WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

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Carter Paved the Way

Reagan Reaction

Ronald Reagan is in the saddle. The Democrats have been stampeded. The Republican challenger ended the "great debate" by urging voters, if they felt they were better off in the last four years, to vote for Jimmy Carter. Otherwise, he said, they should vote for him. And that is more or less what happened. But after massive repudiation of the incumbent administration, American working people are nervous about what they got in its place. The decay and disaster of U.S. capitalism accelerates. Racist terror is still on the rise. The anti-Soviet Cold War drive escalates. The morning after, things don't look a bit better.

Across the country people are trying to figure out what it means. Frustration over the Iran hostage crisis? A "conservative tide"? One racist, anti-labor warmonger beats another at the polls. *Then, after this contest between two* undeniably "greater evils"—probably the most negative campaign in U.S. history—it is hailed as the beginning of the "Reagan Era," the long-prophesied thunder on the right. The questions are particularly urgent from those who know in their political bones that they are the targets in these elections: blacks, labor, the Soviet Union. If Reagan has a "mandate," what is it a mandate for?

There is no such thing as a negative "mandate." The vote was fundamentally *against* Carter and the liberal Democrats, against years of pounding inflation and massive layoffs. Millions didn't bother to vote at all, continuing a modern trend with the lowest turnout in 32 years. The Reagan "landslide" was created with about one voter out of four eligible. In this regard the so-called "exit polls" are instructive. According to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, "Two-thirds of the voters yesterday cited economic problems such as unemployment, taxes and inflation as a key reason for their vote" (*New York Times*, 5 November).

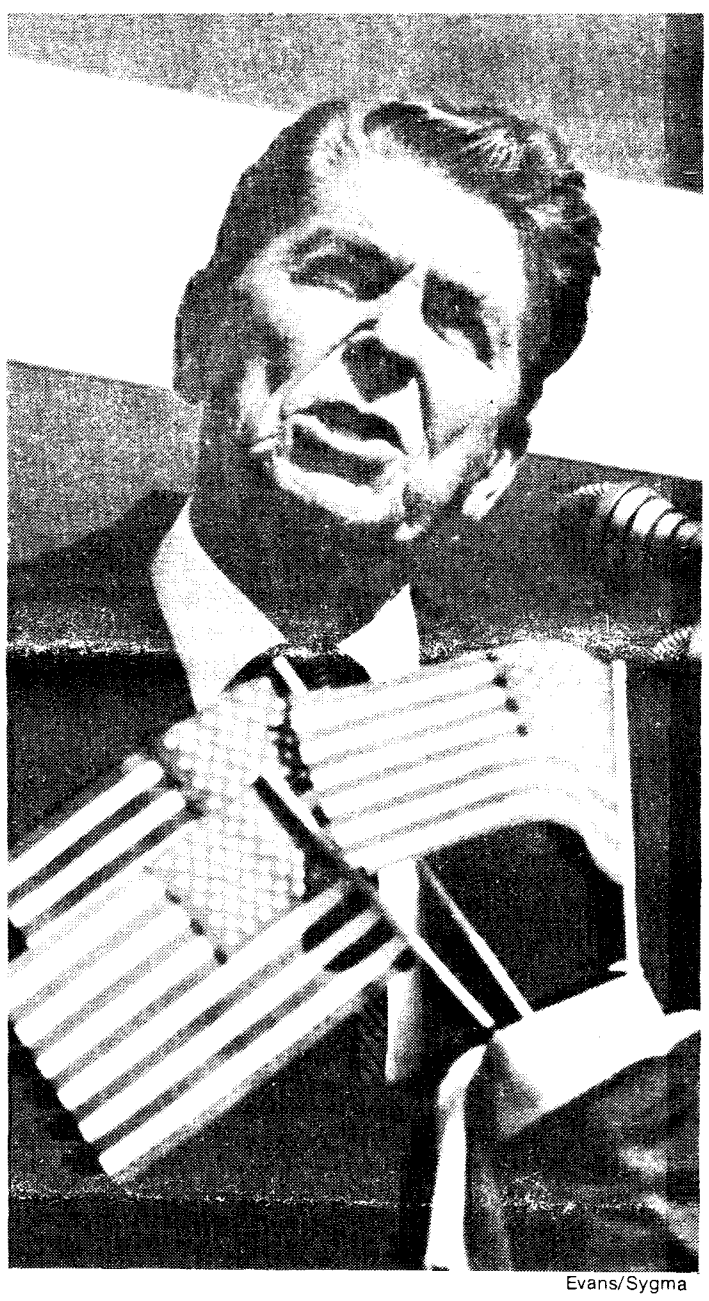
This cannot be dismissed merely as a protest vote against Carter. Unlike Nixon's 1972 landslide victory over McGovern, this time the Democrats were beaten as a party, losing control of the Senate for the first time in decades. The bankruptcy of New Deal liberalism made easy targets of McGovern, Church, Bayh and the others on the hit list of the multi-million-dollar computer boys of the "New Right" and the electronic evangelists of the "Moral Majority." Elections '80 reflected a rightward shift that has been building since the end of the Vietnam War.

Aggressive Cold Warrior:

"[Russia's] satellite state is ninety miles off our coast. Suppose we put a blockade around that island and said, 'Now, buster, we'll lift it when you take your forces out of Afghanistan'?"

Open enemy of workers, poor:

"Unemployment insurance is a prepaid vacation plan for free-loaders."



Evans/Sygma

But the rightward shift to Reagan was prepared by Democratic Party Cold War liberals and by Jimmy Carter himself. At the time of the Republican convention last summer we did not delete the expletive when we expressed the feelings of millions with the headline: "Reagan, Carter? Oh Shit!" As we said at the time:

> "Carter's 'human rights' campaign, braintrusted by the sinister Brzezinski, sought to bury the 'Vietnam syndrome,' push public opinion toward a new Cold War and mobilize militarily against the Soviet Union. In this way Carter/Brzezinski made right-wing Republicanism respectable and gave it its present battle cries."
>
> —*Workers Vanguard* No. 261, 25 July

Carter and the Democrats whipped up an atmosphere of anti-Soviet fanaticism, then acted shocked when an anti-Soviet fanatic got elected. Reagan has good cause to speak of a "bipartisan" foreign policy because the war consensus runs deep in both bourgeois parties.

And there is bipartisan agreement on the austerity demanded by stagnating U.S. capitalism. Once again the Democratic liberals led the austerity drive, targeting particularly blacks and the poor. Cuts in social services and an anti-labor offensive had been the order of the day for Carter. Similarly, the "Moral Majority" assault on women's rights and integration was pushed hard by "born again" Jimmy and his "ethnic purity" politics. When Ronald Reagan says openly that he opposes busing, he merely seems to be more honest than the Democrats who talked about integration but offered up even the token gains of the '60s civil rights movement to the anti-busing racists in the streets.

Most importantly, Reagan's vote included a large portion of working-class ballots. Many trade unionists voted for a certified symbol of anti-labor reaction, the preferred candidate of the KKK, a well-known ideological nuclear hip-shooter. The Republicans claimed a new constituency for conservative social issues like anti-abortion and classroom prayer among industrial workers (the workers Reagan's analysts snidely call the BCECs—blue-collar ethnic Catholics). But if the Republicans found some tolerance in the working class for their right-wing ideology, it is a passive tolerance. Many workers found unemployment and inflation so devastating they cast about for *any* alternative to Carter. Some identified American "weakness" with their lower standard of living. Most are just fed up with the failure of liberalism. But when Reagan tries to act on his "macho mandate," he will find that even many of the workers who voted for him are by no means part of his conservative, anti-labor camp.

Contrary to what U.S. schoolchildren are carefully taught in civics classes, the essence of politics is not found at the polls but in the class struggle. When there is little effective opposition in the factories and in the streets, it is not surprising that the backlash against the liberals works to the benefit of the political right.

Ironically it is the labor bureaucracy—which bears the responsibility for the relative quiescence of the unions—which cannot now hustle up the vote from the rank and file for the Democratic Party "friends of labor." Perhaps the most important fact of this election is that it confirms that the Democrats' New Deal coalition is in a complete shambles. Only black voters

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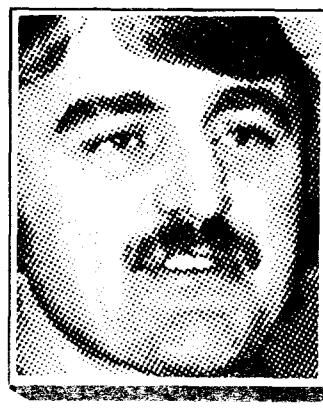

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Sex and the Single Pope

More Papal Bull

Peripatetic Pope Wojtyla is on the attack again. But the Western press has been more reticent this time; instead of marshaling the faithful against Communism, the "human rights" pope is bent on reinforcing the Catholic church's medieval proscriptions on sex. Of course, the Vatican's torturous and arcane attempts to convince humanity there can be no happiness this side of the grave, that salvation lies in self-denial and submissiveness to authority, are not new. But it took this Polish pope, product of the most reactionary bastion of Catholicism in Europe, to ram through a just-concluded Synod in Rome an aggressive assault on "sexual permissiveness."

According to the pope, a man can't even lust after his own wife any more: a man is guilty of "adultery in the heart" if he looks at his own wife in a lustful way. The bishops' Synod confirmed these hard-line social policies. Divorced Catholics can now remarry without being banned from the church doors—but they can only take communion (the church's most sacred rite) *if* they don't have sex with their new spouse. Then there's birth control (although why anyone would need it if they followed all the pope's proscriptions we can't imagine). But even though one U.S. bishop cautiously raised the fact that three-quarters of American Catholics practice some form of artificial birth control, Wojtyla is adamant on banning it.

The Italian press didn't take kindly to Wojtyla's hard stance; they didn't get it. A writer in *Corriere della Sera* figured the line on "adultery of the heart" was an attempt to strengthen the family by encouraging "infidelity at home." More seriously the Polish pope was endangering a delicate *modus vivendi* so carefully worked out between Italian secular politicos and the Vatican on such sensitive social questions in the past. Angry pro-abortion demonstrators carried signs attacking him: "Wojtyla—

AP

Lust in the mind, lust in the heart, lust, lust, lust.

In Poland there has been an abortion law for 15 years; why don't you 'interfere' in your own country?" Not since his unleashing of the Inquisition against "dissident" Catholic theologian Hans Küng last year (which caused one liberal Catholic to question whether the pope was not "a new Torquemada on the Tiber?") has Wojtyla made so clear the consistently reactionary thrust of his Papacy.

Wojtyla told his Latin American followers to shut up and suffer in silence under the bloody terror of their Catholic imperialist-puppet dictators, while in Poland he has aggressively encouraged political movements against the ruling regime, the better to prepare the ground for capitalist counterrevolution. It's useful that Wojtyla has shown the social program his Church Victorious would enforce—the most sexually repressive, totalitarian, rigid, guilt-inspiring, miserable kind of life. The more Wojtyla exposes this face of Catholic reaction, the better it is in terms of dispelling dangerous illusions that this vigorously anti-Communist pope is any sort of defender of "human rights and liberty."

And there's still poor old Galileo, dead lo these 300 years. We suppose that in instructing the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (guess who) to "reopen" the case, Pope Wojtyla thinks he's made a powerful statement for "human rights." Perhaps the Vatican will finally admit that the earth actually does move around the sun after all (but then, Copernicus was *a fellow Pole*). "Still, it moves," Galileo supposedly muttered under his breath when forced to recant his "heresy" under the threat of Inquisition torture. And the Vatican does too, but only three centuries late. Some "human rights": Stalinist "rehabilitations" occur with the speed of light in comparison. ■

Hunger Strikes Demand Political Rights

Free Long Kesh IRA Prisoners!

On October 27 seven Irish Republican prisoners in the notorious "H-Blocks" of North Ireland's Long Kesh prison launched a hunger strike against their British imperialist jailers. They are demanding no more than the status of political prisoners and the rights taken away from them by a Labour government in March 1976 under the slogan "Ulsterization, Criminalization, Normalization."

The bourgeois press claims their conditions are self-imposed. But the reality is they are "self-imposed" only by the fervent nationalism that will not be suppressed by degradation and terror. Refusing to wear prison uniforms, the nationalists had only their blankets to cover themselves.

A vicious prison administration in attempting to break the "blanket" protest forbade going to the toilet except in uniform, and "Loyalist" prison guards refused to empty chamber pots or emptied them in the cells. It was as if hundreds of years of British colonial humiliation must be condensed in these bare cages where the "blanketmen" are forced literally to live in their own shit. Female nationalist supporters are incarcerated in equally horrendous conditions at the women's prison in Armagh. Hamilton Fish, a conservative Republican representative from New York who visited Long Kesh as part of an American Congressional delegation, found the conditions in H-Blocks to be *worse* than the "Tiger Cages" of Saigon.

The Labour government and the subsequent Tory government contend that the Republican prisoners are simple "criminals" and "murderers." Sure, just like the German generals who tried to blow up Hitler were "common criminals" and ordinary "murderers." And of course the British rulers' aims were "humanitarian" in fire bombing Dresden.

The Irish nationalist prisoners at Long Kesh and Armagh are victims of draconian laws which have been condemned even by such bourgeois institutions as Amnesty International and the European Court on Human Rights. Embodied in the Emergency Powers Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act, these laws provide for the arrest and holding incommunicado for up to seven days of anyone suspected of membership in or "support" to the Irish Republican Army (IRA) or any other groups "concerned with terrorism." During that time a suspect may not be permitted to contact lawyers, relatives or doctors. The only regular "visitors" are the hated interrogators of the Royal Ulster Constabulary who extract "confessions" under torture that are often the sole basis for conviction by special, juryless courts. 97 percent of the cases that go before these courts result in conviction and 90 percent of these convictions are based on "confessions," often uncorroborated.

The "blanketmen" are an unwanted international embarrassment for a Tory government which wants to march in step with the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive and use the upcoming evaluation of the Helsinki accords at Madrid to denounce Russian "human rights" violations.

AP

Irish nationalists on hunger strike in the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison.

Prime Minister Thatcher attempted to head off the hunger strike by having her secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Humphrey Atkins, make the cosmetic concession of agreeing to issue "civilian-style" uniforms. When rebuffed by the H-Block prisoners, Atkin's response was: "If they die, so be it."

But the Thatcher government has also met with ruthless terror the substantial support the "blanket" protests have evoked outside the prison walls. In the past five months, four prominent leaders in the campaign on behalf of the H-Block prisoners have been assassinated either by Protestant extremists or the British counterinsurgency force, the SAS. Most recently, on October 15 two gunmen entered the home of Ronnie Bunting, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and a special target of Orange supremacy: he comes from a Protestant family of hard, Loyalist traditions. His father was none other than Major Ronald Bunting, Ian Paisley's "commander in the field." The gunmen killed Bunting, seriously wounded his wife and killed another activist in the H-Block prisoner defense staying at the house. This did not deter solidarity with the H-Block prisoners as the most massive demonstration in years turned out in Belfast on the eve of their hunger strike chanting "Smash H-Block!"

The international Spartacist tendency calls for abolishing the "Emergency Powers Act" and "Prevention of Terrorism Act"—which are terror measures aimed at intimidating the oppressed Catholic minority—and freeing all their victims. We shed no tears for British imperialists killed by the IRA, Airey Neave, Aiken's predecessor when the Tories were in opposition, or Lord Mountbatten. But we condemn indiscriminate terror like the 1974 Birmingham pub bombing which led to the passing of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and call for programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militias to combat Orange and Green terror. We reject the IRA "Provisionals" solution of a forcible unification of the northern six counties with the southern Republic of Ireland, complete with its own Long Kesh at Portlaoise and its own Emergency Powers Act called the "Offenses Against The State Act." British out of Northern Ireland! For an Irish Workers Republic within a Socialist Federation of the British Isles! ■

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No. 268 14 November 1980

Behind Blackpool Row

Labour Party's Phony Left Face

EXCERPTED FROM SPARTACIST BRITAIN NO. 27, NOVEMBER 1980

LONDON—From the bourgeois right to the "far left," October's Labour Party conference [in Blackpool] drew sensational responses—shudders and even hysteria in the bosses' papers; raptures of ecstasy in much of the left press. Blackpool was a "watershed," "half a revolution," indeed a new "October Revolution" with Tony Benn as V.I. Lenin. The *Times* cringed: "As a portent it is terrifying." [Prime Minister] Margaret Thatcher held the spectre of a "downhill slide towards socialism" before her assembled bluebloods in Brighton two weeks later. And *Socialist Press*, paper of the Workers Socialist League (WSL), discerned a "germ of truth" in that.

Sorry, no. A storm *is* brewing in Britain, but Blackpool was a tempest in a teapot. A vote for withdrawal from the EEC [Common Market]—the key policy victory of the "left"—was only a return to Labour's policy when last in opposition. The constitutional triumphs, primarily broadening the leadership election franchise beyond MPs [Members of Parliament], are accepted norms in such staid reformist parties as the German SPD. And James Callaghan was not kicked out for his ignominious class treachery—he resigned, an ineffectual lame duck in any case, to smooth the path of his successor amid "constitutional crisis." Not one of the would-be replacements, Benn included, offers the workers who look to Labour any more than Callaghan did: contemptuous disregard for their basic class interests in order to preserve one of the most putrescent capitalist systems on earth.

The 5-to-2 Blackpool vote on the EEC, like an indicative vote against Cruise missiles in Britain, reflected not class opposition to the anti-Soviet NATO alliance and its Common Market economic adjunct, but narrow British parochialism. The anti-Cruise motion also demanded "urgent discussions for Soviet withdrawal of the SS-20," and a motion for withdrawal from NATO took a stinging 8-to-1 defeat. Labour's "left"—and right-wingers like AUEW's Terry Duffy—opposed the EEC only in the name of chauvinism and protectionism: shielding British capitalism from foreign competition through import controls and other trappings of national autarky.

The narrow vote for an "electoral college" of MPs, constituency parties and trade-union bureaucrats to choose the party leader was decried by the *Times* as "damaging to parliamentary government." Hardly. Of course the idea that Labour MPs should have a measure of accountability to their working-class electors and trade-union backers is distasteful to the capitalists. But the Blackpool decisions, the product of much backstairs dealing and horsetrading for trade-union bloc votes, don't even strike particularly hard at the cherished autonomy of Labour MPs. Revolutionaries favour the widest democracy in such workers' organisations (e.g., doing away with the anti-communist proscriptions) in order to facilitate the struggle to expose the treacherous pro-capitalist bureaucrats. But for the Labour politicians "democracy" is a convenient cover for a power struggle on the basis of bourgeois politics.

Whoever wins [as Labour Party leader], it means little to the working class. What unites all of Labour, "left" and right, is its commitment to bourgeois parliamentary rule. Even Benn's call to abolish the House of Lords involves the creation of a thousand new Labour Peers to pass the measure and get... royal assent. As Ralph Miliband commented in his book *Parliamentary Socialism*: "Of political parties claiming socialism to be their aim the Labour Party has always been one of the most dogmatic—not about socialism but about the parliamentary system." Britain needs a revolution but nothing that happened at Blackpool was even a small step in that direction. The road to socialist revolution lies through breaking the stranglehold of all wings of Labourism on the working class and winning it to a revolutionary programme.

Blackpool illuminated the nature of Labour as a bourgeois workers party. It acted as a loyal tool of the bosses in power. Now in opposition, as always, it must "regenerate" internally through some "left" talk and a little bloodletting—all a necessary step in regaining the ability to build up and refurbish workers' illusions in "their" party. And Benn is nothing new either. He comes from a line of "lefts" like Clement Attlee, Aneurin Bevan and Harold Wilson who, when faced with the exigencies of power, demonstrated in practice their loyalty to the capitalist class.

Yet for the fake-revolutionary left, the idea of destroying the senile Labour Party is utterly absent, the idea of building it embraced. For the International Marxist Group (IMG) the ultimate crime in Blackpool was: "Labour Right Threatens Party Unity." Short of a deep split in the trade-union bureaucracy Labour right-wingers have only the Tories, Liberals or a short-lived "centre party" to go to. But who cares? Revolutionaries want to see party unity threatened and shattered, with Labour's working-class base broken from the pro-capitalist misleaders, "left" or right. "Party unity" is precisely the rationale Benn used to justify remaining in Callaghan's strikebreaking cabinet—allegiance to Labour "on the grounds that the Tory government which would succeed it if it was defeated, would be much worse."

This is the pervasive rationale for Labour cretinism. Even the left-centrist Workers Power Group which makes no claims about the "gains" of Blackpool voted for Labour in 1979 as it stood openly on a strikebreaking, wage-slashing programme and was widely discredited among the workers. Sundry fake revolutionaries who seek to cuddle up to the "left" betrayers hope it will bring them closer to the workers. It only brings them closer to the workers' reformist illusions. Trotskyists don't underestimate the depth of such illusions, which require many flexible tactics to be destroyed, including when appropriate critical support and entry, but first there has to be the revolutionary programme and the will to destroy them.

Tony (ex-Sir Anthony Wedgewood) Benn flim-flams leftists at Anti-Nazi League rock concert.

Socialist Challenge

In contrast the IMG has become a virtual press agency for Benn. Benn of course knows the measure of the IMG et al. He openly welcomes "those socialists who have got isolated in sectarian loneliness" back to Labour's bosom. But for what? Even the IMG admits, "the last thing Benn wants is a revolution." Precisely: *the last thing Benn wants is a revolution.* And he is conscious of this, and has a programme (of sorts) to prevent it. He talks now of troop withdrawal from Ireland because "violence could spread to England" and thinks loss of British power to the EEC could light "the long fuse of revolution." His "Little England" social-patriotic schemes and illusions are explicitly designed to stop that fuse from being lit.

The WSL found it "conspicuous that it was amongst the constituency delegations—most closely linked to the rank and file of the labour movement—that this new militant political current found most support" (*Socialist Press*, 15 October). Conspicuous? It's the *norm.* Constituency parties have long been a sandpit for fake-left oppositions to play in. And today a significant component of the "left" consists of petty-bourgeois radicals *moving right* (the aging "children of '68") including a gaggle of self-styled Trotskyists who could only mislead any radicalising workers they might chance upon into foot-slogging and canvassing for left reformism. Of course genuine Trotskyists could do work in the constituency parties, but the core of the Labour Party's strength is the unions. A strategy to split Labour must involve challenging the hold of the union bureaucrats with a class-struggle program counterposed to craftism and class treason. But the fake-lefts are incapable of this. The WSL can only counterpose to the scabbing, Labourite policies of the bureaucracy ... its own scabbing, Labourite policies.

History is littered with the forgotten initials of "revolutionary" groups who first adapted to social democracy, then joined it. That's the fate before those who hail Blackpool, as it was for the Militant and Chartist groups before them. And while the right-centrist WSL is en route, the Workers Action (WA) actually seems to have arrived. WA leader John O'Mahoney claims in his analysis of Blackpool (*Socialist Organiser*, 11 October): "Direct channels are being opened for the control by the labour movement over our representatives in Parliament and therefore, if Labour has a majority, control over Parliament." After a previous revisionist redefinition of a workers government (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat) as a Labour government possibly "resting on a parliamentary majority," this all adds up to the reformist "peaceful road to socialism." O'Mahoney called Blackpool "half a revolution: the opening half" (presumably like the Russian Revolution—sans soviets and Bolsheviks—since *Socialist Organiser*'s headline "Five Days that Shook the Labour Party" alludes to the title of John Reed's account).

To such house "Trotskyists" of social democracy, it bears repeating: a workers government in Britain will be established only through a revolutionary onslaught against the bourgeois state, Westminster and all. The Labour Party has demonstrated the bankruptcy of its claims to lead the workers for decades. What is needed is a revolutionary party to tighten the noose around its neck and break the workers once and for all from this obstacle to their emancipation. ■

The Heisler Case: Watersuit Backfires

FBI Informer in the SWP

A Harlem apartment building is ransacked in an early morning raid April 19. Doors are broken down, families terrorized at gunpoint, bedding and sheets ripped apart, furniture smashed. Is it the Klan? No, it's the "new" FBI searching for black radical Assata Shakur. The liberals who thought the Watergate exposures would provoke more than transient squeamishness about FBI "dirty tricks" are in for some rude shocks. Wiretaps, mail openings, burglaries, COINTELPRO "disruptions," forgeries, agent penetration all now require court warrants—except where they don't, as established by a "charter" of purposeful ambiguity. An important corollary of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet warmongering is a "strong state" with an "unleashed" secret police.

Meanwhile the "socialist Watersuit" of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) drags on. After seven years the suit has not been without limited victories. It has forced the government to make some damaging admissions—for instance its use of over 1,300 informers to spy on the SWP, including 300 SWP members. But the value of the suit is limited by the SWP's reformist refusal to go beyond "Freedom of Information" muckraking. The "socialist Watersuit" sows as many illusions in the capitalist state as it exposes.

Take the fight to obtain the files on 18 "representative" informers. The SWP chased Attorney-General Griffin Bell around the courtroom, even getting him held in contempt of court. The SWP agreed that their counsel would keep the information, including the informants' names, secret. As we wrote at the time:

> "By allowing its attorneys to be legally barred from conveying this 'privileged information' on the FBI even to the SWP itself, the SWP places its own lawyers in the peculiar position of covering up the government's continuing war on the left or facing charges of contempt of court."
>
> —"Bell Shields FBI Finks," *WV* No. 213, 11 August 1978

Who says these informers spied only on the SWP? The SWP had an obligation to use its suit not only to get publicity and monetary damages for itself, but to help the rest of the workers movement defend itself against FBI finks by disclosing publicly whatever information it managed to wring from the government. Keeping the FBI's dirty secrets vitiates a central purpose of such a suit against the government.

But the SWP's willingness to be complicit in the FBI cover-up did not pay off even in the narrowest sense. Bell's citation was overturned on appeal and a new doctrine of "informer privilege" established. (This "privilege" has now been used to free FBI agent Gary Rowe, who infiltrated the Klan in the 1960s and self-admittedly participated in the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo.)

Since the files would not be turned over to the SWP, the judge, Thomas Griesa, appointed former New York State judge Charles Breitel to study the 18 files and prepare a report. The report, released to the public in May, implicated the FBI in "bag jobs" and violent provocations against the SWP. It also said no FBI informer had penetrated the SWP National Committee higher than as alternate.

The exposure of one Ed Heisler, elected a full member of the SWP NC in 1977 and 1979, as a paid FBI informer revealed that the FBI had brought off yet another cover-up.

Heisler: "Bill of Rights Informer"?

According to the SWP internal bulletin (*Party Organizer* Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980), on June 9 Heisler sent the SWP a letter admitting he had worked for the FBI between 1967 and 1971. As the SWP correctly notes (*Militant,* 12 September), Heisler probably "was an agent when he joined our movement in 1960 and...continued his disruptive activities right up until the day he acted, for reasons unknown to us, to reveal his cop role to the party."

Heisler was for many years the main trade-union spokesman of the SWP. He headed their railroad fraction, for many years virtually the only organized SWP fraction among industrial workers, and was a founder of the United Transportation Union's Right to Vote Committee. Heisler's work was held up as a model of how to adapt the "single-issue strategy" of the class-collaborationist antiwar movement to the unions. Heisler was used as a club by the SWP majority against critics like the Proletarian Orientation Tendency who complained about the party's exclusive preoccupation with petty-bourgeois radical movements and called for a turn to the industrial proletariat. In 1974 he was SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois and in 1975 went to work on the staff of the SWP presidential campaign. He was first elected to the NC in 1975 as an alternate, making full at the next conference.

Why did Heisler turn himself in? In a report to last August's SWP educational conference at Oberlin, the fatuous claim is made that "Our turn to basic industry helped unmask Heisler" (*Party Organizer* Vol. 4, No. 3, September 1980). A more plausible hypothesis is suggested in Larry Seigle's report to the same conference:

> "If what Heisler told us is true, he was the perfect informer. That is, the informer who never did anything other than what the FBI admits and says its informer program is designed to do. He was simply a source of information—not a provocateur, not a disrupter. He would be the ideal 'Bill of Rights Informer'—if his story was true."

Seigle does not draw the conclusion. Heisler may even have been instructed to turn himself in. The "perfect informer," the human embodiment of the "new" FBI, could be a government exhibit in the SWP "Watersuit." Heisler's self-exposure is a gain for the workers movement, as is the exposure of any fink. But it might be a mixed blessing.

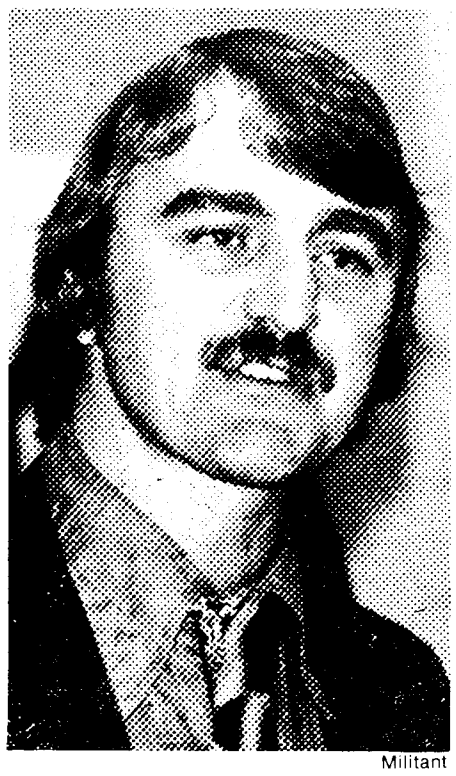
SWP: "Bill of Rights Socialists"

Whether or not Heisler was the "Bill of Rights informer," the organization he penetrated on the FBI's behalf is certainly a party of "Bill of Rights socialists." The SWP's 1976 presidential campaign promised:

> "We propose expanding the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to include protection from the new problems created by present-day capitalist society."

Their proposed amendments included "The right of workers to decide economic and social policy." The SWP would surely like to forget the words of its founding Declaration in 1938:

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



Militant

FBI informer Ed Heisler.

It is precisely such illusions that the SWP has propagated in its suit against the FBI. Faced with massive unexcitement over its "Working-Class Bill of Rights," the SWP now hopes to ride the court case which has made a somewhat bigger splash into the annals of constitutional history. Seigle at Oberlin described the SWP's goals:

> "First, we want them to affirm in court that what we advocate, what we say, the ideas that we stand for are legal and protected by the Bill of Rights. This includes our resolutions, our campaign platforms, the ideas we promulgate, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Castro, and so on.
>
> "Second, they must agree in court that what we do is legal, that is putting the ideas into practice, here and abroad. Building revolutionary parties is an activity protected by the First Amendment...."

To make "building revolutionary parties" an activity protected by the First Amendment, that activity must be emptied of any real revolutionary content, or even pretense. Such a party, built exclusively "by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods" and certainly not in the class struggle (which is after all sometimes violent and sometimes is driven outside the bounds of bourgeois legality), is not a revolutionary party.

The SWP does not really believe that the American Constitution is going to legalize proletarian revolution. What it really wants is to establish that *it* is no longer the party formed in 1938 with the perspective of leading the proletariat to its class dictatorship. It wants to establish that despite its sometime (and decreasing) use of socialist rhetoric it is no threat to the established capitalist order.

In his Oberlin speech Seigle says of the secret police:

> "This undemocratic, repressive mechanism is part of the real content of capitalist democracy. That is why the workers movement must constantly fight for its rights against this mechanism, fight to uncover it and get out the truth about it."

The role of the working class is reduced to muckraking rather than the fight to abolish the capitalist state and its repressive institutions through proletarian revolution, a fight in which the SWP has no faith. These reformists see their role no differently than did the Watergate reformers like racist Democrat Sam Ervin. What they want from the court of Nixon appointee Griesa is to establish that the FBI chose the wrong target (like with Watergate) when it went after the legal, peaceful, "Bill of Rights socialist" SWP.

Cleaning Up SWP History

Sheppard's affidavit explicitly stated:

> "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity....
>
> "The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

We hope the SWP has no members among New York transit workers, much less coal miners, who engaged in an "illegal activity" when they went on strike. (No wonder scab Andrew Pulley was the SWP presidential candidate.) Apparently the miners and transit workers would be subject not only to the Taylor Law or Taft-Hartley but also to disciplinary action from the SWP.

What Sheppard is worried about in the Marxist classics or colonial revolutionary Patrick Henry is the uncompromising defense of revolutionary violence. Take that out and you are left with "Marxism" à la Eduard Bernstein, Santiago Carrillo, Michael Harrington and Barry Sheppard. Leon Trotsky would certainly be expelled from today's SWP for his spirited defense of the 1905 armed uprising. Trotsky told the *tsarist* courts:

> "Did the Soviet recognize its right to employ violence, repressions, in certain instances, through one or another of its organs? My answer to a question posed in this general form is—Yes!"

In the 1941 trial of 18 SWP leaders and Minneapolis Teamsters under the Smith Act which bans advocacy of revolution, James Cannon was careful to avoid phrases which could be distorted by an eager prosecution. He nevertheless used the courtroom as a platform for socialist propaganda. He gave a powerful defense of the Trotskyist principle of defense of the Soviet Union against the imperialist powers and the need for workers defense guards to crush the fascists "before it is too late." (Contrast this with the present-day SWP's polite "debate" with Klan terrorists!) When pressed on the question of violence in the proletarian revolution, Cannon unambiguously replied: "It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence." He placed the blame for the violence, of course, upon the capitalist class which will not willingly give up its wealth and power.

The SWP did more than verbally repudiate revolutionary violence to woo the federal judges. In the early days of the suit, right-wing journalists mounted a "terrorist"-baiting witchhunt against the United Secretariat, the international group to which the SWP claims "fraternal relations." The SWP responded to this witchhunt by conducting one of its own. More than 100 supporters of the United Secretariat's majority tendency, organized in the SWP as the Internationalist Tendency (IT), were without a trial "removed from membership." Thus a Smith Act rendered toothless by judicial precedent since the McCarthy era is alive and well in the SWP when it comes to dealing with "comrades" who might tarnish its image. Unfortunately for the IT, the same could not be said for the Sixth Amendment. The internal bulletins of the IT expulsion soon showed up in court, including documents internal to the IT and a list of 32

pseudonyms. Judge Griesa showed his appreciation:

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

When Seigle boasts that "The one thing we have not done is give them names of party members," it seems he excludes oppositions expelled and fingered as fair game for FBI persecution.

"Heisler Disruption Program"

But let us return to Heisler. The SWP makes a great hullaballoo over having finally uncovered the "Heisler disruption program." In what did that program consist? Was it dirty work in the union movement, where he had considerable authority? How many militants lost their jobs because of him? Was it his exploitation of various SWP campaigns to finger members and supporters of the party? Was it his access to the organization's highest bodies? Not according to Seigle:

> "The more we learn about Heisler's actions as an agent provocateur in our ranks, the more it becomes clear that promoting a breakdown in our policy against use by party members of illegal drugs was his major disruption angle."

Apparently Heisler was guilty of claiming that the party's ban on pot smoking was overcautious and not enforced on the party leadership. One can imagine that an organization which made its major recruitment from the "youth radicalization" generation of the late 1960s, on a program of "self-determination for everyone," might be having trouble turning its comrades into Jack Barnes' image of "socialist workers" who defend anti-gay "age of consent" laws, enforce drug laws with the vengeance of a nark and try to convince co-workers of the virtues of the Iranian mullahs.

Of course any socialist organization must take measures necessary to defend itself including conforming to necessary bourgeois legalities, even where particular laws are repressive. This is particularly the case with drug laws, given the large-scale use of "illegal" drugs and the corresponding selective enforcement of drug laws especially against radical and black organizations. But it is also the duty of every socialist to fight laws which are socially repressive and discriminatory.

The Spartacist League is well known for its uncompromising opposition to punitive state meddling in what are essentially private, consensual activities. In the days when the SWP was still quietly dropping from membership any homosexuals it uncovered in the party, the SL was known to be a militant defender of homosexuals' rights. We also firmly oppose government sanctions against innocuous pursuits like pot smoking. To us the operative difference between homosexuality and the various other activities which the state bans in the name of conventional moralism—pornography, drugs, gambling, etc.—is that the latter are essentially trivial activities while so-called "deviant" sex is a necessary part of life for homosexuals and others. Hence we expect our comrades, whose politics make them specially vulnerable, to eschew pleasurable luxuries to stay out of trouble, whereas we do not expect them to renounce their very sexuality. But that is all. It is not our business to approve or disapprove of any of these pursuits, and we oppose all attempts to legislate what are essentially private matters.

It goes without saying that the SWP does not approach the question in this spirit. In fact, far from calling for the abolition of laws against marijuana, they are going after their own membership with a spirit that recalls Carrie Nation. Seigle's report to the branches proclaims: "the next time someone in this party invites you to go smoke dope, you have to assume he or she is a cop. There will be no other assumption you can make."

The SWP vendetta against pot smokers seems to constitute the totality of SWP self-protection. Seigle told the Oberlin conference:

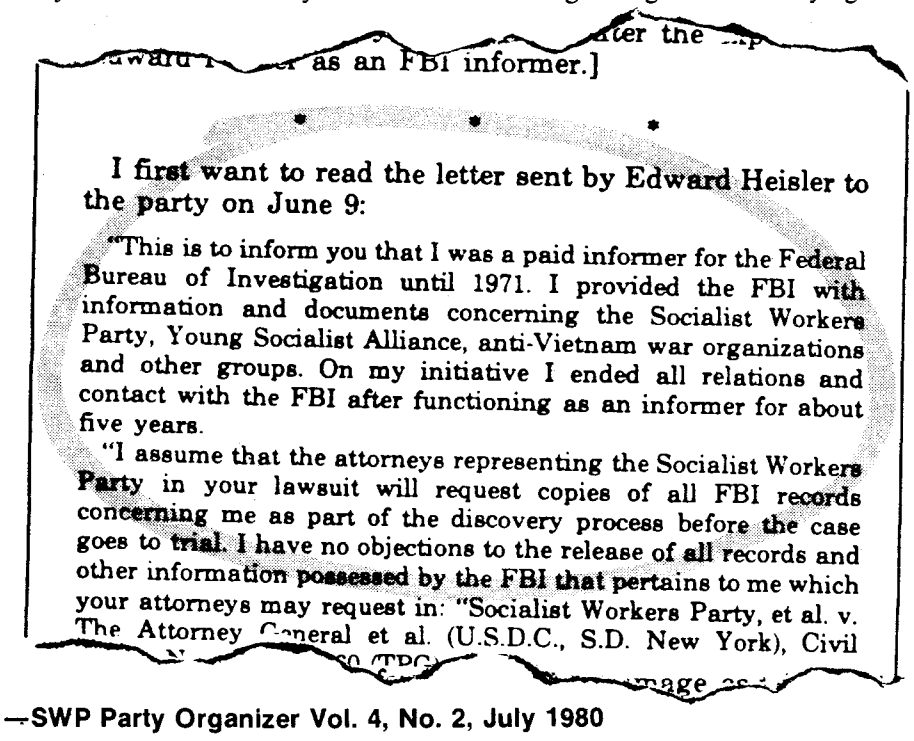
> "We did not know in 1973 that the FBI was routinely—just about on a weekly schedule—burglarizing the headquarters of the party and homes of SWP members.... We had never heard of the term 'mail cover,' nor had we any idea what it consisted of or how it worked. We had no indication that the FBI tape recorded all of our converations...."

What did Seigle think he had for a ruling class, Christopher Robin? "We suspected," says Seigle of the burglaries, "but we didn't know." It's hard to believe anybody, let alone an ostensibly socialist organization, could be burglarized on "just about a weekly schedule" decade ago? SWP: Open the Heisler File!

Witchhunt in Houston

While cautioning against an agent-baiting witchhunt, the SWP intends to use the Heisler affair as license for selective witchhunting. The internal bulletin on the Heisler exposure also contains a Control Commission report on a purge in Houston, ratified by the SWP NC on May 27. The Houston SWP branch has long been a hotbed of political oppositions, including the Proletarian Orientation and Internationalist Tendencies. One of the effects of this purge was to finally get rid of Debby Leonard, a well-known SWP oppositionist and USec majority supporter.

The purge centered on the expulsion of four members for squabbling over housing arrangements and trying to deal



...ter the ...
...ward ... as an FBI informer.]

* * *

I first want to read the letter sent by Edward Heisler to the party on June 9:

"This is to inform you that I was a paid informer for the Federal Bureau of Investigation until 1971. I provided the FBI with information and documents concerning the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, anti-Vietnam war organizations and other groups. On my initiative I ended all relations and contact with the FBI after functioning as an informer for about five years.

"I assume that the attorneys representing the Socialist Workers Party in your lawsuit will request copies of all FBI records concerning me as part of the discovery process before the case goes to trial. I have no objections to the release of all records and other information possessed by the FBI that pertains to me which your attorneys may request in: "Socialist Workers Party, et al. v. The Attorney General et al. (U.S.D.C., S.D. New York), Civil ...

—SWP Party Organizer Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980

without taking steps at least to find out for sure.

Of course, the SWP is quick to point out that the Bolshevik party had a police agent, one Roman Malinovsky, on its Central Committee. With the vast resources at its disposal, the capitalist government can place and maintain agents in even the most vigilant organization. Seigle sagely observes that nothing is more corrosive to comradely trust than paranoid agent-hunting, and indeed agents freely engage in agent-baiting, both to disrupt the organization and to "prove" their own loyalty. Seigle refers to the obvious horrible example, the Healyite Workers League, which combines fealty to madman Islamic despot Colonel Qaddafi of Libya with psychotic FBI-baiting of the SWP.

But the SWP uses Malinovsky and the Healyites to claim that no measures can be taken to protect a socialist organization from cop penetration except strident and puritanical prostration before bourgeois legality. In their social-democratic hearts the SWP reformists seem to believe the government will leave them alone if only they say: Look, we're non-violent, we even threw out oppositionists who advocated guerrilla warfare in Latin America; look, we're legal, our members don't even smoke pot. How wrong this reformist faith in bourgeois legality is has been demonstrated by the revelations forced by their own court suit.

And now the SWP claims the FBI "disruption program" boils down to enticing SWP members to use marijuana! To claim that this was the main purpose for which the FBI used this highly placed informant in the SWP is tantamount to a cover-up by the SWP. The SWP owes the rest of the workers movement a thorough investigation and public accounting of all of Heisler's nefarious activities during the 20 years he was a member of their party. What about the persistent rumors that Heisler embezzled money from the antiwar movement? Can it be that cynical disinterest at the time in looking into charges of crimes against the movement prevented the exposure of Heisler over a on their own with the psychological breakdown of a fifth member. While acknowledging that "none of the four comrades expelled by the Houston branch was accused of using drugs themselves," nevertheless the Control Commission upheld their expulsions for "disloyalty" in not informing the branch leadership that their comrade's breakdown may have involved the use of drugs. The bulletin creates a sinister amalgam between the Houston purge and the Heisler "disruption campaign."

Both the Control Commission report and the related document, "Loyalty and Party Membership," appeal to the 1965 resolution, "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party" as providing the criteria for party loyalty. This resolution was put forward to justify after the fact and codify as law the bureaucratic expulsion of the founding cadres of the Spartacist League, the then Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP. The RT was a disciplined left oppositional tendency which, in spite of many provocations by the SWP majority, conducted its fight against the SWP's deepening revisionism entirely within a democratic-centralist framework. Therefore the RT had to be expelled not for any breach of discipline but for its ideas. The 1965 resolution admits the expulsion took place without any proof of disloyal acts:

> "They seemed to believe the party would have to submit to their wrecking operation until and unless specific acts of disloyalty could be proved against them.... With or without proof of specific acts, the party has the right, and its leadership the duty, to stop the self-indicted factional raiders who were out to wreck our movement."

While the resolution claims that (1) "The right to organize tendencies and factions is safeguarded," the paragraphs following explain that (2) factions are by their very formation disloyal—and, of course, (3) disloyal comrades are expelled! A neat bureaucratic "syllogism"!

The ominous invocation of the 1965 resolution, the Houston purge and the treatment of the Heisler affair lay the basis for further witchhunts and the sinister injection of agent-baiting. Left over lifestyle radicals, disgruntled workerists, critics of any kind better beware.

Their Methods and Ours

The Seigle report made to SWP branches in the aftermath of Heisler's confession (*Party Organizer*, Vol. 4, No. 2, July 1980) ends with a veiled polemic against any who might have gotten bored with the interminable court case: "We are entering a new, exciting and crucial phase in this suit, in which things are going to move more rapidly than they have for the past few years...." The report concludes by criticizing anti-FBI suits which were settled out of court, a point made at much greater length in the subsequent Oberlin speech (*Militant*, 12 September) which attacks the ACLU, Jane Fonda and the Quakers for agreements that sanctify FBI spying—as if the SWP agreement on "privileged access" did not do essentially the same thing.

The SWP sees a big difference between in-court and out-of-court because they are "judiciary cretinists." They want the courts to modify the bourgeois state so it will work in favor of the working class. Revolutionaries understand that so long as the ruling class holds state power, they don't have to make too many concessions to "playing fair." Losing a suit for damages is a public humiliation and can help deter them from whatever are "excesses" at a particular moment. In any case what counts isn't in-court or out-of-court but who wins and who pays.

The SWP is probably particularly touchy about its suit because of the victory of Jane Margolis, a militant phone worker known for her opposition to her union's support to the racist, strikebreaking Democrats and a member of the Militant Action Caucus which is supported in the press of the Spartacist League. Elected to the 1979 CWA national convention, Margolis planned to protest the union's having brought in Jimmy Carter to give the keynote speech. Before she could take the floor, she was mugged by the Secret Service, handcuffed and dragged from the convention floor.

Margolis sued the Secret Service for damages. Her purpose and that of the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (the defense group centered among CWA members) was to hamper through exposure and protest the spy agencies' exercise of their job—persecuting labor, minorities and the left, in this instance, directly repressing socialist activism in the unions. More particularly, the Committee aimed to scandalize the Secret Service for mugging a union delegate to politically bodyguard the American monarch, and to beat back the government's contentions: that Jane Margolis constituted an unspecified "threat" to the president justifying illegal seizure; that Margolis and the political party she supports must be criminals and terrorists; that Jimmy Carter and his class belong at union conventions; that "reds" don't, even if elected by their co-workers to represent the union.

The broad support for Margolis among unionists and others soon forced the government to settle, with a public apology backed up by $3,500 cash. Given its attachment to court cases the SWP ought to attack Margolis for accepting any settlement short of a constitutional amendment, but can't very well do so since out of petty sectarianism the SWP never supported the Margolis suit in the first place.

The things that were done to the SWP—but remember, only a pale reflection of the monstrosities done to the pro-Moscow Communist Party and its members for many, many decades—are outrageous. We hope they can get the government to say it's sorry for the "excesses" of the past, thereby creating a less favorable climate for the witchhunts of the future. But looking at the present, and seeing a more complex reality than the endless series of "victories" inevitably discerned by the SWP, one has to wonder. ■

Gorgoni/Contact

Religion & Reaction

By Joseph Seymour

PART ONE OF TWO

Hundreds of thousands of people were burned at the stake, tortured to death, massacred in religious wars to achieve freedom of conscience in the Western world. The separation of church and state, won against the fanatical, violent resistance of pope, priest and pastor, was one of the great attainments of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That organized religion was an enemy of human freedom was central to the worldview of a Maximilien Robespierre, a Tom Paine, even a Thomas Jefferson.

But today the understanding that religion is reactionary is being challenged on the left, including by self-styled "Marxists." First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-lefts have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. In this sense the opportunistic left shows an ideological regression similar to the bourgeoisie in the imperialist epoch.

As the now-degenerate bourgeoisie feels itself threatened by the revolutionary masses, it desperately seeks to mobilize traditional religion on its behalf. Whereas once the monarchist Metternich made a holy alliance with the papacy against "Red Republicanism," so today the Metternichs of the White House and Pentagon have resurrected an alliance with the Vatican against "atheistic Communism." In Asia and Africa mullahs, lamas, even witch doctors find themselves on the CIA payroll as once they were endowed by kings, sheiks and tribal chiefs. In the 1950s the high priest of the Cold War, John Foster Dulles, exulted that:

> "...the religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious virtues. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find and develop it."
>
> —quoted in Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (1957)

And where the imperialist bourgeoisie sets the pace, their kept "socialists" run along. For decades British Labour governments, for example, have supported this or that Islamic faction in an effort to maintain perfidious Albion's diminishing influence in the Near East.

Where the big-time reformists—the Sir Harold Wilsons and Helmut Schmidts—go, the little opportunists on the left are now following. In the past few years much of the left has become defenders of religious reaction, first in Iran, now in Poland. Practically the entire left enthused over the "Islamic Revolution" in Iran. When we demanded "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs!", warning that the Islamic opposition to the bloody tyrant aimed at imposing a clerical-reactionary dictatorship, Ayatollah Khomeini's cheerleaders in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) howled that our warnings were "chauvinist." Not long after the SWP's *Militant* boldly proclaimed "Victory in Iran!", however, its Iranian comrades were sitting on death row in Khomeini's jails, accused of "satanic Communism."

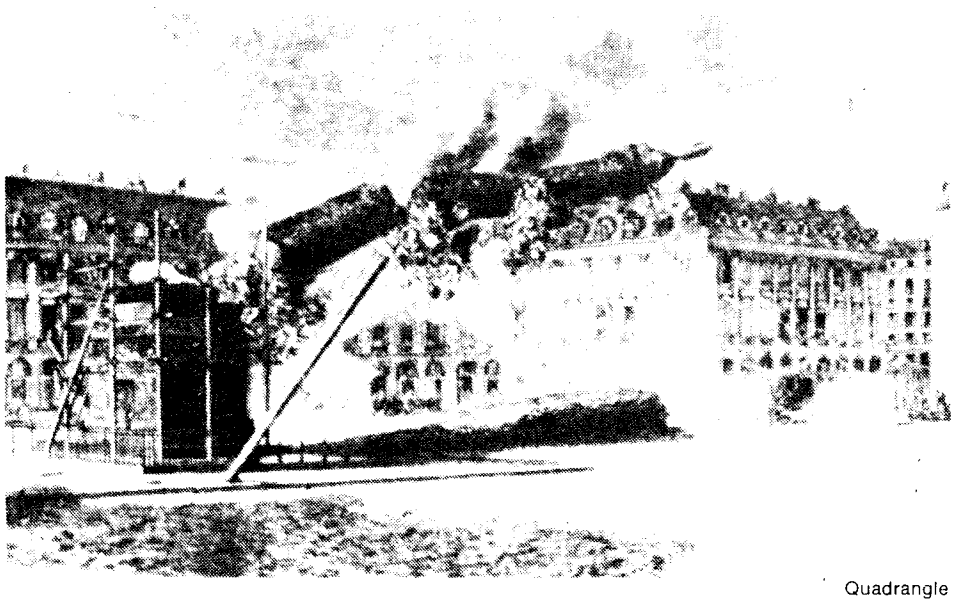
That was bad enough. But now, reflecting a renewed anti-Soviet Cold War drive, much of the left is acting as lawyers for clerical-nationalist reaction in Poland. Leading West European pseudo-Trotskyist centrist Ernest Mandel last year came out for a Catholic party in Poland, a party inspired by Pope Wojtyla and Zbigniew Brzezinski. And Mandel's SWP co-religionists defend the demand for broadcasting Catholic mass over state radio, disingenuously claiming, "The separation of church and state is not at issue here." In fact the SWP's Fred Feldman says, "I'd like to see a daily Wyszynski Hour on television" (see "SWP: Lawyers for Clerical Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October).

Thus while strike leaders in Gdansk parade around with a crucifix, celebrating mass in the Lenin Shipyards and holding private audiences with Archbishop Wyszynski, Mandel's international conglomerate, the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) stresses the importance of defending not only the right to strike,

> "...but also freedom of assembly, of the press, and *unrestricted freedom of religion*. Far from criticizing or opposing the access of the church to radio and television won by the Gdansk strikers, we welcome this...."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*
> 27 October

The USec statement even backhandedly admits that this is supporting a privileged status for the Roman Catholic church, and they ardently defend the clergy and their "dissident" supporters: "...the accusations concerning the role of the church and of petty-bourgeois forces in the strikes and the anti-bureaucratic opposition are pure hypocrisy."

Since its inception two decades ago, the Spartacist tendency has fought for the principles of Leninism and Trotskyism against various revisionists, centrally on the need for proletarian communist leadership. But today as these same revisionists kneel before Imam Khomeini and Pope Wojtyla, we find ourselves having to defend the elementary bourgeois-democratic principle of the separation of church and state and to combat with renewed force "the opium of the masses."



Quadrangle

Paris communards topple statue of Napoleon, declare the end of the old governmental and clerical world.

Jacobinism as "Anti-Christ"

That from the onset of the Great French Revolution the Roman Catholic church was the most fanatical, most diehard enemy of democracy and social progress in Europe was almost a truism for nineteenth-century radicals or even moderate liberals like John Stuart Mill. This was not simply an ideological lag—a matter of enlightened versus traditionalist or superstitious elements. The alliance of religion and reaction was essentially a *class question* arising from the impact of ascendant capitalism on a largely agrarian society and its feudal-derived political order. As Engels wrote in his introduction to the English edition of "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" (1892),

> "...the great international centre of feudalism was the Roman Catholic Church. It united the whole of feudalised Western Europe, in spite of all internal wars, into one grand political system.... It surrounded feudal institutions with the halo of divine consecration. It had organised its own hierarchy on the feudal model, and, lastly, it was itself by far the most powerful feudal lord, holding, as it did, fully one-third of the soil of the Catholic world. Before profane feudalism could be successfully attacked in each country and in detail, this, its sacred central organisation, had to be destroyed."

The bourgeois-democratic revolution, promising the liberation of individual capacity and the rational reorganization of society, was produced through an alliance of liberal capitalists and the urban artisan-proletariat. Subsequently during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the working class in the major European cities (and also in North America) absorbed to some degree the scientific discoveries and rational materialist outlook which made possible the industrial revolution. By contrast, the peasantry remained mired in medieval squalor and ignorance, what Marx called "the idiocy of rural life." Paradoxically, where the bourgeois-democratic revolution succeeded in giving land to the tiller (as in France), this further conservatized the peasantry and so strengthened the social base for clerical-reactionary movements.

The conflict between radical, working-class Paris and the backward priest-ridden countryside was a dominant theme of French history from the

AP

Jacobin dictatorship of 1793-94 through the Revolution of 1848, the Commune of 1871 and down to the Dreyfus affair at the turn of this century. The great nineteenth-century French revolutionary Louis Auguste Blanqui regarded as polar social types the atheistic, radical Paris worker and the brutalized, priest-dominated Breton peasant.

One of the most serious internal threats to the Great French Revolution was the 1793 peasant uprising in the Vendée, led by "refractory" priests, those who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the revolutionary-democratic constitution. The nature of this uprising was summed up in a report by two local Jacobins who managed to escape:

> "All these fellows shouted, 'Long Live the King and our Good Priests! We want our King, our priests and the old regime!' And they wanted to kill off all the Patriots [revolutionary democrats]...."
>
> —quoted in Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (1964)

Fortunately for us, Robespierre, Marat and their colleagues were made of stern stuff (unlike such pitiful self-styled "socialists" as Ernest Mandel and Jack Barnes). After the suppression of the clerical-monarchist uprising in the Vendée, revolutionary terror was applied to the maximum in the region. One of the agents of the Jacobin-dominated Convention could report back:

> "Another kind of event seems to have diminished the number of priests; ninety of those we call Refractories were closed up in a boat on the Loire. I have just learned, and the news is quite certain, that they have all perished in the river."
>
> —quoted in *op. cit.*

However, when the era of the French Revolution was ended in 1815 through an alliance of British capitalism and Russian tsarism, the Catholic church was able to avenge itself on the partisans of "liberty, equality and fraternity." There was no more extreme advocate of the restoration of monarchical absolutism than the papacy. Compared to Gregory XVI even Prince Metternich looked like a parlor pink.

The liberal French Revolution of 1830 and the Polish national uprising the following year produced a tremor of fear among the crowned heads of Europe. In 1832 Gregory XVI responded with the papal encyclical *Mirari vos*. A more extreme statement of black reaction would be hard to find, indeed hard to conceive of. It denounced "freedom of conscience" as a "delirium," condemned freedom of the press and categorically rejected any separation of church and state. This papal encyclical concludes with a hysterical attack on "red revolution" with vituperation that a Goebbels would have been hard put to outdo:

> "Thus when the sacred bonds of religion are once contemptuously cast aside, bonds which alone preserve kingdoms and maintain the power and vigor of authority, public order is seen to disappear, sovereignty perish, and all legitimate power is menaced by an ever-approaching revolution-abyss of bottomless miseries, which these conspiring societies have especially dug, in which heresy and sects have so to speak vomited as if into a sewer all that their bosom holds of license, sacrilege and blasphemy."
>
> —reproduced in Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in Historical Context* (1956)

A contemporary British liberal Catholic historian observes critically that the papacy supported monarchical absolutism even when this meant the persecution of the Catholic faithful:

> "The Catholic Poles were told that they must remain quietly obedient to their autocratic and foreign sovereign, the Tsar, although he was denying the necessary liberties of their faith. The Catholic Belgians were told to obey the Calvinist King of Holland, although he was doing the same.... Everywhere the first principle was legitimacy, and this generally meant absolutism...."
>
> —E.E.Y. Hales, *Revolution and Papacy, 1769-1846* (1960)

When monarchical absolutism was dismantled in most of Europe in the wake of the revolutions of 1848, the papacy (along with Russian tsarism) remained the implacable enemy of any liberalization of society. Pius IX's 1864 *Syllabus of Errors* is a cry of defiance against the modern world. Chief among these "errors" was the idea that: "The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself, and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization." The enunciation of papal infallibility at the 1870 Vatican Council was a kind of ideological compensation for the loss of the papal states to the Italian *risorgimento*. Deprived by the bourgeois-democratic revolution of his absolute political power over the people of central Italy, Pius IX claimed absolute power over the minds of Catholics everywhere.

All nineteenth-century radicals saw in organized religion, especially the Catholic church, the most intransigent enemy of the liberating principles of the Great French Revolution. Blanqui maintained that there were only two real parties in France, Jesuits and Socialists. The national-democratic revolutionary Giuseppe Garibaldi called the papacy "the cancer of Italy" and plotted to kidnap Pius IX. And the young Marx could write in 1843 that "criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism."

The Commune and the Execution of the Archbishop of Paris

In this same period Marx also spoke of exchanging the arms of criticism for the criticism of arms. In this sense the most effective criticism of religion was undertaken by the most important of nineteenth-century revolutions, the Paris Commune of March-May 1871.

The defeat of France at the hands of the Prussian army in 1870 toppled the Third Empire of Louis Napoleon (who managed to get himself captured at the historic battle of Sedan). A popular uprising in Paris allowed a claque of right-wing bourgeois republicans to form a provisional government and organize a constituent assembly, which met in the southern city of Bordeaux, safe from both the Prussian army and Paris proletariat. Paris elected socialists and radical republicans, but the peasant masses returned a clerical-monarchist majority, which set up a government headed by the right-wing bourgeois Adolphe Thiers. One of Thiers' first acts was to order the disarming of the largely proletarian Paris National Guard. At this the Guard rebelled and drove Thiers and his men out of Paris. Thus was born the Paris Commune.

The founding declaration of the Commune stated that the revolution "marks the end of the old governmental and clerical world." What this meant was explained by Marx in his classic homage to the Commune, *The Civil War in France:*

> "Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the 'parson-power,' by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the apostles."

When the Thiers government, now based in the suburb of Versailles, began to advance troops against revolutionary Paris, the Communards took 50 or so bourgeois hostages, most prominent among them Archbishop Darboy. Initially they offered to exchange all these hostages for the imprisoned Auguste Blanqui, but Thiers categorically refused. When the end came as the counterrevolutionary army broke through the defenders and butchered the workers and their families, the hostages were executed as threatened.

Parenthetically, we should note that Darboy was personally far less of a reactionary and criminal than, say, Hungary's Cardinal Mindszenty, late hero of "the free world." Darboy was a liberal Catholic (a Gallican) and may well have been to the left of the present

continued on page 10

KARL MARX ON CHRISTIANITY

The social principles of Christianity justified the slavery of antiquity, glorified the serfdom of the Middle Ages and are capable, in case of need, of defending the oppression of the proletariat, even if with somewhat doleful grimaces.

The social principles of Christianity preach the necessity of a ruling and an oppressed class, and for the latter all they have to offer is the pious wish that the former may be charitable....

The social principles of Christianity declare all the vile acts of the oppressors against the oppressed to be either a just punishment for original sin and other sins, or trials which the Lord, in his infinite wisdom, ordains for the redeemed.

The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submissiveness and humbleness, in short, all the qualities of the rabble, and the proletariat, which will not permit itself to be treated as rabble, needs its courage, its self-confidence, its pride and its sense of independence even more than its bread.

The social principles of Christianity are sneaking and hypocritical, and the proletariat is revolutionary.

So much for the social principles of Christianity.

—Karl Marx,
"The Communism of the *Rheinischer Beobachter*"
(September 1847)

Bolshevik poster, "Comrade Lenin sweeps the earth of filth."

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

could be persuaded to vote as a bloc for the "lesser evil" against the choice of the KKK. As for the new Jewish Republican Zionists, they are likely to be in for a surprise from the party of John Connally and the "sun belt" oil interests.

Life After Reagan

With the collapse of the Democratic Party/labor coalition, the Republicans have become sneakier than they used to be. For generations they campaigned rather openly as the party of big business while the Democrats falsely claimed to be the party of working people and minorities. Now, however, even the Republicans can temper their Chamber of Commerce line with some small-town nostalgic populist rhetoric. "We used to be the party of big business," Reagan said, "but now we are the party of Main Street." But nothing. The Republicans are still the enemies of blacks and labor—as is the other main capitalist party, the Democrats.

Will the Reagan government simply be a repeat of the abysmal Carter years? No. The crisis of the U.S. economy will continue to deepen. Life under the dogmatic reactionary Reagan will be worse. More ideological. More Hobbesian. Closer to the natural state of capitalist decay—poorer, shorter, nastier and more brutish. We now face a government with Reagan as the chairman of the board and patriotic schmaltz salesman for TV-side chats. Former NATO commander Alexander Haig gets to stroke the nuclear trigger again and some of the old Nixonomics boys are back, with a few fringy "supply side" cranks for window dressing. Workers at U.S. Steel's Gary Works looked at the roster of Reagan's "transition team" and easily picked out the "Secretary of Higher Prices" and "Secretary of No T.R.A."[Trade Readjustment Act layoff compensation] and so forth.

All the Reagan talk about unleashing the great American capitalist productive machine is nonsense. What has shackled this "great machine" from the point of view of these reactionary ideologues? Welfare? Laze-about bureaucrats in Washington? All of the federal government's non-military expenditures don't add up to even 55 percent of the war budget. Even if they try to fiddle around with the economy, there is not a whole lot anybody in the White House or Congress can do. Bill Buckley and Paul Laxalt may not believe it, but the U.S. hasn't fallen victim to welfare-state "creeping socialism." The U.S. is not England, where Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher can at least try to cut away at the nationalized industries propped up by Labour. Nor is it Chile, where the political costs of a brutal austerity program can be borne by a military junta that doesn't have to worry about the next election.

The Republican Party's myth of the reindustrialization of America now meets reality. When Reagan says he's going to "put America to work again," he means repeal the minimum wage, an attack on the entire labor movement designed to keep the ghettos safe for McDonald's high profit margin. When he says he's going to get the housing industry "on its feet," he means repeal the 1937 Davis-Bacon Act guaranteeing union wages and work rules on federally financed construction sites. He talks, like George Wallace, about "getting government off our backs." And what he means is cutting social services for the ghettos, cutting taxes for the corporations, getting union-won safety requirements off the backs of the bosses and getting the state on the backs of women who want abortions.

On Wall Street, Reagan's Chamber of Commerce "free enterprise" sermons and "supply side" nostrums are dismissed as the rhetorical cover for lower business taxes. They know the problems of the economy are not just going to go away. Liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith (doubtless a bit miffed that the Democrats are being blamed for economic problems over which they had little control) quipped that if Reagan can cure the country's economic ills it will only confirm what is already suspected—that god is a Republican.

Wall Street prices soared when Reagan won, but more significant was the fact that interest rates were being raised at the same time in the anticipation of more, not less, inflation. Although 60 percent of the electorate who said they regarded inflation as the No. 1 economic problem voted for Reagan, one thing that's certain about Reagan's stated economic programs is that they are inflationary. In fact, if he gets both his maximum military spending proposals and his maximum tax cuts through Congress (though this is highly doubtful), we could end up with a 30 percent annual rate of inflation within his first year in office. No competent bourgeois economist or financier takes seriously the harebrained "supply side" notion that a cut in the tax rate will produce an equivalent increase in revenue by stimulating greater work effort. The latest *Business Week* (17 November) spoke for the capitalist class when it warned that a 30 percent tax cut in three years (the Kemp-Roth bill) "would be violently inflationary unless tax cuts are matched by dollar-for-dollar spending cuts." And given Reagan's commitment to military superiority over the Russians *über alles*, that is out of the question. The ultimate "solution" to the bourgeoisie's economic dilemma is, of course, imperialist war.

"When Did the Cold War Ever End?"

Which brings us to Reagan's (and Carter's) other main target, the Soviet Union. It is axiomatic that U.S. presidential candidates, whether liberal or conservative, move toward the political center after being elected. But in banking on this conventional wisdom it appears that Soviet leaders are pushing the astounding idea that Reagan's election was...a victory for "détente"! According to a TASS dispatch:

> "...the voters rejected the provocative stand [of the Carter administration] in respect to detente, demonstrating their understanding of the irrefutable fact that not a single question can now be resolved along the lines of the arms race."
>
> —quoted in *Washington Post*, 6 November

It's hardly the first time we have heard such dangerously wishful thinking from Moscow. In 1977 the Soviet press agency hailed the return of the Democrats to the White House as a big step toward "the removal of all nuclear weapons from the earth." So Jimmy Carter was the "peace-loving statesman"—but in the next four years he brought the world closer to nuclear holocaust than at any time since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. And he paved the way for Ronald Reagan.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin suffer from chronic détente illusions—the utopian-pacifistic misconception that they can work out a live-and-let-live deal with imperialism, whose constant goal is to overthrow the revolutionary conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. But the idea of Ronald Reagan as a "dove" takes the cake. This is Mr. "Peace-Through-Strength," who campaigned on a platform calling for U.S. "military superiority" over the Soviet Union and wants to abolish the word "détente" from the English vocabulary. In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* (3 June) Reagan asked rhetorically, "When did the cold war ever end?" For such types it has been going on since 1917, and they are preparing to heat it up.

Evidently, the Russian leadership thinks that Ronald Reagan may be another Richard Nixon, recalling that it was under his Republican administration that the first SALT agreement was negotiated. Brezhnev & Co. have also added up several of Reagan's positions: he was against the Soviet grain embargo, opposed Carter's boycott of the Moscow Olympics, was not for the draft and backs Taiwan. Perhaps Moscow was convinced by Brzezinski's arguments that Reagan was a "phony hard" against the Soviet Union. But the Republicans criticized Carter's measures as largely *symbolic*, whereas they advocated "the real thing"—a genuine anti-Soviet war drive. No SALT II, and an empty "SALT III" where any disarmament is "linked" to Soviet concessions, such as on Afghanistan. (But if, as the Republican right-wingers claim, Russia really is militarily superior, why do they want to put conditions on their disarming?)

A brief look at Reagan's advisers shows that this gang means business. Number 1 is Richard Allen, a member of the war-hawk Committee on the Present Danger, Nixon's main foreign policy man in 1968, who joined the National Security Council staff but soon quit, accusing his boss, Henry Kissinger, of being "soft on Communism." One of the leading candidates for a Reagan "defense" secretary is Democrat Henry Jackson, the senator from Boeing, a member of Joe McCarthy's witchhunting "internal security" committee in the '50s, mouthpiece for Kennedy on the phony "missile gap" in the '60 elections, author of the Jackson amendment linking Soviet trade to escalating Jewish emigration from the USSR. And then there is the sinister General Alexander Haig, who went into Kissinger's White House basement a colonel and emerged a four-star general, "chief-of-staff" of Nixon's bunker in the shell-shocked Watergate days, then NATO commander-in-chief, top candidate for "general most likely to lead a coup in Washington."

To be sure, Reagan has been careful to include "détente"-symbol Kissinger in his "transition team." But even Kissinger isn't for détente any more: this was, as we pointed out, a temporary ceasefire which the United States took advantage of to recover from its post-Vietnam stalemate (see "That Was the Détente That Was," *WV* Nos. 253 and 254, 4 and 18 April 1980). Carter's "symbolic" attacks on the Soviets reflected the transitional nature of his regime, beginning on the theme of moral rearmament of U.S. imperialism (the "Human Rights" crusade) and soon passing over to military rearmament. There were ever more aggressive provocations, the flap over Soviet troops in Cuba, deployment of Poseidon and Cruise missiles in West Europe, the drastic increase in the U.S. arms

Reagan with war council: Bush, Haig and Kissinger. Below: Wall Street and MX missile rev up; unemployment lines grow longer, more desperate.

George Bush: The CIA's Candidate

With Ronald Reagan pushing 70, everyone is saying that, statistically speaking, he'll only be a one-term president...and maybe not even that. So naturally enough, they're looking out for Number Two: George Bush, 55, runs 3.8 miles a day. Bush was nominated to "balance the ticket"—he's for the ERA, a "voice of moderation," so those worried about Reagan's trigger finger can sleep easier. But if you're still having nightmares, here's why: the vice president of "these United States" was/is the CIA's candidate for president.

Who is George Bush? Dad was an investment banker and a senator from New England. Mom inherited one of the largest fortunes in New England. School was Phillips Academy in Andover. Leaving the patrician stone mansions in the land of the Cabots and Lodges, Bush did a World War II tour in the Navy, and then on to Yale. Later in the Nixon era, when GOP pols ranged from used car salesmen to crooked lawyers, Bush could have been the Eastern Republican establishment's answer to the Kennedy boys. Instead, after this careful grooming he went to Texas.

There Bush struck it big in offshore oil and became an unabashed spokesman for the interests of Big Oil. In 1964 he ran for Senate, backing Goldwater 1,000 percent, coming out against the Civil Rights Act, opposing the test ban treaty, calling for restoration of prayer in the schools, advocating the U.S. government recognize the Cuban government in exile (!), and supporting the use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam. In '66 he won a term in Congress, later abandoning his seat for a losing race for Senate. Eventually Bush was picked up by the Nixon team to give a touch of class to some of their more respectable operations—first a stint as American ambassador to the UN, then head of the U.S. mission in Peking. When they needed a "Mr. Clean" in the dying days of the Nixon administration, Bush was put in as head of the Republican Party.

Evans/Sygma

Watch out for No. 2.

Most importantly, though, Bush is the CIA's man—a member of "the Company," now and forever. A big red, white and blue poster, "George Bush for President" was tacked up over the CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The past director of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, Jack Coakly, put it this way: "It's sure as hell not a CIA coup or anything like that, but I can tell you there is a very high level of support for George Bush among current and former CIA employees." So there was. No less than 25 former intelligence officers came out to join the Reagan/Bush campaign. Among the volunteers at campaign headquarters were Lt. Gen. Wilson, former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; Lt. Gen. Harold Aaron, former deputy director of the DIA; and Robert Gambino, former CIA director of security.

With a Reagan victory, the CIA wants to come in from the cold. A few years ago when exposés of the CIA dirty tricks and misdeeds were in the headlines daily, no candidate would have dared accept such blatant support. But the Reagan/Bush team trumpeted this backing and made the call for a "stronger CIA" an up-front issue in the campaign. While Bush's tenure as director was relatively short-lived, he came in at a crucial time. In the aftermath of Watergate, where the CIA was involved from break-in to cover-up, he took over the reins from Colby and Helms, cleaned up the CIA's image and bolstered sagging morale.

Bush is no pipe-smoking, bumbling Allan Dulles "gentleman"-agent. He is a Vietnam vintage spook, up to the elbows of his Brooks Brothers suit in the dirtiest, most murderous operations of this imperialist spy agency. *For example,* George Bush was chief of the CIA in September 1976 when former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier was blown to pieces on the streets of Washington by agents of Pinochet's bloody DINA. As we reported earlier in the campaign (see "George Bush and the Letelier Assassination," *WV* No. 261, 25 July), Bush, as head of the agency, received a cablegram that two Chilean army officers on a DINA mission were preparing to enter the U.S. on false passports. When they arrived a month later, the CIA was again informed, but nothing was done to stop them. During the Justice Department investigation following Letelier's murder, Bush was interviewed but did not say a word about the CIA's foreknowledge. Now this sinister figure is the vice-president-to-be, first in the line of succession.

It's been remarked that in Moscow, with Brezhnev ailing and Kosygin already out, Yuri Andropov may be next in line. Andropov is chief of the KGB. It's not hard to imagine what kind of hysterics the Thatchers, Goldwaters and Reagans would go into if the head of the KGB were to take over in Moscow. But ex-CIA chief Bush gets in line to follow Reagan and no one utters a peep. Class criteria, anyone? ■

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budget—all *before* Afghanistan. Then came the economic blows at the USSR (wheat and computers), the Olympic boycott, the nuclear first-strike Presidential Directives 58 and 59.

And now come the aggressive Cold War II politics of Reagan. One place where they will soon be felt is Central America and the Caribbean: this Hopalong "Rough Rider" is a fervent believer in the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny. And when Reagan says he opposes "human rights" campaigns against "our friends," military dictators throughout the region sharpen their bayonets: with the assured backing of the Yankee president, leftist blood will flow. (According to UPI, only three days after the U.S. elections, right-wing killers in El Salvador left signs over the bodies of two of their victims bearing the message, "With Ronald Reagan, it's the end of spoiled children and guerrillas in Central America....") In Nicaragua the Carter administration wanted to avoid "another Cuba" by adopting a softer policy than the hard line taken by Eisenhower toward Castro in 1959-60. But Reagan's men are dead set against aid to the Sandinista regime and want to return to Big Stick diplomacy—with potentially explosive consequences.

Most dangerous of all could be Reagan's policy toward East Europe, particularly Poland. While opportunist leftists try to claim that relations between leaders of the Baltic coast strikes and the Catholic church are irrelevant, the incoming U.S. administration may try to exacerbate the dangers of counterrevolution there. (Reagan launched the Republican campaign by embracing Polish strike leader Walesa's father against the backdrop of the Statue of Liberty.) Remember, these are the same people who yelled "betrayal!" when after all Dulles' talk of "rolling back" Communism he refused to intervene in Hungary in 1956. And while Hungary '56 was actually a nascent workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy—not the social counterrevolution which the Reaganites would have wished—in Poland there may be more opportunities for their "destabilization" schemes. Down that road lies World War III in a hurry.

Hardliners and the Class Line

With the Democrats' New Deal coalition on the rocks, the traditional American form of popular frontism has less hold over the working class than at any time since FDR. And right-wing Reaganism is no basis on which to reforge a version of that class-collaborationist bloc. Revolutionaries seek to organize working-class anger against the Democratic liberals in new opportunities for class struggle and the fight to build a workers party. On the other hand, the reformists are already trying to repair the battered bandwagon of class collaboration. The Communist Party's *Daily World* has been quick to cheer every labor faker who, in the wake of Reagan's victory, now calls for all "progressive forces" to unite under the slogan, "fight the right."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seems as benighted as the Kremlin bureaucrats who hail Reagan's win as a victory for détente. The front-page editorial in the 14 November issue of the SWP's *Militant* dismisses the notion of a "conservative tide" as just "wrong." Anybody who thinks so is presumably the victim of a gigantic media hoax (just like the people who thought that the SWP-supported mullah revolution in Iran veiled women, stoned adulterers and repressed the left). The *Militant* insists that "the 'Vietnam syndrome' has broadened into a healthy suspicion of U.S. foreign policy aims anywhere in the world." Besides, they say, elections don't really decide anything anyway—and this from one of the most electoralist outfits on the U.S. left, a group that began its 1980 election campaign in 1976.

Recent readers of the *Militant* may with some justification surmise that the SWP's compulsive denial of obvious reality is some sort of political pathology. But it is method not madness. The reformists who told us yesterday that every day, every way things are getting better and better have to continue lying to keep their story straight. So the U.S. working class just goes from victory to victory—once a week in the *Militant.*

The rightward drift in the U.S. is neither deep nor irreversible. Unlike the 1950s, there is no general anti-Communist hysteria, nor an active wave of right-wing sentiment in the working class. Ronald Reagan will have his "Decision '80" with the working class—and it won't be at the polling booth. But lying about what is happening won't help.

Our class faces some hardliners in the White House. And we had better know it, tell it straight and draw the class line hard ourselves. The last thing the working class needs now is more of the same class-collaborationist lesser-evilism that brought us Jimmy Carter. The same Mine Workers bureaucrats who sabotaged the great 1978 coal strike delivered the miners' votes to "Mr. Taft-Hartley" two years later. The same black misleaders who rushed to Miami to cool things down and earlier called for relying on the courts and Congress to defend busing, once again called on the minority poor to vote for "Mr. Ethnic Purity" in 1980. The slogan of the Spartacist-backed socialist candidate in San Francisco, Diana Coleman, answers this excruciating contradiction: "Enough! It's Time for a Workers Party!" Not the kind of parliamentary-reformist device the SWP or CP might propose, but one which provides revolutionary leadership in every arena of the class struggle—the mines, the mills, the ghetto streets and even in the bourgeois elections.

Not in recent memory have blacks been so leaderless, ghettoized, disorganized and threatened with growing racist terror. For the first time in decades, workers have abandoned the Democrats in large numbers. The real "fight against the right" must be a fight against both parties of the ruling class. It must be a political fight to mobilize the workers as a class and the ghetto/minority poor behind their leadership, the fight for a workers government. ■

Kremlin Backs Bolivia Cocaine Junta

When General Luis García Meza seized power in La Paz last July 17 it was not just another Bolivian-style *pronunciamiento* but a bloody police coup. The ferocity of the repression he unleashed has led to comparisons with Pinochet's 1973 takeover in Chile and the Argentine military putsch in 1976. Already in the early hours, social security ambulances were dispatched from army headquarters carrying squads of plainclothes gunmen sent out to track down labor leaders, leftists, bourgeois political figures, journalists and priests named on a prepared-in-advance hit list. More than 2,000 have been reported killed and many more arrested, some 1,600 of them taken to a concentration camp at Viacha south of the capital.

Gradually details of the white terror in Bolivia have leaked out. The first prominent victim was Socialist Party leader Marcelo Quiroga; army torturers pulled out his tongue before finally assassinating him. The tin-mining towns where resistance to the junta centered have been subjected to repeated aerial bombardment. On August 4 government troops carried out a bloody massacre in Caracoles, the last mining center to fall. According to Amnesty International, more than 900 village residents were killed or "disappeared" in an orgy of machine-gunning, rape and pillage by the Max Toledo Regiment. Soldiers stuffed gunpowder in the mouth of one miner accused of resisting, then blew him up in the town square.

Yet in one of the more cynical betrayals by Stalinist diplomacy, the Kremlin recently granted diplomatic recognition to the murderous Bolivian gangster regime, which even U.S. imperialism has considered "too hot to handle." But this has not saved supporters of the Moscow-loyal Bolivian Communist Party from the junta's bloody repression. Simón Reyes, CP general secretary of the powerful miners union, was arrested immediately after the coup and reportedly lost most of his eyesight as a result of torture at the hands of the Bolivian secret police. But since the Soviet bureaucracy is now eager to prove its friendly intentions toward Bolivia's new military rulers, Reyes' comrades are now pulling out of popular-front resistance coalitions organized to oppose the coup (*Guardian* [New York], 22 October).

So far the García Meza regime had remained isolated internationally, recognized by only a handful of reactionary governments: Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, Taiwan, Paraguay, Uruguay and South Africa. Even the U.S. State Department sought to hypocritically dissociate itself from the junta, condemning "savage and widespread" repression. Washington was particularly embarrassed at the well-known links between the military and big-time cocaine smugglers. (The *Los Angeles Times* of 11 September reported that payments totaling $1.8 million were made to high military officials several days before the coup. The money was known to come from the cocaine trade, currently believed to be Bolivia's most profitable export commodity. Hence the common designation of García Meza's rising as the "*cocagolpe*," or cocaine coup.)

Besides the cocaine dealers, the other main backer of the coup was Argentine strongman General Videla, who provided economic aid, military supplies and "anti-subversive" torture/murder experts to assist the Bolivian plotters. Videla blithely commented:

> "The formally correct thing would have been for a government resulting from elections to have taken power, but this represented for us a high degree of risk because of the possibility that it would spread ideas contrary to our way of life and the permanence here of a military government."
>
> —*New York Times*, 7 August

It is in Argentina's sponsorship of the Bolivian coup that an explanation can be found for the Kremlin's despicable support for this viciously anti-communist regime. Having backed successive reactionary Argentine governments in exchange for continued wheat shipments, the Stalinist rulers in Moscow were willing to overlook the jailing and murder of their supporters in Buenos Aires. In 1978 the Soviet delegate in a UN subcommission on human rights blocked consideration of numerous complaints against Argentina (*Le Monde*, 27 August 1979).

This is a criminal betrayal directly comparable to the Peking Stalinists' early backing for Pinochet in Chile. At the height of the post-coup bloodbath in Santiago, in October 1973, the Maoist bureaucrats closed their embassy doors to leftists (Maoists among them) fleeing the junta's terror. Joining the U.S. as one of the first to recognize the military usurpers, China immediately granted preferential loan treatment to the Chilean butchers. Later they concluded a deal for Chinese-made small arms to aid internal repression in Chile. This vile treachery has been regularly denounced by the Soviet Union and its followers throughout the world. But now?

Such is the counterrevolutionary nature of Stalinist foreign policy. Not, as some left-talking social democrats may claim, because it serves the interests of the Soviet Union—far from it—but because it reflects the narrow, myopic vision of a parasitic bureaucracy that seeks to strike a deal with imperialism. Forced to the wall, they fight reaction in Afghanistan, only to turn around and court it in Argentina and Bolivia. Would that J. Edgar Hoover was right and the USSR actually *did* promote Communist revolution instead of dangerous pacifist illusions in "détente." For the only real defense of the October Revolution lies in the victory of proletarian revolution internationally. ■

Religion & Reaction...

(continued from page 7)

Polish prelates Wojtyla and Wyszynski.

The counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie exacted a vengeance for the hostages executed by the Communards at a ratio of over 400 to one! In the first week after the Commune fell 20,000-30,000 men, women and children were murdered. Thousands more were thrown into crowded prison cells, where many were starved to death or died of disease. Many of the survivors were then sent to rot for years in colonial prison camps.

In the aftermath of the Commune a vast international witchhunt was directed against the left, especially against the First International, contributing to its disintegration. The execution of the archbishop of Paris was held up above all as the example of "red terror" used to justify the mass slaughter of the Communards and the persecution of their comrades and class brothers everywhere.

The Bolsheviks Against the Russian Orthodox Church

The effort of the Paris Commune, the first proletarian dictatorship, to end "the old governmental and clerical world" was drowned in blood by the bourgeoisie. In part learning from the experience of the Commune, Bolshevik Russia succeeded in putting an end to that world. Where the SWP today says that "separation of church and state is not at issue" in Poland, the first (1903) program of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, written by Lenin and Plekhanov, included as a key point of its "minimum program" for a democratic republic, "separation of the church from the state and of the school from the church." The Bolsheviks accomplished this necessary revolutionary-democratic task in 1917, by establishing the second proletarian dictatorship in history.

It was inevitable that the Russian Orthodox church would be one of the principal mass institutions struggling to overturn the proletarian socialist revolution of October 1917. In January 1918, even before the new revolutionary regime got around to confiscating church lands or formally secularizing the state, Patriarch Tikhon declared the Soviet government anathema and incited the faithful against it:

> "...you, Brethren Hierarchs and Clergy, without delay for an hour in your ecclesiastical action, but with a fiery zeal, call your children to defend the Orthodox Church.... And we firmly believe that the enemies of the Church will be put to shame, and will be scattered by the power of the Cross...."
>
> —reproduced in Boleslaw Szczesniak, ed., *The Russian Revolution and Religion* (1959)

The Bolsheviks responded a few days later with the famous "separation decree," an elementary democratic statute in part modeled on a similar French law of 1905 (passed as a result of the Dreyfus affair). The key passage simply states:

> "Within the confines of the Republic it shall be prohibited to issue any local by-laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges or preferential rights of any kind based on the religious creed of citizens."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Apart from confiscating much of the church's inordinate wealth, the Bolsheviks sought to combat religion through pedagogical, not governmental administrative means. Thus, the new program adopted at the party's eighth congress in 1919 states:

> "The aim of the party is the complete destruction of the ties between the exploiting classes and the organization of religious propaganda, at the same time helping the toiling masses actually to liberate their minds from religious prejudices and organizing on a wide scale scientific-educational and anti-religious propaganda."
>
> —reproduced in Robert H. McNeal, *Resolutions and Decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Vol. 2 (1974)

It further cautioned that it is "necessary carefully to avoid offending the religious susceptibilities of believers, which leads only to the hardening of religious fanaticism."

Despite the Bolsheviks' desire to counter clerical influence through careful propaganda, not state terror, the Civil War forced them to resort to the criticism of arms. Several Orthodox priests and a number of hierarchs were executed for actively collaborating with the White armies. The experience of the Civil War caused Trotsky to reaffirm that religion was the "principal moral arm of the bourgeoisie" (quoted in E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926*, Vol. 1 [1958]).

The decisive clash between the Bolshevik regime and the Orthodox church occurred immediately after the Civil War period, when famine and pestilence stalked the land. In order to import food, the Soviet government decided to confiscate and export some of the gold and silver ornaments still owned by the church. (The architect and main executor of this plan was Trotsky.) Tikhon ordered the faithful to resist; they did. In the ensuing riots many were injured and a few killed. Numbers of priests were put on trial for inciting anti-government violence, several sentenced to death. Tikhon himself was imprisoned for a year and only released after pledging he would accept the authority of the Soviet government.

The events of 1921-23 broke the power of the Orthodox church, and not simply because of the regime's punitive measures. The hierarchy's violent determination to hoard its golden artifacts while millions of poor starved to death repelled and antagonized large sections of the population, including many believers, giving rise to pro-government schisms within the church.

In this same critical period the Soviet government also tried a group of Roman Catholic clergy, headed by an Archbishop Cieplak, for counterrevolutionary activities, including spying for foreign powers. One of them, Msgr. Budkiewicz, was sentenced to death and duly executed. There was naturally more concern in Western ruling circles over the Bolsheviks' actions against the Roman Catholic than Russian Orthodox church. The 1923 Cieplak trials (as they were called) became an anti-Soviet *cause célèbre* in the imperialist West, much as did the prosecution of Mindszenty and execution of Cardinal Stepinac in Yugoslavia with the onset of the Cold War.

The U.S. and several European governments protested the Soviet prosecution of these Catholic clerics and called for clemency. The most energetic protests came from Britain, then the most aggressive anti-Soviet imperialist power. The execution of Msgr. Budkiewicz was one of the factors which led directly to the so-called Curzon ultimatum of May 1923, in which London threatened economic sanctions unless the Soviet Union adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the capitalist world. Behind the Curzon ultimatum lay the further threat of renewed wars of intervention. Imperialist support for the Roman Catholic church in the Soviet sphere has a long history indeed.

State action against actively counterrevolutionary clerics was combined in the early 1920s with a vigorous campaign of anti-religious propaganda. And this was no routinist activity left to third-level functionaries. In his autobiography, *My Life* (1929), Trotsky recounts:

> "Among the some odd-dozen jobs that I was directing as part of the party work—that is, privately and unofficially—was the anti-religious propaganda, in which Lenin was very much interested. He asked me insistently not to let this work out of my sight."

It is obscene that the SWP, self-proclaimed followers of the inspirer of the League of Militant Atheists, is today demanding state privileges for the Catholic church in Poland!

Of course, far more important and effective in breaking the masses from religious obscurantism than enlightening propaganda were the actual economic changes which gave them control over nature. The Bolsheviks rightly regarded as key to overcoming religious prejudices drawing the peasantry into large-scale, mechanized, collectivized agriculture and expanding the modern industrial proletariat. While the means by which the Bolsheviks fought religious reaction varied greatly, from the execution of counterrevolutionary priests to scientific propaganda to agricultural collectivization, there is no question that the Russian Revolution put an end to "the old clerical world." Probably the most famous Bolshevik poster shows Lenin on a globe sweeping the world of a monarch in his crown, a capitalist in his top hat and a priest in his cassock.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

S.F. Phone: Vote for Kathy Ikegami!

We reprint below a recent leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in San Francisco.

Local 9410 members have the chance to vote for a real fighter for our union in the Plant Executive Board elections. Militant Action Caucus (MAC) member and union steward Kathy Ikegami is running against the policies of defeat of misleaders like [CWA International president Glenn] Watts, [CWA Local 9410 president Jim] Imerzel, and the phony opposition of Contreras/Carreras and CAR [Committee Against Racism, which is politically supported by Progressive Labor]. Kathy stands on MAC's 10-year history and program of class-struggle union action. The power of the union must be used to defend our membership from the company on the job, from racist cops and fascist thugs in our communities, and from the anti-labor maneuvers of the bosses' government at home and abroad.

MAC warned that CWA support for the strike-breaking "ethnic purity" Carter could only lead to a contract disaster. Watts made sure that the Democrats' convention was not "spoiled" by a national phone strike. While the local and Carreras made an elaborate show of organizing picket lines that couldn't stop anyone, MAC proposed mass pickets, concentrated at the central offices to stop all scabs and shut the company's nerve centers down tight. The refusal of the Imerzel "leadership" to organize for real strike action is nothing new. Since taking office, it has offered only business-as-usual, "grieve it and forget it" responses to PT&T attacks on local stewards and members. From the firing of Allen Kelly to the recent pre-contract wave of suspensions and dismissals of numerous stewards and members, it was MAC which fought for the local strike action which could have stopped Ma Bell. The Imerzel-dominated Executive Board refused to even consider the petitions of over 300 members calling for a strike vote meeting in March. From the national union to our own local, they have instead counselled reliance on phony "friends-of-labor" Democrats who have kicked working people in the teeth. As an Executive Board member Kathy will work to build the kind of class-struggle workers party exemplified by the MAC-supported campaign of labor/socialist Diana Coleman for San Francisco supervisor.

Kathy Ikegami helped organize a contingent of more than 70 phone workers for the April 19th demonstration that stopped the local Nazi creeps from celebrating Hitler's birthday at Civic Center. This powerful mobilization of labor, minorities and socialists, 1,200 strong, showed how to stop the rising tide of Klan/Nazi terror, from Greensboro to Fontana. While CAR members like candidate Barry Reingold had time to put out nutty leaflets equating the Nazis with the bureaucrats in CWA, they did nothing to mobilize local members on April 19 to stop the real fascists. Kathy will continue to fight to rally the power of the labor movement for the defense of minorities and all of the oppressed, just as when MAC initiated a Local 9415 demonstration against the cops' South Africa-style search and seizure of black San Franciscans during Alioto's Operation Zebra.

Local 9410 members—there is an alternative to "leaders" who can only organize defeats like the 30-hour strike fiasco of August. The course of the Imerzel leadership and its candidate Ernie King is one of continued defeats. Bob Carreras may be "for the People", but who isn't? Good intentions alone will not make CWA the fighting union the members need.

WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami (right).

Kathy has been one of the most militant, effective, hard working stewards in Local 9410. From defending operators' rights at Sloat to protecting other militant stewards from company harassment, Kathy has fought to make this union strong.

Kathy Ikegami stands for a workers government, and a rational, planned economy to put an end to the capitalist cycle of inflation, depression and war. For a fighting voice on the Exec Board, vote Kathy Ikegami! For a fighting union, join the Militant Action Caucus!

MAC Program

1. Stop Company harassment. Strike action to defend the membership; for the right to strike over grievances. For militant mass picket lines that no one crosses.

2. Stop Union collaboration with the Company! For a militant fighting union—Dump the sellouts. Build a class-struggle leadership. For labor solidarity. Finks out of the union. For union democracy—lower the quorum, for elected stewards. No officer on the "Ready Now" list.

3. No layoffs, forced transfers, or downgrades. For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. For a big wage increase and full COLA. For full paid sick leave. No production quotas. No forced overtime. Narrow the wage gap between Traffic-Clerical-Plant.

4. Union action to smash discrimination. For labor/Latino/black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror. Support busing, ERA. No to seniority-busting "affirmative action" programs. For Company paid 24-hour child care and full paid maternity leave.

5. For international working-class solidarity! Break all CWA ties with the CIA labor front, the AIFLD. Down with Carter's anti-Soviet war drive.

6. Not a dime, not a vote for the strike-breaking, wage-freezing Democrats and Republicans. Vote Diana Coleman, Socialist Union Militant for S.F. Supervisor. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit. ■

Coleman...

(continued from page 12)

This campaigning began to show results long before the polls opened. A black woman taxi driver pulled up outside a supermarket in a predominantly black neighborhood where Coleman was speaking, rolled down her window and yelled, "Right on, Diana, you've got my vote." At City College, two black women secretaries approached the Coleman supporter distributing literature. One pulled a brochure out of her purse and pointing to the "Stop the Nazis" sign, declared, "She's *our* candidate."

The Spartacus Youth League also played an important role in taking the Coleman campaign onto SF campuses. The SYL at San Francisco State University formed a Students for Coleman committee and sponsored a noontime rally. A videotape showing of the April 19 anti-Nazi rally and a Coleman appearance at City College drew 25 mostly black students, nearly half of whom stayed for over two hours to discuss revolutionary politics. Based on this success, the SYL has begun a new chapter at CCSF. When gay students at the University of San Francisco demonstrated against the refusal of the Catholic administration to charter their club or list them in the handbook of student organizations, Coleman and Spartacist supporters were in the picket line with signs demanding democratic rights for gays.

Gays and Democrats

With San Francisco's substantial homosexual population, the gay vote is openly courted by even the most respectable bourgeois politicians and is normally corralled by the local Democratic machine. The Alice B. Toklas and Harvey Milk Democratic clubs are among the largest in the city and campaigned hard for gay incumbent Harry Britt as well as a gaggle of other Democrats, including Jimmy Carter.

Diana Coleman did very well in Britt's own supervisorial district, winning about 1,200 votes. But this was not done by catering to the widely held illusion that the Castro district is a gay fortress against right-wing Anita Bryant-style reaction. At a pre-election supervisors' hearing on the rise of anti-gay violence (called by Britt as a vote-hustling maneuver), Coleman lashed out at Britt's call for more police patrols—to thunderous applause of the gay audience, most of whom had some experience with the "even hand of justice." At nearly weekly rallies in the Castro district, Coleman and other Spartacists denounced Britt for his ties to the party of Klansman Tom Metzger, born-again Jimmy Carter and widely detested Mayor Feinstein.

It was at these street rallies in the Castro that the most conflict of the campaign occurred. Driven to a frenzy by Coleman's exposés, Britt's flunkies repeatedly called the police to try to break up our rallies, threatening citizen's arrest for "disturbing the peace." (One burly unionist replied, "If you think you can get me down to the station, why don't you go ahead and try?") The real sentiments of these lifestyle Democrats were revealed when one snarled, "I'd vote for Tom Metzger before I'd vote for Coleman."

They Also Ran

Had disgruntled San Francisco voters simply wanted to record a protest vote against the incumbents, there were plenty of choices: 65 candidates for 11 seats. Yet Coleman ran ahead of 24 other candidates. Or compare Coleman's vote to that of "third party" candidates on the ballot. To Coleman's 7,183 votes, the Peace and Freedom Party presidential candidates received 939 votes in SF; Barry Commoner—5,163; Libertarian Ed Clark—4,080. But the most important point is that Coleman ran on a Bolshevik program. Her revolutionary policies were well publicized, not only by our own efforts, but in a hard-hitting statement included in a Voter Information Pamphlet mailed to over 400,000 registered SF voters.

Let us give our reformist opponents on the left their due. Two of the three candidates of the "Grass Roots Alliance" did better than Coleman, with 10,700 and 8,700 votes. But they did not run against the Democratic Party—their only program was a non-binding ballot proposition to ask the board of supervisors to consider increasing the rate of corporate taxation by an unspecified amount. On the other hand, SWP candidate Louise Goodman, in her 100-word statement for the Voter Information Pamphlet, did not identify herself as a socialist, never mentioned the SWP and only proclaimed as her maximum program a labor party and "public ownership" of the energy industry. With this social-democratic program, Goodman got 6,500 votes. Out of 126 precincts where either Coleman or Goodman got more than 15 votes, Coleman scored higher in 102 precincts.

Goodman was very much the non-candidate—curious behavior on the part of the consummate electoralists of the SWP. Their silence was probably due to the evident disarray in the SWP over whether to endorse supervisorial candidate Stan Smith, head of the SF Building Trades Council. Early on in the campaign, SWP spokesmen explained the absence of Goodman literature on the grounds that they were "still considering endorsing Smith." Shortly afterwards, another SWP spokesman told us they were indeed giving critical support to Smith. After *Workers Vanguard* reported that Smith was a registered Democrat, had gone to the 1980 Democratic convention as a Kennedy delegate and was running as a candidate who could "get along with big business," however, there was some quick reconsideration.

SWP spokesmen said they were rethinking their position on Smith, based on huge contributions he was receiving from the construction industry and his poor record on affirmative action in the construction trades. Finally, Goodman (having learned the art of stonewalling) told Diana Coleman at a public meeting at SF State that the SWP had *never discussed* endorsing Smith! (Would she like to have the tapes played of SWP spokesmen saying just the opposite?) When confronted on the earlier statements by SWP members, Goodman lamely replied, "There's nothing in writing." Finally, the SWP felt constrained to run a full-page article in the 14 November *Militant* explaining why you shouldn't vote for Stan Smith (not bothering to say anything whatsoever about the other 63 candidates on the ballot).

Diana Coleman ran in this election to make effective communist propaganda and to bring the program of class struggle against capitalism to SF workers and minorities. She ran against the electoralist illusions spread by the SWP and Communist Party, insisting that only a revolutionary workers party, fighting on the picket lines, in the ghettos and barrios, can change this society by creating a workers government. We are proud that Spartacist supporter Coleman received more than 7,000 votes. Another equally important indicator of our success is the nearly 20 non-members of the SL/SYL who actively worked on this campaign, many of whom have moved closer to joining us as a result. We run in elections not to hold down a desk in City Hall, the state legislature or Congress, but to use this platform as a vehicle for the Trotskyist program and for building the revolutionary party. By these standards, the Coleman campaign was a very satisfying success. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

7,000 Vote Diana Coleman in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO—On the evening of election day, November 4, over 80 supporters of Diana Coleman's Spartacist campaign for San Francisco Board of Supervisors wound up the intensive eight-week race with a celebration party. Cheers rose each time campaign workers stationed at City Hall called in the mounting vote total. And with good reason. Running on a hard, clear communist program, Diana Coleman received the support of 7,183 SF voters!

At a time of a significant shift rightward in American politics, this is an impressive showing for a Bolshevik candidate. With Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan trying to outbid each other in the arms race against "Red Russia," Coleman went to the voters of San Francisco as a staunch defender of the USSR against imperialist war threats. With all the bourgeois politicians (and their trade-union flunkies) yearning for Catholic church-led capitalist restoration in Poland, Coleman stood for the strict separation of church and state, and for a workers political revolution in the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc—to strengthen socialist property forms, not undermine them. And on a local level, with California's exotic brands of eco-freaks and "less is better" culture faddists opposing smoking in public, pornography, guns and "growth," Coleman slashed through this mimicry of capitalist austerity policies. She demanded massive public works, the right to bear arms and defended individual liberties against feminist anti-pornography censors and liberal moralists in league with the "Moral Majority."

Unlike other left candidates for supervisor, such as the local-community-activist "Grass Roots Alliance" (known to the select few as the Democratic Workers Party) or the Socialist Workers Party's Louise Goodman (who refused to identify herself on the ballot as a socialist), Coleman did not duck the hard issues to get votes. "The capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interests of workers and poor people," Coleman's election brochure proclaimed. "It must be replaced by a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get one."

A post-election precinct-by-precinct review of the vote results revealed that the response to our communist campaign was neither random nor scattered. Even more than campaign supporters initially expected, votes for Coleman were most concentrated in several SF neighborhoods: the heavily-black inner city areas (such as the lower Western Addition and Hayes Valley), the young and integrated Haight/Ashbury, the heavily gay Castro district and the predominantly Latino Mission district. While Coleman's citywide average was 2.7 percent of the vote, in her top 20 precincts, she received 8.47 percent of the vote.

Running Against Carter/Reagan, the Nazis and Klan

Growing out of last April's successful mass labor rally against the Nazis, Diana Coleman's socialist campaign drew wide recognition among blacks, unionists and the left in San Francisco. And it was the message of ANCAN (the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped the fascists from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF) which Coleman hammered home: not electoralism, but mass labor/black mobilizations in the streets will be necessary to stop the fascists. Recalling her background in the civil rights movement, Diana noted, "I've seen more Klan activity in California in the last year than I did in Mississippi in 1965." Coleman pointed to right-wing policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties which have fueled the growth of fascist terror groups. This, she stressed, makes even more urgent the main demand of her campaign, "ENOUGH! IT'S TIME FOR A WORKERS PARTY!"

Coleman's campaign took its socialist program directly to the working class, addressing union meetings, visiting work locations and reviving the socialist tradition of street-corner soap-boxing. The receptivity to an openly "red" candidate was evidence of the difficulties which labor officialdom and black misleaders had in stumping for Jimmy Carter's Democrats. The union-busting rampage of Democratic mayor Diane Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors also created openings for our campaign. Coleman was the only one of 65 supervisorial candidates invited to address the SF local of the Communications Workers of America (her home local when she was a phone worker and member of the union's class-struggle opposition, the Militant Action Caucus).

WV Photo

Diana Coleman: soapboxing at SF State

Diana addressed the executive board of the transit drivers union, TWU Local 250, leading to a discussion of the reasons behind the defeat of the '76 city workers strike. The TWU leadership, which had talked about general strike action in '76 before backing down, wanted to know Coleman's position on crossing picket lines. "Did you have any friends that worked behind the picket lines then?" "No," she replied, "people who cross picket lines aren't my friends." Coleman was also the only candidate invited to meet the membership of one of the local postal unions. When Democratic candidates showed up, they were pointedly barred entrance to the meeting. Another local postal union president, who had worked with ANCAN, took campaign brochures to place on every union bulletin board in the city.

The real worker backbone of the campaign staff came from unionists of the ILWU and CWA. Members of the ILWU's Militant Caucus and CWA's Militant Action Caucus, both politically supported by the SL, mobilized fellow union members to support and work for Coleman. It was in these industries that the campaign probably had its most direct impact on workers. On the one hand, militant unionists used Coleman's campaign to make concrete their program for the formation of a workers party. And Coleman pointed to the struggles of these militants to turn their unions to the path of class struggle as key to forging a fighting labor movement. Campaigns of both militant caucuses to elect members to executive positions in their unions overlapped the Coleman campaign and underscored this point.

Coleman's repeated visits to the ILWU hiring halls and weekly 5:30 a.m. trips to the longshore pay lines led one longshoreman to comment that he thought she was the union's official candidate. When Longshore Local 10 executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, both 20-year veterans of the industry, accompanied Coleman around the hall introducing her, one campaign worker noted, "the guys would be on their feet to shake hands and talk as soon as they saw us coming." One worker at a downtown street corner on election day told campaign workers: "My sister works for the phone company and our whole family voted for Coleman." The response to the Coleman campaign indicates what could have been done on a much larger scale if even a couple unions broke with the Democrats and rallied labor to run its own candidates, on a class-struggle program, against the capitalist parties.

In the course of the campaign, mostly in the last ten days, Coleman supporters passed out 20,000 brochures, 50,000 special *WV* election supplements and 16,000 Spanish-language supplements. Three thousand posters were put up throughout the city. Certain heavily working-class neighborhoods were selected for door-to-door distributions. When it was all over, the campaign committee had distributed about 98,000 pieces of literature.

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Diana Coleman's responses to questionnaire for candidates to SF Board of Supervisors.

San Francisco Examiner — Wed., Oct. 29, 1980

Diana Coleman

A self-described socialist union militant, 34-year-old Coleman was born in San Francisco, has been active in the civil rights movement, the anti-war and the women's movements. Most recently she was an organizer of the April 19 Commitee Against Nazis.

Class-biased and racist gerrymandering is as easily accomplished by district as by at-large elections. Capitalist parties have no solutions to real issues: unemployment, inflation, threat of war against the USSR, attacks on democratic rights, growing fascist terror.

Extending present rent limits to vacant apartments is supportable as a limited reform. But the only way to stop rent gouging once and for all is by the expropriation of the real estate corporations by a workers' government.

Social gains will be made on the picket lines, not at the voting booth. The Spartacist-initiated "April 19 Committee Against Nazis" mobilized 1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists — stopping the Nazis "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. I oppose gun control legislation.

Finish BART — around the Bay and airport to airport — Make BART and Muni free! Finish the freeways! Cancel the city debt! Expropriate the banks, utilities and major industry! Break with the Democrats and Republicans — it's time for a workers' party!