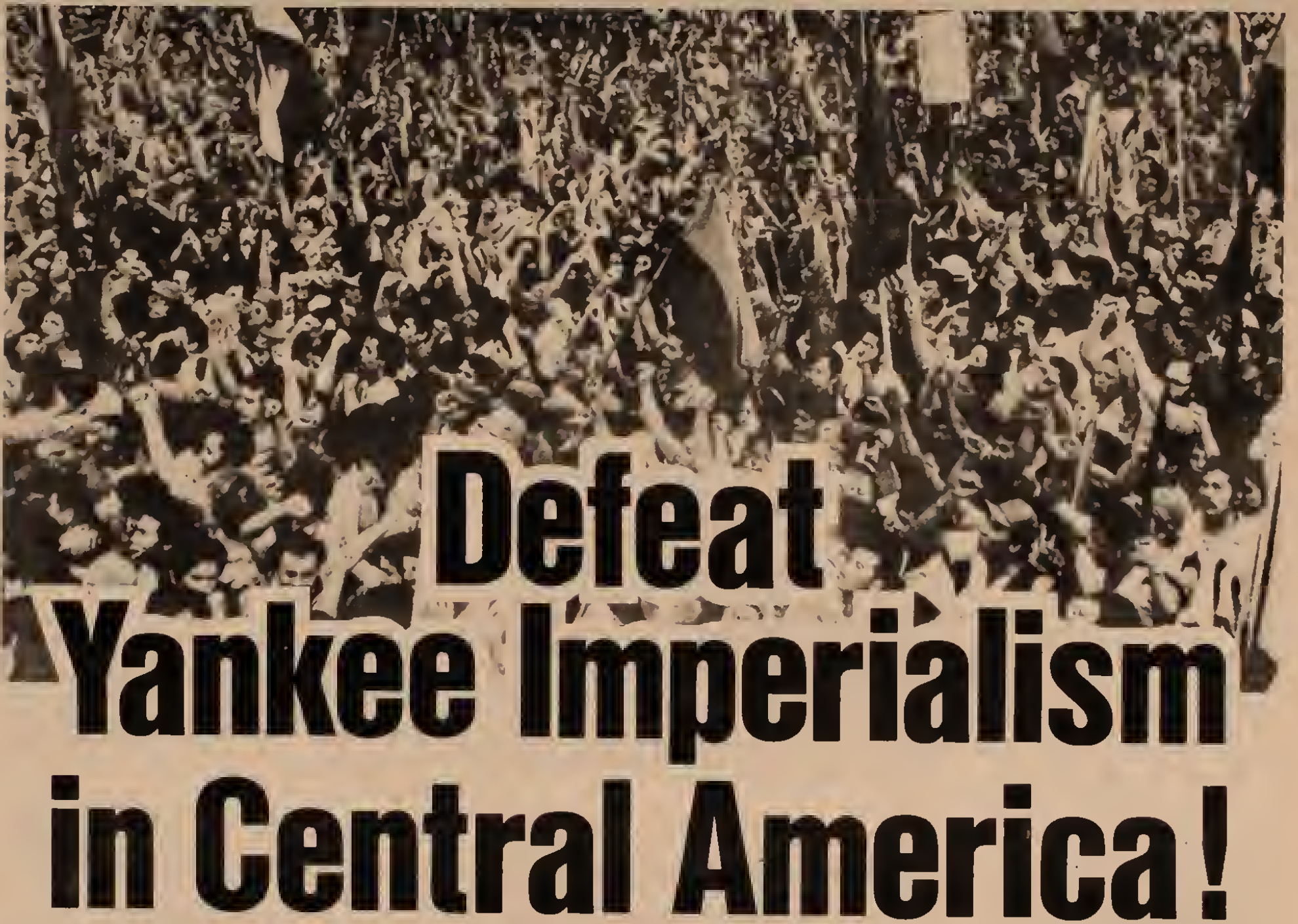


For Workers Revolution! Defend Cuba/USSR!



Reagan would like to wipe out U.S. humiliation in Vietnam with the blood of the Central American workers and peasants. But his plans have grievously backfired. The leftist guerrillas are defeating the corrupt, demoralized and hated American-backed armed forces in El Salvador. A military victory for the insurgents would not only open the road to the liberation of the Salvadoran masses from the rapacious oligarchy and its blood-crazed death squads, it would be a powerful blow against U.S. imperialism everywhere, especially since Reagan has placed such high stakes on the outcome.

U.S. imperialism is in big trouble in Central America. If the leaders of the leftist rebels in El Salvador do not negotiate a sellout, the guerrillas can beat the U.S.-backed puppet forces. And in Nicaragua the CIA-organized counterrevolutionaries are being chewed up by the forces of the radical-nationalist Sandinista government, which so far has not thrown in its heavy battalions against the *contras*. If to stave off defeat the U.S. sends in combat troops, this will not only provoke a strong reaction at home but will inflame all of Latin America.

Responding to these fears, in his address to Congress last month Reagan declared: "Let me say to those who invoke the memory of Vietnam there is no thought of sending American combat troops to Central America." But Reagan is already hedging. In a press conference before the Williamsburg economic summit he refused to rule out the use of combat troops in the region.

Vietnam Was a Victory!

Lt. General Wallace Nutting, retiring head of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, recently called for an open-ended commitment to stopping "Communist expansionism" in Central America. Railing against Congressional restrictions, Nutting said, "As long as those limits on our willingness to engage the ultimate resolution of the problem are evident to the guerrillas, they will persist. They have the example of Vietnam to refer back to." Last week the Pentagon announced an agreement with Honduras to triple the number of U.S. military advisers in that country and open a training base for Salvadoran and Honduran troops. A similar increase for U.S. advisers in El Salvador is also planned.

To clear the way for a more hard-line policy, Reagan has just dumped Thomas Enders, head of the State Department's Latin American section, and is reportedly replacing Deane Hinton, U.S. ambassador to El Salvador. By no stretch of standards can Enders be termed a "dove" in Central America or anywhere else. As deputy chief of mission in Phnom Penh he collaborated with Henry Kissinger in the secret bombing of Cambodia. But he angered

the anti-Communist fanatics around Reagan, especially dragon lady Jeane Kirkpatrick, by suggesting a two-pronged program of war with negotiations. The firing of Enders and Hinton may well signal some kind of rapid escalation.

On the ground in El Salvador the leftist insurgents continue to maintain the upper hand. Government troops stick to the garrison towns except for fruitless, massive sweeps. Last week government troops abandoned seven towns in key San Vicente province with commanding positions above the Pan American Highway, the last overland link to the eastern half of the country. Together with stubborn rebel positions

on Guazapa Volcano, control of these towns, less than 30 miles from San Salvador, tightens the noose around the capital. And the return to the U.S. of the deputy chief of the military mission in a coffin is a reminder that Americans will not escape the consequences of their program of destruction.

The Central American masses are on war footing to smash the aggressions of the Yankee imperialists and their local puppets. In Nicaragua, Reagan's threats before the U.S. Congress were answered the following day by a mass mobilization of some 150,000 in the *Plaza de la Revolución* in Managua. The *contra* invasion from Honduras has stirred popular support for harsher measures against the counterrevolution. Still the petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista leaders promise that the developing civil war will not divert them from the "pluralistic" road and the protection of the very forces which threaten the revolution!

When CIA chief William Casey tells Congressmen that his *contras* will overthrow the Sandinistas by New

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In Anti-Spartacist Frenzy Over Solidarność

Ernest Mandel:

The Pope's "Trotskyist"..... 6

Caught Between State Department Socialism and Fidelismo

Barnes' SWP in No Man's Land 7

"Democracy" in Barnestown

Back in November 1981, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes couldn't resist taunting the SWP's two substantial, troublesome oppositional currents:

"If the leadership of this party is already abandoning Trotskyism; if the elected leadership blindly walks down a revisionist garden path; if we have to pass motions—as Comrade Lovell proposes—denouncing the *Militant* editors for running an article by Lenin and an article about it—if all of that is true, then the August 1983 convention must seem awfully far away."

—[SWP] *Party Organizer* Vol. 6, No. 1, April 1982

Yes indeed. In a move which Louis XIV ("L'état, c'est moi") would admire, the Barnesites have for the first time in many years decided not to hold one of their national conventions, which are supposed to take place every second year. Instead, the SWP has announced that what will take place this August will be an "educational" conference in honor of the Karl Marx centennial. For the SWP membership, it's not just the convention itself which has been disappeared. For in the bureaucratic SWP, no convention equals no pre-convention discussion, no internal discussion bulletins—and no new elected leadership.

Mind you, it's hardly that there's nothing to talk about! The contrary is the case. Two examples will suffice. The February-March 1982 NC plenum lasted for *six days*—and the resulting September 1982 *Internal Information Bulletin* had to be priced at *eight dollars* (!) to cram in every expulsion, threat, motion, resignation, etc. To top it off, Barnes not only formally renounced but *denounced* Trotskyism, during an (as yet unpublished) public speech at the December 1982 convention of the SWP's youth group. Thus is line made in Barnestown—Barnes just presents it in public and the membership is under discipline not to publicly demur. And now there will not even be a convention to "discuss" and endorse, even after the fact, Barnes' "discovery" that Trotsky was an ultraleftist.

No convention? You can't say you weren't warned. The Spartacist League (SL) devoted a five-page article to Barnes' "age purge" and the September 1982 internal bulletin, including the following prognosis:

"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 pre-convention discussion process is if anything the last remaining loophole in Barnes' 'organizational principle'."

—"Barnestown, U.S.A.," *WV* No. 320, 31 December 1982

That loophole has now been closed.

Among the old-timers facing the ax, Frank Lovell in particular might recall a day 20 years ago when an up-and-coming NCr from the Midwest added his two

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SWP's *Internal Information Bulletin*, September 1982: \$8 worth of expulsions, threats and resignations.

cents during the plenum which bureaucratically expelled five members of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT)—forerunner of the SL):

"Some areas of the country are extremely clean right now. The other areas will be in a very short period of time. There's only one thing that goes along with this, and that's merely to second what Comrade Frank said: All the living links have got to show plenty of life and help u- out, and we can take care of the fleas with no problems."

—[SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, April 1964, Part II

The speaker was Jack Barnes—who now wants those same "living links" made into "missing links." Though they're a sorry, rightist lot, we have some human sympathy for the aged SWP veterans whose sole reward for elevating Barnes—and loyally serving him (until recently)—is to be told to quit and/or die.

But alas for Barnes, it isn't that simple. At that same December 1963 NC plenum, RT leader (and now SL National Chairman) James Robertson warned that creation of an autocratic regime would not bring internal peace to the rightward-moving SWP leadership:

"All that happens is that you get the most intense, internecine fights over, if nothing else, the selection of the personnel for posts. You can never stop struggle. All you can do is denature it, so that it's not clear, it's not political, it's not over the question of line, and destroy the ground rules of democratic centralism."

—[SWP] *Internal Information Bulletin*, April 1964, Part I

The cancellation of the SWP convention is stunning testimony to the internal instability of Barnes' party. Even after massive persecution of old-timers (who, while fully as reformist as Barnes, see their party loyalties as not simply loyalty to Barnes), after endless disciplinary motions and open-ended threats, after hundreds of quits which might have been expected to reduce the population of alienated and demoralized elements to manageable proportions—still Barnes' clique finds itself unable to risk a convention. Fundamentally, the reasons are political: the virulence of bourgeois anti-Soviet war fever making mincemeat of the SWP's eccentric mix of sentimental pro-Castroism and basic social-democratic appetite, hastening the SWP's eclipse by the much larger, more influential and consistent social democrats of Michael Harrington's DSA (see "Barnes' Party in No Man's Land," page 7, this issue). On the organizational side, this much is clear: the SWP is hatching new dissidents as fast as it can muzzle or drive out the old ones. ■

Letter

FABRITEX: Strikebreaking Sandinista-Style

April 27, 1983

To the Editors,

In the article entitled "Workers Revolution vs. the Guerrilla Road" in the 11 March issue of "WV," it's mentioned that the Sandinistas, as an act of reprisal against the workers there, completely dismantled the FABRITEX textile factory. This assertion is not documented or otherwise substantiated in the article or in footnote. I have spoken with local SYLers to see if the info has been made available to them, and it has not. Also, friends who put out the new quarterly "No Middle Ground" were also unable to verify the anti-worker act of dismantling the factory.

Please do us all a favor and print your source(s) for the particular charge. The other charges of various anti-worker, authoritarian political practices of the FSLN gov't. have been fairly generally publicized in the left press (and naturally in the bourgeois press), but the FABRITEX case seems unknown around here.

Thank you,
Chris F.
Berkeley, Ca.

WV replies: The liquidation of FABRITEX—a better description than dismantling—first reported in *WV* No. 293 (20 November 1981) is perhaps the best example of the repression and strong-arm methods employed by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) against any manifestation of working-class independence from its bonapartist control. The story begins in February 1980 when the CAUS union

federation, led by the dissident pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCN), called strikes in 18 Managua factories calling for a 100 percent wage increase. The FSLN declared the strike illegal (under a supposedly anti-lockout law against "boycotting production"), offered 6 percent, launched a vitriolic propaganda barrage against the PCN/CAUS, and mobilized Sandinista agitators to besiege the key FABRITEX plant, eventually forcing the strikers back to work. Then on March 4, a Sandinista "anti-CIA" march seized CAUS offices in León and turned the building over to the literacy crusade; the scene was repeated the next day in the capital, as the regime cynically amalgamated leftist opposition with imperialist "destabilization."

But key factories continued to be controlled by one or another of the ostensibly socialist groups, and in late 1981 the FSLN tops decided to do something about this "anomaly." So on October 21, 24 CAUS members (including two members of the Council of State) were arrested, along with four leaders of the COSEP businessmen's association, for publishing "provocative" documents. The CAUS pamphlet accused the government of "opening the doors to the international capitalists and seeking a bourgeois solution to the country's problems" (*Barricada*, 22 October 1981). In addition the unionists were accused of fomenting strikes and sabotaging production. A week later, the COSEP leaders were sentenced to seven months prison or payment of a \$66 fine, while the CAUS representatives got *three years* in jail. Alan Riding commented in the *New York Times* (17 November 1981) that "agitation among trade unions was considered by the regime to be even more dangerous than the business group's protests," and noted that "so far, about 100 Communists have been arrested." Many of them were union militants at FABRITEX, accused of "psychologically torturing" fellow workers.

But this was not enough, so on November 1, the government shut down FABRITEX on the pretext of non-payment of debts to the state cotton agency.

"Debts and Anarchy Sank Fabritex" proclaimed the *Barricada* headline, adding that the shutdown should be a "lesson to the confused." And just to make sure the lesson was clear, the police who closed the factory were accompanied by seven tractor-trailer trucks which carted off all the raw materials in the plant. CAUS was accused of "negative activities," a "provocative attitude," encouraging labor indiscipline, poor quality, slowdowns. The government could not permit "that the FABRITEX machinery, among the most modern in the country, should be squandered in this manner" (*Barricada*, 3 November). Workers were told to look for jobs in other factories (with unemployment at 15 percent), or they could try picking coffee during the harvest hundreds of kilometers to the north. Nevertheless, despite attempts to force the workers to join the Sandinista Labor Federation, they and workers at other Managua factories refused to abandon their union.

continued on page 10



Sandinista paper *Barricada* offers strong-arm "lesson to the confused": "Debts and Anarchy Sank Fabritex."

For Labor/Black Defense Against Richmond Cop Terror!

Weatherpunks Get Lesson in Workers Democracy

OAKLAND, May 28—Seeking to exploit widespread outrage over racist cop brutality and recent police killings of blacks in Richmond, the misnamed "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" (JBAKC) spent the past several weeks building a "Death to the Klan" rally at the house of Richmond police chief Leo Garfield. Garfield's home is not in heavily black Richmond, however, but in the overwhelmingly white suburb of El Sobrante. This is in a Klan-infested area that has been the scene of repeated racist assaults that have driven several black families from their homes. With no perspective of a mass mobilization of labor or blacks, the self-defined "progressive white people" of the JBAKC would hold their rally, then return to Berkeley and San Francisco.

This idiotic and provocative adventure could only, at best, set up whatever black protesters might attend to be photographed, traeked down and brutalized by the cops who would be out in force at their boss' home. And it very easily could have turned out a lot worse. The racists have guns and they remember the "Death to the Klan" rally at Greensboro, North Carolina, where five anti-Klan protesters were gunned down by KKK/Nazi killers in league with police. Perhaps the JBAKC were hoping to create some martyrs.

It is for this reason that at recent meetings in Richmond, San Francisco and Santa Cruz the Spartacist League (SL) and the newly formed Labor/Black League for Social Defense (L/BL) opposed the JBAKC's provocative plans. An SL leaflet distributed at the assembly point for the May 22 march called on black residents to "stay away from this set-up." We explained:

"The Spartacist League says the only road to combat the rise of police violence and Nazi/Klan terror is the class struggle road through mass labor/black mobilizations and the fight to build an integrated, multi-racial revolutionary party. The JBAKC instead relies on adventurist and dangerous stunts that despair of integrated working-class struggle."

We pointed to our history of successful anti-fascist mass mobilizations, most recently the SL-initiated demonstration of over 5,000 unionists, blacks and socialists that stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. last November, and counterposed

our strategy of labor-centered, integrated mass struggle to the JBAKC's adventure.

Unable to answer our communist politics, the frenzied JBAKC attempted a cowardly assault on members of the SL and L/BL outside an "anti-Klan teach-in" on May 21, held in "safe" San Francisco, not Richmond or El Sobrante. When five SL and L/BL members, including a black and an

help of the racist cops to "protect" their meetings against revolutionary working-class politics.

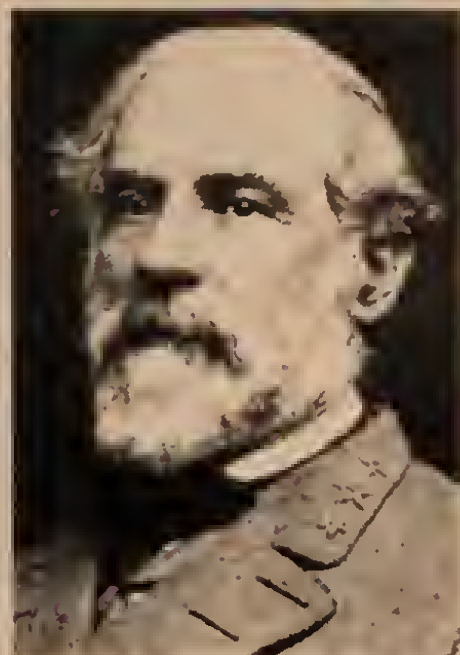
What Is the JBAKC and What Is It Afraid Of?

The JBAKC is one of a myriad of front groups promoted by old New Left-overs and second-rate armchair Weathermen. Publicists for the shadowy remnants of the Black Liberation Army,



Library of Congress

Revolutionary Insurrectionist John Brown (left) fought to liberate the slaves. With its anti-integrationist program, the misnamed "John Brown Anti-Klan Committee" would better be named for Confederate general Robert E. Lee (right).



Bellmann Archive

Asian woman, attempted to distribute literature outside the publicly advertised JBAKC meeting, 15 JBAKCers tried to jump our comrades. The would-be thugs were vigorously repulsed and given a firm lesson that we will not have our democratic rights trampled on.

When the SF police showed up while the JBAKC hoodlum attack was under way, the supposed opponents of police brutality made the cops their instant allies as they tried to stop us from distributing our literature. JBAKCers huddled with the cops, telling them the Spartacists and L/BL members were "disrupting" their meeting by distributing literature on a public sidewalk outside a church! This is downright obscene. The "John Brown" Committee claims to fight cop terror and racism, yet joins with the racist police against real fighters against racial oppression. The JBAKC and cops work hand-in-hand against the Trotskyists!

The SFPD is justly hated by workers and minorities throughout the city for its racist, anti-working-class attacks. Strikers, from the largely minority Hotel Workers to the craft unions, have had their picket lines assaulted by the scab-herding thugs in blue. The precinct house in the predominantly Latin Mission District is notorious for the vicious beatings regularly administered to those who are dragged in, a scandal that has forced recent cosmetic shake-ups in the precinct command. Blacks, particularly in the Bayview/Hunters Point area, are subject to systematic intimidation. And there have been several eruptions in the large SF gay community against continuing harassment by the police, whose hero is ex-cop Dan White, the soon-to-be released murderer of SF's first gay supervisor Harvey Milk and then-mayor George Moscone. Yet the JBAKC seeks the

glorifiers of the dubious Brinks job, the JBAKC is everybody's "overground." Taking vicarious pleasure in the terrorists' defeatist strategy, the JBAKC tries to push others into the line of fire, particularly arranging set-ups for cop traps like the one in El Sobrante. Yet despite all their macho anti-cop stunts, these phony "anti-white supremacists" blocked with the SF cops against the



WV Photo

Dangerous adventure in El Sobrante: JBAKC stunt in Klan/cop-infested suburb.

reds and blacks of the SL and the Labor/Black League.

The JBAKC has enshrined one political principle: the sectoralist, anti-Leninist notion prevalent in the New Left that each oppressed group can only organize itself. The "progressive white people" of the JBAKC completely reject the perspective of integrated working-class struggle and organization. The JBAKC urges blacks to leave their jobs and homes they have fought for and to set up a "New Afrika" in the old Confederacy, abandoning even the elementary gains that have been made against the racist segregation of Jim

Crow. This is a reactionary/utopian program that might have had some appeal to Robert E. Lee, who led the federal troops which captured John Brown and killed most of his anti-slavery fighters at Harpers Ferry. But it is no wonder that the JBAKC program has attracted few blacks.

It is because of their complete despair of the possibility of real integrated working-class struggle that the JBAKC resorts to foolish adventures like small group "Death to the Klan" rallies at cops' homes in racist white suburbs where the Klan has been active. But the black residents of Richmond have more sense. Not one showed up for the El Sobrante rally. Every single one of the 50-or-so demonstrators had been carpooled in from meeting points in San Francisco and Oakland. Their chants of "Death to the Klan, Free New Afrika, Free the Land" fell on the ears of the cops who guarded chief Garfield's house and waited in large numbers on nearby side streets. The demonstration would very likely have been attacked by white racist youth who gathered from the neighborhood. But the cops, no doubt with instructions to prevent an "incident" in front of the chief's home, once again acted as protectors of the JBAKC.

Though most of these Weatherpunks are hopelessly committed to their reactionary/utopian strategy, this is not to say they can learn nothing. Having received an elementary lesson in workers democracy the day before, the JBAKCers did not lift a hand against SL and L/BL members who distributed a leaflet at their SF and Oakland departure points exposing the JBAKC's political bankruptcy and two-bit thugery. In the West Bay, JBAKC organizers rushed arriving supporters into waiting cars and told them to roll up their windows to avoid the "danger" of receiving a leaflet or hearing us. In Oakland, a JBAKC leader with a black eye who participated in their abortive hoodlum assault the previous day assured us we would have our "freedom of expression" to distribute and sell our press. Indeed we would.

John Brown was a giant in the struggle against slavery and his revolutionary insurrectionist ideas exerted a powerful influence on the militant wing of the anti-slavery movement. John Brown's attack on Harpers Ferry was the opening shot of the war to end slavery. John Brown would roll in his grave at the thought of these middle-class radicals who take his name in the

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 331

3 June 1983

Steel Workers: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Stop Layoffs with Sitdowns!

Just four weeks after American steel workers were blasted with a 10 percent pay cut and other "givebacks" amounting to \$4 billion, 2,000 employees at U.S. Steel's Fairless Works near Philadelphia found out the company planned to scrap their jobs. Under the March 1 Basic Steel Agreement every steel worker lost \$15,000. All they got in return was a worthless promise that the companies would reinvest their profits in modernizing the decrepit American steel industry. It was a cruel fraud. On March 28 United Steelworkers (USWA) president Lloyd McBride announced that U.S. Steel was planning to shut down Fairless' open hearth furnaces and other facilities used in the production of semi-finished steel. Under this cutback scheme, only Fairless' finishing mills would remain open, processing steel slabs imported from the British Steel Corporation's (BSC) Ravenscraig plant in Scotland. Some 2,000 Ravenscraig workers will also be thrown out of work if the U.S. Steel/BSC deal goes through.

"Hypocrisy!" cried the USWA tops, who have always been the first to echo the steel companies' calls for import restrictions. But the biggest hypocrite of all is Lloyd McBride, who knew about the deal last November. This company flunky purposely concealed the information to grease the skids for the mammoth giveback sellout of March 1!

True to form, McBride has ruled out any strike action to stop the layoffs. Instead he plans to squander the \$185 million USWA strike fund on a court suit and a "media campaign" to halt imports. This reactionary protectionist campaign won't save a single job. According to U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick, the company will shut down the entire Fairless Works—U.S. Steel's newest mill—rather than continuing to operate the plant's antiquated open hearths. BSC chief Ian MacGregor says the Ravenscraig mill will also be shuttered if the deal falls through.

Fairless Local 4889 president Al Lupini, who went along with the concessions contract, says USWA members might refuse to unload the imported slabs—but by then thousands of jobs on both sides of the Atlantic will have already been lost! What is needed is *immediate* militant action, directed not against foreign workers and the

goods they produce, but against the bosses and their political hatchetmen, labor-hater Reagan and his Tory ally, Margaret "Iron Lady" Thatcher. The steel magnates won't give up a dime or "save" a job unless working-class struggle forces them to. Back in the 1930s it took industrial action—mass picket lines, secondary boycotts, sit-down strikes—to win the CIO organizing drives. It is urgently necessary to revive these traditions today—to fight

**Protectionist
Steelworkers
demonstration
waves the flag
Instead of
fighting mass
layoffs,
Chicago,
May 2.**



or starve! Let U.S. Steel import all the slabs it wants. *But any move to lay off a single Fairless or Ravenscraig worker should be answered with immediate sit-in strikes!*

No-Fight Bureaucrats Organize Star Spangled Rally

McBride pushes the line that steel workers ought to love American capitalism and hate foreign workers precisely to throttle this kind of class struggle. But the Pittsburgh bureaucracy isn't the only force in the USWA peddling stars-and-stripes protectionism. When news of the U.S. Steel/BSC negotiations came to the surface, several "dissident" local level officials organized a demonstration at the corporation's May 2 stockholders' meeting in Chicago. Its purpose was to present U.S. Steel chief Roderick with a "Benedict Arnold

Award" for the "betrayal of our nation's vital interests." The demonstration was initiated by Ron Weisen, president of Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works outside Pittsburgh, and Joe Samargia, head of Minnesota iron range Local 1938. They were joined by Chicago-area "progressives" like former District 31 director Jim Balanoff and Local 1010 president Bill Andrews. Even the McBride wing of the USWA bureaucracy decided to get in the act after they realized that the demonstration would not threaten but *reaffirm* the International's pro-capitalist program. So May 2 saw both union factions heavily mobilizing to compete as the best defenders of American profits

the defense of the Steelworkers membership by preventing militant struggle and by chaining the union to the institutions of capitalist rule: the U.S. government, its courts and the racist Democratic Party. Balanoff has made a virtual career out of dragging the USWA into the bosses' courts, strengthening ruling class control over the union. When a Local 1010 member, Keith Anwar, was fired by Inland Steel in 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line, then-district director Balanoff tried to sabotage his grievance. Meanwhile Local 1010 president Andrews scurried to the bosses' newspapers with the fink statement that winning the right to honor picket lines would "cause problems at Inland and all over"!

Given this pro-company position on picket lines, a basic weapon of class struggle, it's not surprising that none of these "dissidents" lifted a finger to mobilize the ranks of the union to stop the layoffs and plant shutdowns. Instead they seek to advise the capitalists on the best way to reinvest their profits. Their current campaign, along with the AFL-CIO leadership, to make protectionism a cornerstone of the Democratic/labor alliance in 1984 is proof of their commitment to propping up U.S. capitalism—at the expense of all workers, foreign and American.

Protectionism—Poison for the Working Class

From Weisen, Andrews and Balanoff to McBride, the USWA bureaucracy blames the massive loss of jobs in steel on growing waves of imports supposedly flooding the American market. The reality is quite a bit different. Since 1978, the tonnage of imported steel in the U.S. has been relatively stable from one year to the next. But during that same period more than 150,000 steel workers have been permanently sacked. Blast furnaces have been blown up, mills shut for good, whole company towns left nearly deserted. The cause is rooted not in "subsidized foreign steel" but in the deterioration of basic industry in capitalist America. The profit motive has ruled out the enormous investments that would be needed to update American steel production. And in the past year the worst depression since World War II has slashed steel production throughout the capitalist world.

In a letter to USWA members, McBride asked, "What will happen to our national defense if we become dependent on foreign steel...?" The Midwest Center for Labor Research warns that "the question of our nation's vital economic interests is involved." They're not talking about defending the working people's interests. Who has been waging a war against the American labor movement and oppressed minorities? Reagan busts unions, rolls back civil rights gains and axes entire social programs to help pay for his anti-Soviet war buildup. Democrats like black Detroit mayor Coleman Young carry out more of these cutbacks in the cities. The companies cut wages and lay off millions, uprooting families and casting working people into a life of destitution. The cops maintain ruling class "law and order" by shooting down unarmed ghetto blacks at will. For American workers and blacks, the main enemy is at home. When the labor bureaucrats call for a strong "national defense," they mean the defense of American profits. And that means war, as Democrat Walter Mondale made clear last year,

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Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride (left) and "dissident" local president Ron Weisen join hands in protectionist chauvinism.

Longshore Militant Under Attack

Stan Gow: "Stop Death Cargos to Salvador!"

OAKLAND—In a consummate act of political self-exposure the officers who run San Francisco longshore Local 10 are out to declare international working-class solidarity action "conduct unbecoming a union member" and grounds for expulsion from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The target of their witchhunting purge charges is Stan Gow, *Longshore Militant* editor and member of the Local 10 executive board. Gow is in effect charged with mobilizing the substantial sentiment of Local 10 members for a one-day West Coast port shutdown against Reagan's escalation of aid to his imperialist puppets who are waging bloody civil war against Salvadoran workers and peasants. The ILWU tops are after Gow in particular because he tried to stop loading of the El Salvador-bound freighter Lafayette last March 29.

While Reagan and his war-mad UN mouthpiece Kirkpatrick are sweating over the battlefield victories of Salvadoran leftists they can rest assured that

Stalinist Bridges and social-democratic Herman leaderships in keeping longshore militancy straitjacketed for pro-imperialist liberalism. During the Vietnam War ILWU banners and speakers starred at every Bay Area peace crawl, but Bridges made sure that the dockers kept moving the massive arsenal required for U.S. B-52s to carpet-bomb Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. While he dealt away longshore jobs in the notorious Mechanization and Modernization agreement, *Bridges made longshoremen move record amounts of military cargo during the 1971 strike* and told members it would help "to get this war over faster."

After Pinochet murdered tens of thousands of Chilean workers, the ILWU passed motions and... did nothing. During a 1974 two-day international embargo on Chilean cargo even the East Coast ILA directed no work on goods to the junta, but arch-progressive Bridges personally ordered L.A. dockers through Spartacist-initiated picket lines. When bomb parts for Pinochet turned up on the SF docks in 1978, ILWU misleaders rejected *Longshore Militant* demands to hot-cargo them. The bombs were only stopped when Carter's "human rights" spat with the junta threatened to boil over as it did when the U.S. temporarily recalled its ambassador to Santiago.

In international "solidarity" as in everything else the labor fakers draw the line at *what's acceptable to the liberal Democrats*, who have presided over every major imperialist slaughter from World War II to Vietnam, from the Bay of Pigs to El Salvador's "human rights" junta. As full partners with Reagan and the war drive against the Soviets and the aid buildup to the junta, the liberals won't accept even token acts of workers' protest and the Herman/Carr witch-hunt against Gow is their pledge to remain the labor cops for capital.

Since late 1980 Salvadoran workers have been the "beneficiaries" of one of Herman's dubious solidarity resolutions offered during Carter's end-of-term cutoff of military aid to his butchers (a reminder to the junta to use U.S. bullets to murder Salvadoran workers and peasants not Maryknoll nuns). Since stopping a load of riot-control equipment two-and-a-half years ago the ILWU resolution has been just one more dead letter. Herman's problem is that longshoremen really do hate Reagan's bloodthirsty junta and are undoubtedly impressed by the rebels' string of military victories.

When Stan Gow started circulating a call for a one-day West Coast port shutdown, 23 longshoremen and ships clerks signed on. This appeal found real membership support and forced the Local 10 executive board to recommend Gow's motion to the ILWU convention. But membership pressure won't push a bureaucrat very far or for very long. A week later when the freighter Lafayette herthed in Oakland to pick up cargo for El Salvador, Gow organized eight members from Locals 10, 6 and 34 to shut down this life line for the Salvadoran junta. Local 10 president John Carr was emphatically opposed, saying he'd tell any longshoreman to work the Lafayette. And business agent Watkins, who seems to be the author of the charges against Gow, made a rare visit



ILWU militants picket against loading of El Salvador-bound freighter in Oakland, March 29.

to berth H to be the cop on the spot and make sure Reagan's war drive wasn't disrupted by unruly longshoremen suffering a fit of "conduct unbecoming."

By the time the ILWU convention opened in Portland two weeks later, in mid-April, only Gow remained to speak and vote for the coastwide shutdown. The officers had arm-twisted and lined up everyone else for their treacherous perspective—a resolution calling on Congress to negotiate the rebels to defeat since the military option of imperialist policy is being effectively trashed by the leftist guerrilla forces. Herman & Co. aren't home free however: the Coast Caucus of longshore delegates immediately following the convention narrowly backed a move by the bureaucracy to table the shutdown resolution, 34 to 25. This strong show of support from a body that has the power to implement Gow's class-struggle call threw a scare into the bureaucracy and the purge trial is an immediate and direct result.

Keeping the union politically lined up for the State Department is only the beginning of Jimmy Herman's job. The ILWU is a potential powder keg—largely minority, facing heavy unemployment from mechanization, plant closures and runaways, the union has done nothing to fight, and is chafing under the bipartisan austerity needed to pay for the anti-Soviet war drive that Reagan and the Democrats love so dearly. The ILWU tops want to render that discontent leaderless and Stan Gow isn't their only target. The convention witnessed a well-orchestrated barrage of redbaiting against Jackie Clark, Local 6 Militant Caucus leader and general executive board member.

Clark was fired from Heublein for refusing to cross an IBEW picket line set up to stop the new owner, union-busting giant R.J. Reynolds, from using scab contractors. Now, from Bridges to Local 6 president Lannon (rumor has it that witchhunting runs in his family) and secretary-treasurer Harris, the union bureaucrats screamed that Clark is a "dupe," "manipulated," and demanded that she apologize and admit her "mistake" (in refusing to scab) as a precondition for pursuing her grievance! We suggest the scab-herders masquerading as leaders hold their breaths waiting for sister Clark to "apologize." Local 6 members must be on guard—the bureaucrats who dealt away your jobs and are now trying to force you out of a hiring hall are probably even now preparing a purge

trial against Militant Caucus leader Clark.

Observers of the Bay Area union scene may well see a striking similarity in the ILWU purge trial to the nearly year-old witchhunt against Militant Action Caucus leader Kathy Ikegami in Communications Workers (CWA) Local 9410. Both feature bureaucrats pleading their progressive credentials while they wave *Workers Vanguard* and rant McCarthy-like about conspiracy. Both purges target prominent SL supporters. It's no mere coincidence. For years the Stalinists and social dems have offered an alphabet soup of useless solidarity: BATUC, TUCES, CISTUR, ad nauseam. And for as many years the SL and its supporters in the labor movement have exposed these apologists for liberal imperialism, fought with some success for concrete acts of international solidarity and struggled to break the political stranglehold of the CIA-liberal Democrats.

Today the liberals beat the drums for Reagan's drive to smash the gains of workers revolution in the Soviet Union and the reformists don't even have fig leaves to cover their role as cops for imperialism. So in the unions the reformists' Big Lie campaign means purge attempts. If U.S. workers are to succeed in breaking the bureaucrats, in the class battles that will come they must be taught the lessons that will arm them. Only Bolshevik steadfastness and audacity can preserve and extend the political influence of class-struggle militants in the labor movement. ■



Stan Gow at ILWU convention fights for a coastwide port shutdown. Bureaucrats say working-class solidarity is "conduct unbecoming a union member."

they need only whistle to line up the pro-imperialist flunkies of the ILWU leadership and their Stalinist rad-lib hangers-on. International president Jimmy Herman and Local 10 president John Carr want to silence Gow and intimidate those longshoremen who know that real workers' solidarity, the kind that helped forge the ILWU, means hot-cargoing goods on the docks, not passing empty liberal "solidarity" resolutions. This purge move against Gow puts them out in the open as labor lieutenants of the anti-Soviet war drive. Local 10 members must expose these sellout artists for the aid they give Reagan and El Salvador's bloodthirsty junta. Stop the witchhunt against Stan Gow!

Local 10 has long been the brightest star in the rather small constellation admired by the reformist Bay Area "progressive trade unionists" set. What they admire, though, is the success of the

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In Anti-Spartacist Frenzy Over Solidarność

Ernest Mandel: The Pope's "Trotskyist"

ABRIDGED FROM
AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST
NO. 102, JUNE 1983

SYDNEY, Australia—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) "Karl Marx Centenary Conference" was held over the Easter weekend in Melbourne. The event was very much a factional event for the SWP's United Secretariat (USec), that decaying end-product of the liquidationist revisionism that destroyed Trotsky's Fourth International in the early 1950s. Once again factional warfare has erupted in the USec, this time under the impact of escalating anti-Soviet Cold War. The American SWP of Jack Barnes and the European-centered followers of Ernest Mandel are at each other's throats and talk of a split is rife. Barnes has officially denounced Trotskyism and written off the USec as "hopeless, irreformable sectarians," the better to pursue "fusion" with the unsuspecting Sandinista government, tiny Grenada's New Jewel Movement and the Cuban and El Salvadoran CPs. For his part Mandel seems to have won a following among the oppositionists in Barnestown and, it seems, the leadership of Jim Percy's Australian SWP, who share the USec's political impulses to swim in the mainstream of pro-imperialist social democracy by going all out behind Polish Solidarność.

The star attraction at the conference was none other than Mandel himself, fresh from a stopover in Canada and accompanied by Peter Camejo, a former Barnes hack, now out of the U.S. SWP but touted around as the leader of Mandel's American "opposition." SWPers told us that the U.S. SWP turned down its invitation. Mandel, the armchair guerrillaist of yesteryear, is today a demagogic Cold Warrior. In both Canada and at the Melbourne conference Mandel went absolutely berserk in heated confrontations with our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. What really drove him up the wall was our characterisation of Solidarność as a Polish company union for the CIA and bankers. Pounding the podium at the Melbourne conference, flailing his arms and shouting at the top of his voice, Mandel, who an hour or so earlier had slandered us as "Stalinist counterrevolutionaries," declared: "It's a clear united front between Jaruzelski, Monsignor Glomp, the pope, and perhaps the Spartacists." There's a "united front" all right, directed against the Soviet degenerated workers state, and it extends from the White House and Vatican to Cold War social democrats like Mitterrand/Hawke and their USec tails, all cheerleading for Solidarność.

From the beginning the SWP made it clear that the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) was to be excluded from its "Karl Marx" conference. Every registering participant at the conference received a 20-page exclusion dossier which lumped the SL together with the dubious Qaddafiite Socialist Labour League, detailing the SWP's slanders of Spartacist "violence" and "disruption." At times up to 30 SWP goons lined the gates of the conference, complete with specially selected "Spart spotters." But,

even from the outside, the SL's aggressive political intervention sold more than 250 pieces of literature to conference participants—and precipitated a series of crises for the SWP.

It was our leaflet to the conference which exposed the SWP's scandalous patronage of the "leftward moving" nationalists in the Ustasha-loving Croatian Movement for Statehood (HDP), a sinister grouping that reveres the 1941-45 Nazi satellite state of Ante Pavelic's barbaric fascist "Independent State of Croatia" [in Yugoslavia]. Mandel, himself a young Trotskyist in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war, never said a word and the SWP tried to provocatively brazen it out, putting HDP members on the goon squad where they defended the Ustasha with the bald lie that Ustashi terror was the work of "Yugoslav agents." The SWP even threw out of the HDP's workshop a Polish Jew who had survived the Nazi holocaust, an ex-CPer in his 60s by the name of Jacob Bilander. Bilander's



Pope blesses Lech Wałęsa. Mandel says church opposes Solidarność.

"crime" was to demand a retraction when he was "racist" baited by the SWP for denouncing the genocidal crimes of Pavelic's Ustasha.

Mandel's first confrontation with the SL occurred outside the gates just before his second evening talk. Earlier, Spartacist supporters had challenged him on his support for Solidarność counterrevolution, accusing him of political cowardice for accepting our exclusion to which he had pathetically shouted he was "afraid of no one," not "even imperialism." When Mandel arrived at the conference for his Saturday evening talk on the "Capitalist World Economic Crisis" he immediately went into a tirade while his 30-strong coterie of SWP goons stood by dumbfounded. "You are Stalinist counterrevolutionaries," "Stalinist strikebreakers" and "the difference with you and Wałęsa is Wałęsa is against the church" he screamed in a heated exchange with our supporters. "You invite me somewhere and I will come," Mandel said before disappearing into the meeting. But the SWP goon squads were never bigger than when he was speaking.

That night the first speaker from the

**Sydney, Australia:
Mandel boasts
he will debate us
anywhere as his
SWP goons exclude
Spartacists.**

Australasian Spartacist



floor—a Spartacist sympathizer who had made it past the goons and the back-up teams of "Spart catchers"—challenged Mandel:

"The land of the October Revolution is in danger... Many comrades of the SWP here tonight realise your position on Afghanistan is support to the mullahs who are rebelling, shedding the blood of the Red Army soldiers who are fighting to defend such elementary rights as women learning to read. And of course in Poland he supports that CIA-type union (interjections)... And it comes as no surprise that a sinister group of Ustashi apologists have been welcomed into this meeting while the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (drowned out by shouting and interjections)."

Mandel devoted most of his lengthy reply to Poland, saying nothing, of course, on the touchy question of Afghanistan where the SWP's formal support to Soviet forces stands counterposed to Mandel's call for a Soviet defeat. Mandel hails what the SWP correctly labels as imperialist-backed feudalist counterrevolutionaries for the "encouragement" they've given to "the peoples subjected to national oppression by the Soviet bureaucracy, such as the Poles in particular" (from the USec's *International Viewpoint*, 29 November 1982). Similarly Mandel ignored the Pavelic-loving friends of the SWP. He began by asking rhetorically if "the purpose of the rearmament today—I don't say historically, in ten (!), fifteen (!), twenty years (!)—but today, is to attack the Soviet Union?" and answered:

"No. The immediate target of the present rearmament drive is the Salvadoran revolution, is the Nicaraguan revolution, is the Palestinian revolution, is the Arab revolution, and not the Soviet Union."

This is the most cynical demagogy. Reagan/Begin's "anti-Soviet consensus" in the Near East, the imperialist troops in West Beirut and the Sinai—constituting the beachheads for U.S. imperialism's Rapid Deployment Force and "Pax Americana" in the region—were imposed as part and parcel of the Zionist holocaust against the Palestinians and Muslim poor in Lebanon. The more blatant and provocative that U.S. imperialism's war plans for first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union become, the more the Reagan administration makes ominously clear that it views the Palestinian fighters, the insurgents in El Salvador, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas as "Soviet surrogates," the more the USec must deny reality to duck the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defence of the bureaucratized workers states against imperialist attack.

To great applause Mandel ridiculed U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive as "imagination" and "myth" before getting down to the heart of the matter, a 10-minute attack against Spartacist "counterrevolutionary nonsense" on Poland. The powerful influence of the

Roman Catholic church in the homeland of Polish pope Wojtyła he dismissed as "ideological inclinations," ranting that the clerical-nationalist leaders of Solidarność "are the best socialists in the world" (as opposed, we presume, to the Cuban Stalinist heroes of the Barnesites). Mandel's rather explicit "third campism" was no more in evidence than when he took on our characterisation of Solidarity as a Polish company union for the CIA and the bankers:

"Who are the bosses of the Polish factories today? The American imperialists? Are they ruling in Poland or is it the Polish bureaucrats? So what is a bosses' union in Poland?... The bosses' unions in Poland are the state-governed unions led by the Polish bureaucracy."

"The free unions," shouted Mandel, appropriately taking up Radio Free Europe's long-time fighting slogan for Cold War anti-communism, "are the unions of Solidarność which represent three quarters of the Polish working class."

Mandel went on to alibi the "free world's" favorite "union" (in fact a clerical-nationalist *movement* incorporating large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc.) by pointing to the Polish bureaucracy's concessions to Solidarność such as extending "private property in agriculture by up to 100 hectares." This is hardly news. The crime of the bureaucracy is precisely that their conciliation of reaction produces and fuels the counter-revolutionary threat. But it was Solidarity, with the blessing of the pontiff, that threatened a nationwide strike on behalf of Poland's restorationist land-owning peasantry organised in Rural Solidarity. Here is the real social base of the Catholic church in Poland, yet Mandel claims that "the Pope is going to Poland this year in order to further social peace"! And this only months after the pope was in Central America denouncing "collectivist systems" and urging a holy war against the Sandinistas!

The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has extensively documented the very real unity, measured not only in formal declarations but many millions of D-marks and dollars, that links Solidarity to the Vatican and Western imperialism via its labour lieutenants internationally. The Polish military crackdown of December 1981 bought some time—nothing more—for a revolutionary socialist solution to the Polish crisis. While Mandel's USec is on campaign footing with Reagan/Mitterrand/Hawke for Solidarity we fight for a Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland which will restore Poland's deep and rich Marxist tradition represented by Rosa Luxemburg and the early Communist Party. As Marxists we are convinced that the mass of Polish working people can be broken from their current infatuation with Reagan's America, Wojtyła's Vatican and the

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Barnes' SWP in No Man's Land

Pope Wojtyla visited Nicaragua in early March to declare holy war on its leftist government. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 March) observed approvingly, "John Paul went to Managua to place the full weight of his moral authority against the Sandinistas and revolutionary Marxist solutions." This was the signal for U.S. imperialism to step up its attacks. Two weeks after Wojtyla's "pilgrimage," 1,400 CIA-organized *contras* invaded Nicaragua as their radio declared, "With God and with patriotism, we are combatting Communism."

This is not the first time that a papal "pilgrimage" has been the spearhead for imperialist-backed counterrevolution. Wojtyla's visit to his homeland Poland in the summer of 1979 was the occasion for massive anti-Communist demonstrations, setting the stage for the eruption of the clerical-nationalist Solidarność the following year. The petty-bourgeois radical Sandinista regime itself warns of the possible "Polandization" of Nicaragua. And the pope's upcoming visit to Poland could again trigger a reactionary mobilization.

There is, however, a great difference between Poland and Nicaragua. In Poland three decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule in the name of "socialism" have driven much of the population into the arms of the reactionary Catholic church and the anti-Soviet warmonger Reagan. In Nicaragua the 1979 political revolution which overthrew the bloody tyrant "Tacho" Somoza, a graduate of West Point, retains broad popular support, especially among the urban working class and poor. And the bloody *contra* attacks, remote-controlled from Washington, are pushing the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime down the "Cuban road" to social revolution. Wojtyla got a very different reception in Managua—where he was hooted down with chants of "People's Power!"—than in Warsaw.

Wojtyla's efforts to "Polandize" Nicaragua sharply expose the opportunism and political worthlessness of those self-styled leftists—and there are plenty—who simultaneously enthuse over the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and over the anti-Communist clerical-nationalists of Solidarność in Poland. This contradiction is especially acute for the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which presents itself as the most fervent admirers of Sandinista Nicaragua and especially Castro's Cuba. Indeed, Jack Barnes' SWP has gone so far in its Fidelismo that it recently openly renounced Trotskyism (see "Barnes Denounces Trotskyism," *WV* No. 321, 14 January). At the same time, the SWP has ambitions to become a respectable, electoralist party of American reformist socialism, and to do this it must support the "free world" against "Soviet totalitarianism."

How then does the SWP reconcile its identification with Castro's Cuba, which consistently supports Moscow's foreign policy, with its pandering to anti-Soviet liberalism? By denying reality and spinning such incredible fantasies that one doubts the SWP leaders themselves believe their own words. To read the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* these days is to enter the political equivalent of Alice in Wonderland. Consider the SWP's line on Solidarność and the Catholic church. Everyone in the world knows that the Polish Catholic church, strengthened and emboldened by the elevation in 1978 of Wojtyla, then archbishop of

Krakow, to the papacy, has played a major role in Solidarność. Imperialist propaganda, claims the SWP. The *Militant* (28 January) tells an unbelieving world that the Catholic hierarchy has nothing to do with Solidarność:

"The imperialists try to portray the mass movement of the Polish working people as a struggle led by the Catholic hierarchy against 'godless communism,' a struggle whose goal is to drag Poland back into the capitalist fold."

It is not just the imperialists but the men who *formed and led* Solidarność who pay homage to the leading role of the Catholic hierarchy. Solidarność had its roots in the dissident movement centered around the Committee for

When Solidarność first emerged, we maintained that the task of a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland would be to raise a series of demands aimed at splitting the mass of workers from the clerical-nationalist leadership around Walesa. At its first national congress in September 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program for "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution, underscoring its ties to the "free world" by inviting notorious CIA labor operator Irving Brown to attend. At this point we raised the call: Stop Solidarność! Counterrevolution! The near-bloodless suppression of Solidarność was a sobering shock for the Polish working masses, creating the opportunity to break a

America (DSA): "The brutal suppression of the Polish workers and farmers by the Polish regime, backed up by the Kremlin, must be condemned and opposed by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and for socialism." (*Militant*, 25 December 1981).

Also predictably, the Castro regime and Sandinistas took a rather different line, to say the least. The Cuban press reprinted with evident approval the dispatch of the Soviet news agency, TASS:

"Reagan sang the praises of the counterrevolutionaries in Solidarity and other antisocialist groups which had been preparing an armed takeover of the country...."

—Grannia [English edition], 27 December 1981

The Sandinistas likewise condemned Solidarność as an agency of imperialism.

While the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* regularly devote pages and pages to publicizing every aspect of Cuban and Nicaraguan political life, for two months the SWP press carried not a word about the Castroite/Sandinista support to the suppression of Solidarność. In effect Barnes & Co. censored the views of the "revolutionary internationalist" Cuban and Nicaraguan leaders on this world-political event. Perhaps the SWP was hoping no one would notice that in Poland they were on opposite sides of the barricades, or more precisely, prison gates, from Fidel.

But the SWP's bloc partners and rivals in the United Secretariat (Usec), the European-centered followers of Ernest Mandel, noticed all too well for their liking. Reflecting the enormous ideological pressure of West European social democracy, the Mandelites have gone all the way with Solidarność and reacted more strongly to its suppression than did the SWP. For them, choosing between the strident Cold Warrior Mitterrand and yesterday's hero Fidel was no contest. The Usec declaration on the crackdown against Solidarność condemned, albeit mildly, the Cubans and Nicaraguans:

"...in the case of Poland, the Cuban daily press has faithfully taken up the angle of approach favored by the Soviet agencies...."

"The Sandinista National Liberation Front [FSLN] in Nicaragua has followed the Cuban leadership in this line."

—"Political Revolution and Counterrevolution in Poland," *Intercontinental Press*, 15 February 1982

Just when doesn't the Cuban press faithfully follow the line of the Soviet agencies?

Only after this Usec statement did the SWP inform its public ever so diplomatically that—oh, sorrow—it had a difference with the Cuban leadership:

"Thus, the Cuban leaders felt that the leadership of Solidarity was in the hands of antisocialist elements and that Poland was on the brink of a confrontation that threatened to open wide the doors to imperialist destabilization and lead to the restoration of capitalism. As a result, they believe the crackdown was necessary and advisable."

"In our view, this approach is wrong."

—*Militant*, 26 February 1982

This is by no means the first time the SWP has found the approach of the Cuban leadership wrong, especially when "liberal" imperialist opinion likewise finds the approach of the Cuban leadership wrong. In almost every sharp conflict between Western imperialism and the Soviet bloc over the past decade—Portugal 1974-75, the Angolan war of 1975-76, Afghanistan and now Poland—the SWP has been on

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Gorgoni/Contact



Tapia/Barricada

1979 papal visit to Poland (top) spearheaded counterrevolutionary mobilization. In Nicaragua last March Wojtyla's anti-Communist crusade was met by angry demands for "prayers for our martyrs" and "peoples' power."

Social Self-Defense (KOR-KSS). This is what Jan Litynski, a KOR leader and editor of its paper, *Rabotnik*, had to say about the significance of Wojtyla's visit to Poland in 1979:

"The Pope created through his visit here a new idea of the nation, a nation without chauvinism, a nation as a community. It was on that basis that Solidarity grew. The Pope's role was, if you like, revolutionary." [our emphasis]

—quoted in Colin Barker and Kara Weber, *Solidarność From Gdansk to Military Repression* (1982)

If you like, counterrevolutionary. Right after the signing of the August 1980 Gdansk Accords, which recognized Solidarność, its principal leader, Lech Walesa, went to Warsaw to confer with Cardinal Wyszyński. And the first time that the Solidarność chief went abroad, it was to Rome to confer with Wojtyla. Does the SWP think Walesa and Wojtyla talked about the Vatican art collection?

section of the working class from intoxication with clerical-nationalism and "free world" imperialism. Shortly after Jaruzelski's counter-coup we wrote:

"Now is the time to start building educational and propagandistic cells of a Trotskyist vanguard to defend and extend the historic gains of socialized property, inherited from the October Revolution, by ousting the usurpers who undermine them and crushing those who would destroy them."

—"What Next for Poland?,"

WV No. 298, 5 February 1982

On Opposite Sides of the Barricades in Poland

When on December 13, 1981 the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy spiked Solidarność bid for power, the imperialist propaganda mills went wild. Predictably, the SWP took the standard "State Department socialist" line, indistinguishable from that of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of

Mandel...

(continued from page 6)

memory of the reactionary dictator Pilsudski, and be won to the authentic communist program of workers political revolution to defend and extend the anti-capitalist gains embodied in the Polish deformed workers state.

Percy's SWP In Trouble

As anyone knows who went to this conference the SWP is in big political trouble. They are in the process of switching factional allegiances in the USec, which, moreover is intertwined with an unresolved faction fight over "solidarity with Solidarity" in the leadership of their own party paralleling the Mandel vs. Barnes USec war—and they have a Gold War Labor government in power. Then there is the HDP. Even the pro-ANZUS Communist Party have realised Percy's SWP is deeply compromised by their patronage of what may well be just another Ustasha front. And the day before physically ejecting Bilander, there was yet another gross scandal, when the SWP's "socialist steelworker" Andrew

Jamieson told someone he thought was "just a Spart," but who turned out to be one of their own "gay workshop" speakers, that he'd "like to shoot NAMBLA," the North American Man/Boy Love Association, a tiny gay rights group [in the U.S.] under fierce repression from the FBI. Jamieson's revolting anti-gay bigotry is no aberration, being one of the products of the SWP's "turn to industry" which, with new-found petty-bourgeois workerist fervour, embraced all the chauvinist prejudices of the trade-union bureaucracy. Except this time these bigoted Big Liars got caught. Much to the resentment of the SWP's bully-boys, Percy ordered a written apology to appease the gay-lifestyle adherents of the Mandel-linked U.S. Freedom Socialist Party. In fact Jamieson's written apology reads more like a defence statement, claiming he was "set up" by Spartacists who asked "provocative questions" like "Do you support Ante Pavelic?" and "What is your position on the 'Man/Boy Love Association'?" By the end of the conference any SWPer who opened his mouth to a Spartacist was whisked inside for fear of more Jamieson-type "incidents."

The various "incidents" captured the deep-going cynical demoralisation and

rotten internal fabric of this organisation. While Mandel's speaking sessions pulled over 500 people, from all reports the conference itself was boring and a political flop. The CPA and even the "third camp" International Socialists boycotted and only a handful of Labor lefts turned up, like MPs Joan Coxsedg and Ken Fry. Their cynical contempt for the proceedings was summed up by Fry who announced to a crowd of SWP goons and Spartacist supporters outside that he was representing the "r-r-revolutionary Labor Party" as he got into a chauffeur-driven limousine after speaking. And much to the SWP's annoyance, even the conservative *Australian Financial Review's* nasty little front-page piece, "Marx Gets a Testy Trot" (5 April), highlighted our exclusion while picking up that "the few notes of discord came from what appeared to be a Spartacist infiltrator who attacked Mandel for his support for the Polish Solidarity union and for Afghanistani rebel resistance to the Red Army."

Mandel is a Cold Warrior faithfully echoing at each and every hot spot in the global Cold War the line of Mitterrand and Western imperialism (like the USec's call for Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia, to give one more example),

and this only highlights the SWP's political dilemma. The SWP is still struggling to pull itself into line with mainstream, i.e., Cold War, social democracy in this provincial imperialist backwater, where even the bourgeoisie has to be reminded (or so Reagan and the CIA believe) that the "Russian Question" is no tenth-rate issue. The trouble is, to prove you hate the Russians you've got to love American imperialism—or at least be "neutral." This is a bind for the nationalist, anti-American SWP, which wants to be very anti-Reagan and at the same time very pro-Hawke. The SWP has always been a deeply conservative, ultra-electoralist reformist tendency, whose "Trotskyism" in the past served only to bolster its "anti-Stalinist" (read: anti-Soviet) credentials, while the impressionist centrist Mandel chased after every will o' the wisp "new vanguard." But today they are marching together, straight into the arms of Mitterrand and Hawke under the banner of "solidarity with Solidarity." Our banner, the banner of the iSt, is that inscribed by Lenin's Bolsheviks and carried forward by Trotsky's Fourth International. Defend the gains of October! Reforge the Fourth International! ■

SWP...

(continued from page 7)

the "free world" side of the barricades against Fidel.

Between Fidel and Michael Harrington

The conflict between the SWP's Fidelismo and its social-democratic appetites reached the sharpest point to date over the suppression of Solidarność. A layer of right oppositionists in the SWP decided to go all out for "solidarity with Solidarity," and in this they received strong backing from the Mandelite leadership of USec.

A few days after Jaruzelski's crackdown the San Francisco branch of the SWP at the initiative of right oppositionist Nat Weinstein participated in a protest called by some "third camp" types. Joining this pro-Solidarność demonstration in force was the right-wing Libertarian Party carrying signs like "Smash the Communist Tyrants" and "Hang Jaruzelski."

The picture in the *San Francisco Examiner* of a prominent SWP spokesman marching in front of a sign saying "Smash the Communist Tyrants" was mighty embarrassing for Barnes & Co., especially given their ambitions to gain the Cuban franchise (don't hold your breath). So the *Militant* (29 January 1982) took the unusual step of repudiating and condemning the action of its San Francisco branch, declaring that such demonstrations "play right into the hands of those who are enemies of working people in Poland and in the United States."

Weinstein and his co-thinkers were repentant, indeed defiant. In a 25 December 1981 letter to the SWP Political Committee Weinstein declared: "American imperialism profits from the *Stalinist repression of the Polish workers*, not from the protests against the repression!" (emphasis in original, SWP *International Internal Discussion Bulletin* [IIDB], No. 2 in 1982). Even protests dominated by anti-communist rightists like the Libertarians or East European clerical-nationalists and fascists? Yes, even then, says Weinstein. He argues: "Without our intervention they can have a field day. Wouldn't it be better to mobilize at least a substantial *minority* that clearly supports international proletarian solidarity?" (our emphasis).

The SWP right oppositionists are now upset that the party is not throwing itself into the pro-Solidarność Cold War campaign. One of them, Steve Bloom, asks: "Why the squeamishness about getting involved in a real support campaign for the anti-Stalinist struggle?" He answers, the baneful influence of one Fidel Castro:

"The leadership of the SWP has not, of course, adopted Castro's completely incorrect position on Poland. But it has begun to adapt to it in an unacceptable way."

—"Poland, the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party," SWP IIDB, No. 2 in 1982

With Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive at white heat, for the SWP's rightists, it's now bye-bye Fidel, we love you Lech.

If Weinstein, Bloom, Lovell and the like take their stand against the SWP leadership's "Castroism" over Poland, it is in good measure because they have the support of the Mandelite leadership of USec. The Mandelites see "solidarity with Solidarność" as the main chance to ingratiate themselves with the anti-Soviet European social-democratic bureaucracies, especially in Mitterrand's France. Thus, they were absolutely ecstatic over the social-democratic-led pro-Solidarność mobilizations uniting fascists and Gaulists with the so-called far left (see "Mitterrand's 'Sacred Union' Over Solidarność," W/V No. 296, 8 January 1982). A leading Mandelite spokesman on Poland, Jacqueline Allio, commended "the positions taken by the Mitterrand-Mauroy government" and the "advanced positions adopted by the leadership of the CFDT [trade-union federation affiliated with Mitterrand's Socialist Party]" (*Intercontinental Press*, 22 February 1982).

The opposite side of the Mandelites' appreciation for the "advanced posi-

tions" of pro-NATO European social democrats over Poland was a sharp attack on the Castro regime (and therefore the SWP). In an open letter to SWP spokesman Larry Seigle, Mandel and his long-time lieutenants Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan scream that in Poland "the Cuban press is now supporting counterrevolution and not the revolution" (emphasis in original). Their strong words. And they generalize: "The limitations of workers democracy [in Cuba] have led to a demise of proletarian internationalism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 1 March 1982).

For his part, SWPer Seigle sums up the differences thus:

"The line of the NC [National Committee] minorities is that we should turn away from the Cuban revolutionaries; that we should proclaim, as Comrades Frank, Maitan, and Mandel do in *Intercontinental Press*, that proletarian internationalism is dead in Cuba; and that we should orient instead to a 'united front against Stalinism' with the Michael Harringtons of this country and throughout the world."

—"Class-Struggle Approach to Solidarity with Polish Workers," SWP IIDB, No. 2 in 1982

It is certainly true that the Mandelites are turning further and further away from the Cubans toward anti-Soviet social democracy. However, over Poland (and also Afghanistan) the SWP is in an anti-Soviet united front with the Michael Harringtons. Like the official State Department socialists of the DSA, the SWP demands that the suppression of the Polish company union for the CIA and bankers "must be condemned and opposed by everyone who is fighting for workers' rights and socialism." That Barnes chooses not to engage in joint actions with the DSA and all the talk about the "proletarian internationalism" of the Cuban leadership does not change this basic fact.

Barnes' SWP on the Road to Nowhere

Under the pressure of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive Barnes' SWP has been reduced to a declining, irrelevant and idiosyncratic sect. It no longer intersects political reality, even in a competent opportunist manner. The all-round deterioration of the SWP was accelerated by the death in early 1979 of Joseph Hansen and the revival of official State Department socialism represented by Harrington's DSA.

The long-time leading party "theoretician," Hansen was a skilled revisionist able to give a formal Trotskyist gloss to the SWP's manifold opportunist maneuvers. For that reason both the Barnesites and their right opponents in

the SWP cite Hansen's writings on Cuba for the presently counterposed lines. For 20 years Joseph Hansen acted as an apologist for Castroism without, however, openly renouncing Trotskyism as Barnes has done, thus condemning the SWP to an ideological no man's land. What is anyone to make of an organization which simultaneously hails Fidel Castro, Lech Walesa and the Imam Khomeini?


A fundamental factor in the SWP's precipitous decline has been the rise of the Harringtonite social democrats. As the Vietnam War radicalization waned and the anti-Soviet Cold War waxed (Carter's "human rights" campaign), Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (now DSA) became the main vehicle for rad-lib activism. Last year the Harringtonites fused with the last sizable leftover of 1960s New Leftism, the New American Movement. Today the SWP simply cannot compete with the DSA for the niche of respectable party of American reformist socialism. The Harringtonites have a consistent anti-Soviet program, more members and the connections to the liberal establishment and trade-union bureaucracy which the SWP covets.

Its ambitions frustrated, the SWP has suffered massive membership losses in the past few years. Adding to this Barnes' "age purge" has driven from the party hundreds of people, many with decades in the movement. Among them are such veteran trade unionists as Oscar Coover and Harry DeBoer, participants in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and two of the 18 SWP leaders imprisoned by Roosevelt during World War II. Another striking sign of bad times in Barnestown is that *Militant* circulation has dropped more than half in the past five years.

So Barnes dishes out tantalizing visions of some future international deal with Castro and the Sandinistas (and don't forget Grenada's New Jewel Movement) to hold on to his ever-dwindling membership. In this sense Barnes' SWP has taken on one of the traits of a Stalinist sect: identification with a "socialist paradise" in a distant deformed workers state in compensation for sectarian sterility at home. But Barnes & Co. are far too subservient to their own imperialist bourgeoisie to actually take up Castro's international line (on Poland or Afghanistan), which is Moscow's international line. The SWP is thus trapped in a no man's land between Castroite Stalinism and State Department socialism, the hapless victims of the shells exploded from both sides. ■

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Morenoite Scabs, Thugs, Finks

We reprint on this page a letter to Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 president James Imerzel from the International Workers Party (IWP). The IWP are followers of the notorious Argentine pseudo-Trotskyist adventurer, swindler and political chameleon, Nahuel Moreno. Over the years Moreno has portrayed his tendency as Peronists, Castroites, Maoists, social democrats and Sandinistas. He has been accused of stealing thousands of dollars from other left organizations. He has defended the Argentine junta, which has jailed, tortured and murdered hundreds of his own comrades, against charges of



Los Angeles, October 3: Morenoite goon's murderous claw-hammer attack on phone unionist.

human rights violations. Moreno is an Argentine nationalist who dreams that some day he will be El Supremo. In the meantime, he and his followers act as instruments of reactionary repression against socialist militants in the labor movement. Last October 3, the IWP and Morenoite supporters in the CWA murderously attacked the Spartacist League (SL) and militant phone workers, using claw hammers and numchakus, outside an IWP forum in Los Angeles (see "Attempted Murder!" *WV*

No. 315, 15 October 1982, and "Morenoite Deadly Lies," *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982).

So the Morenoites are more than crooks and political bandits—they are thugs for hire...and willing accomplices of bureaucratic McCarthy-type witch-hunters of "reds" in the unions. Last fall the leadership of CWA Local 9410 mailed to its entire membership an IWP slander sheet against the SL, with a cover letter accusing the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, of being affiliated with the SL, "an international Trotskyist-communist political sect." We thought it was pretty weird, and sinister—this pro-CIA union jumping into bed with the fake-Trotskyist IWP, in order to persecute the real Trotskyists of the SL and militant oppositionists like MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami, brought up on charges in a kangaroo court "trial" for exposing Imerzel's complicity in phone company plans to lay off hundreds of phone workers. More than 1,000 Local 9410 members signed MAC-initiated petitions for a recall election to oust Imerzel & Co.

But what are the Morenoites up to? Their letter coyly claims innocence of the witchhunters' purpose. But read carefully. While Leon Perez criticizes the 9410 officers for denouncing the SL "from a right-wing angle," he enthusiastically applauds efforts to smash militant unionists who support the SL. The letter also confirms what we reported in "CWA Witchhunters Get Burned" (*WV* No. 322, 28 January), namely that the IWP *did* agree to testify at the frame-up trial of Ikegami ("we accept your invitation to attend the trial"), with the fig-leaf that they would object to the purge! So far, anyway, they have not uttered a peep of protest, although they have had ample opportunity to do so. Maybe they would have testified at the 1941 Smith Act trial of the Minneapolis Trotskyists and Teamster leaders, while "criticizing" the anti-communist law. And how about Hitler's Reichstag fire trial of Dimitrov? The IWP disclaims "authorizing" reproduction of their public leaflet (no one accused them of doing so), while claiming that they "openly set forth our political positions," supposedly in contrast to the SL. Strange, for Kathy Ikegami has openly

Morenoite Letter

Los Angeles, January 20, 1983.

Mr. James Imerzel
President CWA Local 9410

Dear Sir,

We strongly object to the manner in which you used our flyer entitled *A Lesson in Worker's Democracy*. You included copies of it in a mailing sent out to the 4,000 members of CWA Local 9410 on January 11, 1983.

We protest your action for the following reasons:

1. Our flyer was reproduced without written authorization in a manner contrary to customs of workers' organizations. It was sent together with a letter signed by you and three other officials of Local 9410. In it you wage an anti-communist campaign which harms not only the fight against the gangster-like methods of the Spartacist League but also the Trotskyist movement of which our organization is a part.

2. It is particularly detestable that you denounce the Spartacist League from a right-wing angle by accusing it of being a Trotskyist-Communist conspiracy to take over the unions in this country. The Spartacist League is not part of the world Trotskyist movement, nor has the Trotskyist movement ever aspired to gain control of unions through conspiracy. Trotskyists are part of the working class and, as such, openly set forth our political positions in order to win workers over to Marxist ideas through political discussion, joint work and by the militant example we set. This method has nothing to do with either the Spartacist League or your right-wing attacks on that organization.

3. The fact that copies of our flyer denouncing the Spartacist League's violent attacks on a meeting of undocumented workers which was held on October 2, 1982 were enclosed with your letter could lead Local 9410 members to believe that we in some way agree with or approve of what you wrote. We deny any participation in the writing, editing or mailing of said letter. We demand that you inform all your members of this fact by sending them

copies of this entire text at your expense.

4. This declaration is consistent with the response we gave when you informally invited us to testify at the trial of Kathy Ikegami. We said:

"We accept your invitation to attend the trial. But the first thing we will say there will be that the trial goes totally against workers' democracy and is illegal from every point of view. The fight against the methods of the Spartacist League does not include anti-communist attacks. Rather, workers should be made to see its gangster-like methods and counter-revolutionary politics, which have nothing to do with the left or communism. If we participate in the trial we will oppose all anti-communist attacks which, apart from the Spartacist League, could be used in the future against other left organizations."

5. In their desperation and paranoia, Spartacist League members have once again launched public attacks against our organization. They see this whole affair as a national conspiracy against their organization. As they lack all moral principles, they seem to believe that all others do too.

In the end, your methods and those of the Spartacist League are similar. The Spartacist League violently attacks demonstrations and public meetings held by the left in an attempt to destroy all left organizations. The Spartacist League knows that it is unable to convince anyone or wage an ideological battle. You put the degenerate methods of the Spartacist League on display in order to present them as an example of what communism and Trotskyism are.

We oppose *both methods*: that of the Spartacist League, with its violent attacks against the left, and your utilization of these attacks to discredit the left and Trotskyism before the eyes of workers.

No organization is authorized to partially reproduce this letter. All reproductions must be of the entire text.

We await your response.

Sincerely,
Leon Perez
National Organizer of the IWP (FI)

stated her political support to the Spartacist League, while IWP supporters Jim Green and Elizabeth Wiatr, publicly featured in photos in the IWP's paper, say they will sign "affidavits stating that they are not members or supporters of any socialist or commu-

nist organization." That, by the way, while they were daily scabbing on a Group W technicians strike!

The Morenoite letter complains of SL "public attacks against our organization." Evidently these macho goons, in a sorry and sickening imitation of their role models, the Argentine generals, have difficulty distinguishing between a political polemic and a potentially lethal physical assault. Naturally they also see nothing wrong with crossing picket lines, bilking other left organizations of thousands of dollars, or disguising themselves as various kinds of anti-yanqui nationalist-populists. But here they are acting as finger-men for a CIA-connected union bureaucracy, the initiators of the infamous American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) whose task is to smash militant unionism in Latin America! The Morenoites are surely expressing their appetites to join the anti-Reagan popular front—witness their participation in the October 24 pro-Democratic Party "labor" march in San Francisco last year. And above all it is virulent anti-Sovietism that unites these anti-Trotskyist gangsters with social-democratic Cold Warriors like Imerzel & Co.

P.S. As far as their leaflet "being reproduced "in a manner contrary to customs of workers' organizations," we note that it never had a union bug. ■

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Central America...

(continued from page 1)

Year's, most of the American ruling class views this as a wild case of wishful thinking. For example, *Business Week* (23 May), not exactly an organ of liberal protest, writes:

"President Reagan suggests that the U.S.-backed invasion will prompt the Sandinist government to 'go back to its revolutionary promises.' But many Nicaraguans fear that the result will be to push the Sandinists further down the road to a Marxist-Leninist state."

The mass of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants *want* a social revolution, and this influential U.S. business journal fears that Reagan is forcing the Sandinistas to abandon "pluralism" and expropriate the capitalist class.

The Spectre of Vietnam

When Reagan was elected, he vowed to drag this country out of the so-called "Vietnam syndrome." The mightiest imperialist power on earth was defeated on the battlefield by a desperately poor, desperately under-armed but heroic people, the Vietnamese. Fear of another Vietnam-type defeat has stayed the hand of war-frenzied, hysterical and brutal U.S. imperialism from southern Africa to the Middle East to Central America.

The military defeat in Vietnam also shattered the morale of the American armed forces. Moreover, with the draft temporarily shelved in favor of an all-volunteer army, the army and especially the infantry and combat units have a large component of blacks who don't see an American dream to fight for. They see an American nightmare—unemployment amid the hideous poverty of the ghetto—from which they're trying to escape by joining the army. They don't buy the "free world" and flag-waving rhetoric.

The American bourgeoisie has tried to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" beginning with Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade. Reagan has presented the civil war in El Salvador as a confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba in order to mobilize American society for an *actual* war with the Soviet bloc. Yet the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow and Havana have *not* substantially aided the leftist rebels in El Salvador and only minimally aided the Nicaraguan revolution. The Soviet

Union has not supplied Nicaragua with MIGs, whereas the U.S. puppets in neighboring Honduras have the strongest air force in Central America. Nonetheless, Reagan has decided on a showdown in Central America, posing this as a confrontation with the Soviet Union. That is why the Spartacist League insists that the defense of the USSR and Cuba—of the gains of the October Revolution and its extension—is posed in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism in Central America!

For the U.S. bourgeoisie, the words "Vietnam" and "defeat" are synonymous. With every guerrilla battlefield victory in El Salvador, with every wave of *contra* invaders repulsed by the Sandinistas, the spectre of Vietnam grows larger. The entire liberal wing of U.S. imperialism is trying to figure out how to avoid another defeat. So the reformists and rad-libs are now calling a "peace march" designed to cash in on the liberal imperialists' arguments and their program for "no more Vietnams."

A large ad appeared in the 1 May *New York Times* with the headline: "No Vietnam War in Central America!" calling for a rally on July 2 in Washington, D.C. The organizers are Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), with their various front groups including the All-Peoples Congress (APC), lashed up with liberal Democrat endorsers, particularly from the Congressional Black Caucus, old-line bourgeois pacifists, social dems, and the Latin exile "Casas." The call for an "emergency demonstration" (two months hence!) begins: "In 1963 the U.S. government decided to escalate the Vietnam war. What was the result? 300,000 GI's wounded and 57,000 dead. Over \$150 billion spent on a cruel, illegal and unjust war that finally had to be abandoned."

Surely the most obvious and far-reaching result was that U.S. imperialism was defeated by one of the most heroic and dedicated fighting forces the world has ever seen: the Vietnamese army of workers and peasants. It was the most important victory of the post-war period. But this result doesn't appear in the Marcyites' "call to action" and the reasons are clear.

Casualty figures for the "GI's"? What about the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese wounded and dead? What about the costs to that terror-bombed country? What about the Vietnamese who fought French colonialism and U.S.

imperialism for 30 years—and won! From the point of view of the U.S. bourgeoisie, however, this victory is seen as a loss and "abandonment"... of American GI dead, American wounded, American money. That is why the Marcyites, in a disgusting display of Yankee chauvinism, are holding their "emergency" rally on the weekend of American Independence Day at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. This memorial is a fitting place for a rally of the American Legion.

The Marcyites say they want to rally at the Vietnam War Memorial "to dramatize that the vast majority do not want a Viet-Nam type war in Central America." The "type" of war the



Taylor/Sygma

U.S. military "adviser" trains Salvadoran butchers at Fort Benning.

bourgeois "doves" want is one that wins. That is the thrust of this "antiwar" rally which promises nothing but social patriotism in the service of the anti-Reagan popular front. It spits on the graves of the heroic Vietnamese. No one who considers himself a foe of imperialism should be herded into the shadow of that monument to American imperialism to listen to the Democrats' alternate tactics for war against the Soviet Union and the working masses of the world.

These popular-front "peace marches" are consciously designed on the model of the Vietnam peace crawls. All wings of the bourgeoisie and the reformists have a vested interest in the myth that the U.S. lost the Vietnam War in the peace parades in Washington and New York rather than in the rice paddies, jungles and battlefields of Southeast Asia. The Reaganites with growing

assistance from "responsible academics" and guilty liberal ex-activists are building a "Who lost Vietnam?" lobby for increased and more decisive military interventions. The reformists and rad-libs like to credit themselves with getting the U.S. out of a losing war. They tailored their politics to a developing bourgeois defeatism with social patriotism like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) slogan, "Bring Our Boys Home."

But the bourgeois defeatism developed because the U.S. was losing militarily, because *their* boys were coming home in body bags and the Vietnamese couldn't be bombed out of existence. It was the Vietnamese who stood up to the napalm, the computerized battlefield of anti-personnel fragmentation bombs, the CIA's program of assassination, the Phoenix project, pacification, the tiger cages and all the rest—and they came out on top. The image of the U.S. helicopters hurriedly trying to escape from the U.S. embassy in Saigon has seared itself into the memory of the American bourgeoisie.

What the reformist organizers did do was keep the considerable sentiment against the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the consequent radicalization within the bounds of bourgeois pressure politics. Today the Marcyites play the role the SWP played yesterday. The rapid decline of the SWP into an idiosyncratic sect has left the role of extra-parliamentary donkeys for the Democratic "doves" to the WWP/APC. To prove their loyalty and reliability to the Democrats, the Marcyites have relied on goons and cops to exclude the revolutionaries. Their class-collaborationist appetites cannot abide the Spartacist League (SL) call: "For Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" Particularly hateful to the Cold War consensus of the imperialist "doves" is our banner: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!"

Now when Vietnam is again being threatened with military encirclement by U.S. imperialism and its anti-Soviet ally, China, it is the SL and the SL only which declares: *Vietnam was a victory!* This simple statement of political truth has become a cutting edge of revolutionary politics against the popular-front betrayal. With Central America aflame, and Reagan "drawing the line" against Communism in the "American Lake," genuine communists expose the chauvinist betrayal of the pro-imperialist program of "no more Vietnams." The Trotskyists organize for "Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism in Central America!" ■

FABRITEX...

(continued from page 2)

The shutdown of FABRITEX, the largest textile factory in Nicaragua, was supposed to be temporary. Three and a

half months later a new company, FANATEX, was opened in the old factory, but with a new workforce of 450 instead of the previous 1,100. *Barricada* (23 April) reports that the new firm had "problems of all kinds, above all because it had to be reorganized again." Eventually this rose to roughly 700,

presumably with the most troublesome "anarchists" weeded out. FANATEX apparently continues something of the militant traditions of its predecessor, for recent issues of *Barricada* report that more than 100 workers from the plant have been mobilized in army reserve battalions for the struggle against the counterrevolutionary U.S.-backed invaders, while shifts of up to 12 hours are not uncommon. The petty-bourgeois FSLN regime has sought to balance precariously between capitalism and social revolution, while increasingly being forced down the "Cuban road" toward a bureaucratically deformed workers state by the Big Stick policies of Washington. But the necessary revolutionary struggle to crush the *contras* and root out the capitalist fifth column inside Nicaragua is undermined by anti-working-class repression which sunk FABRITEX.

The Spartacist League has repeatedly protested Sandinista repression against the left and militant unions. While the dissident Stalinists of PCN/CAUS raise no fundamental challenge to the FSLN *comandantes*, trapped by their "two-stage" dogmas and raising nothing but wage demands as the *contras* are knocking at the door, a Trotskyist party in Nicaragua must intransigently defend

workers' gains and extend them through transitional demands to complete the Nicaraguan revolution. We call not only to defend Nicaragua ("Kill the Invaders!" read the SL banner), but for armed workers militias, workers control and, in state-owned factories like FABRITEX/FANATEX, for workers management as part of a struggle for proletarian revolution—the real answer to counterrevolutionary war. ■

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SANTA CRUZ

FBI/KKK...

(continued from page 12)

U.S. government for the bloody work of their creature Rowe are also awaiting federal judges' decisions. These suits, by Walter Bergman for \$1 million in damages and by James Peck, another white Freedom Rider, for \$100,000 in damages, both stem from their brutal beating by KKKers in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama—attacks Rowe had told the FBI three weeks in advance were planned, and in which he gleefully participated.

During the Bergman suit, former Freedom Riders described the bloody day 22 years ago when Bergman and Peck were beaten on a Trailways bus in Anniston—and then driven on 100 miles to Birmingham, with their KKK attackers still on board. Once there Bergman stubbornly made his way in to "integrate" the depot, where 1,000 armed Klansmen were running wild. He found Peck lying in a pool of blood on a floor, after being dragged into an alley, beaten and left for dead, with head wounds that required over 50 stitches. Bergman himself has been confined in a wheelchair since September 1961, with permanent brain damage resulting from his vicious beating.

Newsman Howard K. Smith, who was at the Birmingham bus station that night, testified on Bergman's behalf, confirming that there was indeed a conspiracy between the cops and Klan. "It was chaotic," he said. "There were no police at all. After about ten minutes, someone gave a signal which was passed on. Someone said, 'It's time to go.'" Smith said he was suspended from CBS for reporting what happened, the result of pressure from CBS' Southern affiliates (*Detroit News*, 3 March).

As we go to press, a U.S. District Judge decided for Bergman against the FBI, Bergman and Peck, and Viola Liuzzo's children, deserve everything they can get out of the bloody capitalist state. But as the Liuzzo case shows, the government's final decision is to vindicate the murdering Gary Rowe. At a press conference after Judge Joiner's stunning decision, Liuzzo's son Anthony Liuzzo, Jr., still red-eyed from tears of rage and frustration, called Rowe "a demented maniac let loose by the FBI." "I'm disappointed when our government can hide things and never be called to account," he said. "It isn't just my mother who lost, it's the American people who've lost here today" (*Detroit Free Press*, 28 May).

The family's lawyer said too if they'd had a jury, surely they would have won. He's right—that's why the federal government forbids jury trials in cases against itself. Gary Rowe and his FBI masters ought to be tried before a jury of their victims!

The government is not a neutral arbiter dispensing "justice for all." The liberals and pacifists in the civil-rights movement all demanded the intervention of the federal government to protect Southern blacks. What they got was the Gary Rowes out there swinging their chains—while the federal marshals stood back and watched as he and

his fellow racists beat black students trying to enter integrated schools. And he was a "good informant." He followed the real rules: in right-wing groups like the KKK, "informants" are the best killers of leftists and the oppressed. But in left groups, the FBI's "informers" are the best finger-men for murder, like the FBI informer who provided the Chicago cops with the exact floor plan of Black Panther Fred Hampton's apartment, so they knew right where to shoot in their terror raid that left Hampton and Mark Clark dead in their beds.

While Rowe and his KKK buddies were murdering and terrorizing civil rights workers in the South, the FBI was setting up its own COINTEL program to smash the Panthers and other black militants. And it was only four years ago that the Klan/Nazi murderers of the anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina were accompanied in their deadly mission by a "former" FBI informant!

It is the sadistic killers like Gary Rowe that this capitalist state needs, that it recruits, encourages and protects—and the Viola Liuzzos that it smears, attacks and sets up for murder. It will take nothing less than workers revolution for justice to be served, for only then will monsters like Rowe and his masters in Washington, D.C. be brought before the relentless justice of the American workers government. ■

Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 12)

about integration." That is what the Dixie racists needed to hear. No integration—no anxiety.

Jackson offered the Alabama legislature a grotesque mixture of holy-roller hustlerism and racist anti-Asian protectionist poison. "Everyone applauded vigorously when Jackson decried, 'Toyota, Suzuki, Yamaha... and Nikon being unloaded at the docks, replacing Buick and Chrysler, Harley-Davidson and Kodak in the American marketplace.'"

Jackson's visit to Alabama is part of his "Southern Crusade" to keep blacks trapped in the bosses' Democratic Party of war and racism. His current Southern registration drive grows out of black Democratic mayor Harold Washington's victory in Chicago—Jackson's Operation PUSH was instrumental in registering 200,000 new black voters, a key factor in Washington's success. Now Jackson's going national—trying to put together a black voting bloc behind a threatened presidential candidacy as a pressure ploy.

"To have the right to vote and not use it is a sin," intoned the Rev. Jackson—and he would add that it's also a sin to vote Republican next year. (In 1980 he was playing footsie with both Carter and Reagan.) It was the Chicago elections which convinced national Democratic leaders that the black vote can be key in '84. Leading party figures streamed into Chicago to stump for Washington, and Teddy Kennedy personally intervened to stop ex-mayor Jane Byrne's "white-in" vote. For Washington's defeat would have meant mass disaffection with the Democratic Party among black voters.

Now liberals shake their heads at the "anomaly"—how can Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King's lieutenant on the Selma-to-Montgomery marches in '65, now describe as "hospitable and kind" the likes of George Wallace, whose sheriffs' clubs, cattle prods and attack dogs spilled so much black blood on Pettus Bridge? How can this veteran of the Jim Crow jails, they ask, now hail the "marvelous spot" where Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as president of the slaveowners' Confederacy? It is precisely this image Jackson trades on—a politician with credentials like these is useful in the attempt to

"reconcile" black voters to Wallace & Co.

Jesse Jackson did not "sell out." A whole layer of liberal civil rights leaders—Andy Young, Julian Bond, Marion Barry, etc.—saw the "Movement" as their personal vehicle to work their way up the power structure of American capitalism. Now they are the black mayors, the "BEOs" (black elected officials), the kept black front men of American imperialism—keeping the lid on the ghettos, keeping busing out and property values up in "Segregation City" far better than any white politician could. And in the name of the phony "lesser evil," faced with the choice between Wallace and racist Republican gun-nut Emory Folmar, local black leaders hustled votes for Wallace in last year's gubernatorial elections...and denounced Coretta Scott King as an outside agitator.

What gives Jesse Jackson his particular political profile is this: whereas the Marion Barrys and Coleman Youngs have for years been fully integrated into the Democratic Party administration, up until now Jackson preferred the posture of an "independent," the street activist, the hustler with his ChicagoFest stunts, his "black capitalist" Operation Breadbasket schemes. This in large part (plus the legacy of King) accounts for the popularity of this despicable demagogue among the black masses. But Jackson was just waiting for the right opportunity. Now with the Harold Washington victory, he's making his move.

Twenty years after KKK/FBI killer Gary Rowe and his pals threw the bomb that killed four little black schoolgirls in a Birmingham black church, a network of black Democrats has been absorbed into county and city administrations throughout the South. But race-terror still rides the streets of Montgomery, from the cop terror against the Taylor family to the two elderly black ladies, Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman, serving five-year sentences for the "crime" of voter registration!

"Black faces in high places" will not change the fundamental conditions for black people in this racist society. It took a social revolution to free blacks from the shackles of slavery. And it will take a proletarian revolution to break the chains of capitalist racial oppression today! Jesse Jackson says "the South can rise again." We say, "Finish the Civil War!—Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" ■

Steel Workers...

(continued from page 4)

when he told the International Union of Electrical Workers that anyone trying to sell a car in Japan "better have the United States Army" with them! The AFL-CIO bureaucracy plans to turn over millions of workers as cannon fodder in this bloody campaign to revive

American imperialism—including unleashing a nuclear Third World War.

Scapegoating foreign workers for the ills of U.S. capitalism fuels the climate of vicious reaction in this country. Look at Detroit, heart of the United Auto Workers jingoist "buy American" campaign. Last year Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens and his stepson brutally clubbed to death Vincent Chin, a Chinese American engineer, after Ebens said, "Because of you, little motherfucker, we're out of work." Ebens never even had to face a jury—the judge just let him go free! This gives a license to kill to any racist stirred by the UAW leadership's anti-Japanese rhetoric, license that will be used against all minorities.

International Solidarity Means Class Struggle

When the Chicago May '82 demonstration was discussed at USWA local meetings in District 31, militants from Gary Works, Inland and South Works spoke out against the protectionism of the bureaucrats, and their program of derailing any concrete struggle to defend jobs at Fairless and throughout the industry. In Gary Local 1014, one militant warned against the "treason" theme, "the kind of language you use to whip up a war in which workers fight each other instead of fight the companies." Instead, he said, "we need a class-struggle fight to reverse all the layoffs, fight Reagan's anti-labor 'national interest,' and work with workers in other countries to stop the capitalists' worldwide assaults on labor."

There are real opportunities to wage a joint fight with the steel workers in England and Scotland to smash the U.S. Steel/BSC layoff deal. Although the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation leadership under William Sirs is also mired in protectionism, steel workers have a recent history of fighting. Three years ago they waged a long and militant strike, enforced by mass picketing and flying picket squads. With class-struggle leadership, these workers are capable of decisive action to halt the layoffs, which could ignite a powerful working-class mobilization that could topple Thatcher.

In the United States, working people—especially blacks—have been pushed to the wall. Despite the betrayals of the labor lieutenants of capital, there will be social struggles, even militant and bitter battles. Whether these struggles win or lose, however, depends on their leadership. What is urgently needed is the construction of a workers party committed to winning working people away from the "love your boss, hate foreign workers" nationalism which stifles any serious fight against the ruling class and its spokesmen in the Republican and Democratic parties. Only such a party can mobilize the power of labor and blacks in class struggle to bring down Reagan! The main enemy is at home! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Lock Up All the Gary Rowses!

Racist Courts Give FBI/KKK Informers License to Kill

On May 27 a federal judge in Ann Arbor gave the green light to FBI/KKK killers by deciding for the government in a lawsuit brought by the surviving family of slain civil rights worker Viola Gregg Liuzzo. Liuzzo, the wife of a Detroit Teamster union official, was brutally murdered on a dark Alabama highway on 25 March 1965, just after participating in the Selma-Montgomery march. She had—like so many unfortunate others—crossed the bloody trail of the FBI's own "best informant" Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr.

This abominable decision writes in blood and fire the new FBI "Guidelines" (see "FBI Red-Hunt," *WV* No. 327, 8 April). The federal judge, Charles W. Joiner, totally absolved the FBI of any "negligence" in Rowe's murderous acts while on its payroll. Joiner understood full well the implications of the Reagan crew's campaign to "remoralize" its secret police in the service of the new Cold War. The meaning of the new FBI "Guidelines," with their sweeping provisions for unlimited investigations and infiltration of the government's political opponents, their provisions for labeling opponent groups as "terrorist, criminal enterprises" is that more Gary Rowses are going to be needed to do the state's dirty work. And so the notorious FBI/KKK killer was rehabilitated.

The judge was right when he said Rowe was one of the "best informers" the FBI ever had. He was doing just what the FBI wanted him to do all along when he murdered, bombed, maimed

and beat civil rights workers. Because the job of the FBI isn't to "prevent violence," it is to orchestrate and *direct* violence—against the left, against the working class, against blacks and minorities, against *anyone* who challenges the repressive state apparatus and oppression this system enforces.

"Rowe was dispatched to obtain information," the judge wrote. "The fact

anything and get away with it, just like Gary Rowe. Precisely because the FBI informer is an informer, he's got "informer privilege"—the protection of government cover—and can never be brought to justice, like Gary Rowe, already granted immunity forever for his crimes. The judge went further, aping J. Edgar Hoover's tribute in stating that Gary Rowe was "a good

payroll! The man who aided in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham in 1963, killing four young black girls in Sunday school. The man who beat bloody the Freedom Riders in the Birmingham bus station in May 1961, leading the 1,000-strong KKK assault in connivance with the Birmingham police force.

Ironically, it was Gary Rowe's own sensationalist testimony before a Senate committee investigating FBI "excesses" in 1975 that inspired Viola Liuzzo's five children to bring their \$2 million lawsuit against the FBI and U.S. government. The family told of crosses burned on their Detroit home's lawn, of the anonymous slander letters smearing their mother as a promiscuous heroin addict—smears, they brought out at the trial, emanating from J. Edgar Hoover directly. They introduced a 26 March 1965 memo by Hoover—the day after their mother's murder!—giving the line that "the woman had indications of needle marks in her arms where she had been taking dope; that she was sitting very, very close to the Negro in the car; that it had the appearance of a neeking party..." (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 March). They brought eyewitness testimony that Rowe had fired the shot that killed Liuzzo, and testimony from two Alabama policemen who said Rowe told them the day after it happened that he'd done the murder—but the judge couldn't care less.

Two other suits against the FBI and
continued on page 11



FBI Informer directed KKK attacks on Freedom Riders.

that, in the process of getting information and protecting his cover, he did not act to prevent an assault certainly cannot impose liability on the Government." So an FBI "informer" can do

ma during the time he was on the FBI's informer, perhaps the best informer in the whole area." This is the man who planned, organized and led most of the major KKK terrorist actions in Alaha-

Jesse Jackson Whistles Dixie

On May 24, Rev. Jesse Jackson became the first black man to address a joint session of the Alabama legislature since Reconstruction. But unlike Reconstruction, this black man was not there on behalf of black rights, but to whistle "Dixie." The day before, over iced tea and sweet rolls in the governor's mansion, Jackson had a cozy chat with Governor George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace about the 1984 presidential election. Together they planned for a Democratic Party victory in the South against Reagan; to this end Wallace agreed to promote a black voter registration bill. Leaving Wallace, Jackson paused to talk with reporters on the staircase in the governor's mansion, where he was flanked by portraits of two Confederate Army officers. The next day in the Alabama legislature, he sounded like some Dixiecrat demagogue as he vowed, "The South can rise again!"

Jesse Jackson knew exactly what he

was doing in the "cradle of the Confederacy," in the same hall where Alabama seceded from the Union on 11 January 1861. He was there as part of the Democrats' "Southern strategy" for '84, which is not only to register blacks but to figure out a way to satisfy the Democrats' Southern constituency, from Dixie racists to the black masses. Jesse Jackson was preaching "reconciliation and healing" because he was there to assure the Dixiecrats they had nothing to fear from the black Democrats. "It is time that we leave the battle grounds behind us and seek a common ground," Jackson intoned at his most preachy. And he made perfectly clear to the Dixiecrats that what he intended to leave behind was the black masses' 100-year-plus struggle for equality and freedom. As the *Chicago Tribune* (25 May) noted, "The most enthusiastic response [came] from whites when Jackson called for an end to anxiety

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Jesse Jackson glad-hands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace.