

Sit-Downs Not Soup Lines!

Fight or Starve!

Soup lines are back. Tent cities have sprung up around the country as the over one million homeless crisscross the nation in search of work until their cars and their hopes break down. Three hundred thousand will have their heat cut off in the dead of winter. The number of unemployed is the highest in American history. Half the 13 million official jobless are no longer eligible for unemployment benefits. The "American Way of Life" has become a nightmare for millions—especially blacks—as the country begins to look like the depression-ravaged land of Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt.

Detroit—Mayor Young declares a "state of emergency" in this heavily black city of 25 percent unemployment, while his appointed budget director announces that city workers will face massive layoffs when their contracts expire in 1983. Now tens of thousands of laid-off auto workers' families have lost their medical benefits, the city's infant mortality rate is as high as any Central American country, and thousands of families literally face freezing to death this winter because of heat shutoffs. "Liberal" Republican Michigan governor Milliken—who has slashed \$16 million in state aid to the city—chimes in that there is indeed a "human emergency" in Detroit.

Phoenix—The unemployed and homeless are told to "keep moving" in no uncertain terms. A new law makes lying down in public a crime. (No "equal right" for the poor to sleep under bridges here.) Garbage is declared city property, and garbage picking is now a crime as well (some upstanding citizens have suggested spraying the refuse with poison).

Miami—The cops' answer to jobless black youth is to shoot them down in cold blood. But when they shot 21-year-old Nevelle Johnson in a video game room on the night of December 28, the ghetto community of Overtown exploded in justified and desperate fury.

Buffalo—Bethlehem Steel announces the closure of its Lackawanna, New York works—a giant complex that employed 22,000 in the 1960s. Seven



Depression '83: Hunger in black proletarian Detroit.

UPI

thousand steel workers will lose their jobs in an area already ravaged by over 13.6 percent unemployment. But a sit-in in the plant could break the union bureaucrats' class truce and begin to turn things around for working people.

Washington, D.C.—Reagan proposes to tax jobless benefits to make unemployment "less attractive." And a special holiday treat for black youth: reduction of the minimum wage. Congress, eager to adjourn for Christmas, hurriedly debates a jobs bill that won't create any jobs. A court victory won by a bunch of liberals forces the Giant Food supermarket chain to donate its garbage to the poor. However, there's been one genuine victory for the

working people of this Southern black city: five thousand demonstrators respond to the call of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization and run the KKK out of town on November 27.

Class Struggle vs. "Let 'em Eat Soup"

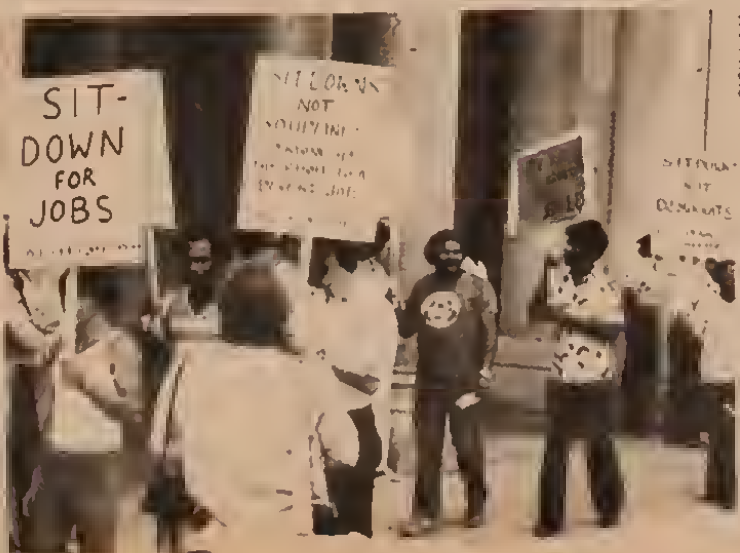
What is to be done? Everybody's against unemployment. The question is how to fight it. The union bureaucrats, like Fraser, say "concessions" is the answer. He sold out the Chrysler workers for a song. The bureaucrats work hand-in-glove with the Democrats like Mondale, who scream for anti-Japanese protectionism. They try to force Reagan's racist anti-labor austerity down workers' throats: wage freezes, billions in "concessions" to shore up company profits, mass layoffs. Concessions were supposed to save jobs. But the layoffs and plant closures continue. Now Ford's threatening to dismantle the giant River Rouge complex near Detroit.

For the working class there is really

only one choice: fight or starve. And every worker who's been laid off knows the time to fight is while you've still got a job. One sitdown-strike in Detroit is worth more than all the soup kitchens and relief programs you can imagine. What is needed are strike actions and factory occupations that can enlist the support of the multitude of unemployed, not only for immediate demands for relief, but for jobs for all. And that means a fight against the boom-bust capitalist system.

The question of unity of the employed and unemployed in this country is the race question. Deep rooted and vicious racial oppression ensures that blacks suffer twice the unemployment of whites. Black youth unemployment has gone over 50 percent. A whole generation has no future. Racist terror groups like the Klan and Nazis target blacks and foreigners in their scapegoat solution. A fighting labor movement must oppose the deadly growth of the KKK/Nazi terrorism with labor/black defense

continued on page 11



WV Photo

Filnt auto workers, both employed and unemployed, protest layoffs at GM headquarters in Detroit.

Hard Times for the SWP
Barnestown, U.S.A.

See pages 6-10

Frustrated D.C. Cops Shoot Peacenik

The Washington Monument Kill

For over ten hours the Washington, D.C. police and the media blasted the nation with horrific bulletins of a mysterious terrorist "holding Washington hostage" last December 8. The feds played the terrorist scare to the hilt. Government employees were sent home early, all day TV played clips of the "helmeted, jump-suited" mystery man pacing around his van said to contain 1,000 pounds of dynamite. Then, after they had milked it for all it was worth, when the "terrorist" tried to drive away, the Park Police just shot him down like a dog. A hail of gunfire flipped the van over. Using infrared night-sights they got him in the head, chest and arms. Federal agents rushed to handcuff their victim to the steering wheel, and there they left him for an hour until he had bled to death.

The cops were no doubt filled with pride when their boss, Ronald Reagan, called them later that night to say he was "pleased" with how they handled the "siege." Some siege. As facts trickled out in bits and pieces it turned out there were no explosives, and the "terrorist" was no Darth Vader but a 66-year-old eccentric pacifist. Norman David Mayer was a familiar

figure who had picketed the White House daily for months before to "ban the bomb," bidding tourists, "Have a Nice Doomsday." When he drove up to the Washington Monument he demanded that a discussion of nuclear war become the "No. 1 priority," a demand politically not very different from the call of the American Catholic bishops.

Even if the police really believed Mayer had the dynamite, they knew only he and not the Monument with its 15-foot walls would get destroyed by the blast. Mayer had earlier released the half-dozen tourists and two park employees stuck inside. At most an explosion might rattle the windows of the White House a half-mile away. And for that they shot the old guy down in cold blood. No warning, no attempt to block the driveway or shoot his tires out. What about the supposed dynamite which would have blown the van sky-high when police sharpshooters fired into it? They just blew him away. Later it was reported that a "command decision" had come down to "shoot to kill" (*New York Post*, 9 December).

We don't think it's just coincidence

this cold-blooded execution was done by the Park Police just a week after over 5,000 anti-Klan demonstrators frustrated the plans of Reagan and his tremendous police forces, who had sworn the race-terrorists would parade through the nation's capital. On November 27 the KKK was run out and the police were stymied by a massive, militant and disciplined outpouring of the decent citizens of Washington, overwhelmingly blacks and trade unionists. The cops themselves did the rioting that day, tear-gassing the crowds, arresting scores and beating black youth, but it didn't take away the sting of defeat. So on December 8 they had a cornered, lonely victim at hand—and they blasted him away, in a vindictive bloody assertion of their power to kill at will.

In the aftermath, the disgusting line from the cops and the bourgeois press right through the big anti-ku Klux groups and "respectable" left was that Norman Mayer had it coming. Groups like SANE and Ground Zero washed their hands of him; the *Guardian* (22 December) called the act "outrageous" and said he "must have been prepared

to die." Why, he actually threatened "violence" (against a building!). But he did have one point, which wasn't so nutty: the world could very well be blown to irradiated rubble in a nuclear holocaust by the madmen running this country.

One of them, George Bush, Reagan's VP and former CIA chief, got some kicks out of Norman Mayer's slow death that night. Hosting a fancy dinner for the monstrous dictator General Zia of Pakistan, he announced, "We're relieved...I don't know how to put this delicately—the person is no longer with us." The audience of mass murderers, torturers, spies, bureaucrats of death, laughed. And the secretary of the army doesn't even want to bury Mayer decently in Arlington National Cemetery, his right as a veteran (honorably discharged from the Navy in 1946).

At the Washington Monument, the old man handed a reporter a note asking for "an act of sanity" from the government. Marxists know better. We know who the crazy killers are in this society—from Reagan's White House and his foreign puppets to the murderous Ku Klux Klan at home—and how to fight them. The Spartacist League is determined to build a mass, revolutionary workers party in this country to end racist terror and the nightmare of nuclear annihilation. Socialist revolution is the only way forward for mankind.

Militants Win in Bay Area ILWU Elections

SAN FRANCISCO—In elections held November 18, Militant Caucus (MC) members Jackie Clark and Pete Woolston were elected to the General Executive Board (GEB) of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6. Clark got 539 votes, or 52 percent, for her second term as a GEB member from the local's West Bay division. Woolston, from the East Bay division, received 407 votes (43 percent). Two other Militant Caucus candidates, Jack Dow and Mike Kasian, made strong showings with 386 and 389 votes, respectively. Kasian, a West Bay member of the outgoing GEB, was fired for his union activity by one of the most notoriously anti-union companies in the local and is fighting to get his job back.

Warehouse Union Local 6 is hard-hit by the recession. Twenty percent of the membership is unemployed and the local has lost over 1,000 members in the past 18 months due to plant closures and decertifications. Last June the union accepted a six-month wage freeze in the Master Contract that covers some 20,000 workers in northern California ILWU and Teamster locals. Besides this first-time-ever wage freeze, the new Master Contract allows numerous exceptions in wages and conditions, a first step towards destroying industry-wide bargaining. According to the MC's *Warehouse Militant* (24 August):

"...the Local 6 officers and business agents call the Master Contract with its six-month wage freeze a victory! These misleaders have no answer except, 'Get more politically active and vote for anti-Reagan candidates in November.'"

"...They are willing to grant even more concessions because they believe in the companies' right to make a profit and support Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. It is necessary and possible to bring down Reagan using labor action. Voting for Democrats won't do it."

The Militant Caucus' fight for working-class political independence was directly counterposed to the labor bureaucrats' Election Day drive to herd the working people into the Democratic Party. In San Francisco this pro-capitalist campaign went so far as to replace the Labor Day parade with an



Campaigning for a fighting ILWU: (from left) Jack Dow and Pete Woolston; (right) Mike Kasian and Jackie Clark.

explicitly pro-Democratic "Labor Parade for Jobs and Justice" on October 24. All wings of the Local 6 bureaucracy fully supported this "Demo-crawl," at which ILWU International president Jimmy Herman was one of the major speakers. Local 6 presidential candidate Al Lannon, who has run for California Democratic Party central committee, was ILWU coordinator for the "labor" march.

Joe Lindsay, another presidential candidate and supporter of the Communist Party's West Coast weekly, *People's World*, served as a parade marshal on the lookout for anyone who, not realizing this was a march for Democrats, might have wanted to carry an unapproved sign. The Militant Caucus campaigned for Spartacist candidates for San Francisco City Council Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman that day, while not participating in the march itself because it was explicitly a pro-Democratic Party pep rally. Caucus members used this opportunity to talk to workers from other unions about the necessity of breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party.

Running for Local 6 president against Lindsay and Lannon (the handpicked choice of retiring president Keith Eickman and the entire International bureaucracy) was business agent Abba Ramos. Ramos, another *People's*

World supporter, obviously drew votes away from Lindsay. Those who watch closely the intra-union politics of the ILWU probably wonder why two long-time supporters of the *People's World* ran for the same position. This would seem to indicate political divisions within *People's World* circles, perhaps related to problems in coping with the Reagan years. Ramos' candidacy forced a December 16 runoff between Lannon and Lindsay, which Lannon easily won. At no stage of this presidential contest were Local 6 members offered a program to lead the union forward. Not only do Lindsay and Lannon actively chain the union to the Democratic Party, they both supported and urged a "yes" vote for the Master Contract.

During the Local 6 election campaign the Militant Caucus candidates talked with hundreds of workers in over 80 warehouses and plants about national and international issues as well as about union problems. Jackie Clark told *Workers Vanguard*:

"We visited lots of warehouses and talked to Local 6 members on their breaks or lunches. We usually started off by telling them you can't fight Reagan with the Democrats. We pointed out that the ILWU endorsed mayor Feinstein who helped break the 1976 city workers' strike and used the cops against the hotel workers' strike. We said that the bureaucrats' support for

the Democratic Party is the basis for their economic sellouts. We talked about the Coleman/Bradley campaign and the need to build a workers party. This was well received by most of the workers we talked to.

"We also got into some interesting discussions about Solidarność. One worker said he thought Reagan was a hypocrite for supporting Solidarność, having destroyed PATCO. We pointed out that Reagan loves Solidarność for a reason: it is a company union for the CIA and the Western bankers and wants to restore capitalism in Poland. We reminded people about our work with ANCAN, the mass labor/black mobilization that stopped the Nazis in San Francisco in 1980. We talked about the increasing amount of Klan and Nazi activity these days and the need for defense guards to protect their intended victims. We stressed that labor has the power to bring Reagan down, win '30 for 40' and fight racism, but that the current pro-capitalist leadership is not going to wage that fight."

Local 6 members desperately need a class-struggle leadership. The significant vote percentages received by Clark and Woolston, as well as by Kasian and Dow, indicate real opportunities for class-struggle militants. The task of the caucus now is to convert these votes into a solid base with a class-struggle program. ■

Black Workers Welcome Anti-Klan Victory

Washington, D.C., where the Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the KKK on November 27, is a Southern city. Many of the thousands of blacks who came out that day had experienced firsthand the burning cross of the white-sheeted terrorists; many more remembered the tales of lynch-rope terror from family and friends. From the Civil War to the civil rights movement, the South has been key to the black question in America; and the black question is key to social revolution in this race-divided country. As shown by Washington on November 27, in the South will be found many of the black cadre of the future American workers revolution which will at last finish the Civil War. So right after the victory in Washington, the Spartacist League launched a Southern tour to spread the news throughout the region, and to reach militants who are looking for a way to smash the Klan once and for all.

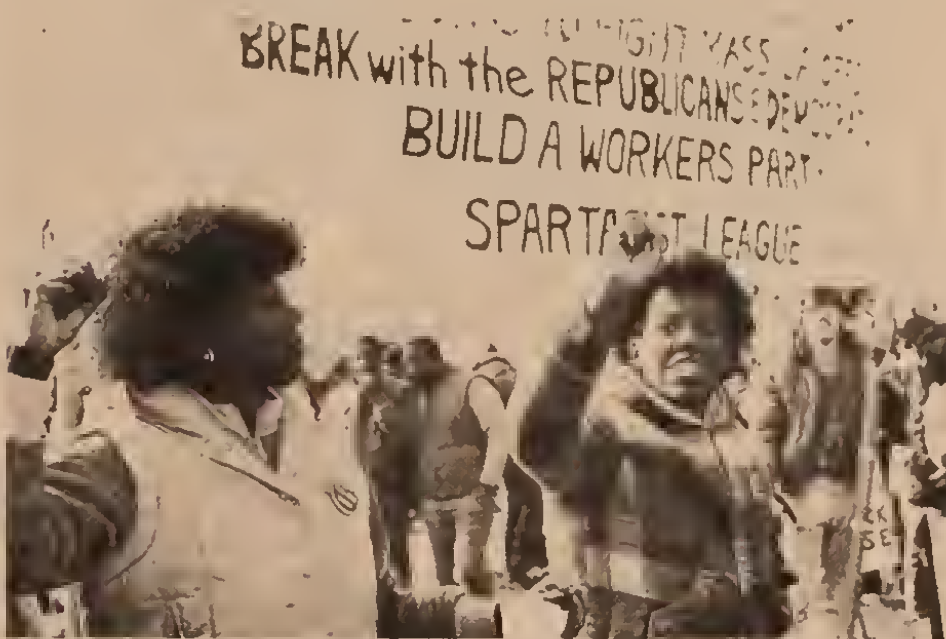
We know that the intersection of race and labor is the strategic issue in the South. The reality behind the myth of the "new South" is the continuing drive to keep it a "union-free" bastion of reaction. Every "carpetbagger" is seen as a direct threat. There is a long and bloody tradition of terror against "race-mixers" who want to organize black and white workers into fighting trade unions. We knew it could get real dangerous, fast, especially for an integrated team of men and women communists from the North carrying the big, bold headline of the current *WV*, "Forward to a Workers State—Finish the Civil War!" They would be driving their van down the same roads as Viola Liuzzo; or Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman. Hitting the same plants where militant labor organizers fought the Klan.

But if there was plenty of tension for the SL comrades—particularly at plants with a white majority such as those outside Atlanta where "rebel yells" and Confederate flags were part of the racist intimidation—they and their message were welcomed with enthusiasm by thousands of black students and workers. "Good, the outside agitators are back," said students at a North Carolina college. Many took bundles of *WV* supplements, titled "We Stopped the Klan!" to distribute. And some at no small risk. On the three-week tour from North Carolina to Texas, 35,000 *WV*

supplements were handed out, hundreds of new readers signed up to help distribute and learn about the Spartacist League.

In the Washington-Baltimore area over 200,000 supplements have been distributed: from bus barns to liquor stores in black D.C. neighborhoods, to industrial plants and waterfront areas of Baltimore. The campus bookstore at University of the District of Columbia sold out its 50 copies of *WV* in two days. At the victory party which attracted more than 500 people following the November 27 demonstration, we had announced the building of an organizing committee in Washington. Subse-

response was at the well-known black college North Carolina Central University in Durham, where we distributed 2,500 supplements in two hours and got scores of names. Our revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism found resonance among black students. Soap-boxing outside the cafeteria at Central, our comrades explained how we defend the gains of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, just as in the American Civil War revolutionaries supported the Northern victory over the South. It will take a workers revolution here to finish the Civil War, and political revolution in the Soviet bloc to dump the narrow,



Militant protesters say: "KKK—Hit the Road!" November 27 was a historic victory for labor, blacks and all decent Americans.

quently, several young black workers have joined the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. They have no love for black misleaders like Walter Fauntroy and his attacks on "Trotskyist radicals" for organizing black youth to stop the KKK. One restaurant worker said that on November 27 he and his brother walked all the way to the Capitol from Southeast Washington across the Anacostia River, so determined to stop the KKK that they didn't care if they were the only ones to "roll out on the street in front of them." Now he has joined the Trotskyist organization that led the 5,000 who ran the KKK out of D.C.

The first solid labor support for the Labor/Black Mobilization came from the Norfolk/Newport News area of Virginia. This shipbuilding and naval center is a key black working-class stronghold in the South. In the Tidewater area, over 18,000 supplements have been distributed, and 677 copies of *WV* 319 were sold at longshore halls, shipyards, auto plants and other industrial locations, shopping centers and black churches. At the Newport News shipyard our lively discussions with workers about the Washington anti-Klan action thoroughly demoralized members of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were trying in vain to sell the *Militant* at the same gate. To jibes from our salesmen, "Where were you November 27 when 5,000 of us stopped the KKK—out debating the fascists on TV?" they just cut and ran before the shift change.

The five-state Southern tour began December 4 with the team making the North Carolina college circuit. Best

nationalist Stalinist hureaucracy. "But you don't have the Klan riding in Moscow like they tried in Washington, D.C.," our comrade explained.

At Atlanta University and its Morehouse College complex, our team distributed more than 3,000 supplements. At a number of auto plants in the Atlanta area, they reported an active KKK presence. In contrast, at the overwhelmingly black Atlanta Bulk Mail facility, nearly everybody driving past rolled down their windows and took batches of supplements to help distribute. At the Atlanta bus barns, drivers took bundles and passengers were handing out stacks.

Birmingham, Alabama, once the industrial center of the South, has become the center of Southern depression. The giant steel plants were almost

totally shut down. The Spartacist team distributed in Roosevelt City, a black township between Birmingham and Bessemer, Alabama, where two elderly black women were imprisoned just last January for voter registration, is notorious for its racist gerrymandering. But in Roosevelt City, they found a simpler solution and just disappeared the whole town off all the area maps! Racist Dixiecrat George Wallace had just been elected to an unprecedented fourth term as Alabama governor—we talked with many black people disaffected with the help the black bourgeois politicians and preachers gave to re-elect this arch-segregationist.

Across the South we got strong support from the waterfront unions (longshore, shipbuilders and various craft unions), reflecting the important role they played in the Washington demonstration. The most militant ILA locals in the South are overwhelmingly black. The system of segregated unionism persists to this day—in many areas "separate but equal" black and white ILA locals exist. In Mobile, 1,500 supplements were distributed at ILA Local 1459, and another 4,800 at a strike-settlement meeting of the Marine & Shipbuilders union. In New Orleans we addressed the local meeting of ILA Longshore Local 3000, and distributed 3,000 supplements at the dispatch hall. An anti-racist Cajun longshoreman was vocal in his hatred of the Klan: the KKK doesn't like Cajuns much, either—they're Catholics and to these race-terrorists, "not white."

In Houston the team got out 5,000 supplements, finding a really good response in the city's third ward, site of the black Texas Southern University and where in the early 1970s the Houston "People's Party II," a Panther-type organization, was viciously repressed by the cops. Houston is also notorious for cop-beatings of Mexican-born workers, who were one of the KKK's targets November 27. In Texas the fight against fascist terror is urgent, as the KKK has announced its intention to mount "border patrols" to shoot down immigrating foreign workers on sight. Just last week the KKK demonstrated on the steps of Austin's city hall and is threatening to march there in February.

Over and over during the five-state tour, the crucial importance of mobilizing Southern black labor was felt. Indeed, in Greensboro, North Carolina, the five leftists, blacks and union organizers shot down by the KKK/Nazis three years ago had been involved in efforts to organize the textile mills in the heart of the "right to work" South. And racist capitalist reaction in the South has always used naked fascist terror to keep the unions and the black population "in line." As the limited gains of the civil rights movement are being turned back in Reagan's America, as black unemployment exceeds even that of the Great Depression, on the Southern tour the SL got out its message: the American workers revolution needs black leadership. ■

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EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION Darlene Kamiura (Manager),
Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster,
Liz Gordon, Mary Jo McAllister,
James Robertson, Reuben Samuels,
Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Slamberg

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Klan Run Out of Washington: Media Violence-Baits, Left Press Squirms Why They Lie

Let's get it straight. What happened in Washington, D.C. on November 27 was that thousands of black workers and youth, led by communists, stopped the Ku Klux Klan from staging a racist provocation in the nation's capital. But the government had vowed that the Klan would march. And the sight of blacks and reds together in action, backed up by the power of organized labor, running the KKK out of town, shook the American ruling class. From the Reaganites to the liberals, including many of their black front men, they responded with lies, racist slander and redbaiting about mob terror. To top it off the reformist left, enraged over the fact that the black masses followed the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL), while its own diversions for the Democrats flopped, has taken up the bourgeoisie's "wild in the streets" scenario. They hope to steal in newsprint the victory over Klan terror we won in the streets of Washington.

The 5,000 militants, overwhelmingly black, who gathered at the foot of Capitol Hill in response to the call of the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, initiated and organized by the SL, know what happened because they made it happen. The Kluxers never set foot in the street; their white sheets stayed in brown paper bags. When it was announced that the Klan wouldn't march, thousands poured triumphantly into the streets. They marched down Constitution and up Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House—the KKK's own announced parade route—chanting "We Stopped the Klan!" At the end, the frustrated police erupted in a cop riot. In the midst of exploding tear-gas grenades, we held a victory rally in Lafayette Park.

The white bourgeois media took its headlines from the incidental clashes started by the cops in the vicinity of the far smaller rad-lib All-Peoples Congress diversion, two miles from the labor/black demonstration that stopped the Klan. So in the editorial offices of the capitalist media, November 27 became not the day the Klan was stopped but



Bourgeois press violence-baits black anti-Klan protesters.

"violence" as well as "riots" and "looting." The *New York Post* headlined "War in the Street" and "Cops blame radicals for anti-Klan riot." The UPI story flashed around the globe was typical:

"Anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstrators hurled bricks, rocks and bottles at police and overturned cars Saturday in a rash of violence triggered by a peaceful KKK rally across from the White House."

"Peaceful"?! The cops and the Klan are the perpetrators of race-terror. If the KKK had marched in Washington it would have meant more cross-burnings and more shotgun blasts in the night for innocent black people. The media campaign to portray the November 27 mass mobilization as "violence" is nothing but lies to conjure up racist images of marauding ghetto youth attacking whites. It is a license for the police to murder black anti-Klan protesters in the streets.

But the black press wasn't buying the racist "looting and rioting" line. "5,000 Chase Klansmen" headlined New York's *Amsterdam News*, quoting SL spokesman Don Andrews: "It was an enormous victory for labor, Blacks and every decent American." "Ku Klux Klan Catches 'Hell' in D.C.," was the banner on the *Cleveland Call and Post* over a picture of Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators charging up Constitution Avenue. Internationally, there was a sharp class line in the coverage of November 27, seen most vividly in the divided city of Berlin. In the capitalist West the *Tagesspiegel* published a small piece, "Clashes at Ku Klux Klan Demonstration in Washington." On the other side of the wall, the East German Communist Party's *Neues Deutschland* reported: "Klan Provocation in Washington Prevented."

There were notable differences in the Washington black "establishment" as well. Mayor Marion Barry breathed a sigh of relief: "There was a lot of emotion about the Klan.... It could have been a lot worse." No doubt he was

recalling the response of black Washington the night Martin Luther King was murdered. Even D.C. Metro Police chief Maurice Turner tried to pin "looting" on "opportunists," as opposed to "political demonstrators." But Congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy went hysterical over "Trotskyist radicals," resorting to grotesque race-baiting:

"Yes, Saturday's events proved to be a propaganda victory for the overt racism of the Klan; for the inverted racism of what I call the Tarzan Trotskyites.... We think of Tarzan as that white person [who] swings through the jungle of the black experience, telling us if you don't know how to get the bad white people, let me show you how.... They had people going through black neighborhoods with leaflets, putting [them] on every car and door possible. They had loudspeaker systems, driving through black neighborhoods, telling people, 'Go downtown and stop the Klan—who's afraid of them?'"

—WRC radio, 29 November

But most of the American left painted the same lying picture as the bourgeois media. Both tried to hide the central fact that the cop riot was launched *after* the KKK had been stopped by thousands of demonstrators at the Labor/Black Mobilization who blocked the Klan's march route at its starting point. In particular, the All-Peoples Congress (APC) of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) has big problems with November 27. To begin with, it was the SL (and not them) which organized the mass mobilization. By picking a site a couple of miles away, and starting a couple of hours late, the APC was going to let the Klan march. Moreover, they were so concerned to avoid "confrontation" that the Marcy crew alienated and set up many combative ghetto youth who came to their rally. They ran a vacuous liberal talkfest that fell apart, and the police attacked a militant breakaway that went looking for the Klan. Now in trying to squirm out of the "looting" charges, the WWP/APC goes along with violence-baiting (from its own liberal allies) directed not only

against "Trotskyist radicals," but also against thousands of Washington's best black militants.

The "Shame" of the Liberals

After our success in stopping the KKK killers, the front-page headlines of the liberal *Washington Post* read like some yellow journalism tabloid: "Klan Foes Rampage, Loot, Battle Police," and "Crowd Turns Confrontational." But perhaps because they figured too many of their readers saw it for themselves, and certainly because the *Post* editors knew just how explosive a Klan march in Washington could be in this 75 percent black city, they also printed some fairly accurate reporting of what happened on November 27. You certainly could get a more accurate picture than by reading most of the left rags. In particular, the *Post* reported D.C. Metro Police chief Maurice Turner's explanation for why the KKK march was called off. Turner pointed to the concentration of reds and multitudes of angry blacks along the Klan's march route, not far away at McPherson Square:

"The situation would have been much worse if we had allowed the [Klan] to march down Pennsylvania Avenue."

"He said the resentment was so great among the hundreds of ultra-militant leftist protesters gathered with thousands of other demonstrators at the fringe of the proposed Klan march route that a physical confrontation seemed likely."

"That group was getting pretty worked up," [Assistant Chief] Tapscott said.

—*Washington Post*, 29 November

On Sunday, early editions of the *Post* printed a picture of demonstrators holding our "Stop the KKK!" placards and holding a sign, "Finish the Civil War" above a caption: "Labor/Black Mobilization demonstrators at First Street and Constitution Avenue. About 5,000 came from Chicago, Boston, Norfolk and other cities." One article reported:

"Meanwhile, the mood was peaceful among an estimated 5,000 anti-Klan protesters who had begun gathering as early as dawn along Constitution and Pennsylvania avenues near the Capitol. Demonstration leaders, speaking from a large platform at the reflecting pool, denounced the Klan, the Reagan administration and capitalism with slogans like, 'One, Two, Three, Four, Time to Finish the Civil War; Five, Six, Seven, Eight, Forward to the Workers' State.'"

"When the demonstrators first learned that the Klan would not march past them, they began cheering, 'We stopped the Klan, We stopped the Klan,' and poured onto Constitution Avenue as police lifted barricades and departed. Some protesters led by far left Progressive Labor Party organizers and the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan, had said they wanted to have a direct confrontation with the Klan march. Now their opportunity had been taken away by the police."

"Protesters began streaming northwest along Pennsylvania Avenue, many with revolutionary banners billowing in the crisp midday air. They hoped to get to Lafayette Square before the Klan rally there was completed. But police whisked the Klansmen out of the square minutes before the protesters arrived."

But the *Post*'s editorial policy, reflected in the headlines, was frenzied red-haiting and violence-baiting worthy

WORKERS VANGUARD

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of a card-carrying Reaganite. A vicious editorial, "Saturday's Shame," frothed: "Please, no excuses for the rampage of Saturday. Even to grace those mindless rock- and bottle-throwers and looters with the label of 'anti-Klan protesters' gives them a status they don't deserve to enjoy.... All it took was a handful of practiced delinquents and trouble-hungry instigators to stir things up.... "Prosecution, we expect, will be vigorous."

—Washington Post,
29 November

"Tarzan Trotskyites," "trouble-hungry instigators," "vigorous prosecution" of "mindless looters"—today's liberals are sounding like Sheriff "Bull" Connor back when Southern "lawmen" used to beat up and shoot down civil rights demonstrators while bellowing about "outside agitators." For the people who run America, from Ronald Reagan to the *Washington Post*, "Saturday's shame" was that mass labor/black mobilization prevented the KKK, the shock troops of reaction for times of social unrest, from marching in the capital. But for hundreds of thousands of Washington blacks, and millions of opponents of racist terror everywhere, November 27 was their victory against the lynchers and the cross-burners.

Reformists in Big Trouble

Worse than shameful was the treacherous behavior of the reformists on and after November 27. For them clashes with the cops after it was over were everything, the fact the Klan was stopped was nothing. But when the violence-baiting hit the fan, they tried to hide behind talk of a "spontaneous" mass upsurge. These pseudo-socialists didn't have anything to do with organizing it, that's for sure. But how and why did 5,000 militant black workers and youth show up at the site of the Labor/Black Mobilization ready to stop the KKK? The SL-initiated demonstration struck a deep chord in black Washington. Fauntroy points to "Trotskyist radicals," the quarter million leaflets distributed all over town, the thousands of posters, sound trucks, etc. He leaves out the important role of black radio stations and above all the active participation of hundreds of D.C. black militants who in turn mobilized thousands. The reformists say it was just instinct, militants decided to show up at the Klan's assembly point. But then why did the fake-lefts set up their rallies miles away? Their instinct was to let the KKK ride while they spouted hot air. Thousands of Washington blacks know from their own experience: without the SL-initiated and -organized Labor/Black Mobilization, the Ku Klux Klan would have marched November 27.

The Communist Party (CP), which did absolutely nothing to stop the KKK on November 27, has maintained a shameful silence ever since, not printing a single word on this important victory against race-terror. The CP's liberal



WV Photo

Chanting "We stopped the Klan!" thousands charge up Capitol Hill where aborted Klan march was to begin.

strategy of "ban the Klan" has been rendered criminally ludicrous as KKK-endorsed Reagan gives the Klan the green light to march and black Democrat Barry gives them the permit and the police protection. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) endorsed the McPherson Square diversion as part of its civil libertarian program of defending "democratic rights" for the KKK racist killers. The SWP's article "Debate Rages Over D.C. Anti-Klan Protest" (*Militant*, 17 December) was concerned not with the vital debate of how to stop the Klan, but over "who was responsible for the violence that erupted?" They, like the CP, played no role in driving the KKK out of Washington on November 27.

The most contorted version of the events in Washington comes from the WWP/APC, which simultaneously attempts to claim the victory over the KKK as its own, to portray the street-fighting as a spontaneous "people's rebellion," and to wash their hands of any responsibility. Their account begins with a flat lie. According to *Workers World* (3 December):

"Today thousands joined the All-Peoples Congress rally against the Klan in McPherson Square 60 yards from Lafayette Square Park where the racist terrorists were scheduled to hold their rally. Thousands more lined the streets and corners of Pennsylvania Ave. and 15th St. just blocks away in the hopes of confronting the hooded preachers of genocide as they marched by. "The overwhelming presence of these angry, mostly Black youths from the ghettos of Washington, D.C., forced the police and the racist nightriders to ditch their scheduled march and rally."

You only have to read what D.C. Metro Police chief Turner and the *Washington Post* said to see that the cops and Klan were not worried about what awaited

them at the end of the KKK's planned march. They didn't think they could get past First and Constitution where thousands of us were ready and waiting: that's why the KKK provocation was called off before it started. The APC's much smaller rally (not even 1/3 as large as the Labor/Black Mobilization) was held 18 blocks away at a site deliberately picked to guarantee that there would be no confrontation with the Klan.

Moreover, throughout the afternoon the WWP/APC did everything it could to prevent militants from going those 60 yards to Lafayette Park. Sam Marcy's bunch even gooned their own demonstration, having APC marshals link hands to prevent militants from leaving the rally. *Workers World* concocts a fairy tale to hide this fact, claiming these were "defense lines... in preparation to defend the crowd against what appeared to be an imminent police attack." No one who was there can believe this hoax! Those daisy chains were set up to keep anti-Klan militants in, not to keep the cops out. When several hundred protesters, tired of listening to liberal windbags (who droned on for three and a half hours), split off to go after the Klan, an APC spokesman announced over the loudspeaker:

"We don't know where the fascists [are].... There's no sense in us running around the crowd.... Please resist the temptation, because it's probably nothing except a diversion. This is where you're going to make your statement. So please stay here."

The *Washington Post* also reported a voice pleading over the PA system, "Please stay in the park."

After it was over came the violence-baiting, and then the Marcyites really begin to twist and turn. The WWP/APC hailed the violence, they denied the violence, they apologized for the violence...and when the witchhunting got hot and heavy they tried to make the Spartacist League the scapegoat. Thus in *Workers World*, APC spokesman Tom Soto says of "the brothers and sisters fighting in the streets," "we are with them 100 percent." But at McPherson Square APC spokesman Shelly Ettinger took the opposite line: "We want to stress that the majority of the demonstrators had nothing to do with the confrontation with the cops, and that wasn't the main activity of the day" (quoted in *Gay Community News*, 18 December). And at a press conference on Monday, APC national coordinator Monica Moorehead blamed the Reagan administration for provoking poor youth to violence (*Washington Post*, 30 November). When a *Post* reporter pressed further on the "violence," another press conference speaker, John Gibson, tried to pin it on the SL.

WWP/APC has a problem, of course, since all of the reported cases of "looting" occurred around McPherson

Square, and not one occurred along the two-mile line of march taken by the Labor/Black Mobilization (see *Washington Post* map published on p. 9 of our last issue). But the fundamental explanation for all this squirming is that the Marcyites want to entice black Democratic capitalist politicians onto their speakers' platforms for demonstrations that don't oppose the Klan but only seem to, without, however, alienating militant black youth. *Workers World* (3 December) says of the Spartacist League:

"This organization has a suspicious record of focusing its propaganda attacks against left and progressive groups. In the past year, much of its rhetoric has been directed against the All-Peoples Congress, which it absurdly slanders as being secretly a tool of 'Kennedy Democrats'."

"Absurdly," "secretly"?! The APC demonstration was endorsed by Kennedy liberal, black Democrat Ron Dellums. The same issue of *Workers World* contains an article by Sam Marcy himself appealing to "Black officialdom"—including Mayor Marion Barry and D.C. Congressional delegate Fauntroy, both Democrats of course—to stage a "mammoth march to the very edge of the city to confront the Klan." And Fauntroy even moved up the timing of his "Community Unity" food distribution so that it would not conflict with the APC rally on November 27.

Even after the violence-baiting from Washington "Black officialdom" began, WWP/APC wants to hold out a hand to these Democrats. "The bourgeois establishment of the District," wrote Marcy, "tended to vacillate...." Would he call Fauntroy's ranting about "Tarzan Trotskyites"... "vacillating"?! When Barry went away to L.A. for a mayors' conference, while his cops protected the Klan, Marcy wrote oh-so apologetically: "Conferences of mayors and legislators should not be underestimated...." Meanwhile, in Detroit the WWP/APC is pushing the same liberal/reformist strategy as Fauntroy in D.C.—more soup lines. Under the guise of "fighting Reaganomics," the Marcyites work hand in glove with the liberals who seek above all to deflect a militant mass mobilization that would smash the KKK. It's the old Roman formula for diversions: bread and circuses. On November 27, Fauntroy provided the bread, and the WWP/APC provided the circus. When black militants in McPherson Square wanted to go after the Klan, even before they got to the police lines they had to break through the Marcyites' lines, political as well as physical.

More Big Lies

For the last two years, Marcy's Workers World Party has been making
continued on page 11



WV Photo

Cops attack anti-Klan protesters in Lafayette Park.

Hard Times for the SWP

Barnestown, U.S.A.

It doesn't look like a happy New Year for the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes. The ailing organization has been shrinking at the rate of about a hundred members a year for several years. Now the crisis is aggravated by bitter factional wrangling which has necessitated at least four National Committee plenums since the last SWP national conference less than a year and a half ago.

The massive hemorrhaging of members has produced a first-rate financial crisis necessitating drastic cutbacks in paid staff and full-time branch organizers; Mary-Alice Waters herself told the November 1981 plenum that "we don't think we've bottomed out in total membership" (SWP Party Organizer, Vol. 6, No. 1, April 1982). Circulation of the SWP's public press, the *Militant*, has plummeted dramatically (see chart p. 10). Every year Barnes' ultra-electoralist party contests offices requiring more and more signatures—and every year it gets harder to find any reporting of the vote totals in the *Militant*. Wherever the SWP turns—in its "Latin American solidarity work," in the bourgeois-feminist NOW, in the National Black Independent Political Party—Barnes' party has been getting bounced around by red-baiters and outmaneuvered by larger (or in the case of the Marcyites, probably smaller but more effective) competitors.

By any conceivable standard of organizational success the SWP seems to be going down the tubes, and not slowly. Still the Barnes clique professes every kind of self-satisfaction as it completes the final round of "age purge," removing from any even ceremonial standing within the party the remaining old-timers whose dusty memories of the once-revolutionary, pre-Barnes SWP are deemed a threat to Barnes' absolute bureaucratic stranglehold.



Jack Barnes, SWP's Great Helmsman, pilots sinking ship.

The big SWP event of 1982 was the publication in September of the world's largest internal bulletin ("Defending the Organizational Principles of a Proletarian Party") detailing the Barnes crew's intimidation and suppression (and sometimes expulsion) of oppositional clots all over the country. The bulletin had to be priced at a whopping \$8 to get in every last investigation, motion and threat.

If Barnes seems perfectly happy as the machine-boss leader of an eccentric and shrinking political formation, some among the previously faithful seem to dimly perceive the intimations of irrelevance. The SWP's ambitions to become America's pre-eminent reformist party run smack up against something called the Democratic Socialists of America, an organization several times the size of the SWP, with more consistent reformist politics and the inside track on what reformists really aspire to: influence among the pro-Democratic Party union officials who run the American labor movement.

So it's hardly surprising that an interpenetrated oppositional milieu has emerged in the SWP to demand the

party become more minimalist, more anti-Soviet, more consistently a creature of "State Department socialism." Mirroring the rightward course of bourgeois politics over the past period, the whole American fake-left terrain has moved sharply rightward—witness the virtual disappearance of American centrism and the miserable collapse of Maoist revolutionary pretensions. The SWP partakes fully of the general drift while clinging to particular Barnesite eccentricities (like the idea that Cuba has nothing to do with Russia or the continuing infatuation with the mullahs' clerical-reactionary, Persian-chauvinist "Iranian revolution" long after the rest of the revisionist left, originally equally pro-Khomeini, had backed away in embarrassment).

Their SWP and Ours

As revolutionary Marxists, we of the Spartacist League (SL) must be concerned with the program and practices of organizations purporting to fight on the side of the working class. Reformist formations like the SWP and Communist Party must be unmasked by patient polemic because they mislead militants looking for an authentic revolutionary alternative to capitalist oppression and crisis. But the SWP has a special importance because it was until about 20 years ago the revolutionary party in this country, the Trotskyist organization founded in 1928 to carry forward the struggle of Lenin and Trotsky for revolutionary proletarian leadership.

The SWP has long since ceased to be that party in any way except in name. The SWP's qualitative break from the revolutionary program of Trotskyism took place in the period 1961-63, when the party then led by Farrell Dobbs discovered in the Cuban Revolution (which uprooted capitalism and established a deformed workers state in

Cuba) a convenient theoretical excuse for junking the revolutionary perspective of building Trotskyist vanguard parties based centrally upon the working class. The SWP's capitulation to Castroism was fought by the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League, which now represents the continuity of authentic Trotskyism in this country.

The Cuba question was the political vehicle whereby the SWP "reunified" with the revisionist current internationally which, under the leadership of M. Pablo, had destroyed the Fourth International in the early 1950s. This "reunification" produced the United Secretariat (USec) in 1963, the international bloc between the SWP and the European Pabloists headed by Ernest Mandel. But whereas the European USec was an impressionistic centrist current which was to vicariously enthuse over the "guerrilla road to socialism" for years to come, for the SWP Castroism was only a way-station in a headlong plunge toward outright reformism. By about 1965 the SWP had consolidated around full-fledged reformist appetite on the domestic terrain, expressed centrally in the movement against the Vietnam War, where the SWP was instrumental in maintaining the political dominance of the pro-imperialist liberal-Democratic politicians over the mass of politically heterogeneous antiwar activists.

It was the struggle of the Revolutionary Tendency against the SWP's deepening revisionism which preserved a continuity of revolutionary Marxism in this country. The Leninist vanguard party is the organized repository of the history of the international working-class movement, the indispensable living memory of the crucial lessons of past class battles. In the Cuba dispute, the RT fought to uphold the SWP's revolutionary heritage against Pabloist centrism, which—despairing of the working class—seeks substitute "vanguards" among whatever seems to be in motion.

The RT also vigorously opposed the SWP's capitulation on the black question, which cast the SWP as a "white party" which could play no role in the liberation of black people except as a patronizing, passive cheerleader for black formations. The RT proposed that the SWP involve itself in the mass civil rights actions, fighting to provide a socialist alternative to the leadership of the preachers and aspiring bourgeois politicians. Concretely we proposed that the SWP start doing some work in the South, where black workers in proletarian cities like Birmingham were involved in massive struggles against Jim Crow; we also proposed the party seek to concentrate some comrades in carefully selected key industries and unions.

But the SWP was in full flight from Trotskyism and the RT had to be got rid of. The problem was that the SWP, thanks to its Trotskyist past, had no organizational provisions for purging a disciplined minority—a minority that continued to abide by SWP discipline in public work while exercising its right to participate in internal discussion with the aim of winning over party members to its views. So after bureaucratically expelling our comrades in 1963, the SWP set about making it all "legal" after the fact by propounding new rules, codified in a resolution entitled "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party," which was adopted

AMENDMENT by Shane Mage, James Robertson and Geoffrey White for the Minority to P.C. Draft Resolution [1963]:

"Preparing for the Next Wave of Radicalism in the United States"

substitute the following for the entirety of paragraph 41:

41. A) Our mass work, linked with a general propaganda offensive, is an indispensable part of our preparation for the next wave of radicalism in the United States. Our aim is to prepare for the successful transition from propagandistic modes of work today to the building of a mass revolutionary party and to vying for leadership in the class struggle in the following period. Of pivotal importance is the ability of the party to solidify its general gains from current work by laying down and strengthening its roots in the mass movement.

B) In the Negro movement, North and South, there are today real opportunities. In the North our spearhead should be based on a combined approach. We aim to work with organizations selected on the basis of their militancy in particular localities and regions; we are also involved in supporting the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants (CAMD). This kind of activity should be coupled with such direct involvement as sustained mass sales of appropriate issues of the press in

the Negro ghettos and making vigorous and sharply directed campaigns during elections. We will then ourselves be in a position to become involved in and grow from new stages and turns in the struggle. An example of such a turn is that promised by the Philadelphia mass picket line for Negro jobs at construction sites. As regards the South today, we are witnessing from afar a great mass struggle for equality. Our separation from this arena is intolerable. The party should be prepared to expend significant material resources in overcoming our isolation from Southern struggles. In helping to build a revolutionary movement in the South, our forces should work directly with and through the developing left-wing formations in the movement there. A successful outcome to our action would lead to an historic breakthrough for the Trotskyist movement. Expressed organizationally, it would mean the creation of several party branches in the South for the first time—for example, in Atlanta, Birmingham or New Orleans.

C) In maintaining its orientation to

the working class as a whole, the party must steadily seek to make or find opportunities to recreate Trade Union fractions at selected spots across the country in industries important to the class struggle. Moreover, every party branch should develop contact with the most important unions and factories in its area; for example, through regular, long-term press sales, and accompanied, where possible, by direct electoral campaign approaches.

D) Unless the party is able to create and develop nuclei in the broader layers of the working class movement in this preparatory period, it will be condemned to sterile isolation or an accelerating political degeneration in the face of the certain upsurges ahead in the class struggle. Thus the party's taking hold today in the mass movement is a *necessary precondition* for going forward on the morrow in the historic mission of leading the working class to power. These primary considerations must be kept in mind in deciding the division of labor between mass work and general party activity.

12 June 1963

at the 1965 SWP convention. It is this resolution which still hangs over the heads of the present SWP dissidents like a sword of Damocles.

Spectre of Spartacism?

The 1965 organizational resolution is quoted no less than 14 times in the \$8 September 1982 internal bulletin. In his report to the August 1982 plenum Larry Seigle says: "A myth exists that the 1965 resolution was written to be specifically applied to disloyal minorities, following the experience with the Robertsonites [Revolutionary Tendency] and Wohlforthites." That the resolution was written precisely to justify our expulsion can easily be verified by reading it. What is a myth is the apparent assumption of the present minorityites that they are somehow immune from the bureaucratic norms established in 1965 and used on subsequent left critics whenever any could be found. Certainly the funniest line in the new bulletin is Peter Camejo's incredulous cry of outrage: "They're treating me like a Spart!" But one can't find anywhere in the 1965 document the stipulation that its anti-democratic provisions will be applied only against leftists and revolutionaries.

The core of the 1965 resolution is the effective prohibition of the right to factions, a right which is central to democratic-centralist organizational structure. The document's essential syllogism goes like this: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP, (2) factionalists are disloyal people, (3) disloyal people are expelled. The document admits the expulsion of the RT took place without any proof of violations of party discipline:

"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."

Specifically, the resolution proscribes a tendency or faction from functioning politically except under the direct scrutiny of the majority; intra-tendency discussion through tendency meetings, circulation of documents among tendency members, private correspondence and so forth are prohibited. The resolution reads: "A dissenting minority has the right to organize itself, but the conduct of organized minorities, just as that of every individual member, must be subject to regulation by official party bodies."

The \$8 "Organizational Principles" bulletin publishes a motion from the February-March 1982 plenum which states:

"To reaffirm the right and responsibility of the National Committee and Political Committee to... regulate the internal democracy of groupings, tendencies, and factions of the party, in line with the party's organizational principles."

The idea that a majority has the right to scrutinize the internal deliberations of its factional opponents—in order, of course, to make sure the minority is protecting its own members' rights—suggests a line of reasoning remarkably similar to the arguments presented in court by one Alan Gelfand, but we'll get to that later.

Barnes and his henchmen are certainly enjoying rubbing the noses of their present internal opponents in the 1965 resolution, which all wings of the present SWP supported to get rid of the RT. But it isn't the spectre of Spartacism that's haunting the SWP old-timers, unfortunately—they're unraveling to the right. In fact, there hasn't been any motion to the left among significant elements in the SWP since the Internationalist Tendency, bureaucratically purged in 1974.

Poland and Cuba

The present SWP oppositions took shape in the period preceding the SWP's

Q: How Does the SWP Fight Fascism?

A: It Doesn't!

19 September 1980

THE MILITANT

Socialist vs. Klan-Democrat



The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-Third District, Mark Friedman, confronted his Democratic Party opponent, Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Thomas Metzger, on NBC's "Speak Up America" show September 5.

The program included film clips of a helmeted Metzger leading a pack of club-swinging Klanners in an attack on a peaceful demonstration in Glendale, California. Friedman called for unions, civil rights, and women's

Defending "free speech" for fascists, SWP candidate Mark Friedman debates KKK terrorist Thomas Metzger, who ran as a Democrat in California election (above). SWP was nowhere to be found when SL-Initiated Labor/Black Mobilization ran the Klan out of Washington, D.C., November 27 (below).



last national convention in August 1981. Both minorities were fundamentally rightist in thrust, despite some window-dressing in the direction of "orthodoxy" and a good deal of lip-service to the "Fourth International" (by which they mean the Mandelbrite USec). The West Coast-based group around Nat Weinstein seemed animated by a desire to be left alone to practice reformism in one's private "arena," be it the unions, NOW or whatever. The group led by poor old George Breitman (now represented on the SWP National Committee by Lovell/Bloom) argued with particular urgency that the SWP should go all-out behind Polish Solidarność, manifestly the best opening in years for "anti-Stalinist socialists" seeking unity with the servile Cold Warriors who run the American unions. For his part, Weinstein made the bourgeois papers by participating in a "captive nations"-style pro-Solidarność demonstration alongside outright anti-Communist reactionaries.

The oppositions share a gut political impulse to get into the anti-Soviet mainstream of social-democracy. The rightist impulse behind the occasional recourse to "orthodox" arguments is shown most clearly on the question of Cuba.

For at least five years now, the *Militant* has published extensively from Castro's speeches and Barnes has frequently tantalized his followers with vague promises of future "organizational projects" with the Cuban leadership. Earlier, the SWP changed its line on Angola from ostensible neutralism with a tilt in the direction of the imperialist-backed FNLA (even after the South African invasion) to one more in keeping with the Cubans' support of the

left-nationalist MPLA. None of this provoked much reaction from the present crop of SWP critics.

But in the past couple of years a vigorous discussion has raged in the SWP over Cuba. And we've enjoyed the spectacle of both sides in the controversy quoting from Joe Hansen's 1962 document, "Cuba: The Acid Test," the way New Left Maoists used to wave the little red book at each other.

We can't resist noting the observation we made in our obituary for Hansen (*WV* No. 224, 2 February 1979) regarding his skills as a literary technician:

"His real talent—manifestly useful for a party of mounting revisionism—was the ability to propound a new line in fragments strewn through many paragraphs, punctuated with saving clauses and orthodox disclaimers."

"Cuba: The Acid Test" is a triumph of this method. There's something in that document for everybody, which is why everybody quotes from it. But Hansen's line, saving clauses aside, was the same capitulationist line the SWP supports today. So what is it that's bothering the oppositionists now?

Well, the whole American fake-left has moved very far to the right under the pressure of the bourgeoisie's anti-Soviet war drive. And then came Poland. The SWP minorities could feel in their bones that no softness on Stalinist-ruled workers states like Cuba (the bourgeoisie's new term is "Soviet surrogates") would be permitted among the true devotees of "free trade unionism" in Poland. They urged the SWP to back away from its 20-year infatuation with Castro, dredging up orthodox-sounding arguments to give themselves a left cover.

The minorities' new-found scruples

about Cuba are an application of social-democratic rationality, as against the eccentric and contradictory enthusiasms of Jack Barnes. The SWP leadership pretends to discern in the foreign policies of the Castro regime a "revolutionary" and "internationalist" content, while castigating the USSR's bureaucrats as Stalinist sellouts. The only problem is that the revolutionary Cubans and the sellout Russians are in agreement about everything. Poland is a case in point—Castro and the Kremlin display complete accord in condemning Solidarność for doing the work of the CIA. So it's Castro vs. Lech Walesa—a dilemma for the SWP. The minorities want to choose Walesa, while Barnes sticks his head in the sand.

The "Turn to Industry"

Both minority tendencies were also in open revolt against the SWP's trade-union policy of "talking socialism," which may be described as reformist in political line and idiot-adventurist in organizational tactics. Applying to the labor movement the touching faith Barnes & Co. have in American democracy in general, the SWP operates in unions as if they were campuses. SWP members who follow their leaders' directives (lots don't) identify themselves more or less instantly as SWP members, selling the *Militant* on the job and so forth.

On no question did the Barnesites show themselves more arrogant and contemptuous of the counsels of older party members than over union work. SWPers who sought to remind the party of elementary tactical lessons learned in union work—like the need to establish authority as a good worker and good union militant before putting yourself forward in apparent organizational counterposition to the union leadership—were met with a chorus of abuse from Barnesite sycophants defending the proposition that six months on the job (and a dose of SWP leadership school) qualify you as a real workers' leader. Frank Lovell, who formerly directed the SWP's union work on behalf of Barnes, was singled out for particular vituperation.

The results of "talking socialism" were predictable. How many SWP public meetings have we seen advertised featuring a fired SWP member touring the country to publicize the incredible news that company spies sometimes find their way into union meetings at defense plants? How many touching *Militant* stories have we read about the mounting support from co-workers enlisted by an SWPer fired for "talking socialism" at some shoemaker's shop organized by the railway engineers' union? (More serious cases—like the time the SWP's criminal stupidity resulted in racist firebombings against black workers in the Alabama coal mines—are, of course, less likely to appear in the *Militant*.) When Spartacist supporters toured the South recently to spread the word about the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. last November 27, we ran across more than a few places where SWP supporters had gotten themselves bounced out of industry.

Barnestown: Smash, Chop, Purge

The August 1981 SWP convention was preceded by the three-month pre-convention internal discussion mandated by the SWP's rules. Over a thousand pages of written discussion were churned out (28 internal bulletins) and there were debates in the branches. The resulting delegate elections produced a substantial showing for the oppositions—especially given the way the SWP handles delegate elections, with a high (10:1) members-to-delegates ratio in each branch, which effectively bars minority delegates from election in any but the largest branches.

continued on page 8

SWP...

(continued from page 7)

The convention ended with the Breitman grouping opting to declare their tendency dissolved; Weinstein & Co. said they would maintain an organized tendency in order to take advantage of tendency rights. (We should note here that we have not been able to discern any such "rights" existing in the SWP in between those pre-convention discussions every two years, although there may still be a loophole permitting minority members of the National Committee to correspond with one another.) Some three months later, in November 1981, the SWP had to convene an NC plenum to "settle" some "blow-ups," the settlement arrived at being expulsions in Minnesota and Los Angeles.

Four months later, in February-March 1982, came another NC plenum, which we'll call for easy reference the "six-day war." The meeting, reportedly attended by "the entire NC and over 50 organizers and fraction heads" and covering nearly a week (the kind of time allotted for national conventions), passed 27 motions dishing out disciplinary actions and threats against adherents of minority views. Numerous motions dealt with the pathetic efforts of various oppositionists to find ways to politically collaborate with co-thinkers in between conventions. Both the Breitman group, which had dissolved its tendency, and the Weinstein group, which had not, were castigated as "secret factions" and threatened with disciplinary action.

The general tone of the "six-day war" plenum is captured neatly in Motion Number Ten, putting the ranks on notice:

"To inform all party members who voted for either of the NC minorities during the August 1981 pre-convention discussion, and who may be confused about the party's organizational norms due to the conduct of the minority NC members since the convention cited by the Control Commission, that they are instructed to cease and desist from any organized meetings in their areas."

Motion Number Twenty-Three established that 1982's annual Oberlin gathering would be an educational conference, not a party convention.

The educational was the usual tepid affair. But there was plenty to keep the National Committee busy and another plenum was held at the time of the educational. Plenum highlights included the ruling that 18 Breitman group supporters had no right to declare themselves the "Fourth Internationalist Tendency," some more expulsions in Minnesota and the case of Asher Harer.

The Asher Harer affair casts a revealing light on the factional polarization gripping the SWP on the West

Coast. Harer, a senior citizen and longtime mealy-mouthed SWP cadre in San Francisco, was accused of telling a majorityite at the February 28 branch meeting something along the lines of "I ought to punch you in the mouth." Harer apologized a week later, but on March 11 the purported victim filed charges against Harer. What's really going on in the Harer case is that the SWP minorityites have a branch majority in San Francisco; Barnes and his hatchet-man Barry Sheppard were determined to demonstrate that they still rule with an iron hand in California. Accordingly, when the SF branch on April 4 passed a motion basically accepting Harer's apology, battle was joined with a vengeance. The majority appealed the decision to the Bay Area District Committee, which according to the internal bulletin discussed the case at five meetings and voted on May 3 to censure Harer. That wasn't the end either. When the Bay Area district

the country, and had no political differences. As we shall see, this latter is not exactly true, as revealed in the September 1982 internal bulletin which follows the time-honored Barnesite tradition that differences, insofar as possible, shall be published as an appendix to the malefactor's expulsion.

In June 1981 Camejo had a hasty meeting with the SWP's Olga Rodriguez, then abruptly left the country. The SWP claims Camejo resigned from the SWP verbally via Rodriguez. According to the internal bulletin, Camejo was entirely out of touch with the SWP for six months. Then he reappeared in Miami, saying he had never resigned from the SWP. Did he or didn't he?—we don't know. Camejo was refused permission to attend the "six-day war" plenum which considered his resignation/expulsion and passed a motion against him.

The background to the estrangement of Camejo includes two criticisms of the

as Griesa that the SWP was peaceful-legal and would never tolerate anything tainted with the suggestion of "terrorism." And the judge was explicit that the expulsion reassured him mightily of the non-troublemaking credentials of the SWP. The SWP underscored its vindictive hatred for the remnants of the IT in 1981 in court, with its lying frame-up of IT supporter Hedda Garza as a government fink.

After about seven years of pre-trial hearings, depositions and "discovery" proceedings, the case was heard in federal court for three months beginning in April 1981. Thus it was unquestionably the SWP's major public activity leading up to the August 1981 national convention. Under the pressure of the Watersuit the Barnesites hastily reversed an initial line of softness toward the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And in court the SWP attained new depths of explicit parliamentarism and reformism without fig leaves: take for example the 15 May 1981 *Militant's* summary of Barry Sheppard's testimony: "SWP advocates peaceful election of workers and farmers government, which will need changes in Constitution to implement program."

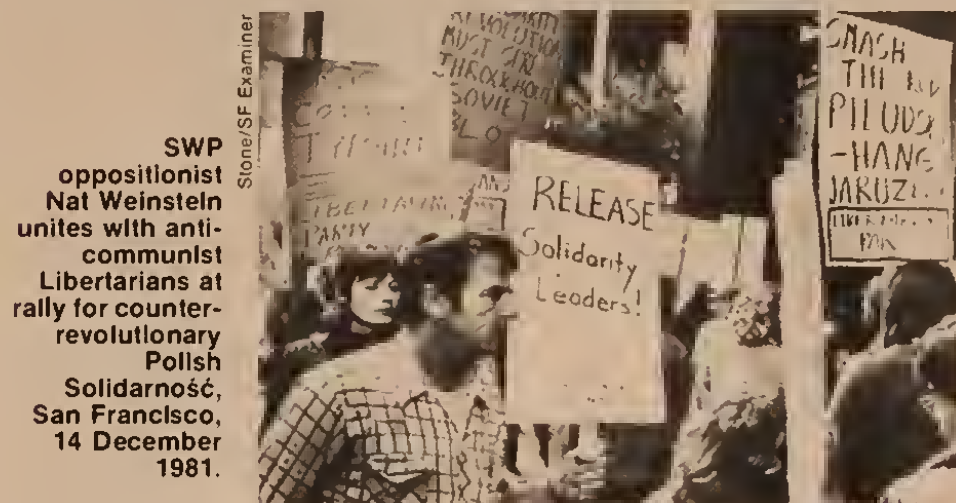
Alongside the programmatic rightism was displayed a panicky ineptitude you don't have to be a leftist to notice, perhaps peaking with the response to government demands for more and more "disclosure": turning over more and more names, records, etc., only to turn around and just destroy the party's financial records to keep them out of court—a master stroke of Barnes/Seigle which the upright patrician judge almost couldn't believe.

Glowing reports on the Watersuit filled countless pages of the *Militant* in the months prior to the 1981 Oberlin convention. Yet the case went virtually unremarked in an internal discussion which featured documents on every subject from Cuba to why being physically handicapped doesn't have to stop you from making the "turn to industry." In the 24 bulletins only one comrade submitted any contribution on the court case. No member of the SWP leadership recorded any comment on the case in the written discussion. Perhaps Camejo should have stuck to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and left the Watersuit alone.

Bureaucratic Centralism

What makes the Camejo affair the real centerpiece of the September 1982 SWP internal bulletin is that Peter Camejo was not one of the despised old-timers belatedly discerning the whisper of the axe. Camejo was for more than 20 years not merely a 100 percent Barnesite celebrity but one of the few real insiders. The transfer of control from the old boys under Dobbs/Kerry to the Barnes crew was essentially complete long before the final round of "age purge" began; people like Frank Lovell were mere window-dressing even if they seemed too dim to know it. Real power resided solely with Barnes and his cronies. And who were the cronies? Preeminently, it was Barry Sheppard and Peter Camejo, dishing it out to everyone else.

But by the beginning of 1981 Camejo was "leading the turn to industry"—i.e., he was sweating it out in the garment district among the desperately oppressed immigrant and minority workers who Barnes thinks are some kind of "strategic" sector of the "industrial" proletariat. What happened? Was Camejo's flamboyantly cynical style seen as a threat to Barnes?—after all, one thing about a machine is that it can have only one boss. Did the full flowering of the Barnes ego finally become too much for Camejo's own remarkable ego? Was Camejo's international following real enough to make him a danger in a period of increasingly envenomed relations between the SWP and USec?



membership (in a "straw vote," of course) arrived at a tie vote on June 5, the Barnesites escalated again, up to the California State Committee, which duly censured Harer on July 18.

Peter Camejo: Did He or Didn't He?

The real bombshell of the August 1982 plenum was the final fall of Peter (a.k.a. "Pedro") Camejo, a Barnes man for 22 years and one of the slimiest of Barnes' creatures. A scion of the Latin American ruling class (and the Long Island middle class), Camejo's "third world" pretensions were fulsomely catered to by the SWP leadership and his penchant for lying for the sheer fun of it was much appreciated for many years. In 1979 he attained even greater celebrity in certain circles when he was accused by the Morenoite tendency of having fingered leftists of the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the Nicaraguan government for deportation.

So SWPers were mostly quite surprised to be informed that Camejo was no longer an SWP member, had left

SWP leadership back in January 1981. One was a proposal, debated in the New York branch, on the city elections put forward by Camejo and two others. Their right-oppositional document displays marked restlessness with the SWP and casts around for "united front" electoral bloc partners, principally the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (and behind this, the thinly concealed appetite to chase the Democratic Party, which is the real question facing all the SWP oppositionists). At about the same time, Camejo penned a letter to the SWP leadership containing a proposal to seek TV coverage for the SWP's "Watersuit" trial. To the extent Camejo's sub-inane proposal has political content, it is rightist and civil-libertarian. So far as we can ascertain, Camejo's letter was never made available to the membership prior to the publication of the recent internal bulletin.

What's remarkable about Camejo's Watersuit letter is that it suggests a dangerous case of lèse majesté. The Watersuit is a civil suit brought by the SWP against the government which aims at securing a \$70 million settlement to compensate the SWP and its members for FBI "COINTELPRO" crimes disclosed by post-Watergate "Freedom of Information" revelations. Via the suit Barnes & Co. are seeking a special license to practice reformism unhindered by the normal and abnormal "dirty tricks" of government agencies, from the FBI and CIA to the immigration and tax authorities. The Watersuit displayed the full flowering of Barnesite opportunism, as well as a shocking loss of basic legal and administrative competence on the part of the Barnesized party (see "Reformism on Trial," *WV* No. 286, 31 July 1981).

Back in 1974, the Watersuit process directly prompted the consummately bureaucratic expulsion of over a hundred SWP members, left-oppositional supporters of the Mandeliste USec constituted as the Internationalist Tendency (IT). As the European press and right-wing ideologues at home were baiting the Mandelites as "terrorists," the SWP simply proclaimed the IT a separate "IT party" inside the SWP and expelled them to reassure Judge Thom-

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 8364
Ann Arbor, MI 48107
(313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland
P.O. Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Boston
Box 840, Central Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Champaign
c/o SYL
P.O. Box 2009
Champaign, IL 61820

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Box 91954
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 621-5138

Detroit
Box 32717
Detroit, MI 48232
(313) 961-1680

Houston
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles
Box 29574
Los Feliz Station
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 663-1216

Madison
c/o SYL
Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-3398

New York
Box 444
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk
P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 485-1964

San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Washington, D.C.
210 7th St. S.E., Suite E12
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8
(604) 681-2422

Camejo's documents, letters, appeals provide no answer. But his materials—self-serving in the extreme, needless to say—provide a real look inside the real SWP leadership. Camejo has turned on Barnes with a vengeance, and the result recalls nothing so much as the testimony of the wretched Tim Wohlforth on the subject of his mentor, the British political bandit Gerry Healy, whom Wohlforth slavishly served for over a decade. When Healy unceremoniously dumped Wohlforth in 1974, the latter (en route back to the SWP) penned a lengthy exposé of Healy's machinations which was serialized in the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*. The man hadn't said a true word in over a dozen years, but his account of life among the Healyites had the unmistakable ring of truth.

Camejo's documents, particularly "A Reply and Clarification," and the second-hand reports of Camejo's complaints also collected in the internal bulletin, partake of something of the same quality. Camejo recounts the story of his "nomination" for the Political Bureau: he would have been its only "member" not employed as a full-time SWP functionary—and the body holds its meetings during working hours! The sole effect of placing Camejo on a body whose meetings he could not attend would be to bar him from raising his differences before the membership, since the bureaucratic "norms" of the SWP effectively bar members of leading committees from raising their views outside those bodies.

The SWP has employed this classic bureaucratic practice—the common front of the leadership before the ranks—along with countless other mechanisms for stifling debate for many years. The fall of Camejo, accompanied by massive Barnesite gloating (the claims that garment was "a plum assignment" for example), surely couldn't happen to a nicer guy. But all the SWP's current leading dissidents find themselves in the unpleasant position of having been junior partners in the remaking of the SWP in Barnes' image, not least where the organizational question is concerned. Dobbs' 1965 organizational resolution was one watershed and the 1974 expulsion of the Internationalist Tendency on the fourth of July was another.

The 1965 resolution "works" perfectly well as a means for bureaucratically "regulating" discussion—so long as there is no real current of opposition in the party. But this situation no longer obtains in the SWP and suddenly a whole milieu of disgruntled elements is casting around for loopholes in the "norms"—mainly for ingenious devices to keep discussion going in the party or at least between minority co-thinkers. The "six-day war" plenum in particular lowered the boom on the oppositionists'

lame efforts—e.g., the "Christmas card" subterfuge for "unauthorized" correspondence; the disingenuous bid to keep discussion open in the Young Socialist Alliance after a convention. At the subsequent plenum in August was added the "Fourth International" fig leaf, the argument that the opening of preconference discussion in the USec ought to open a discussion in the SWP.

In any case there's a lot more to Barnes' "revolutionary centralism" than rules. In 1980, for example, in the wake of the Ed Heisler scandal, the SWP took advantage of its "security policy" to do some wholesale witchhunting. The Control Commission rammed through a rash of "disloyalty" expulsions, in particular cleaning out the Houston branch, a perennial hotbed of political opposition and a base of the former Internationalist Tendency. The witch-hunt was so wide-ranging and so savage that a halt was called and some of the purges were eventually reversed—not, of course, those in Houston.

The SWP's essential "organizational principle," enshrined in statute and otherwise, is the suppression of debate: turning the YSA into a front group by operating SWP members inside as a disciplined party fraction; perverting the mechanisms for orderly pre-convention discussion into a prohibition of discussion and inter-tendency struggle at any time except during a three-month "hundred flowers campaign" once every two years; the "disloyalty" expulsions; the "is he in, is he out?" game; the united front of the leadership against the ranks; the successive waves of "age purge."

Life as an oppositionist in the SWP is nasty and above all short. You can beat the odds if you're like the recently departed David Keil, patient and above all entirely isolated. Then you can write whatever you want every two years, the better to display how "democratic" is Barnes' party.

Preconvention Loophole

The decision not to hold a convention in 1982 was itself a consummately anti-democratic move of the sort not covered by statute. A revolutionary party seeks full discussion in order to arrive at decisions, above all when there are differences. A Leninist organization which found itself confronted with the necessity for a six-day plenum and 27 disciplinary motions to "regulate discussion" would certainly open a discussion and might well schedule an immediate national convention—the highest body of the national party—to fully air the differences and elect a leadership reflecting the new relationship of forces between the majority and the oppositions. But Barnes' party is a bureaucratic organization; the national convention is not its highest body in any meaningful sense and the preconvention discussion



Barnes hatchetman Peter (a/k/a Pedro) Camejo gets the axe. Fallen honcho squeals, "They're treating me like a Spart."

process is if anything the last remaining loophole in Barnesite "organizational principle." We wouldn't mind betting that by the time the next discussion is opened (probably sometime around next May), a lot of Barnes' critics just won't be around, one way or another.

The Barnes crew observes quite correctly that the various minorities have begun to call into question the obligation of all party members to uphold the majority line in public work. (The first was the little group in Minnesota around Harry DeBoer, a founding member of the American Trotskyists in 1928 and now a Stalinophobic workerist.) Increasingly, the SWP's disgruntled elements are finding the SWP a fetter on their impulses—hence the attraction for them of perfectly menshevist organizational standards. The problem, though, is that democratic centralism, the appropriate organizational structure for a Leninist vanguard party, has no reason to exist without the politics to match. The SWP—with its reformist line, its incredibly polyan-naish faith in the protections of American capitalist democracy, its hypertrophy of electoral work, its 9-to-5 leadership, its high proportion of paper members exercising the same formal rights as the cadres who really do the work and pay the money—is in fact a social-democratic formation that might as well have the organizational form to match. "Revolutionary centralism," without revolutionary politics, is nothing but a device for bureaucratic control by Barnes and his coterie.

That the SWP is really pretty unconcerned about the plummeting circulation of its public press is itself an index of social-democratic organizational conceptions. The circulation of a Leninist press, one's "collective organizer" in struggle, is a crucial measure of an organization's effectiveness. But social-democrats measure their importance in terms of "influence" closer to the corridors of power—how many Democrats endorse our defense cases? How many union presidents do we call by their first names? Even when the Socialist Party still had some significance, nobody ever read *New America* and it didn't matter. So the insipid, overpriced *Militant* will go on dropping in circulation, unless the ecologically sensitive SWP decides to do some innocent trees a favor by cutting back the frequency.

Enter the USec

The factional situation in the SWP, and especially the impact of the Camejo affair, is complicated by the touchy question of the SWP's relationship with the "fraternal comrades" of the USec. The "reunification" of 1963 was accomplished on the basis of a centrist convergence which was for the SWP a transient period in its plunge toward reformism; soon, the USec had become

an inherently unstable rotten bloc between Mandel's European centrist impressionists and the hardened reformist SWP. The bloc underwent periods of sharp factional struggle, most notably during the early 1970s when the question of Portugal and the USec's continuing vicarious attachment to the "guerrilla road" strained relations to the breaking point.

Had the USec been an international formation in the Trotskyist sense—that is, a world party seeking to arrive at and carry out a common international political policy—there would have been a split. To be sure, neither side had anything approximating an authentic Trotskyist program, but the differences were still very real. The European sections were very much a part of the "generation of '68," the radicalization associated especially with the French general strike. They were eclectic, opportunist, given to carrying red banners and chanting "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh" at demonstrations. Meanwhile the SWP (shaped by the more right-wing American political terrain, which lacks for example the mass Communist and social-democratic workers parties) stayed as far away as possible from "ultralefts" like SDS and the Panthers, chanting "Bring Our Boys Home Now!" with the other social-patriots and policing antiwar demonstrations against anti-imperialist youth.

In the middle run, developments favored the SWP which increased its weight in the USec as the leftism of the Europeans fell into disarray. The "guerrilla road" didn't produce any more easy victories in Latin America, the heady memories of barricades in the streets of Paris faded, the Mandelites started to tail social-democracy in earnest. The SWP rammed the "turn to industry" down the Europeans' throats and things seemed to calm down for a while.

But things sure aren't calm now. In January 1982 the USec entered the Camejo affair with a posture of studied agnosticism on Camejo's alleged resignation from the SWP. At a USec meeting on January 10 the Mandelites turned down the SWP's demand that Camejo, one of the SWP's fraternal representatives on the International Executive Committee (IEC), be replaced by another SWPer. At the end of May, the IEC agreed to let the SWP replace Camejo, then turned around and co-opted Camejo onto the IEC as an additional member. The SWP retaliated as best it could by contemptuously spitting on Camejo's contention that as a member of the leading committee of the "Fourth International," he should be permitted to attend SWP functions like the Oberlin meeting.

Meanwhile, it was revealed that at the end of January, two members of the European USec leadership had met privately with the SWP's Frank Lovell and Steve Bloom in Montreal.

Politically things have heated up a lot, with the most significant divergence probably being the Lebanon question. The SWP's 1982 Oberlin educational was marked by extreme uncritical enthusiasm over the nationalist Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO):

"Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO, is displaying capacities that any working-class fighter must recognize and identify with. [Malik] Miah continued. '... He is also placing the PLO in the strongest political position for the next phase of the struggle.'"

—*Militant*, 3 September 1982

The shameless SWP sees no reason to modulate its position now that the "strongest political position" is shown to entail the Israeli/Phalangist massacre of 1,800 Palestinians after the PLO had been disarmed and dispersed by the imperialist "peacekeepers."

But the USec in its October 10 statement on Lebanon (*International Viewpoint*, 1 November 1982) characterized the situation as a "military defeat" and stated that "The 1982 war

continued on page 10

SWP: U.S. Constitution, Yes—Russian Revolution, No

24 July 1981

THE MILITANT

Russian revolution

Winter: Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?

Barnes: No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism and the mass of peasantry and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.

There are two aspects that

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

How Marxists view U.S. Constitution

Jack Barnes on light for socialism and democracy

Declaration of Independence. Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?

Jack Barnes: Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the [... of democracy, as counterme...



Watersuit showed full flowering of SWP's anti-Soviet reformism.

(continued from page 9)

and the battle of Beirut register a radical evolution in the relationship of forces in favor of imperialism in the region." The statement is classically centrist in its born-yesterday quality, lecturing the PLO on the need to base itself on the class oppression of the Arab masses by their own bourgeoisies and on "internationalism," as if the USec had not been among the biggest cheerleaders for PLO nationalism right up until the defeat in Lebanon. The statement, which scandalously refuses to demand imperialist troops out, is nonetheless miles away from the "Palestinian victory" line of the SWP.

In Europe, rumors of an impending split between the SWP and USec have increased, particularly since the USec began publication of a new English-language journal to compete with *Intercontinental Press*. It's clear that the Mandelites are enjoying tweaking Barnes' tail by backing Camejo and playing footsie with the Breitman grouping, but the dissidents better think three times before counting on support from the USec when it counts.

The bitter experience of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) should be hard for anyone associated with the SWP ever to forget. Framed up and bounced out of the SWP in 1974 for its adherence to the Mandel wing of the "international" during the heat of the near-split period, the IT was hung out on the line and left there by the Mandelite maneuverers in the interests of preserving their rotten bloc with Barnes.

The IT was the last significant left opposition generated in the SWP. It grew out of the Proletarian Orientation tendency, which opposed the SWP's single-minded concentration on middle-class protest politics and advocated involvement in industrial struggles. The Proletarian Orientation recognized that on this question the Mandelites were no better, with their successive "theories" defining forces other than the proletariat as the vanguard of revolution (e.g., the "red university," "from the periphery to the center," the "new mass vanguard").

But the IT accepted the USec as "the world movement," and within the no-win parameters of the SWP/Mandelite polarization they threw in their lot with the latter despite some important differences—especially on the SWP's role in the right wing of the antiwar movement (a loaded subject too important for the Mandelites to touch with a ten-foot pole). Purged by the SWP, the IT still danced to Mandel's tune—refusing to characterize the SWP as reformist and agreeing to seek "reintegration" into the party that had not merely bureaucratically expelled them but had thereby lent its weight to the anti-"terrorist" witchhunting which was going on against them.

The IT's first national meeting following the expulsion was held three months later in October 1974. The first order of business was the expulsion from the IT of two comrades from Houston (and sympathetic to the Spartacist League) who argued that "The SWP is finished as a revolutionary force." In the sequel, the IT was also finished as any kind of force. In line with the USec's directives, the IT members set about the degrading business of seeking readmission to the SWP. Some waited a year, some waited two, some never got back in (and those that did didn't enjoy the treatment dished out to them inside). Two years after the mass purge that removed the IT from the SWP, Mandelite loyalist Milt Zaslow wrote to his European mentors: "You must understand that there is a very real danger of total disintegration...." The IT's reward for its faith in Mandel's maneuvers was brutalization at Barnes'

hands, demoralization and, for many, withdrawal from politics altogether.

Of course, the present SWP minorities are a horse of a very different color. If anything, they stand further from the USec politically than did the IT—but unlike the IT they stand on the right, and Mandel's a good deal more comfortable doing business with reformists than with left critics. In any case, the IT was more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of SWP/USec relations because they needed a party, a place to continue their activism as a political "current in this country; in contrast, many of the SWP's alienated old-timers are undoubtedly seeking nothing more

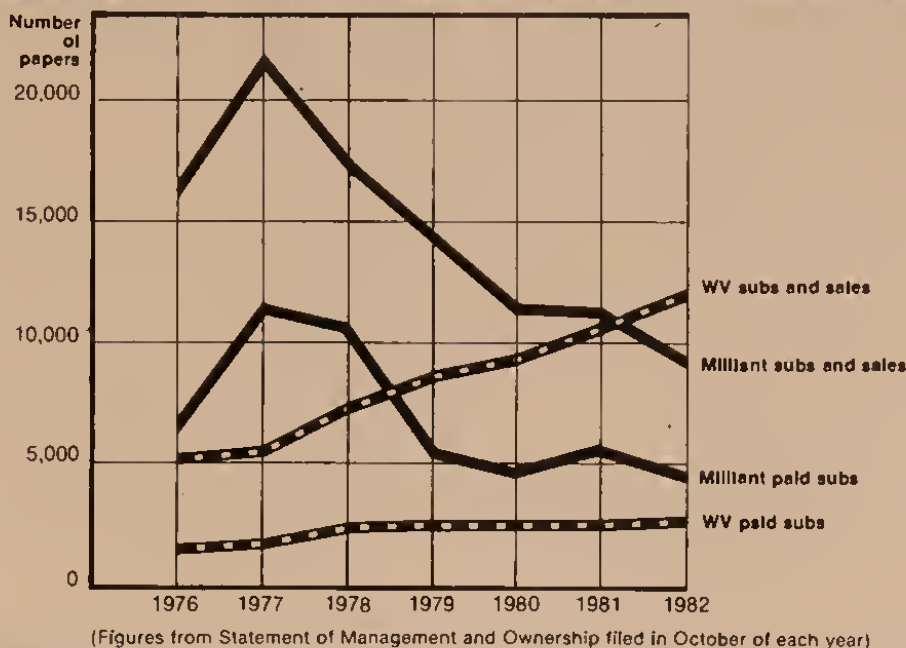
bourgeois authorities in the investigation of Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent in 1940—testimony to the position of trust Hansen had won in the Trotskyist movement—became the excuse for a loathsome Healyite campaign to slander Hansen as an 'accomplice' to the assassination and an agent of the Stalinist GPU, FBI, etc. "The Spartacist tendency actively defended Hansen against the slander campaign, which mimicked the discredited Stalinist chorus that Trotsky had been murdered by one of his own people. In addition to signing the statements prepared by the SWP, we picketed Healyite 'public' meetings, demanding, 'Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?'"

—WV No. 224, 2 February 1979

The sinister Healyites' deeply malicious

Where Militant Sales Go Wrong

Comparison of SL's WV and SWP's Militant: Paid press circulation per issue



On average, the SWP has been about four and a half times the size of the SL over the period in question. Our (biweekly) *WV* now tops the SWP's (weekly) *Militant* in paid circulation. What makes the chart so remarkable is not the *Militant's* low circulation but the direction and slope of the curve.

than a way to get out of Barnestown without explicitly renouncing the "Trotskyism" to which they have committed many years.

Be that as it may, the USec's posture toward the present SWP minorities will be determined by the outcome of the main event. If the sharply exacerbated relations between the USec and SWP produce a split, the minorities could get the glad hand from the USec, like Peter Camejo; if not, it's the cold shoulder for them, like Hedda Garza.

The Very Strange Case of Alan Gelfand

The SWP broke definitively from its revolutionary Trotskyist heritage 20 years ago, but it's taken Barnes a long time to obliterate the last vestiges of continuity. And when we talk about vestiges, we don't mean just people. Long after the Trotskyist content was gone, some elements of basic organizational competence and professionalism still functioned; in the service of, a fundamentally different program, a kind of upper spinal column was still there—something that could still organize a demonstration, write a polemic, co-opt an opponent, run a defense case. The Watersuit was the most extensive and complete display thus far that this sort of competence was just gone. Now we have another demonstration of the same thing.

The strange case of Alan Gelfand is the latest installment in a years-long campaign by Gerry Healy to smear SWP leaders as tools of the Stalinist and capitalist secret police. Healy's campaign to slander SWP leaders, particularly the late Joseph Hansen, as "agents of the FBI and GPU" has been answered before in *WV*, most recently in 1979 when we summarized:

"In 1937 Hansen had gone to Mexico to serve as Trotsky's leading secretary. His highly confidential work in this period, and his role as a main contact with the

campaign against the SWP included such tactics as leaflets fingering industrialized SWPers to management (under the guise of course of exposing "CIA agents" to the workers).

While Hansen was alive, the SWP retained elementary capacity to organize in its own defense. With painstaking documentation and characteristic polemical skill, Hansen made a point-by-point reply to Healy's ludicrous charges (see *SWP Education for Socialists* pamphlet, "Healy's Big Lie," December 1976) and put together the appropriate statements of support from figures in the socialist movement. The SWP solicited and obtained the endorsement of SL National Chairman James Robertson as part of this effort. The SWP public press scandalized the Healyites and discredited their hatchet job.

Then in 1977 an American Healyite, one Alan Gelfand, surfaced in the SWP and began to raise Healy's slanders in the Los Angeles branch. No concrete action was taken against him, however, until in January 1979 the SWP discovered that Gelfand had filed an "amicus curiae" brief in Barnes' cherished Watersuit. On January 11 Gelfand was abruptly expelled from the SWP.

Following his expulsion, Gelfand brought suit against the SWP in federal court charging that his expulsion was the result of FBI control of the party and violated his rights. Gelfand's suit rehashing Healy's lies not only subjects the SWP to demands for "discovery" but puts forward the proposition that the government has the right to intervene in the internal life of left organizations, ostensibly to enforce their adherence to their own organizational rules. As a legal device it's very British and very Healyite. Such a claim seeks to provide an ominous precedent for government snooping and witchhunting.

The Spartacist League's concern over the Gelfand case proceeds not only from

the recognition of the danger to left organizations in general and the SWP in particular, but from our continuing commitment to defending the reputation of Trotskyism and its historic leaders against the baseless slanders of the unspeakable Healyites. It is our revolutionary tradition which is being vilified! But our request last October to the SWP for information about the Gelfand suit brought the reply: "The Socialist Workers Party will not provide any assistance to the Spartacist League."

How's about providing a little assistance to the late Joseph Hansen and James Cannon (not to mention their still more or less living contemporaries like Farrell Dobbs and Tom Kerry) by a vigorous public counterattack on Healy's slanders? But incredibly, the SWP's *Militant* has said not one word about the Gelfand case—not when the SWP's motion to dismiss was denied in June 1980, not even when the motion for summary judgment was denied in August 1982.

Not that Gelfand hasn't occupied the leadership's attention. The dire financial report presented at the 1982 Oberlin educational laid heavy stress on the heavy expenses incurred by the SWP in the case. And this year's YSA preconference discussion features the following in a report adopted by the YSA National Committee last April:

"The Healyite lawsuit is not a laughing matter.... Fighting this lawsuit is also costing us plenty in terms of time, money and leadership attention.... We have achieved some successes already in this effort. We forced them to admit that the lawsuit is substantially financed by the Workers League...."
—"Socialist Workers and the Fight to Defend Democratic Rights," YSA Discussion Bulletin Vol. XXVI, No. 2, November 1982

The decision to treat the Gelfand lawsuit as a guilty secret—as if Healy's threadbare lies were unanswerable—is a piece of criminal stupidity if ever there was one. It seems that the last shreds of elementary political intelligence and technical capacity in the SWP were buried when Joe Hansen died.

Intimations of Irrelevance

The SWP that Barnes has built in his own image faces dismal prospects. The DSA has a lock on "State Department socialism" in this country and that doesn't leave much room for the reformist SWP. To keep everyone's mind off this central problem, Barnes likes to offer up fantasies of getting together with assorted potential patrons: the Cuban leadership; the Nicaraguan government; one or another wing (first one, now another) of the Salvadoran FMLN; the "New Jewel Movement" running "revolutionary" Grenada; at last August's Oberlin educational, the "revolutionary" leadership that moved the party membership to the most cheering and chanting was, according to the *Militant*, the PLO. What the SWP has to offer any of these hoped-for bloc partners is a question nobody in the SWP dares to ask.

We have to feel some human sympathy for the veteran socialists, practicing social-democrats though they are, undergoing gratuitous abuse and organizational indignity from the Barnes machine. But objectively the departure of the reformist SWP from an important place on the U.S. left is a good thing, tending to resolve the competing organizational claims to the continuity of Trotskyism, the revolutionary Marxism of our time. The founding cadres of the international Spartacist tendency were formed inside the SWP in struggle against the liquidation of the Trotskyist program, the revolutionary program which the SWP had upheld for 35 years. The revolutionary work of the old revolutionary SWP lives now through our organization, the Spartacist League. Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Fight or Starve...

(continued from page 1)

mobilizations and by showing that there is a class-struggle answer to the depression conditions that these race-haters feed off.

Take Detroit. Here, labor—powerful and integrated—can lead all the oppressed to fight for survival. When the teachers and Chrysler workers hit the bricks this September, critical sectors of the proletariat were out on the street with massive public support. The point was to link them up and shut down Detroit in a citywide general strike. Hundreds of auto workers should have walked the teachers picket lines. Picket-line solidarity, elected strike committees could have broken the back of Mayor Young's rollback drive. But the bureaucrats sold out the walkouts. Now thousands face death by starvation and freezing in this hellhole city. Now a sit-in at the Rouge to keep the plant open could win the heart of the ghetto masses and enlist the support of all black Detroit.

When it comes to unemployment the Democrats say "soup" and the left says "more soup." They want less guns and more soup. But it's not a question of reshuffling the priorities of the capitalist government. Capitalism itself is the problem. The anti-Soviet military budget represents imperialism's inevitable drive toward war. The popular-frontist left of today pressures the Democrats to pressure Reagan for more relief programs. They're simply using the issue of unemployment to support liberals against Reaganites.

A Trotskyist Party, A Fighting Program

What is needed is a revolutionary party of black and white workers whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned economy. This is key to the liberation of all oppressed minorities. The struggle must begin now to forge such a class-struggle leadership in the working class.

Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Sit-ins against mass layoffs and plant shutdowns! For a massive public works program with union rights and union-scale wages! Union control of hiring—special recruitment of minorities!

Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the unions! Unlimited unconditional unemployment compensation for all jobless workers! Unlimited recall rights and union membership for laid-off workers!

Finish the Civil War! Fight racial and sexual discrimination! Labor/black defense against racist attacks—Stop the Klan! For the right of black armed self-defense—no to gun control! For a labor

campaign throughout the South to organize the unorganized!

International working-class solidarity! No deportations—full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! No to trade protectionism!

Not a man, not a penny to the imperialist war machine! Defend the USSR/Cuba/Poland from capitalist counterrevolution! Political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and install workers democracy!

Oust the labor bureaucrats—break with the Democrats, for a workers party to fight for a workers government! Expropriate industry without compensation! For a socialist planned economy! ■

Why They Lie...

(continued from page 5)

its bid for the reformist big time by organizing demonstrations to channel protest against Reagan into a "broad" popular front with the liberal Democrats. The precondition for this class-collaborationist coalition is exclusion of open "reds." So WWP now appears only as the All-Peoples Congress (or some other front group), and they have resorted to *thugs, cops, and lies* to seal off the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. In May 1981, Marcyite marshals threw up a daisy chain at the Pentagon to keep protesters from attending a rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, organized by the SL, which called for military victory to leftist rebels in El Salvador. (Democratic "doves" want negotiations to end the Salvadoran civil war, not for the leftists to win it.) Last March 27, Marcyite goons called in D.C. police to keep the Spartacists out of another El Salvador demo. But on November 27, our Labor/Black Mobilization brought out the masses while the WWP/APC diversion fizzled. Moreover, the SL-led demonstration was overwhelmingly (85 percent or more) black. Thousands who were there know the real score, as well as the *half-million* readers of the special *WW* supplement, "We Stopped the Klan!" So Workers World prefers to use its last weapon, the Big Lie, in the corridors.

Others of the Big Liars have not been so circumspect. Among the most vocal are the little Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), an Ann Arbor-based campus cult, and its favorite political bedfellow, the virulently anti-Soviet Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). We strongly suspect the RWL was not even in Washington on November 27: we did not see them and neither did anyone else we know; and their article twice gives the date of the protest as "November 25"! They could just as well have written it beforehand, moreover, since they simply made it up:

"Across the country, the cowardly Spartacist League (SL)—which has *never* stopped the Klan or Nazis—now claims credit for the militance in D.C. This is a complete lie. The SL did not organize the crowd to be there and provided no leadership on the scene."

—*Workers Struggle*, January 1983

D.C. police, the *Washington Post*, Walter Fauntroy all refute the RWL on this one. And so does the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), certainly no friend of the SL. The RCP's *Revolution* (3 December) writes that "more than 1,000 people" gathered at the Capitol to "confront the Klan." When it became apparent that the KKK was not going to march, "Others started marching along Pennsylvania Avenue to Lafayette Park with the Spartacists in the lead chanting, 'We Stopped the Klan!'"

The notable thing about the RWL/RSL is that *every single time* we have mobilized hundreds and thousands, drawing in unions and blacks, actually stopping the Nazi/Klan fascists, the

RWL/RSL *and the bourgeoisie* insist that the issue is Spartacist "violence" or "sectarianism." In its own fashion, the RSL admits that large numbers of anti-Klan protesters followed the SL's lead on November 27. However, according to its fictional account:

"When the fighting started, the SL urged people not to participate, preferring instead to stay off to the side chanting, 'We stopped the Klan,' as if its forces alone were responsible. When the police began to tear-gas the crowd, the SL left the square, leaving people to fight the cops and protect themselves as best they could."

—*Torch*, 15 December 1982-14 January 1983

In fact, amid tear-gas volleys and police charges the SL organized the dispersed protesters in Lafayette Park and held a militant rally registering that *labor/black mobilization stopped the Klan*. And we got the demonstrators out safely. Evidently the RSL wanted pointless skirmishing with the cops long after the KKK had been run out.

The Maoist League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS) presents a totally opposite Big Lie:

"The federal government granted a rally permit to the Spartacist League—a Trotskyist group known for provoking violence—while denying such a permit to PARK [People Against Racism and the Klan]..."

"The Spartacists' permit placed them at a site close to Lafayette Park where the KKK rally was to take place. While the KKK was in the park, the federal police barricaded it and kept everyone else at a distance. After the KKK left, the police opened up some barricades allowing the Spartacists and a number of Black community residents to enter. Then, suddenly, the police started to push and beat people. The Spartacists began throwing rocks, and the confrontation quickly escalated and spread."

—*Unity*, 10-23 December

This is a total fabrication, from start to finish, and a set-up for prosecution. The only true statement is that we had a permit (and possibly that PARK didn't, since they spent the day at our demonstration). A similar demonstrable lie and false accusation of committing criminal action was published by the *Daily Californian* (7 December), which stated that the "Spartacus League" (sic) had "received publicity recently when members *attacked police officers* guarding Klansmen demonstrating in Washington, D.C." (our emphasis).

In a letter protesting this criminal defamation, spokesmen for the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League pointed out that over the last three years:

"...the SL/SYL initiated five such anti-fascist demonstrations:
1. in Detroit, 10 Nov. 1979—against the Klan Greensboro killings
2. in San Francisco, 19 April 1980—against the Nazi celebration of Hitler's birthday
3. in Ann Arbor, 20 March 1982—against the Nazi demonstration
4. in Chicago, 27 June 1982—against the Nazi anti-gay pride demonstration
5. Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—against the Klan attempt to march in the nation's capital.

"In each and every one of these demonstrations in which the SL/SYL had major responsibility, necessary permits were obtained, police authorities were consulted with and they resulted in *no* violence against the police and *no* arrest of any SL/SYL member. Why? Because we know that for anti-fascists to clash with police is to protect and embolden the Klansmen and Nazis. "All of the five above listed mass demonstrations dealt fascism a real blow."

—Richard Bucci and James Robertson, letter to the *Daily Californian*, 25 December

The Big Lie campaign to "get the Sparts" is not just infighting on the left. It is a deadly serious provocation aimed at stopping the most effective fighters against Klan terror, and it is inspired (at least) by the highest levels of the U.S. government. Former U.S. Information Agency director Carl Rowan, an influential black columnist who faithfully puts out the Company line, ended his column on November 27: "I hope the rioters and looters who are properly convicted will be put *under the jail*"

(*Detroit News*, 6 December).

Big forces were at work in Washington. Attorney General William French Smith declared that the Klan would have its day in Reagan's capital, and the FBI would see to it. This pronouncement was another threat from the White House looking to assert its bonapartist appetites. As in the ABSCAM set-ups, the FBI has been the instrument of revenge of the executive upon Congress. Part of the U.S. anti-Soviet war drive is the rearming of the imperialist presidency after the humiliation of Vietnam and the exposure of Watergate.

The bourgeoisie did not like what it saw on November 27. The same Carl Rowan remarked that Reagan's racist America, economically depressed and politically volatile, is a "tinderbox situation in which explosion can come quickly." That's why the people who run this country would like to put the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan "under the jail." Reaganites, liberals and reformists are all united in fear of this powerful example. As is often the case with important political events, the fight over *what happened* in Washington is a *class* question. The victory over the KKK there can point the way forward for socialist revolution—to do away with the lynchers and cross-burners forever. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

against capitalism itself—for a socialist revolution.

But the program of the nationalist ANC, closely allied to the South African Communist Party (SACP), is *not* one of working-class revolution to abolish capitalism. Rather the ANC/SACP seek to pressure supposedly "progressive" elements of the white South African ruling class such as diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer. Last summer the American CP's *Daily World* (14 August) noted approvingly Oppenheimer's call for "cooperation between unions and management"! The Stalinists' long, one-sided courtship of Oppenheimer has not, of course, prevented him and his colleagues from supporting the basic laws maintaining the apartheid system, not least the draconian Suppression of Communism Act.

The ANC/CP bloc likewise appeals to Oppenheimer's counterparts in the U.S. and West Europe, calling upon them to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, divest their stock in multinationals operating in South Africa, etc. This campaign serves only to prettify American and European imperialism, bolstering its claim to be more humane, more civilized than its despised South African ally.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, despite the unquestioned courage of its militants, offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. Moreover, their model for post-apartheid South Africa should they come to power is based on the anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism such as Mozambique's Samora Machel and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. If South Africa's oppressed black masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key bulwark of racist reaction in all of sub-Saharan Africa. The millions-strong South African proletariat is therefore in the vanguard of socialist revolution for all of black Africa.

Free Mogoerane, Mosololi, Motaung, Tsotsohe, Shabangu, Moise and all victims of apartheid repression! ■

Spartacist League/
Spartacus Youth League
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31 DECEMBER 1982

11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Reagan Backs Racist Killers

South African Murder Raid



Amsterdam News

At 1 a.m. on December 9 a hundred South African commandos crossed the border into Maseru, the capital city of the black client statelet of Lesotho, and fanned out into five different sections of town. They blasted their way into at least a dozen homes, and when it was over 42 people were dead. General Constand Viljoen, chief of the South African "Defense Force," openly took responsibility for the massacre as part of the campaign to destroy the African National Congress (ANC). And with a Goebbels-like flourish, Viljoen claimed that the seven women and children who were murdered had been caught in a "crossfire."

But South African black militants didn't just mourn: while 3,500 people led by ANC president Oliver Tambo attended a seven-hour funeral for 27 of the victims in Maseru, four bombs blew up at timed intervals over 12 hours at South Africa's Koeberg nuclear power station, under construction near Cape Town. The ANC said the bombing was a salute to "all our fallen heroes and imprisoned comrades," and the action certainly represented an impressive penetration of a high-security nuclear complex.

The Lesotho raid was part of Pretoria's attempt to reverse the rising line of mass upheaval of the past few months: bold ANC guerrilla actions coinciding with a massive strike wave led by black trade unions. The murder raid was the signal for an even more vicious repression, and the nominally "independent" Swaziland police took their cue by arresting about 100 people in dawn raids one week after the Maseru massacre. The escalating violence by the apartheid regime shows the bloody reality behind Reagan's "constructive engagement" policy toward South Africa, which has been ballyhooed as an attempt to quietly encourage Prime Minister Botha's so-called "reforms," such as the proposal for token voting rights for the country's three million "coloreds" and Asians (while continuing to exclude the country's 20 million blacks from parliament entirely). The "anti-apartheid reforms" are in part a public-relations fig leaf for the racist, anti-Soviet Washington/Pretoria axis.

By diplomatic standards, Pretoria's raid on Lesotho was an act of war on an independent state. But the Lesotho government is hardly independent. In reality it is a glorified bantustan, completely landlocked by South African territory. The tiny kingdom regularly sends as much as one quarter of its workforce across the border to work in the Orange Free State, a South African province. The Lesotho government protested lamely that all of the victims



African National Congress militants vow vengeance at funeral for comrades massacred at Maseru (above right).

were refugees from South African oppression. And the *Sowetan*, the only black-oriented daily in South Africa, elaborated that most of those murdered were student militants from Soweto who had fled for their lives from apartheid repression. The details of the raid—such as the selective bombing of a car owned by the wife of an ANC leader—demonstrated that it was a consciously planned act of mass terror.

Indeed, if one is looking for an international terrorist conspiracy, the South African government's activities of late certainly fill the bill. In the past few months alone, South African agents tried to overthrow the government of the Seychelles islands, organized burglaries of diplomatic offices in London, and assassinated opponents in several countries. (Last August, for instance, the well-known journalist Ruth First, a leading ANCer and Communist, was murdered in Mozambique, an act which the government there attributed to the South African secret police.) Meanwhile, the South African army openly and regularly invades Angolan territory, killing anybody it considers to be SWAPO sympathizers.

In South Africa itself, over 50 prisoners have officially died while under police custody—in the case of Dr. Neil Aggett, a white organizer for a black union, a magistrate recently once again exonerated the cops after a whitewash official "investigation." And then there are the official executions—South Africa executed about 100 people in 1982 alone, and six ANC fighters are

now on death row. (The prisoners are Thelle Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Moise.)

In comparison, Lech Walesa's brief incarceration at a posh hunting lodge makes the Polish regime look absolutely humane. But Reagan of course continues to cry about the fate of the counterrevolutionary Solidarność "union" while welcoming South African officials in Washington. Indeed, the morning after Pretoria's raid on Maseru, the South African state radio broadcast a report about a "joint commitment" between Pretoria and

Washington for a "Monroe doctrine for the region" which recognized South Africa's "special responsibility" for maintaining "stability" (*New York Times*, 10 December).

For the sake of "free world" unity aimed at restoring capitalism in the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington is backing up Pretoria. Hence the recent \$1.2 billion IMF loan to South Africa. Not accidentally, the South African raid came only five days after Prime Minister Botha delivered a menacing warning to Mozambique against accepting Cuban troops, which are now stationed in Angola as a necessary protection against South African aggression. The crosshairs of the Washington/Pretoria axis are aimed squarely on the black African nationalist regimes backed by the Soviet Union and its Cuban allies.

Black Proletariat Must Be Mobilized

The Koeberg nuclear power plant, target of the ANC raid, indirectly points up the Achilles heel of the South African regime: the black proletariat which keeps the economic wheels going. Of the 4,000 people who had access to the high-security plant, security officials note, 2,500 were black migrant workers brought in from the bantustans of Transkei and Ciskei. Last summer's strike wave of black miners, auto workers and dock workers, led by the militant new black trade unions, gave a hint of the tremendous potential power of the black working class for revolutionary change. What is needed is a revolutionary communist party ready to lead the struggle against apartheid and

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GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1982, from issue No. 296 (8 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 320 (31 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (*). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

We Stopped the Nazis!, #303, 16 Apr. (12, 11)

means the headline of the article, issue No. 303, 16 April 1982, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL)—See **Fascism: Ann Arbor, Chicago; Spartacist League.**

means that articles on the RSL can be found by going to the subject head **FASCISM** and looking under the subcategories **Ann Arbor** and **Chicago** and by going to the subject head **SPARTACIST LEAGUE**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Michael Zinzun) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases**. Articles pertaining to the civil liberties of the Spartacist League will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Spartacist League**, while attacks against the SL by ostensible leftists will be found under **SPARTACIST LEAGUE**.
- Articles on historical aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**, while reprints from writings of particular individuals are listed under **ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT**.
- Articles on actions against the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan are listed under the subject head **FASCISM** and are subcategorized under the location of the given action.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C: Correction S: Series
L: Letter Sup: Supplement
R: Review

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