern Africa by the Soviet Union leaves us in their debt. For whatever else may be said about Leonid Brezhnev, he was a friend of Africa and of African people. He was an outspoken opponent of apartheid and racism.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Choke Hold Murder of Black Youth

Jail Contra Costa Killer Cops!

OAKLAND—On November 3 a coroner's jury in Richmond, California whitewashed yet another case of racist police murder in Reagan's America when it ruled that the September 28 death of Willie Lee Drumgoole in the Richmond City Jail was "accidental." Ella Priester, the only black person on a panel handpicked by the Contra Costa County sheriff-coroner, publicly disagreed with the verdict and cited the "gross negligence" of the police.

Drumgoole, a black unemployed laborer who collected scrap metal to feed his kids, was arrested on "suspicion of burglary" when police found him (empty-handed) in an abandoned warehouse. On September 28, according to another inmate, Drumgoole got into a struggle outside his cell with two police officers and two jailers who beat him with batons, sprayed him with mace and finally strangled him with the "choke hold" made infamous by the Los Angeles police. A black firefighter summoned 40 minutes later to give artificial respiration stated that he was shocked at how long Drumgoole had been left unattended to. The violently choking black man died a few moments later.

It took a wave of militant black outrage to force resisting city and county officials to convene even a whitewash coroner's jury. On October 23 a demonstration of 350 mainly black and very angry protesters made it clear that Richmond blacks are fed up with this racist "justice." Willie Drumgoole is the fifth black man killed by Richmond police in two years—the others were shot down in their bedrooms and on their front porches by trigger-happy cops with known links to the fascist Ku Klux Klan scum who infest Contra Costa County.

Why the Cops Are Killers

There are so many recent examples of racist cop street murders and jail

Angry protest against racist cop murders in Richmond, California October 23.



brutality in California that they couldn't possibly all be listed in *Workers Vanguard*. And make no mistake—they get away with it. On September 17 Oakland police arrested Richard Williams, 33, who was reportedly "chasing children" in a public park. Williams too was "restrained" with the choke hold and never made it to the station alive. In 1979 Oakland cop Robert Fredericks brutally murdered black Machinists union shop steward Charles Driscoe with four shotgun blasts and six rounds from a .357 magnum. Hundreds of members of the International Association of Machinists plus local black residents participated in the protest which ensued, but the Oakland Police Department whitewashed it as "self-defense." There was also the Long Beach cops' murder of 97-pound 13-year-old Tyrone Dawson last August; and the infamous jailhouse hanging by the Signal Hill cops of black football star Ron Settles in June, after stopping him for a minor traffic violation. There has been no prosecution in these cases

and many others.

As America slides deeper into misery and depression, the racists grow bolder. Blacks desperately need defense against this terror. But the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which has led the protests against the murder of Willie Drumgoole, follows a treacherous and impotent legalistic strategy—in marked contrast to the militant mood of many demonstrating blacks. At the October 23 Richmond rally, the NAACP called primarily for more black police to end racist harassment and a civilian review board to stop police brutality. But white or black, the cops are hired guns of a repressive capitalist class, and this necessarily entails racist brutality.

As for civilian review boards, these are impotent schemes which only build illusions in the reformability of the police. No review board anywhere has ever stopped police brutality. And just how much did the NAACP think the Richmond police need to be "reviewed"? In January 1980 the NAACP and the city of Richmond reached an out-of-court settlement arising from 11 cases of brutality, by which the police department agreed to "reform" its internal affairs. In early September of this year the NAACP and Contra Costa County reached a settlement of lawsuits over police handling of racial harassment of three black families living in white neighborhoods in 1980. The county promises to make "good faith efforts" to prevent such attacks—of course the families in question have long since been driven from their homes! This meaningless "model" settlement, as the NAACP called it, didn't do them any good. Nor did these reviews and agreements mean a damned thing when Willie Drumgoole was choked to death on September 28, or on November 3 when the murderers went scot-free.

Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror

None of the reformist pseudo-socialist groups which have clustered around the Drumgoole protests can better the timid liberalism of the NAACP. For example, at the October 23 rally Mel Mason, regional co-representative for the National Black Independent Political Party and highly unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, issued a leaflet calling for "ban the choke hold." The choke hold was "banned" in Los Angeles last May after racist police chief Daryl Gates declared that blacks died from the hold because they are not "normal people." Since then the LAPD has murdered a 36-year-old black man

and an 18-year-old Latino garment worker with the hold—but the cause of death is described as "compression-type blunt force" so as not to break the ban!

Court pleas and powerless review boards will not stop the attacks of the fascists and police. Reliance on the Democratic Party is a deathtrap for blacks. The racists know they have a friend in Sacramento with Reagan supporter George Deukmejian in the state house. But blacks would have been no better off under Democrat Tom Bradley—himself a black ex-cop veteran of the LAPD, choke hold champions of the world—who as Los Angeles mayor has repeatedly refused to fire the racist police chief Gates. The Democratic Party peacefully harbors fascist scum like Tom Metzger, the southern California Klan leader who ran as the regular Democratic candidate in the last primary. Blacks need to organize for self-defense. And it is a good thing that the statewide gun control measure lost big on November 3, for gun control is only an attempt to give the police and the fascists a monopoly on weapons and make race-terror that much easier to carry out.

But what blacks need most of all is the real power of an alliance with the labor movement against race-terror. The Spartacist League (SL) has pointed the way for the building of that alliance with mobilizations against fascist provocations all over America in the last few years, from the November 1979 Detroit anti-Klan demonstration of 500 mainly black auto workers and socialists to the 1,200 unionists and minorities who came out to stop the Nazis in San Francisco in April 1980, to the 2,000 who drove a gang of Hitler-lovers out of Ann Arbor last March 20 and 3,000 who kept the Nazis from goose-stepping in Chicago's Lincoln Park on June 27. These mass labor and black-centered mobilizations, led by the Spartacist League, successfully interdicted the fascists from penetrating the northern industrial centers. Meanwhile, the liberals and reformists impotently stood on the sidelines, calling on the capitalist state (in Reagan's racist America, no less) to "ban the Klan" or prating about the racist terrorists' supposed "right to free speech." And once again on October 16 in Boston the SL was in the front lines as an angry crowd of 1,500 ran off hooded Klansmen and repulsed the cops who attacked to save their white-sheeted brothers.

These kinds of actions are the *only* way to defeat growing attacks against black people. Jail the killers of Willie Drumgoole and all the killer cops! For black self-defense! For labor/black mobilizations against race-terror! ■

Oroville Killer Is Charlie Manson Pal

California Nazis Execute High School Youth

As black people in Contra Costa County can testify, the race-terrorists can wear the blue uniform of the police, the white sheets of the Klan or the brown shirts of the Nazi Party—and sometimes all three. The small town of Oroville, California provides an example of this cooperation. In September hundreds of race-baiting, swastika-embazoned leaflets appeared in school lockers all over Oroville, a depression-ridden town of 9,000 with an active Nazi group of 100.

Then in mid-October 17-year-old Joseph Hoover, a one-time Nazi sympathizer who had given police information about the leaflet distribution, turned up dead on a road outside town, executed with eight bullets in the back of the head. Black parents received telephone calls threatening that their children would be shot at school, and organized a successful two-day boycott in self-defense. After weeks of declaring that they could not imagine who was behind it all, the Oroville police on November 7 finally arrested Perry "Red" Warthan, leader of the fascist group, the National Socialists, on

suspicion of murder.

But when the town was earlier plagued by a series of robberies, police moved with alacrity to harass the black community. In February, cops stopped five blacks for an arbitrary car search, forced them to lie face down and crawl on their bellies while a group of white onlookers chanted "shoot the niggers." Blacks say that this kind of racist police harassment has stepped up in proportion as the Nazi group has grown bolder. "Red" Warthan regularly visits the fascist sympathizer and psychopathic murderer Charles Manson at Vacaville prison. Like Manson, Warthan preaches that "the white race will rise again" after bloody race wars. Yet Oroville Sheriff's Sergeant Burt Akins told the press that *his* real worry is the possibility of violence by angry blacks.

Warthan, who insists he is a vegetarian, turns out to have a history of mental illness. But Hitler was a vegetarian himself and his crazies were dismissed by plenty of people, until the desperate ruling class of an irrational social system put him in power.

\$1.85 Million to Family of Murdered Black Panther

FBI/Cops Murdered Fred Hampton!

CHICAGO—Thirteen years ago the cops smashed in the door of the Chicago apartment with a blast of rifle, carbine and submachinegun fire, murdering Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds and wounding five others. Now, on November 1, the city of Chicago, Cook County and U.S. Justice Department were forced to hand over a \$1.85 million settlement to relatives and survivors of what was probably the most savage government murder raid in modern American history. The settlement of the suit launched in 1970 was the biggest ever made in a civil rights case. And while no amount of money could "compensate" for the loss of black militants Hampton and Clark, or erase this hideous conspiracy between the Nixon White House, the FBI and the Chicago "Red Squad," the big money settlement in the heat of Reagan's racist rollback is a political victory and an implicit admission of the government's guilt.

A government attorney in the case has denied that the award constitutes an admission of guilt, claiming only that to conduct another trial would be too costly. But there is no way the government was going to shell out almost two million dollars to the Panther families if they thought they could get away with it. In racist America, bourgeois justice means the Greensboro massacre where the race/terrorist killers in white and blue went scot-free. For the government to settle out of court can only mean that the case against them is so compelling that yet another cover-up trial simply wouldn't wash.

The murderous 4 December, 1969 raid on the Panther headquarters at 2337 West Monroe on Chicago's West Side was the "high point" of the government's concerted nationwide campaign to "get the Panthers." FBI documents made public during the course of this and subsequent Panther cases prove it. The COINTEL program, originally conceived by FBI chief



Fred Hampton, left. On right, the bullet-ridden door to his apartment after murderous 1969 police raid.

Keep Strong



UPI

J. Edgar Hoover in 1956 to get the Communist Party was given a new emphasis in 1967. The new target would be the organizations of black nationalists which had sprung up in response to the defeats harvested by the liberal pro-Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement. The stated aim of COINTELPRO was to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist hate-type organizations." The Panthers were particularly singled out because of their significant popular appeal and their emphasis on armed self-defense against cop terror. At the time of Hampton's murder, the Chicago FBI file on him was 4,000 pages long!

When the Panthers opened an office on the West Side of Chicago in December 1968, the FBI sent William O'Neal, a paid informant, to join the party. Within one year, O'Neal had risen to become the Panthers' "head of security" (!) and third in command of the Chicago organization, behind

Hampton and Bobby Rush. The existence of this *agent provocateur* was not discovered by the lawyers in the civil suit until 1973. An FBI letter dated April 1969 spoke highly of the role played by agent O'Neal in "impelling criminal activities of the Black Panthers locally." It was O'Neal who provided the FBI with a detailed floor plan of the Hampton apartment.

O'Neal advised the FBI in December 1969 that Hampton was contemplating going underground and that "time was of the essence." FBI, city and county officials agreed to conduct a pre-dawn "weapons search" in the Hampton apartment. The job was given to Chicago cops assigned to a "special prosecution unit" formed by then state's attorney Hanrahan purportedly to tackle "black gangs." In eight minutes 100 shots were fired and two Panthers lay dead, several others wounded—and the Chicago Panther organization beheaded. To all militants who lived through the '60s, that murder raid is

forever burned into memory.

For the next 10 years, the Chicago cops and courts denied the conspiracy that was clear from the beginning. The FBI/federal government role was buried. An initial grand jury failed to return any indictments and directed its fire against the Panthers—bringing the survivors up on charges of attempted murder! (These charges were later dismissed through lack of evidence.) In a 1972 bench trial (without jury) Hanrahan and other law-enforcement officials were brought up on criminal charges of covering up evidence against the cops, who were the actual trigger men on the job. The judge, like Hanrahan himself, a product of Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine, dismissed the charges. So with the state-orchestrated phony trial, because of the prohibition on "double jeopardy," Hanrahan could not again be tried on criminal charges. The only recourse left the family was the civil suit.

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SL/SYL Call for Arab-Hebrew Workers Revolution 1,200 Protest Butcher Begin in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—Over 1,200 angry demonstrators marched in front of the Bonaventure Hotel in downtown Los Angeles on a Saturday night, November 13 to protest the scheduled appearance of Israeli leader Menachem Begin. Begin came to drum up financial support from wealthy American Zionists for the murderous Israeli war machine and its genocidal invasion of Lebanon. Protesters came out, despite open threats of physical violence by thugs of the Jewish Defense League (JDL) and its gun-nut split-off the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO) to express their just outrage towards the Zionist butcher and his war of extermination against the Palestinians. The day before, JDO goons brutally assaulted a press conference of the anti-Begin protest organizers (after mistakenly disrupting a pro-Begin press conference as well).

Cheers greeted the arrival of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) contingent, especially from Palestinians responding to our banner which read, "Defend the Palestinians! Israeli/Imperialist Troops Out of Lebanon!" Militants hailed us to join the picket line and



WV Photo

readily took up our chants "Stop Begin's final solution—For Arab-Hebrew workers revolution!" Rally organizers from the hyper-Stalinist U.S. Anti-Imperialist League (USAL)

were hysterical at the warm reception received by the Trotskyist SL since it prevented them from carrying out their usual attempts at political exclusion.

With the standard reformist rhetoric about building the rally on the "broadest possible" basis, spokesmen for the USAL, the Communist Party (CP) and other left groupings simultaneously groveled before Arab nationalism and joined hands with Zionist "doves." (Interestingly, the Morenoites, not ones to pass up an opportunity to tail after nationalists, quickly disappeared after the arrival of the SL contingent and never returned.) Naturally the CP pushed its reformist solution for "stopping U.S. imperialism": "Get rid of Reagan," as if the Democrats were any less pro-Zionist!

In contrast, our revolutionary internationalist program struck a chord among many young Palestinian Lebanese militants who expressed a keen sense of betrayal toward Arafat after the PLO's abandonment of West Beirut which paved the way for the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Seventy-eight *WVs* were sold almost exclusively to Palestinian and Arab militant youth. They were impressed with the fact that only the SL presented a clear program for Palestinian national liberation and an end to nationalist bloodletting in the Middle East. The SL from the beginning has warned against the introduction of the imperialist "peace-keeping" troops and Arafat's strategy of Pax Americana. Smash Zionism—Break with PLO nationalism—for an Arab-Hebrew Trotskyist party.

U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals

Last month the Reagan administration announced with great fanfare plans to deport Valerian Trifa, one of many former Nazis and fascist war criminals who have received a "free world" haven in the United States. Archbishop Trifa, head of the Romanian Orthodox Church in exile now residing in Grass Lake, Michigan, was a leader of the fascist Iron Guard and directly responsible for a bloody pogrom in January 1941. It was an inflammatory speech by Iron Guardist Trifa which incited the massacre of more than 6,000 Jews in Bucharest in retaliation for the killing of a German officer. Photographs of the massacre show dead Jews hanging from meat hooks like slaughtered animals. These facts have been known for years, and yet today the fascist mass murderer remains at liberty in the U.S. until a country can be found to take him.

We say Trifa must be immediately deported to Romania so he can be tried by his surviving victims for his heinous crimes!

In announcing Trifa's voluntary "deportation," the director of the federal Office of Special Investigations (OSI), Allan Ryan, boasted that this was the first time in 30 years that anyone had been deported from the country for fascist activities. Andrija Artukovic, for instance, Ustashi interior minister in the Nazi puppet government of Croatia, was ordered deported in 1953 but to this day still lives peacefully in California (U.S. officials say they feared he might be "persecuted" if returned to Yugoslavia). This is a telling indictment of America's pretensions of championing "human rights" around the world. So Ryan carefully denied that there was "any evidence" that the Central Intelligence Agency had aided in resettling Nazi killers in the U.S. On the contrary.

Last May, John Loftus, a former OSI investigator, went public with the story the government wouldn't let out on a CBS-TV *60 Minutes* special on "The Nazi Connection." Loftus revealed that there was a 35-year cover-up, deliberately ordered by the "intelligence community," about literally thousands of fascist war criminals imported into the U.S. Loftus was investigating groups of collaborators organized by the Nazis as auxiliaries to the infamous *Einsatzgruppen*, mobile death squads that sowed terror in the areas of the Soviet Union occupied by the German army in 1941. He focused in particular on the area of Byelorussia, where the bloodthirsty



Minsk, 1941: Hitlerite death squad executes anti-fascist partisans. Byelorussian Nazis massacred more than 200,000.

collaborators were organized into a special unit of the SS, the Bellarus SS. Now the government has been forced to confirm Loftus' charges:

"Recently, the FBI confirmed to The Washington Post that as many as 4,000 Byelorussian members of Nazi militia groups were allowed to immigrate to the United States even though the organizations to which they belonged were banned...."

—*Washington Post*, 4 November

Everybody knows how numerous top SS mass murderers escaped to such places as Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Spain. But their presence in the U.S. has always been hushed up. In the aftermath of Watergate some who had stumbled onto the story tried to publicize the fact that CIA "dirty tricks" went far beyond breaking into Democratic Party headquarters. The book *Wanted: The Search for Nazis in America* by Howard Blum documented the frustrated attempts of Immigration Service investigator Anthony DeVito to prosecute 50 death camp murderers and fascist criminals living in this country. His conclusion: "An ODESSA organization" of former SS officers "has infiltrated the inner reaches of our government."

People began asking embarrassing questions which undercut the U.S.' "human rights" campaign aimed at whipping up anti-Soviet fervor and morally rearming American imperialism after the debacle of Vietnam. So Jimmy Carter set up the OSI, vowing to "rout out Nazi war criminals who may be hiding in the U.S." Yet such "investigations" went nowhere. Why? Because it was not some ODESSA-style outfit, but the American government itself which was hiring the Nazis, smuggling them into this country and giving them U.S. citizenship. At the end of World War II a secret spy agency, the Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), run by notorious Cold War spook Frank Wisner out of the State Department, combed the refugee camps in Europe to pick out Nazi intelligence men with an intimate knowledge of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

In the May 16 TV special, Loftus told CBS News correspondent Mike Wallace that he had read classified information indicating that "a number of these programs were approved at the highest levels."

Loftus: "We're talking about the leaders of an SS division that fought against Americans and [about] the leaders of the Nazi puppet government in Byelorussia that, by the end of the war, had exterminated 25 percent of the civilian population, including nearly all

of the country's Jewish population, some three quarters of a million Jews. I decided to pick one of the regions of Byelorussia and see if we could find how many Nazi officials from that region were in the country. All of them are. They knew that the entire Nazi government of Byelorussia, the president, the vice presidents, cabinet ministers, governors and mayors, police chiefs were all living in America. They knew that."

Wallace: "Who's they?"

Loftus: "The FBI, Army Counter-Intelligence, Army Foreign Intelligence, the Department of State—they knew and they recruited them because they were Nazis.... I read one top secret State Department report that said that there were 22 different intelligence agencies interrogating the emigrés in the displaced persons camps, all competing with each other, all fighting over the same Nazis."

Wallace added that U.S. military intelligence also sent a number of Nazis to other countries, so many that at least one South American country finally told the United States it refused to take any more Nazis.

"War Criminals at Liberty"

These people were authentic war criminals, picked to do jobs even too dirty for the likes of the SS Death's Head Battalion. Loftus cited *Stanislau Stankevitch*, Nazi-appointed mayor of Borrisow, Byelorussia who received orders from the SS to kill every Jew in his county. Under his command, in order to save bullets, they had the victims lie on top of each other in two

rows and shot through the bodies. There was *Vilis Hazners*, the Latvian secret police official, who in July of 1941 forced a number of Jews into a synagogue which was then set on fire. There was *Vitold Tumash*, the Nazi-designated mayor of Minsk, capital of Byelorussia, who personally recruited a police force that massacred 45,000 people. There were *Emmanuel Jasiuk* and *Franz Kushel*, respectively the puppet mayor of the town of Stulpche and the "defense minister" of "White Ruthenia" (the German puppet state in Byelorussia) who oversaw the executions of more than 200,000 people. There was *Anton Adamovitch*, propagandist for the Nazis who became an informer for U.S. Army Intelligence.

Where are they today? Stankevitch, wanted by the Nuremberg Trials, was refused entry to the U.S. five times until he was finally smuggled into this country by American agents. For over 20 years he worked for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in New York until he died peacefully in his bed in Queens in 1980. Hazners is a long-time contributor and still a paid freelancer for RFE/RL. Tumash, for many years a scriptwriter for Radio Liberty and freelancer for RFE, was temporarily suspended during the OSI investigation, but has since been reinstated. Adamovitch, still a staff writer at Radio Liberty, told CBS the American authorities knew all about his background when they contacted him in Berlin after the war to enlist him for their anti-Soviet intelligence network.

The American propaganda stations aimed at Russia and East Europe were only some of the employers of the Nazi war criminals. The Gehlen organization, Hitler's former Foreign Armies East espionage apparatus, became the core of West German intelligence (the *Bundesnachrichtendienst*) and a key element in the CIA's Soviet bloc operations. Wisner, head of the CIA's cloak-and-dagger Plans Division in the mid-1950s, decided to drop some of the Byelorussian collaborators back into the USSR as assassination squads. Fortunately, the Soviets were forewarned and all of the murderers were picked up within a matter of minutes after landing. Some of the Nazi imports became American Cold War advisers during the Korean War; Loftus cites SS Major Friedrich Buchardt, a leader of the *Einsatzgruppen*, and SS General Franz Six, who headed Himmler's special staff to liquidate Soviet Communist leaders. Others, including at least 30

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NY Post

Iron Guardist "Archbishop" Trifa

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Stop the KKK...

(continued from page 1)

wants to nail America to a cross with the nails driven through black flesh! The KKK's protectors in the White House want to extend this crucifixion throughout the world and above all to Russia, for its original sin of revolution.

The Klan is the symbol and cutting edge of racist reaction in America. If they can get away with it here in Washington, it will whet their appetite for more racist violence. It is not a matter of free speech. Don't underestimate them! Where the KKK thinks they've got the edge, *they're killers*. Remember Greensboro, where they murdered leftists, union organizers and blacks in broad daylight, and then the government let them off scot-free. Remember Birmingham, Alabama where a Klan bomb left four black Sunday School children dead in the ruins of their church. Calling on their government to "ban the Klan" is suicidal. They didn't need a permit in Greensboro. We don't need to see blue uniforms underneath the white sheets to

know that the cops, and the courts, are on the side of the Klan.

It's labor's job to lead the fight to smash Klan/Nazi race-terror. Labor and blacks have the power! Successful labor/black mobilizations have prevented the Klan and Nazis from parading in northern cities, from Detroit in November 1979 to San Francisco, April 1980; Ann Arbor, Michigan, March 1980; Chicago, June 1982. In Boston, 1,500 angry demonstrators ran the Klan out of town last month.

What we need in Washington on November 27 is a massive display of defiant power by all the enemies and would-be victims of the KKK—shipyard and dock workers from Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia; steel workers from Pittsburgh and Baltimore; government and transit workers from Washington, D.C.; blacks, Latins, Jews, Catholics, socialists, the minority youth of Washington who have been sentenced to a life of desperation.

Turn out against the Klan! Get your union moving, build contingents from your schools; organize car pools and buses to come to Washington, November 27, to stop the Klan. It's us or them.

The Spartacist League initiated the call for Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan in Washington, D.C., November 27 because we for one believe:

IN D.C. NOW AND EVERYWHERE, FIGHT KLAN TERROR! Mobilize the power of organized labor and minorities against KKK/Nazi killers!

Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay!

Labor/black defense of school busing—extend it to the suburbs; free public higher education for all!

Break America from Carter's Democrats and Reagan's Republicans—for a workers party with a strong black leadership component to:

- Smash the war drive, support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad!
- Institute a massive social security program—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages!
- Take American industry away from its incompetent, corrupt owners—nationalize it under a workers government! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!



Boston:
16 October
1982

WV Photo

International Spartacist tendency in anti-fascist mobilizations.

Chicago:
27 June 1982



Dean Paul/NFI



Rouen,
France:
11 December
1981

Le Bolchevik

Ann Arbor News

Ann Arbor:
20 March
1982



Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27

"We endorse and will help build a mass labor/black demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) planned November 27th march in Wash., D.C.—an insult to blacks and most other Americans. Stop the Klan!"

Partial List of Endorsers

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Willie L. Bell, Recording Secretary and Chairman, Civil Rights Committee, IAM-AW Local Lodge 739,* Oakland, CA
Frank Billeci, President, ILWU Local 34,* San Francisco, CA
Spurgeon L. Boone, President, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
Sidney L. Brooks, President, Nation's Capital Area Local APWU,* Washington, D.C.
W.W. Brown, Jr., Chief Steward, IAM Local 441,* Portsmouth, VA
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Jackie Clark, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6,* San Francisco, CA
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Department of Black Studies, City College of New York,* and **Leonard Jeffries, Jr.**, Professor
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Robert Edwards, President, ILWU Local 2,* San Francisco, CA
Marvin Foreman, Business Rep., Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Local 23,* Norfolk, VA
Benjamin J. Foster, Chairman, Track and Power Distribution Division, TWU Local 100,* New York, NY
Richard Fraser, Historic American Trotskyist and member, Democratic Socialists of America,* Los Angeles, CA
Arthur T. Freeman, President and Business Manager, Metropolitan Public Service

Workers, Laborers International Union, Local 52,* Norfolk, VA
Alvin F. Gant, General President, National Post Office Mailhandlers Union Local 302,* San Francisco, CA
Richard D. Garland, Former Black Advocate and Representative, University of Michigan,* Ann Arbor, MI
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Roy Greer, Local 959,* Ann Arbor, MI
Fernando Guerrero, President, OCAW Local 1-1978,* Richmond, CA
Ethan Gums, Chair, Legislative Committee, Chief Steward, IAM-AW Local Lodge 739,* Oakland, CA
Jean Hasket, Secretary, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
Cleophas C. Hawkins, Steward, IBEW Local 2280,* Portsmouth, VA
Robert Hefner, Professor, University of Michigan,* Ann Arbor, MI
Gene Herson for the **Militant-Solidarity Caucus** in the National Maritime Union*
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IAM Local Lodge 1327, South San Francisco, CA
Kathy Ikegami, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410,* San Francisco, CA
ILA Local 1248, Norfolk, VA
ILA Local 1458, Norfolk, VA
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers

and **Helpers, Local 684**, Norfolk, VA and **T.L. Fields**, President
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David W. Moore, Retired UAW International Representative,* Participant in 1932 Ford Hunger March, Detroit, MI
Kenneth B. Nesbitt, Executive Board, United Motormen Division, TWU Local 100,* New York, NY
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Henry Hank Wilson, President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600,* Dearborn, MI
Lynn Yaeger, Chief Shop Steward, *Village Voice*, UAW District 65,* New York, NY

*Organization listed for identification purposes only.

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the views expressed by the initiators of this mobilization.

Genocide Is Not Debatable—

Smash the Klan!

Cross-burnings, swastikas, gunfire in the night—fascist terror groups are growing from California to Connecticut, and now the Ku Klux Klan says they'll march in the nation's capital, a city which is 70 percent black. Next door to Washington, Montgomery County, Maryland has recorded 150 racist and anti-Semitic assaults this year alone. Yet the response of the so-called left, the labor movement and minority groups—the targets of the still-small fascist gangs—has often been paralysis. Why?

The answer can be found by looking at those places where the fascists were stopped in recent years, for instance: in Detroit, November 1979, when the Klan planned to hail the Greensboro massacre; in San Francisco, April 1980, when the Nazis said they'd "celebrate Hitler's birthday" in front of City Hall; or last March, when the Nazis tried to goose-step in Ann Arbor; and in Chicago on June 27, where the Nazis tried to stage a "death to gays" march. In each of these cases the fascist scum were physically prevented from carrying out their provocations by masses of protesters, from hundreds to several thousand trade unionists, blacks, Latinos, Jews, Catholics, homosexuals, socialists—all the potential targets of KKK/Nazi terror. We of the Spartacist League (SL) initiated these successful actions by mobilizing layers of the labor movement as the necessary core of the anti-fascist fight. And again last month in Boston the SL was in the front lines as 1,500 enraged protesters drove a bunch of white-robed Klansmen off the streets.



Detroit, November 1979: 500 blacks, auto workers and leftists stopped the Klan.

But an independent mobilization of the working class and minorities for militant action scares the wits out of the capitalist politicians (Democrats and Republicans alike), the bought union bureaucrats, the preachers and all the other flunkies for the ruling class. They want the masses to do something other than "Stop the KKK"—and they always throw up a thousand different "alternatives" to real mass action. In Washington, D.C. on November 27, while the KKK plans to parade for racist terror in their hoods and white sheets, Democratic Party politicians like black D.C. Congressman Walter Fauntroy are calling for "demonstrations of love and reconciliation"—far away from the Klan, of course. Various reformist leftists, meanwhile, want to walk to the

White House to pressure Reagan—the Klan's preferred candidate for president whose program, said "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson, could have been written by the KKK! With different arguments and different tactics, they all want to throw obstacles in the road of mass labor/black mobilization to smash the Klan.

There are first of all the liberals like Democrat Klanwatcher Julian Bond, the National Anti-Klan Network, etc. and mushy "socialists" like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who think the Klan and the Nazis are just right-wing ideological groups who can be "exposed" by debate and education. Thus while the KKK was out killing, the SWP debated Kandidate Tom Metzger in 1980 on a "Speak Up America" TV

show. And Bond joined "Grand Wizard" Don Black on a New York TV platform last month—the same Klan leader who's behind the November 27 threat! Black sneered on TV, "I love it here." And why shouldn't he? This Wizard of death feeds off the wimpy liberalism that treats his plans for the elimination of blacks and Jews as debatable "ideas." The Klan is a murderous action group which understands only one language—and it's not the language of polite debate!

Seemingly opposite to the "free-speech-for-fascists" liberals are the "ban the Klan" types. But they are really brothers under the skin because both want the masses to rely on the government for "protection." Reformist groups like the Communist Party (CP) and the Communist Workers Party (CWP) have pushed "ban the Klan" schemes while trying to undermine any real mobilization to stop the Klan/Nazis. Thus in April 1980 in San Francisco, CP supporters in the longshore and warehouse union opposed labor/black action, saying not to worry, the officials were pressing the mayor to deny a permit to the Nazis. As it turned out, the fascists got their permit but canceled out only when they heard about the SL-initiated mobilization that brought out 1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists to occupy the site where the Hitler-lovers planned to march.

Similarly, when the Klan recently announced they would show up in Washington on November 6, the CWP-
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KKK: A Century of Racist Terror

They came in the dead of night, white-robed, with burning cross. They came on horseback to the home of a black family on an isolated rural Southern road. The inhabitants, in sheer terror, knew it was the Ku Klux Klan. And they knew the KKK had come to flog, to cripple, to lynch.

For more than a century the white robes of the nightriders have meant terror for black Americans. But today there is much talk of a "new Klan." Most of this talk comes from Klan leaders who have been given a forum by the media. But how "new" is this Klan?

Historians of the Ku Klux Klan

distinguish three periods of KKK activity: the original Klan which rode against Reconstruction after the Civil War; a born-again Klan of the 1920s based in the industrial cities; and the contemporary Klan. But there is a thread of white terror which ties together the long history of KKK violence. Each "new" Klan rekindles the fiery cross of race-terror and initiates the bizarre rituals of the post-Civil War Klan. From the genteel Southern planter with horse and lash to the three-piece suited Kleagles and Wizards of TV talk shows, the Klan has always been an organization of race-terror for white supremacy and counterrevolution.

The Klan has been the most influential, effective and dangerous of all the fascist groups in America. But if Klan terror has continued for more than a century, so has the struggle against it. In order to better organize that fight, it is important to understand the Klan's origins and history, to know what it is that the modern day Wizards emulate. For the history of the Ku Klux Klan is written in rivers of blood of black Americans waiting to be avenged.

The Reconstruction War (1866-1877)

The Klan was born out of the heat of bloody counterrevolution in the South after the Civil War. The Second American Revolution, which was begun to prevent secession, ended by crushing the Southern slave system and placing the industrial-based Northern capitalists (represented by the Republican Party) in command. To consolidate its victory the revolutionary bourgeoisie granted formal political rights to the freed slaves, and during Reconstruction black



Washington, D.C., August 1925—40,000 Klansmen marched. It must not happen again!

and white radical Republicans, protected by the Union army, sought to overturn the political and social structure of the antebellum South. To fight the Reconstruction governments, Southern reactionaries turned to a secret war of terror and intimidation. Their armed fist in this war was the Ku Klux Klan.

Formed in Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866 by a group of ex-Confederate officers, the KKK spread quickly across the South as the terrorist arm of the Democratic Party. The Grand Wizard was an ex-slave trader, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who commanded the Confederate troops at the massacre of Fort Pillow where in 1864 more than 300 black troops were taken prisoner and savagely murdered along with their families.

The precedent and model for the Klan terror was the pre-war slave patrol. This common practice involved groups of

men who patrolled the roads at night looking for slaves to "interrogate" and whip. They would also make midnight raids on the slave quarters. When there was fear of slave revolts (and this was often), the slave patrols would be stepped up in their frequency and violence.

In the name of protecting civilization and "Southern womanhood" against the "carpetbagger," the Klan created a reign of terror meant to restore and maintain white supremacy in every sphere of life. Their main target was the black Union Leagues which were the political and fraternal organizations of the Republican Party. The Union Leagues and the few armed black militias were all that made the Reconstruction governments possible. For the "crime" of being in the Union League, or even voting Republican, blacks could well expect a visit from the nightriders.
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Smash the Klan...

(continued from page 7)

led PARK coalition ("People Against Racism and the Klan") devoted its efforts to pressuring federal officials to deny the racists a rally permit. Facing November 27, this reformist strategy has fallen flat on its face as the Parks Department readily granted the Klan permit—while hassling the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27, and other anti-Klan protesters, in regards to a permit! That's the built-in double standard of capitalist "justice"—"anti-extremists" laws have *always* been used against the left and labor movement, no matter what the fantasies of reformists like the CP and CWP!

If all else fails and the anti-fascist mobilizations pick up support, the liberals start violence-baiting smears against "reds," thereby shifting the blame from the fascist murderers to their intended victims. This is usually coupled with a call to stay home or go to an "alternative" demonstration. In Ann Arbor last March 20, the SL mounted a broad mobilization to "Stop the Nazis." The mayor and various liberals countered with an "ignore the Nazis" rally some distance away from where the fascists said they'd march, while some "left" groups (RWL, RSL) vacillated between the two counterposed demonstrations. When 2,000 people showed up and actually chased the Hitler-lovers out, the local press said "the reaction to the Nazis was Nazi itself." And the fake-lefts joined the liberal backlash by accusing the SL of "hooliganism" and "thuggery" for preventing their attempt to disrupt the "Stop the Nazis" demo.

There are also the "left" hangers-on of Teddy Kennedy & Co. like Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/All Peoples Congress (WWP/APC). The Marcyites initiated the recent cycle of anti-Spartacist violence at the May 1981 El Salvador march on the Pentagon where they threw up a line of goons to prevent demonstrators from attending a rally of the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent. They were desperate to cement a "popular-front" alliance with the Kennedy liberals, and, more than willing to

exclude the reds to get it. The WWP/APC have used murderous violence against SL demonstrators, and last March 27 took the initiative in forming goon squads and *calling in the capitalist cops* to keep the "Sparts" out of another D.C. El Salvador demo.

The Marcyites, though willing to pay lip-service to the need for labor support, aren't really looking toward the organized power of unions and blacks; they aim instead at a bloc with influential "progressives" (capitalist politicians) to pressure the government to clean up its act. In Boston last month they tried to pull in strikebreaking governor Ed King and mayor Kevin White under their all-purpose slogan, "Roll Back Reaganism"—a not-very-veiled call to vote Democrat in November. Today WWP/APC avoid the call to "stop the KKK" and instead want to "tell Reagan we want jobs, not the racist KKK"—i.e., beg from the racist in the White House while the fascists in the streets get away with murder!

And then there are the small-group confrontationists who have given up on the working class and want to bash the Klan/Nazis all by themselves. Most notable in this regard is Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism (PL/InCAR), who have occasionally managed to give a good lesson to the fascists, but more often than not have led their followers into a bashing at the hands of the cops. The so-called "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" is downright provocative, with a history of confrontations with the cops and talk about heralding the "revolutionary expropriation of funds from a Brink's truck in Nyack, New York." Isolated adventures are but the flip side of reformist "ban the Klan" schemes—both reflect a deepgoing lack of faith in the working class and at bottom a faith in the "decency" of the capitalist state, a set-up for horrible defeat.

What unites all the liberals and the pseudo-left is their wish that the masses rely on the courts, the cops and army—for "protection." And indeed, the whole debate about how to fight the Klan really revolves around the question: do you trust the racist, capitalist state? As Marxists, we don't—and any militant unionist who's been through a hard strike, any black who's had his home

shot up by vigilantes, very likely recognizes that at all levels we face a government by and for the bosses. If anyone needs convincing, they only have to look at the 1979 Greensboro massacre, where KKK/Nazi killers operated in broad daylight, egged on by a federal agent and local cop informer. Or the whole history of the civil rights movement, plagued by Klan attacks which, it came out years later, were often led by police agents like FBIer Gary Rowe. No wonder that KKK "Wizard" Wilkinson sarcastically remarked, after admitting last year that he was working for the FBI, that it really didn't make much difference.

In fact it was the governments of Democrat Carter and Republican Reagan which created the favorable climate for the fascists today. Carter's "human rights" crusade against the Soviet Union aimed at the moral and military rearmament of U.S. imperialism after its Vietnam debacle, while Reagan sharply escalated this anti-Soviet war drive supported by both parties. The drive to "roll back" communism abroad—fundamentally, to overturn the remaining social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution still embodied in the bureaucratized Soviet Union—has its domestic reflection in the smashing of the air controllers' union (PATCO) and the dismantling of civil rights gains from the '60s. The fascist killers who were acquitted in Greensboro justified their heinous crime by wrapping it in the American flag and the "fight against communism." The anti-Soviet war drive means the destruction of working-class and black struggles at home.

Today groups like the KKK and American Nazis are working the fringes of the anti-Soviet war drive, feeding off the mass unemployment in Reagan's America. They can and must be driven back into their lairs and prevented from infesting the northern industrial and metropolitan centers by mobilization of the social power of the labor movement, now heavily integrated, and drawing in the doubly oppressed layers of blacks, Latins and others. The time to act is now. Goaded by wrenching economic misery, this country has deep, violent instability not too far beneath the surface. If the capitalist rulers feel their "right" to exploit and oppress to be threatened, they will unleash the fascist terrorists now held in reserve. In America they will foment bloody counterrevolution on a program of white racism. It *can* happen here, and the only way to sweep away the KKK and the rest of the fascist killers forever is through international socialist revolution. This is the program of the Spartacist League. ■

Century of Terror...

(continued from page 7)

Another favorite Klan target was teachers, white and black, in the newly established black schools.

But any sign of manhood could mark a black for a murderous night visit. Whippings with hickories were the common means of intimidation. And the usual dose of several hundred lashes was enough to permanently scar, often cripple or kill the victims. W.E.B. DuBois describes in *Black Reconstruction* how the terrorists "rode through the country at night, marking their course by whipping, shooting, wounding, maiming, mutilation, and the murder of women, children and defenseless men, whose houses were forcibly entered while they slept, and, as their inmates fled, the pistol, the rifle, the knife, and the rope were employed to do their horrid work." Before the 1874 city elections in Vicksburg, Mississippi, for instance, 200 blacks were massacred in a single week.

Blacks fought the nightriders bitterly, but were out-organized, out-gunned

and in the surprise attacks outnumbered. By the early 1870s the Klan had driven off the Union Leagues. It would have taken a massive military effort to finish the Civil War by crushing the counterrevolution in the South. Particularly it would have meant the arming and training of a Southern black militia. But whereas Confederate soldiers were allowed to keep their arms after the war, blacks discharged from the Union army were forced to give up theirs. Negro troops had been withdrawn from the South as early as 1866.

In general there was insufficient military power to enforce the Reconstruction laws and suppress the Klan. When the Union army did arrest the KKK killers, it did little good because they were then turned over to local authorities who released them. Despite cries by radical Republicans for more troops to combat lawless terror, the number of Union troops in the South was steadily drawn down. By 1876 there were only 6,000, mainly on frontier duty in Texas.

As the Northern bourgeoisie became convinced that the South would not rise again, they had less interest in black rights. They had accomplished what they set out to do economically: break the challenge of the Southern slave-owners to the American capitalist state. Ten years after the war ended, with class struggle heating up in the industrial North, the bourgeoisie was willing to give up its democratic ideals for an alliance with its former enemies.

With the Compromise of 1877, Reconstruction was over. The Democrats promised to support Rutherford Hayes for president in exchange for a promise that the last few remaining federal troops would be pulled out of the South. This was a sign that white supremacy had won in the South, gaining the support or acquiescence of the Northern bourgeoisie. With Klan terror the Southern planter-capitalist enforced *sharecropping on the former black slaves*. Jim Crow, sanctioned by the Supreme Court as "separate but equal," was established in every sphere of life. The Klan declined in growth because they had *become* the state with the Democrats in power. There was little need for masks as "kluxing" became a permanent feature of Southern rural and town life. Lynching in the last decades of the 19th century became a grotesque commonplace.

Terror in the Cities (1915-1930)

The white supremacists won the Reconstruction War, and for generations history books told the story their way. Most still do. In 1915 the "redeemers'" version of Reconstruction was made into a powerful film, *Birth of a Nation*, viewed by 50 million Americans who cheered as the hooded nightriders "saved" the South from corrupt whites and evil black rapists. One of those who saw it many times in the year of its release was Joseph Simmons, who took a small band up to Stone Mountain, Georgia to revive the Klan.

This incarnation of the KKK, promoted as a "fraternal order," became a mass movement in the early 1920s. It had an estimated three to five million members and achieved considerable

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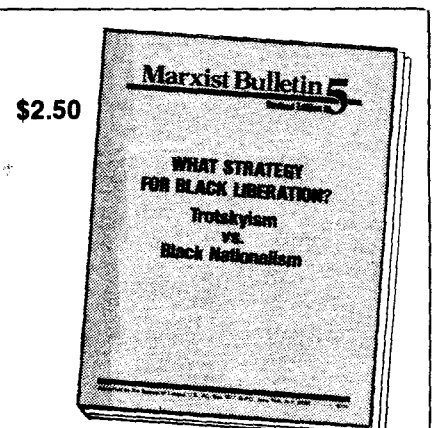
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WORKERS VANGUARD

political clout within the Democratic Party. The Klan was able to elect many of its number to local, state and federal office. The Klan had so much influence that it split the 1924 Democratic convention. A motion to condemn the Klan failed by one vote.

The Klan is often thought of as an exclusively Southern and rural phenomenon, but the early 1920s saw the rise of urban Klansmen. Chicago, for example, had 50,000 members organized in 20 "klaverns." The Midwest cities were ripe for the Klan's brand of race-terror. Since 1910 blacks had been coming North for industrial jobs and had been subjected to murderous riots (e.g., East St. Louis in 1917).

But the major spur to the revived Klan in the North was the influx of Southern and East European immigration which had been temporarily stopped during the war. These immigrants, who were mainly Catholic and to a lesser extent Jewish, would become the KKK's targets along with blacks in its campaign for "100 percent Americanism." When Al Smith ran for president in 1928, one Oregon Klan leader declared: "We will float our horses in blood to their bridles before we see a Roman Catholic sitting in our presidential chair."

The Klan in the 1920s was no "fraternal order" or electoral caucus. "Tar and featherings" were all too common a part of KKK night-time parades and cross-burnings, held in cooperation with the local police. Their victims—who now included, besides blacks, Catholics, Jews, union organizers, socialists and "nigger lovers"—were beaten, flogged and their wounds stuffed with hot tar and feathers. Thus, it was a particular provocation against all black Americans and immigrants when the KKK held their giant march in Washington, D.C. in August 1925. Forty thousand hooded and robed Klansmen marched down Pennsylvania Avenue while another 200,000 watched.

The Klan of the 1920s faded due to internal corruption at the top and the fact that the bourgeoisie took up most of its nativist program, passing more restrictive immigration laws. However, the KKK remained a potent force in the Jim Crow South, and racist terror was key to preventing the establishment of strong integrated industrial unions in the South with the rise of the CIO in the 1930s.

Jim Crow Terror (1946-1965)

After World War II blacks began powerful organizing efforts to demand their political rights. Thousands of black GIs came home trained in the use of arms and determined to stand up for their rights. With legal segregation in the South an economic anachronism and an international embarrassment for U.S. imperialism, Jim Crow faced the first serious challenge since Reconstruction. And the Klan once again began riding at night. While George Wallace was standing in the schoolhouse door swearing "segregation forever," and Bull Connor was unleashing his dogs and hoses on civil rights demonstrators, the KKK was the cutting edge of the same racist reaction with bombs, bullets and beatings.

The Justice Department reported that from 1954 to 1965 the KKK was responsible for 70 bombings in Georgia and Mississippi, 50 of them in Mont-

gomery, Alabama alone. And what black American will forget what happened on that Sunday morning in 1963, when a KKK bomb shattered a Baptist church in Birmingham, Alabama. Four young girls lay dying in their Sunday school class, 22 of the congregation were seriously injured.

The Klan was no isolated group of fanatics. Many of the die-hard white racists were "law enforcement officials" during the day, White Citizen's Council members after dinner and Klansmen at night. When busloads of freedom riders arrived in Birmingham in May 1961, they were met by over 1,000 armed Klansmen, who'd been tipped off by the local police—and they left the bus terminal strewn with broken bodies in pools of blood. And 600 civil rights marchers on the bloody Selma to Montgomery voter rights march of 1965 were met on March 7 by a joint assault of Alabama state troopers and the KKK.

While Martin Luther King's SCLC and the NAACP were appealing to the federal government and FBI against the Klan, it was these very agencies which worked directly with the murderous KKK to terrorize the oppressed. But many blacks did not buy King's liberal pacifism. For example, in 1957 blacks led by local NAACP head Robert F. Williams armed to defend themselves in Monroe County, North Carolina and drive the Klan off in historic gun battles. The practice of armed self-defense was taken up in the mid-1960s by the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana.

Remember Greensboro!

The so-called "new Klan" has grown rapidly as the terrorist fringe of the anti-Soviet war drive and the racist backlash that has dominated American politics for the last decade. Divided into four competing groups, the KKK is estimated to have 10,000 members as of 1980 (up from 4,000 in 1971), with ten times that number of active supporters. Recruiting out of the most backward and desperate white layers of society, the Klan has appealed to the anti-busing racism that erupted on the streets of Boston and Louisville, and which was confirmed in the halls of Congress.

The "new" Klan is playing a double game. On the one hand it is pushing for renewed bourgeois respectability, while it simultaneously pursues a rising line of terror on the streets. The bourgeoisie, perhaps with intimations that these white-sheeted fascists may soon prove useful once again, are giving them the platform they desire. The Klansmen in pinstriped suits and the preppy fascist David Duke have become media fixtures. The results have been electoral gains. KKKer Tom Metzger won the Democratic nomination for Congress in San Diego; another former Klansman (and Nazi) got the Republican nomination for Congress in Michigan, and won 32 percent of the vote in 1981.

But the suit-and-tie Klansmen still don the white sheets, and they are surrounded by their machine-guntoting killers. Shootings in Chattanooga; military training camps for race war in Texas and Alabama; cross-burnings across the country. The most spectacular example of racist Klan terror in recent years was the massacre of five leftists, union organizers and civil rights activists—shot to death in full view of TV cameras—in Greensboro, North

Carolina. The liberal press labeled this a "shootout" between equally violent "extremists"—equating the murderers with their victims. And a year later the KKK/Nazi killers were acquitted by an all-white jury. Once again a green light for cold-blooded racist murder from the state.

The liberals accept the myth of a "new Klan" of respectable racism. But the KKK today is at bottom the same vicious animal as always: fundamentally the terrorist arm of the racist, counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, with strong links to the police agencies of the capitalist state. Unlike the Kluxers of the 1920s, today's Klan is small...but dangerous. They have a symbiotic relationship with the ultra-Reaganite "New Right" that bellows in the halls of Congress. The KKK waits in the wings of economically depressed America to be used as shock troops against the unions and blacks. And it will take the revolutionary mobilization of labor and all the oppressed to get rid of the Ku Klux Klan for all time. ■

Nazis...

(continued from page 5)

German Nazis, ended up as instructors at the U.S. Army's Intelligence School. In short, the U.S. simply took over the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy and terror network. As we wrote in our review of *Wanted* ("How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 152, 8 April 1977):

"The anti-communism and thwarted nationalist ambitions of these sadistic killers coincided with U.S. imperialism's desire to reconquer East Europe, and ultimately, the USSR for capitalism. That is why they have been protected by conservative Republican and liberal Democratic administrations alike, just as have the Cuban racketeers and Saigon generals who followed in their footsteps. These are the people who set up CIA funded operations like the Assembly of Captive Nations, waiting to regain power in John Foster Dulles' plans to 'roll back Communism.' These are the broadcasters who beam 'free world' propaganda from the transmitters of Radio Free Europe. This is the advance guard of Jimmy Carter's 'human rights' crusade."

Today with Reagan's Cold War II and the renascent anti-Soviet war drive, RFE has been awakening from the "détente" doldrums—this time beaming to Target Poland. Of course, they're trying to present a more "with it" image to appeal to a younger generation that wears American flags on its jeans and Solidarność buttons on its pullovers. Last winter, just after the Polish army's crackdown against Solidarity's counter-revolutionary drive for power, the *New York Times* (16 December 1981) headlined a story, "Radio Free Europe Sees an Opportunity in the Crisis to Brighten Its Reputation." The decrepit Captive Nations crowd was replaced on the Polish desk by a more recent emigré whose office wall sports a plaque, "It's exciting to be Polish." But there have reportedly been some frictions at RFE, and no wonder. The new Solidarność generation daily rub shoulders with killers who might well have shot their parents. After all, the "Master Race" butchers not only aimed at "purifying" Europe of Jews through the Holocaust of six million dead, but the "racial cleansing" of all the peoples of East Europe.

In the United States, a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazis is a domestic adjunct of the renewed Cold War. Just as the capitalists keep the native fascists and race-terrorists in reserve, to be unleashed against insurgent workers and blacks, they also keep the old Nazi killers around. Instead of serving the Third Reich they continue their anti-Communist subversion on behalf of a so-called Free World. And their benefactors are not just the Reagans and Nixons. When Loftus was unable to prosecute the Byelorussian

fascist murderers he had been investigating, he gave a set of documents to liberal Democratic Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts. While Frank thought the CIA had botched the job, he added: "These people had a mission which was to defeat the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe, a very admirable mission, one that was purely in our national interest"! 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. ■

Hampton...

(continued from page 4)

Today the cold-blooded murderers of Hampton and Clark walk the streets. The militant Black Panther Party exists no more. The savage campaign of state terror and repression crushed this organization which had become the symbol of black struggle to ghetto blacks. Those Panthers who could not be driven into Democratic Party reformism or tamed as black nationalists were gunned down and jailed. The Black Panthers bore the brunt of the COINTELPRO operation and were the victims of its most vicious attacks. The scope of that campaign was so broad that surely many of those who might have come to a proletarian perspective were finished off early.

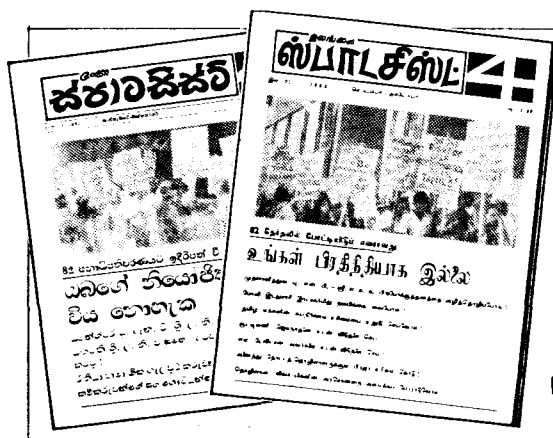
Of the total of 295 COINTEL "Black Nationalist" operations between 1968 and 1971, 233 of them were directed at the Black Panthers (Richard Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America*). In the two years prior to the Hampton/Clark murder, 26 other Panthers were gunned down by the police: Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggans, George Jackson are some of the martyred dead. The names of the Panthers who did time, are doing time, or were murdered in jail go on and on.

But the reformist left and liberal black misleaders would rather forget the Black Panther Party and what happened to them. Today Geronimo Pratt is serving a life sentence in San Quentin, after six years in solitary, framed up for a crime he didn't commit. It is a wonder Pratt—who was head of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party—is alive at all. Only because he slept on the floor (due to a war injury) was he saved when the LAPD SWAT helicopters landed on the roof of the Panther headquarters and storm troopers burst in the door with guns blazing in that 1970 rerun of the Chicago raid that murdered Hampton and Clark. The SL has been virtually alone in continuing to defend and publicize the case of this victimized Black Panther, demanding his immediate release.

Money cannot wash away the blood of black militants on the hands of the racist capitalist government. The American proletarian revolution, with black leadership, will finally bring justice to racist America in the name of all the martyrs of black liberation. ■

CORRECTION

In the article, "A Bolshevik Campaign in San Francisco" (*WV* No. 317, 12 November 1982), the photo caption refers to Spartacist candidates Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman taking the campaign to workers at the Bethlehem shipyards; however, the photo in question is outside a bank in the black district of Bayview. The same article referred to Bradley campaigning at the "ILWU Local 10 (warehouse) hiring hall"; while the candidates visited both warehouse and longshore halls, warehouse is Local 6.



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Showdown Coming in Steel

McBride's \$4 Billion Giveback Scrapped

PITTSBURGH, November 19—Today a conference of local presidents in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) decisively voted down a deal that would have robbed *more than \$4 billion* from the union's members and given it to the giant steel corporations. It was the first time in the USWA's history that the Basic Steel Industry Conference refused to routinely rubber-stamp a contract unanimously recommended by the International Executive Board. This same group of local presidents overwhelmingly voted back in September to give USWA chief Lloyd McBride a second chance to work out a giveback contract, after the collapse of concessions talks last summer. But McBride's deal stank so bad it had to be buried, by a vote of 231 to 141. The outcome



WV Photo

Steel workers protest concessions deal outside William Penn Hotel.

surprised even those who voted against the deal.

Every steel worker knows the capitalist concessions drive won't stop here. The steel barons are out to bleed the workforce for every last drop of profit, and the pro-capitalist McBride leadership knows its job is to show them where to insert the needle. Meanwhile USWA "progressives" who claim to oppose concessions have done *nothing* to halt the massive layoffs/plant shutdowns, nor to stop the speedup, job combinations and harassment that have made shop floor life an inferno. The hundreds of thousands of working and laid-off basic steel workers desperately need a program and leadership to defeat the bosses' greedy wage-slashing and job-cutting campaign, and to open up a working-class counteroffensive against the Democratic/Republican program of unemployment, austerity and anti-Soviet war buildup.

Worse Than Auto Givebacks

McBride's 44-month contract would have gone into effect on December 1, shackling steel workers to giveback provisions *far worse* than Doug Fraser's notorious auto sellouts of the past year. While Fraser's billion-dollar betrayals were sweetened with meaningless "job security" clauses, the steel bosses and their agents in the USWA International dispensed with this hoax. After the contract was voted down a watery-eyed McBride told the press he was disappointed, not because the pact would have saved jobs but because "the proposal was one that would satisfy a short term cash flow problem" for the bosses. No joke! This deal would have made the GM/Ford/Chrysler/AMC packages look like a poor boy's Christmas. Here are some of the goodies the steel corporations stood to get:

- An immediate \$2.25 per hour wage cut, with 75 cents of this diverted into the SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) fund.
- Elimination of benefits worth an additional 75 cents per hour.
- COLA payments shackled to company profitability.
- Elimination of the right to honor picket lines and engage in sympathy strikes (see box this page).
- Separation of thousands of iron ore, fabricating and warehouse workers from the basic steel contract.
- Elimination of the right to strike over local issues.

The announcement of the contract's defeat was greeted with jubilant shouting in the corridors of the William Penn Hotel. USWA vice president Joe Odorcich glumly said, "Without a doubt there'll be a strike" when the current contract expires next August 1. In the mouth of Odorcich and other International officers, such statements are meant as a *threat* to steel workers: swallow concessions or we'll lead you to defeat in a long and costly strike. Hard strike action is vitally necessary but steel workers do have reason to fear a *losing* strike. The last industrywide steel shutdown was in 1959. That strike was lost after 116 days on the picket lines when then-USWA president David McDonald readily caved in to a Taft-Hartley back-to-work injunction, paving the way for a miserable contract settlement. Today, company spokesmen proclaim their readiness to take a strike because they know the McBride leadership is no more qualified to lead the union to victory than McDonald was.

The steel bosses aren't waiting for next year's August 1 deadline to put their side on a class-war footing. Inland Steel workers recently learned that management is already preparing to beef up its company cops for a strike by recruiting from municipal police forces in the northwest Indiana region. Inside the mills, foremen are taking advantage of the grievance procedure's no-strike stranglehold to effectively scrap the contract. The bosses do what they want: skilled workers forced to work outside their crafts; production workers assigned jobs in violation of seniority;



WV Photo

Lloyd McBride laments.

five-day suspensions handed out right and left; constant harassment and speedup; employees forced to work in unsafe conditions. With the union already weakened by enormous layoffs, U.S. Steel recently directed division superintendents to prevent the recall of laid-off workers by forcing those who still have jobs to work overtime whenever labor shortages arise.

Urgent Need for Class-Struggle Leadership

This situation confronts USWA members with the immediate problem of leadership. McBride & Co. are clearly acting as company agents in the union. But who will lead the fight to repulse the steel bosses' attacks, and with what program?

The anti-concessions dissidents in the USWA have done nothing to end the union's paralysis under the giveback/layoff barrage. While so-called progressives like Ron Weisen and Bill Andrews, presidents of Local 1397 (Homestead works, Pittsburgh) and Local 1010 (Inland Steel, East Chicago) respectively, reject the Fraser/McBride lie that "concessions save jobs," they push the treacherous AFL-CIO line of protectionism and Democrats. But today givebacks, protectionism and labor's no-strike alliance with the

Democratic Party are all part of a program to prop up declining capitalist profits in the U.S. So it's not surprising that these USWA "dissidents" reject out of hand a class-struggle strategy to prevent the givebacks and roll back the layoffs. When *Workers Vanguard* asked Weisen about strike action to fight for jobs, his response was, "That wouldn't work." Andrews' excuse was, "The real question is not the fight for jobs, but what can be done for the unemployed." Such phonies aren't about to step forward to lead a successful strike struggle, which would require mass picketing, defiance of Taft-Hartley and other no-strike orders, and above all a political break with the capitalist Democratic Party. It is this absence of a fighting workers leadership that is McBride's most powerful weapon in his push for concessions.

Old-fashioned class struggle is what's needed to free steel workers from the unbearable weight of layoffs and givebacks. But militant labor action requires a combative leadership armed with a program based not on profit margins but on the needs of the working people—all the working people. This means, first of all, sit-down strikes against layoffs and mill shutdowns, and a labor drive for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to fight unemployment. With the economy in a shambles Klan and Nazi race-terror groups are springing up. No union, particularly the heavily black USWA, can let these fascists organize their genocidal campaigns—For labor/black defense against racist attacks!

And you can't fight the givebacks and cutbacks without fighting the anti-Soviet war drive supported by *both* capitalist parties. That's what all the money is going for. What's needed is militant workers action, mass strikes, to bring Reagan down! Break labor from the Democrats and organize against the imperialist drive to restore capitalism in the USSR! This requires a political fight within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats—from Weisen to McBride—as part of the drive to build a workers party that will fight for the expropriation of steel and all major industries by a workers government. ■

No to the Scab Clause!

United Steelworkers (USWA) local presidents who gathered in Pittsburgh November 19 trounced McBride's \$4 billion deal, but reportedly none of these officials spoke out against the contract's scabbing clause. Buried on page 25 of the contract summary distributed to the presidents was the following passage:

"Construction of No-Strike Clause

"The Union deems itself bound by two arbitration awards at Inland Steel and U.S. Steel which held that sympathy strike conduct is prohibited by the broad language of the no-strike provision."

Why the sudden concern over "sympathy strike conduct"? Because on September 24 all USWA members scored a victory for labor solidarity when the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) upheld the right of steel workers to honor picket lines in two separate decisions. The cases involved Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member at Inland Steel who was fired in May 1979 for refusing to cross the

picket lines of another USWA local; and Gene Goldenfeld of Local 1014, who was hit with a 38-day suspension after he honored picket lines at U.S. Steel Gary Works during the September 1978 nationwide rail shutdown. In both cases the NLRB overturned pro-company arbitration awards cited in McBride's giveback summary. Inland and U.S. Steel are challenging these NLRB rulings in the federal courts.

The patent excuse of union leaders who want to avoid class struggle at all costs is, "My hands are tied by no-strike clauses and anti-labor laws!" This is what union officials told Anwar when he fought for Local 1010 to lead all its members in honoring the picket lines of the much smaller USWA Local 8180. But the unusual NLRB rulings punched a big hole in this excuse for scabbing, prompting Local 1010 president Bill Andrews to complain that the Labor Board's action "could cause problems at Inland and all over" (*Daily Calumet*, 12 October). This view was rejected by 1010 members who on October 21 voted to congratulate

Anwar and encourage him to pursue his case to complete victory.

The union bureaucrats don't want labor's weapons—strikes, sitdowns, secondary boycotts, mass picket lines—to be legal, because then they'd have no excuse for not using them. So McBride & Co. got together with the steel bosses to close off the "loophole" that allows for sympathy strikes (honoring picket lines).

Very likely this anti-picket line clause will reappear in next year's negotiations, and all signs are that the pro-Democratic Party local presidents will go along with it to show their loyalty to class peace and Teddy Kennedy. Anti-concessions talk is cheap, but the steel companies' offensive can only be defeated through strike action—in defiance of the strike-breaking capitalist government if necessary. It's clear that the obstacle to such an effective struggle is not "the law," but the USWA bureaucracy itself, from McBride down to the so-called "dissidents" who capitulated to the no-strike ENA in the 1970s and who engage in scabherding today. Dump the anti-picket line clause! Break the no-strike straitjacket!

Dirty War...

(continued from page 12)

is considered too left-wing. Rather, American support is going exclusively to the *somocista* Guardsmen, a universally despised gang of murderers, torturers and drug traffickers. According to *Newsweek*:

"After Negroponte and the Somocistas became partners, the new American allies began to force Washington's hand. The Somocistas bivouacked in Honduras were already trained soldiers, backed by wealthy exiles in Miami. With the added boost of tacit U.S. support, they soon took a commanding position among competing contra groups. They also developed their own private *plan numero uno*: to move the contra camps that remain in Honduras across the border into Nicaragua, then move the camps already established in Nicaragua farther down toward Managua and, finally, past the capital into the south. When the time is right, the Somocistas say, they will draw their loose circle of camps together in toward Managua and force the Sandinistas out. And then? 'Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua,' promises one contra officer. 'We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua.'"

Bay of Pigs II?

The anti-Sandinista offensive is now in high gear. In the period between August and October, the Nicaraguan government reported a total of 49 ambushes, raids and attacks on border posts, in which 132 Sandinistas and more than 300 enemy forces were killed, wounded or captured (*Barricada*, 4 November). In July, the U.S. and Honduran armies held joint exercises in which American planes transported more than 1,000 Honduran soldiers to establish a permanent base on the Atlantic Coast close to Nicaragua. During these maneuvers more than 4,000 tons of materiel were flown to Honduras by C-130 and C-141 cargo planes from U.S. bases in the former Panama Canal Zone.

The plans for the joint U.S.-Honduran maneuvers scheduled for December are even more explicitly intended to "rattle [the Sandinistas] cages," in the words of one U.S. official, and possibly more. They would involve the Army, Navy and Air Force, bringing in "several hundred" American military personnel to transport Honduran troops and operate sophisticated electronic equipment. The troops are to concentrate on the town of Mocorón, just over the border from Nicaragua, the site of a Miskito refugee camp and a *contra* base (*Washington Post*, 4 November). In addition there will be a practice landing at Puerto Lempira, simulating conditions at the Nicaraguan port of Puerto Cabezas a few miles down the coast. Puerto Cabezas is already well-known to Pentagon planners, since it was the launching point for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Now it could well be the target of Reagan's Bay of Pigs II.

In response, the Sandinistas have mobilized Nicaragua militarily. The militia of 80,000, a purely defensive force based in the towns, is on standby. The regular army of 17,000 has been on full alert since last March. It is the same size as the Honduran army, but battle-tested and with far higher morale than the latter's peasant conscripts. On the other hand, Honduras has by far the most modern air force in the area, with several dozen French, Israeli and American jets. The Nicaraguans, despite all the U.S. propaganda about Soviet MIGs and Cuban pilots, have nothing but a few ancient "push-pull" light planes and single-motor Cessnas left over from Somoza's time. However, a former U.S. Marine colonel who visited Nicaragua recently testified before Congress that their air defense system is such that "few Honduran pilots would ever return home." The Sandinistas would likely have the upper

hand in a war with Honduras and the *contras* alone. But the prospect of a Honduran defeat could bring direct U.S. intervention and the "Vietnamization" which the FSLN fears.

Managua's main "answer" to the threat of a Central American war launched by the "iron triangle" of military regimes to their north (El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras) with the backing of U.S. imperialism has been to look for salvation through diplomacy. It hailed the French-Venezuelan peace initiative last September, calling for U.S.-Honduras-Nicaragua talks. Washington's response was to send Enders to Costa Rica for a meeting with some of its Latin American vassals on October 4 to denounce the Sandinistas. After this rebuff, the FSLN looked next to the United Nations where in late October Nicaragua won the Latin American seat on the Security Council. The Sandinistas organized mass demonstrations throughout the country hailing this "people's victory." But this den of pin-striped thieves never prevented Yankee imperialism from carrying out its counterrevolutionary plans before—look at the first Bay of Pigs or Santo Domingo—and the Reagan administration dismisses the UN today as a Third World sandbox.

The second prong of Nicaragua's diplomatic offensive is to keep the favor of European social democrats with a package of decrees legalizing political "pluralism," pledging "free elections" in 1985 and guaranteeing foreign investment. But to defeat the imperialist-orchestrated onslaught will require not only planes, tanks and guns, but above all mobilizing the working masses throughout Central America for revolutionary struggle. Within Nicaragua this means expropriating the capitalists who still control 60 percent of the economy. But while the main slogan in Managua on May Day was "defend the revolution, construct socialism," Sandinista comandante Bayardo Arce publicly repudiated this slogan saying "it is not a line of the revolutionary government or of the Sandinista Front in this period." Instead, FSLN leaders attack unions (such as Managua construction workers) fighting for higher wages and better working conditions as "privileged." The pro-bourgeois "fifth column" also has strong roots in the state apparatus and important international ties. (When ex-Sandinista renegade Pastora defected to the imperialists, he took a number of FSLN officials with him; later he was received by both Spanish and West German social-democratic leaders.)

The Sandinistas' program of "national unity" with the "patriotic bourgeoisie" is borrowed from the Stalinist dogma of a "two-stage revolution." Fidel Castro, in particular, has counseled the FSLN against expropriating the Robelos and Chamorros, and against "exporting revolution." Thus in response to Washington's hypocritical blackmail about arms shipments to Salvadoran leftist guerrillas, the Nicaraguans *cut off supplies* and even offered to cooperate with the U.S. in tracking down clandestine arms conduits! This narrow nationalism is a mortal threat to the Central American revolution. The way to defeat the *gorilas* and their Yankee masters is by fostering rebellion in their rear. Within Nicaragua, all the pro-capitalist elements in the Sandinista regime must be rooted out, and mass worker-peasant organizations (unions, militias, defense committees) freed from bureaucratic control to become organs of soviet democracy. This is the road of struggle for a workers and peasants government, led by a Trotskyist party of permanent revolution.

El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Rebels

In El Salvador, left-wing guerrilla fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) last month launched their first national offensive since January 1981. The action

"Heroes and Martyrs of October 1979-80" was begun on October 10 and rapidly took over a 500 square mile liberated area including 20 towns along the northern border. In Morazán they routed government forces in Perquin, San Fernando and Torola, holding them against heavy bombing by A-37 jets. In the department of Chalatenango they took the garrisons at Las Vueltas and El Jicaro and have fought off an army counteroffensive of several thousand troops for weeks. FMLN forces attacked convoys transporting the elite U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion along the Pan American Highway, and truck traffic on the coastal highway was paralyzed as transport workers struck in conjunction with the guerrilla offensive. In five weeks of action, the insurgent radio *Venceremos* reported 670 enemy casualties and 197 captured, of whom 164 had been turned over to the International Red Cross.

This level of government losses is unprecedented in the Salvadoran civil war. U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton tried to belittle the guerrilla successes, claiming that the offensive persists only because the army really hadn't tried to crush it (*New York Times*, 22 October). That lame excuse was blown apart as uniformed FMLN units penetrated into San Salvador, setting off bombs within 200 yards of the bunker-like American embassy. They also dynamited power lines, blacking out 80 percent of the country for days, and on November 3 took over the city of Suchitoto (20 kilometers from the capital) for 11 hours. Government troops attempted to push the rebels back to the border up against the Honduran army, in a "hammer-and-anvil" action, but without success. A UPI dispatch laconically noted, "Military commanders in Chalatenango... said a 6,000-man counter-offensive in the province was still meeting rebel resistance in the rugged hills three miles [!] outside the provincial capital."

But even though leftist guerrillas were at the gates of San Salvador, this was no Têt offensive. Its purpose was to pressure the Murder Inc. that runs El Salvador for the coffee barons and the imperialists into negotiating. On October 5, a joint communiqué by the FMLN and the popular-front Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) called for "direct dialogue without preconditions" with the regime of puppet president Alvaro Magaña, strongman general José García and assembly president Roberto D'Aubuisson. The predictable response was negative: death squad leader D'Aubuisson rejected the proposal as "absurd," García refused to talk with "criminals" (Chiang Kai-shek used to say "bandits"). But to make sure everyone got the point, between October 14 and 20 the ultra-rightist killers kidnapped 11 political and labor leaders of the FDR. After the international outcry, the military announced it was holding several leaders of the tiny bourgeois liberal National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of FDR president Guillermo Ungo. But

there has been no word on the whereabouts of the five trade-union leaders.

These macabre "negotiations by death" only underscore the danger of the FDR/FMLN call for a "political solution" to the Salvadoran civil war. The bloodthirsty lords of this tiny Central American republic, like any ruling class, will not let themselves be removed peacefully. And as long as the present oligarchy and their military butchers are in power it will mean more massacres, as in 1932 when defeated Communist-led rebels laid down their arms and 30,000 of them were slaughtered in the infamous *Matanza*. According to the archbishop's Legal Aid society, over 40,000 peasants, workers and leftists have been murdered by the military and rightist death squads since 1979. Even the American pro-consul Hinton admitted this recently in a speech pinning the ultra-rightist *gorilas* with responsibility for 30,000 deaths. Any ceasefire or so-called "negotiated outcome" will only bring the Salvadoran masses closer to the "peace of 100,000 dead" promised by D'Aubuisson and his fascist supporters.

The reformist/popular-frontist leaders of the FDR/FMLN are also responsible for this bloodbath because of their treacherous program of "negotiating" with the junta butchers rather than overthrowing them. Who are the "martyrs of October 1979," after all? They are the hundreds of workers gunned down by the "human rights junta" installed by U.S. president Jimmy Carter with the collaboration of Ungo & Co. Already in December 1980, six top FDR leaders were assassinated as they met under the supposed protection of the Catholic church. Even Archbishop Romero was blown away on D'Aubuisson's orders. The FDR/FMLN misleaders pursue these (literally) suicidal policies for the same reason they refuse to wage an international struggle, opposing the formation of international brigades to fight in El Salvador. They seek national reform within the capitalist framework rather than international socialist revolution.

In the United States, the CISPES (Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador) popular front and various CP/SWP/WWP, etc. reformists follow the same counterrevolutionary program of a "negotiated/political solution." They go to any lengths, from using thug violence to calling in the capitalist police, to exclude anti-imperialist militants led by the Spartacist League, which calls for "military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador." They also, and for the same reasons, violently object to our slogan, "Defense of the USSR, Cuba begins in El Salvador." Even though Central America has been targeted by Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, they refuse to raise the "Russian question" in order not to alienate their would-be Democratic Party patrons, the Teddy Kennedys et al.

The Trotskyists of the SL, in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks, fight not for illusory "détente" or "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists and their junior partners, but for workers revolution. Rather than fearing the international extension of the struggle, as do the Sandinistas, FDR/FMLN and liberal/reformist misleaders, we seek to spread it throughout Central America, to the powerful Mexican proletariat and to the United States itself. Not only by a labor boycott of weapons to El Salvador, but by fighting for an American revolution, to bring Reagan down through workers action.

Not "negotiations by death" but military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Free FDR leaders Maurício Domenech, Julio Saravia, Jorge Herrera, David Guadrón, Antonio Menjívar, Carlos Molina, Pedro Ramírez, Pablo Ramírez, Héctor Fernández, Daniel Avalos and Juan Castro! No U.S. aid to Central American reactionaries! U.S. hands off Nicaragua! Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in Central America! ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!

Reagan's Dirty War in Central America

Vietnam in Central America? The stage is set: the United States waging a not-so-secret war on Sandinista Nicaragua and Salvadoran leftist insurgents. Honduras acting as regional gendarme for the Pentagon. Miskito Indians turned into montagnards. Green Beret "advisers" in place, CIA agents training fascistic mercenaries combed from the Latin underworlds from Miami to Buenos Aires. Now joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers are scheduled along the Nicaraguan border as American-backed counterrevolutionaries are poised to invade. To the north in Guatemala a born-again Christian fundamentalist dictator massacres Mayas, for which he receives the Reagan "human rights" award: helicopter gunship parts. But in El Salvador, despite escalating U.S. military and economic aid, left-wing rebels have staged a broad offensive establishing a "liberated arc" along the northern border. Even in relatively quieter backwaters, domestic guerrillas have gone into action in Honduras and striking banana workers are fighting brutal police repression in Costa Rica.

As Ronald Reagan prepares his Latin American grand tour in early December, Central America is on the verge of a region-wide civil war. The U.S. administration is determined to "draw the line against Communism" well south of the Rio Grande. But with popular revolt engulfing the isthmus, imperialist liberals, European social democrats, Latin American "democracies," Nicaraguan Sandinistas and the Salvadoran opposition popular front are all floating "peace" plans to stop the war before it spreads. A "negotiated solution" with the landlords, generals and their death squads would only bring a peace of the graveyards, the promise of future massacres. What's needed instead is a revolutionary socialist, internationalist struggle for the Central American workers and peasants to win the war. Where the liberals and reformists wring their hands at the prospect of "another Vietnam," the Spartacist League (SL) calls for two, three, many defeats for imperialism and its puppets. Workers revolution is the Trotskyists' "political solution."

Target: Nicaragua

For the last year an elaborate U.S. operation has been underway against the left-nationalist Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regime in Nicaragua. In November 1981 Reagan approved a \$19.9 million plan, drawn up by General Haig and Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders, for covert action to build up an exile army consisting mainly of former members of dictator Anastasio Somoza's hated National Guard. The U.S. had clandestinely



"Human Rights" Reagan-style: U.S. death cargo arrives in El Salvador, July 1982.

WV Photo

maintained the *somocista* mercenaries, 5,000 of them, in camps just over the border in Honduras ever since the fall of the bloody butcher of Managua in July 1979. Nicaraguan *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) were permitted to train openly with Cuban *gusanos* in the Florida swamps. But now there was an operational scenario to use these forces to "destabilize" and if possible overthrow the FSLN, seen by the Reaganites as a Cuban/Soviet "surrogate" in Central America.

Soon Washington had dispatched almost 100 U.S. military advisers to Honduras (double the official number in El Salvador) to train an elite counterinsurgency unit, the Tesón Battalion. American aid to Honduras soared from \$4.9 million in 1980 to a total of \$187 million in 1981-82. Former CIA director General Vernon Walters enlisted the support of the Argentine

junta who dispatched 60-100 advisers to train an additional 1,000-man force of *somocistas* in sabotage operations. In addition, several thousand Miskito Indian refugees from Nicaragua, led by protestant missionaries and their bought-off headman, were supposed to be armed for forays into the jungle regions of the Mosquito Coast. By last summer the *contras'* activity was so intense that American newspapers were reporting on the terror raids which have so far killed more than 200 Nicaraguan peasants, soldiers and militiamen. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (28 September) noted that "well-placed" U.S. and Honduran sources were "whispering about a November or December invasion" against the Sandinistas.

Then came the *Newsweek* (8 November) special report on "America's Secret War—Target: Nicaragua." The *Newsweek* article indicated the massive

scale of the "covert" operation, and particularly the direct control by the U.S. embassy in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa. The whole setup is vintage Vietnam. The U.S. ambassador in Honduras, John Negroponte, was an embassy political officer in Saigon at the height of the Indochinese war, who accused the U.S. of capitulating at the 1973 Paris peace talks. His boss Enders was deputy chief of mission in Phnom Penh, calling in air strikes against "Viet Cong" and their peasant supporters during Nixon's 1970 invasion of Cambodia. Together with their former boss, General Haig, they used to talk of blocking the "Ho Chi Minh Trail." Now they pretend to be blocking the arms traffic (unfortunately there is none) from Nicaragua to the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas.

Negroponte (known as "The Boss" to the Nicaraguan *contras*) coordinates the anti-Sandinista operation through Honduran army commander General Gustavo Adolfo Alvarez. The elected civilian puppet president, Roberto Suazo Córdova, also does what he is told. Democratic liberals in Washington are critical of Negroponte's cold shoulder to ex-Sandinista leader Edén Pastora (Comandante Zero), despite two clandestine trips to Honduras by Pastora since last spring appealing for U.S. support. Even former Nicaraguan junta member Alfonso Robelo, a prominent businessman who was never a Sandinista and always a State Department man,

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Salvadoran Guerrillas Advance—

Military Victory to Leftist Rebels!