

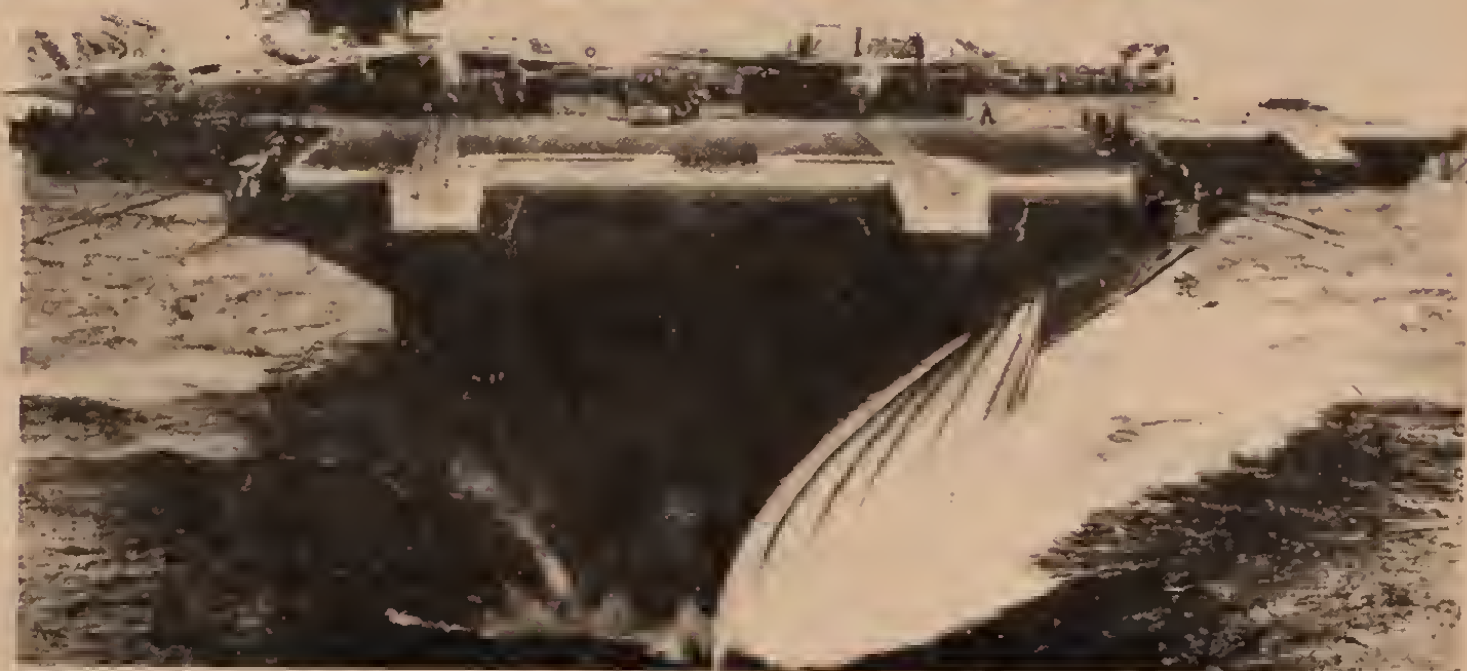
U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!

Smash Reagan's War Moves!

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

JULY 26—They're not "exercises," certainly not games, and far more than threats. The dispatch of two U.S. naval task forces, besieging Sandinista Nicaragua on both Atlantic and Pacific coasts, while several thousand American combat troops land in Honduras—these are, as even the *New York Times* acknowledges, *acts of war*. Proclaiming that "the Soviets and Cubans are operating from a base called Nicaragua" and that "this is the first real Communist aggression on the American mainland," Ronald Reagan has ordered the first engagement to turn U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War II into a shooting war. It's now a matter of time until the first American shots are fired.

Reagan's scenario is becoming ominously clear: seal off Nicaragua while a massive deployment of U.S. forces acts as a shield behind which the *contras* and Honduran army will take on the radical-nationalist regime in Managua. If things get sticky, a blip on the radar screen of one of the American



Der Spiegel

spy ships would supply a "Gulf of Fonseca incident" to justify direct U.S. attack in the name of "resisting Communist aggression." One way or another, Washington is intent on strangling leftist insurgency south of the border in its own blood. These Yankee warmongers aiming the *New Jersey's* 16-inch guns cannot be appeased—they must be *defeated* both on the battlefield in Central America and on the home front as well, by a powerful wave of workers action to bring Reagan down! U.S.

hands off Nicaragua!

Four years ago, after a bloody struggle that cost 50,000 lives, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led a mass uprising that toppled the murderous dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. This put an end to 68 years of Yankee rule in Nicaragua, directly by the Marines from 1911 to 1932 and then indirectly by the U.S.-imposed Somoza dynasty which ran the country as a private fiefdom until 1979. The Nicaraguan people sacrificed almost an entire

generation of youth who died to rid their homeland of the hated tyranny. Now simply in order to prevent the mercenary National Guard from reinstating their reign of terror, it is urgently necessary to complete the Nicaraguan revolution by expropriating the capitalists, the *contras'* "fifth column" inside the country, and to extend the revolution throughout Central America. Yet instead of linking up with El Salvador's leftist rebels, hoping to save its own

continued on page 13

Call for Emergency International Protests

Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!

JULY 26—The bloody oppression of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is on the verge of turning into genocidal terror. Sri Lankan strongman President J.R. Jayewardene, emboldened by his phony referendum—"an election to end all elections"—last December appears to be moving toward the "final solution" to the Tamil problem. As we go to press, racist Sinhalese mobs, incited and protected by the

government, are on the rampage from Colombo to Trincomalee. The Tamil-populated Northern Province, long under military occupation, has been sealed off from the rest of the country. Tamil leaders and religious activists being held under the semi-bonapartist regime's Prevention of Terrorism Act are daily being arrested, tortured and killed. All class-conscious workers, socialists and defenders of democratic

rights must demand: Stop the terror against Tamils in Sri Lanka!

This drastic turn of events, setting the stage for a pogrom, incited and organized by the government, of the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, was triggered last week in the northern city of Jaffna, when a group of soldiers invaded a women's teacher-training school, raping several young women. Reportedly, two of the women com-

mitted suicide the next day. Outraged by this atrocity, Tamil youth erected barricades; two army patrol vehicles were ambushed, touching off a gun battle in which 12 soldiers and one army officer were killed. The government's reaction was to clamp a stranglehold on the Northern Province preparatory to unleashing a reign of bloody terror. On July 25 in Colombo's Welikada Prison, where most of the prominent Tamil political prisoners are held, 35 Tamil fighters were murdered at the hands of raging Sinhalese prisoners, who were clearly incited and probably armed by the prison authorities.

Jaffna is now reportedly a ghost town, as terrified residents huddle in their homes, merchants chain down their doors, and heavily armed police and army jeeps patrol the city and its outskirts. Since late June, two main Tamil papers, *Suthanthiran* and the

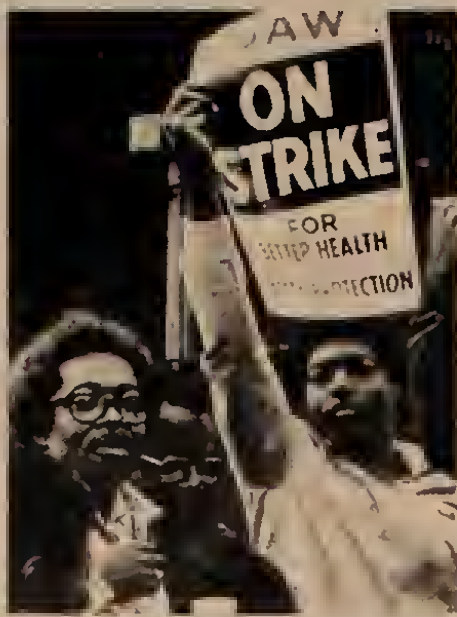
continued on page 7

"Sacrifice House" Reopens Contract

Strike Chrysler! Take It, It's Yours!

DETROIT—Four years ago *Workers Vanguard* warned that "whatever scheme is cooked up to revive Chrysler, it is certain that auto workers will be its victims, not its beneficiaries." And now, with the banks, the U.S. government and the Chrysler executives reaping in hundreds of millions of dollars, Chrysler workers are seething. On July 21 Chrysler announced its largest quarterly profit in history—over \$310 million, and the previous week set up repayment of over \$800 million in loans granted during the "bailout" of Chrysler in 1979-80—eight years ahead of schedule. In exchange for stock options granted for guaranteeing the bailout loans, the U.S. government will reap some \$250 million from Chrysler profits.

The 40,000 Chrysler workers left in the plants, a fraction of the over 100,000 working a few years ago, are slaving nine and ten hours a day, frequently six days a week. Chrysler's much touted "success story" comes straight from the blood, sweat and givebacks of those left in the plants, while everyone from Wall Street to Solidarity House and their fake-left apologists have written off the tens of thousands of workers who have lost their recall rights. Paying wages which are still \$2/hour less than Ford and GM (where auto workers took a cut in real wages of over \$3.5 billion last year) and with speedup and overtime, the bloodsucking bosses at Chrysler are raking in millions. We say: Chrysler



Chrysler workers walk out last September against Fraser's giveaway.

workers, employed and unemployed—take it, it's yours!

Rushing to the bosses' rescue, to save Iacocca and his bloated profits from the anger of Chrysler workers, are the "investment bankers" from Solidarity House, "Bieber, Stepp and Associates." Only last fall, the UAW tops—with the support of the fake-leftists in the Communist Party, Communist Labor Party and "Spark"—guaranteed the bosses' windfall by squelching a strike at Chrysler. Bieber and Stepp are acting

today as if they are vying for Doug Fraser's seat on the board. These gentlemen are perfectly agreeable to seeing the banks and government first paid off in full—and then a bone thrown to the workers.

The UAW bureaucrats have cooked up a deal with Chrysler to "reopen" the "economic" portion of the current agreement, granting a puny raise now (reportedly one dollar) in order to hogtie Chrysler workers into another year of the giveback contract. And Chrysler is laughing all the way to the bank, since Bieber guarantees in advance that there will be no strike during their reopener! Chrysler workers: Rip up Bieber's rotten deal! Strike the plants, with mass pickets of employed and unemployed! For elected strike committees to rip it out of the hands of the company cops and Solidarity House! Parity and more now! Screw the banks, the government and Iacocca's fat bonus—divide every penny up among Chrysler workers! Every laid-off Chrysler worker gets his share!

A fight now by Chrysler workers could spark a widespread labor/black revolt in Detroit. Steel workers at Ford's River Rouge plant are facing a joint company/UAW bureaucracy squeeze to force givebacks at Rouge Steel. Solidarity House, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and steel unit chairmen Nick Nestico and Rick Martin offered \$4.50 per hour in givebacks!

Ford wants even more—and has started layoffs in the coke ovens/blast furnace unit. Detroit city workers are facing Mayor Coleman Young's Reagan-style austerity layoffs and are working without a contract. A fight at Chrysler which forges unity between the brothers and sisters left in the plants with those thrown on capitalism's garbage heap could lead to a wave of joint class struggle in the Motor City.

The bourgeoisie's "Reagan recovery" means they recover their profits while labor and blacks are driven further into misery. While the auto bosses expect to reap in \$5 billion in profits *this year*, the auto workforce has plummeted from 1,031,000 to 685,000—by over one-third. Labor/black Detroit is turned into a hellhole, as plant after plant leaves the city. Last Friday workers at Jefferson Assembly—the last Chrysler plant remaining in Detroit—were threatened by management that the plant would be closed in the summer of 1984 if they didn't "act right" over the sellout. With one eye on Iacocca's bank balance, and the other on the fate of their brothers on the street, Chrysler workers aren't going to take it. A class-struggle leadership, forged through sit-down strikes and class-struggle tactics which weld the "permanently unemployed" to their brothers slaving in the plants, can bankrupt "Bieber, Stepp and Associates" and open the road to a workers government and jobs for all! ■

Jail Racist Killer Cops Armstrong, Labelle and Throw Away the Keys!

L.A. Protest: "Hands Off Delois Young!"

JULY 26—As *Workers Vanguard* goes to press, the racist courts have overturned the second degree murder conviction of L.A. cop Robert Armstrong who killed the unborn baby of Delois Young. The slap-on-the-wrist verdict was too much for the racist judge who reduced it to "involuntary manslaughter." If this killer cop does any time at all it won't be more than six months. This ruling says to the murderous LAPD that they can do anything to black people and get away with it. Protest this license to kill!

LOS ANGELES, July 23—Over 50 people rallied in Exposition Park here today in response to a Spartacist League call to demand "Hands Off Delois Young and Her Family!" and "Jail Racist Killer Cops Armstrong and

Labelle and Throw Away the Keys!" In April 1982 sheriff's deputies burst into the home of Delois Young, a 22-year-old black woman, nine months pregnant, and shot her in the stomach at pointblank range, killing her unborn baby in a late night raid. Despite this cold-blooded murder, despite hard evidence that the cops set up the shooting in advance, they have been convicted only of second-degree murder and obstruction of justice.

Delois Young miraculously lived and testified against the cops who shot her and now faces an intensified racist cop vendetta that has been conducted against her family for years. Five days after Armstrong was convicted, the cops dragged her out of her home, in handcuffs, for "missing" her court date for traffic tickets. Young, who was in the hospital at the time recovering from her gunshot wounds, was later fined an outrageous \$450.

Outraged L.A.-area residents, including trade unionists, many of them black, chanted "Hands off Delois Young—For labor/black defense." Other chants included "Jail the killers of Patrick Mason!" "Jail the killers of Ron Settles!" "Jail the killers of Eulia Love!" referring to others killed by the cops for their "crime" of being black in southern California. A former college football teammate of murdered Ron Settles who had picked up a leaflet for the demonstration this morning briefly addressed the rally. Other speakers included a militant phone worker, Manuel Delgadillo, Richard Bradley of the Spartacist League, and Jeanne Mitchell of the Spartacus Youth League.

The only rally in the area to be held in defense of Delois Young, the demonstration was endorsed by workers in a number of unions: ILWU, Letter



SL organized July 23 protest against L.A. court's "license to kill" for LAPD.

Carriers, CWA, OCAW, Mailhandlers—in addition to the Black Student Alliance of UCLA, Michael Zinzun of the Coalition Against Police Abuse, Jesus Cortez, of the Comité por Casas, Richard Fraser, veteran Trotskyist and theoretician on the black question, and Donald R. Clay, pastor of the Tree of Life Baptist Church in Watts.

Phone worker Delgadillo reported that at a CWA Local 11502 meeting two days before the demonstration, members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) and other anti-racist union militants were physically attacked when MAC raised a motion signed by over 40 union members to endorse the demonstration, to send a union contingent and donate \$500 to Delois Young to defray her legal expenses. The racist goons had been given a free hand by local president Janice Wood who were forced to back down when angry members came to the defense of MAC.

When a motion to endorse the

demonstration was raised at an OCAW local meeting in the area, a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party abstained. Such sectarian abstentionism was also demonstrated by the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party (IWP), which refused an invitation to participate in and speak at the rally. As Spartacist League spokesman Richard Bradley summed up at the rally:

"Now, the reformist fake-left, like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party...all preach reliance on the bosses' state, the capitalist state. Their reformist schemes like civilian review boards of the cops, community control and laws to 'ban the Klan' will not change a thing. There must be no illusions in the capitalist black front men like cop/mayor Democrat Tom Bradley who has presided for years over racist murder by the LAPD, who supports his police chief 'Choke Hold' Gates!"

Jail the Racist Killer Cops! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 335

29 July 1983

Defend Detroit Black Youth!

Down with Coleman Young's Racist Curfew!

DETROIT—In ravaged Detroit 70 percent of black youth are *permanently* unemployed. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young's answer: Lock 'em up! On June 20 Young imposed a 10 p.m. curfew (11 p.m. on weekends) as if he were a South African bantustan tribal chief. Black youth are being targeted and scapegoated for a rising crime rate that earned "Motor City" the nickname "Murder City." But it is the crisis of the American capitalist system that bulldozes auto plants and throws hundreds of thousands of skilled industrial workers on the scrap heap, which creates the desperate poverty that breeds crime.

More than *two-thirds* of Detroit's population has been forced onto some form of public assistance while the auto bosses and their "liberal" black mayor run this town into the ground. Now black youth with no future in capitalist America are to be locked up in sweltering ghetto homes like animals or face becoming victims of Young's police dragnet. In the first week alone 36 youth were jailed for curfew violations. Down with the racist curfew! Stop the detentions!

Detroit is a boiling pot of black anger. Young and his ruling-class backers who are worried about protecting downtown business interests openly express concern about another "'67." But this time it may not be an elemental explosion of ghetto rage which results in cop-riots and leaves black neighborhoods burned out. Today, Detroit's massive unemployment means that a spark of class struggle could draw the unemployed and masses of ghetto poor into a fighting alliance with labor. In this depressed but explosive city, it is not hard to imagine thousands of Detroit blacks marching down Jefferson Avenue to join their brothers occupying the Chrysler plant. That kind of labor/black struggle can turn back a decade of takebacks and plant closings, a decade of defeats and betrayals.

The bosses and their man in City Hall know what the stakes are and they are preparing. Even the most fatuous hypemen for the auto barons admit the present "recovery" is "fragile." Under the martial law-type curfew they are mobilizing a massive display of police power. Young plays on the largely black working class' genuine fear of violence and crime to whip up support for "emergency measures," marshaling the forces that will go from terrorizing black youth to crushing militant labor action. Speaking on behalf of his bourgeois masters, Young warns: "If you mess up, we will nail you." That warning and the licensed racist killers in blue are not just aimed at black youth but at their brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers, in the plants and on the welfare lines.

To make sure that black youth don't "mess up" in this town where there is no place to go and no money to get there, the city canceled the Hart Plaza concerts which drew 20,000 every week. Last week 1,000 youth seeking some temporary relief from the scorching heat were locked out of the air-conditioned Renaissance Center, while Young proposed an ordinance banning construction of video arcades in the city. The RenCen "renewal" for a white business enclave at the center of dying Detroit is a bust. The building itself is terminally

under-rented and going bankrupt. Instead of locking out Detroit's black youth, *turn the RenCen into a free, 24-hour-a-day youth center with swimming pools and video games!*

But that is hardly the program of "progressive" Coleman Young. In addition to massive layoffs and paycuts for city workers, slashing the already miserable bus service, Young closed 14 public libraries. With the bipartisan war on blacks and labor, black Democratic "faces in high places" from ex-L.A. cop Tom Bradley to Harold Washington and Coleman Young administer Reagan reaction on the local level: slash social services, fire city workers, eliminate busing, and treat black youth like slaves deprived of even books to learn to read.

Coleman Young is providing handsomely for one group in Detroit—the cops. All his "emergency measures"

stop crime. The police exist solely as the armed fists of this sick, decaying capitalist society which has produced the conditions where to live in American cities means to live in fear. The ACLU is challenging Young's curfew in the courts. But these "civil libertarians" support "gun control" which not only violates the fundamental democratic right of every citizen to keep and bear arms as even the Constitution stipulates, but ensures that the bloody bourgeois state, the fascists and the criminals will have a monopoly of the means of violence. Certainly working people and the poor who are most often its victims have a right to defend themselves against criminal and lumpen violence.

Today, as in the summer of 1976 when the curfew was first enforced, the traitors at the top of the UAW, AFSCME, Teamsters and the AFL-



Porter/Detroit Free Press

Detroit curfew arrests, 1976: Coleman Young's answer to 70 percent black unemployment.

are for a beefed-up "efficient" police department. Young announced the formation of a "new felony prevention division" and a new "strike force" formed out of the brutal Tactical Services Section. These sound ominously like a reinstitution of STRESS, the notorious unit of police killers that routinely gunned down black youth in the early 1970s, using the "Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets" decoy squads. Gloating over the curfew, the racist Detroit police have named it STRESS II, "Shop The RenCen, Enjoy Safe Stores."

The cops are eager to bust the heads of Detroit workers and youth, and increasingly bonapartist in their demands for pay hikes and abolition of the residency requirement—enacted in 1974 against a racist mobilization by the police. They staged ominous "anti-terrorist" exercises this spring in Belle Isle Park, site of the concentration camps for blacks arrested in the 1943 Detroit race riot. In April, Young's cossacks brutally attacked a demonstration of small businessmen and youth organized by the reform-minded Michigan Avenue Community Organization, who were protesting the paucity of bank loans for small businesses. Meanwhile, Young and his most loyal henchmen on the City Council struck down a proposed ordinance to ban the Detroit police Red Squad, the local COINTELPRO operation aimed at socialists, black organizations and the labor movement.

Neither the cops nor the racist vigilantes of the Guardian Angels will

CIO have backed Young's curfew to the hilt. The labor bureaucrats are not only acting as political cops for the bosses within the unions, but eager allies for the ruling class in their war against minority youth, the unemployed and all the victims of this racist capitalist system. These last, best defenders of American imperialism squeal like pigs over the Stalinist bureaucracy's martial law crackdown on the CIA company union Solidarność in Poland, and enlist in Reagan and the Democrats' war—including martial law in Detroit—on black youth.

These labor traitors must be swept aside by revolutionary working-class militants who will fight to mobilize black youth, the unemployed and the employed in the struggle for jobs for all, for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to



Laundroche/The South End

Detroit cops' "riot control" means terrorizing the ghetto.

spread the available work, for a massive public works program at union wages (not Michigan governor Blanchard's phony summer jobs program that pays \$3.35/hour and created only 600 jobs for Detroit public school students), for free quality medical care and free decent public transportation.

A decade ago Young became the third black mayor of a major U.S. city. He hustled black votes on a program of abolishing STRESS and widespread police terror. After the 1967 ghetto uprising in Detroit, the auto bosses acutely felt the need for a black front man to hold the line in the Motor City against further outbreaks of the desperate black population. Coleman Young has faithfully served their interests. The black Democratic Party administration, from the City Council to the School Board, has stood by his side—against the city workers, auto workers, the unemployed and black youth. The record is clear: Coleman Young is a bitter enemy of black and working-class rights. In 1978 Young's cops protected a Nazi "bookstore" in Southwest Detroit; in 1979 he threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters led by the Spartacist League and militant auto workers who stopped the KKK from "celebrating" the murder of five anti-fascist militants in Greensboro; he broke the strike of the largely black city workers AFSCME union in order to toast Reagan in the 1980 Republican convention, and now he declares war on black youth and arms the racist Detroit police to the teeth.

Militant black workers and youth in Detroit must draw the lessons of ten years of Coleman Young—the Democratic Party, like the Republican, is a bosses' party, a sworn enemy of black and working-class struggle. Young and the Democrats offer nothing to the black masses of Detroit, nothing except police terror and imprisonment in ghetto hellholes. Black and working-class liberation will come to Detroit through the forging of a multiracial revolutionary party which leads workers to power, and sweeps away the criminal capitalists. Down with Coleman Young's racist curfew! No to STRESS II! ■

DEMONSTRATE!

Down with Coleman Young's Racist Curfew!

STRESS I Killed 16 Blacks— No to STRESS II!

Wednesday, August 3, 1 p.m. Wayne State University

Mackenzie Hall (Cass Ave. & Putnam)

Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League and the Labor/Black Struggle League

DETROIT

For more information: (313) 961-1680

SWP Cancels 1983 Convention

Final Solution in Barnestown

Under the heat of the continuing crisis in the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Jack Barnes seems to have forgotten the ABCs of bureaucratic organization that put him where he is today. Accustomed to wielding his majority in the SWP and his tight administrative control of the apparatus as clubs against the few small voices of dissidence that emerged during most of his tenure as SWP leader, Barnes apparently forgot that the ability to isolate and intimidate critics even in a firmly bureaucratized party flows from the harrel of a cohesive party membership willing to abide by the accepted bureaucratic rules. Now the abrupt cancellation of the SWP national convention previously announced for August 1983, and the related decision to stonewall internally about the fights at the May 1983 National Committee plenum, testify to Barnes' unenviable position as a bureaucratic hack whose machine seems to be coming apart.

The SWP has long been the large reformist rump of the U.S. ostensibly Trotskyist movement whose authentic revolutionary continuity is today the Spartacist League. Once, under the leadership of Trotsky and James P. Cannon, the SWP was the revolutionary nucleus in this country. But the SWP was definitively played out as a revolutionary force by the 1960s. The SWP's 1963 "reunification" with the European Pabloists around Ernest Mandel was based on agreement to the liquidationist proposition that the emergence of a deformed workers state in Cuba under Fidel Castro proved that Leninist party-building and a proletarian-led revolutionary model were irrelevant formalisms. The forces within the SWP which opposed the party's rightward-moving centrism were bureaucratically expelled soon thereafter; these revolutionaries went on to found the Spartacist League. The SWP soon consolidated around a hard reformist appetite, displayed centrally in its main activity, the pursuit of a bloc with a wing of the "progressive" bourgeoisie (Democratic Party) on a social-patriotic, pro-imperialist program led ideologically by a wing of the ruling class which was becoming defeatist in the face of a losing imperialist adventure in Vietnam (and "led" organizationally by the Communist Party, the SWP and the smaller components of the popular-frontist milieu).

Rise of the Barnes Clique

As any party's adoption of a fundamentally different political program is generally associated with a new leadership, the decay of the SWP from demoralized formal orthodoxy in the 1950s to a flirtation with vicarious guerrillaist centrism and thence swiftly to pursuit of the reformist "main chance" was associated with the retirement of the Dobbs/Kerry layer from active leadership and the consolidation of control by Jack Barnes. Barnes was an organization man; he left the theorizing to Joseph Hansen while he and his closest cronies, mainly other arrogant young men like Barry Sheppard and Peter Camejo, concentrated on enjoying their organizational overlordship.

The SWP grew pretty rapidly from the right wing of the antiwar movement and the associated "sectoralist" radical currents and settled down to an anticipated eternally "deepening" radicalization. A few years ago the SWP "turned" to the unions, putting a hunch of determined young Barnesites "into

industry" and shifting its verbal line in the direction of more missionary-position "Labourite"-style adaptation to the social-democratic bureaucratic layer in the unions (e.g., dropping the slogan for a separate "black party," supporting the Moral Majority clamor over "age-of-consent" laws, etc.). At the same time, Barnes' eccentric party insisted on a "talking socialism" posture in the unions which was virtually "dual unionist" on a tactical level.

Meanwhile, the whole terrain of bourgeois politics in this country was shifting very far to the right. One day the SWP woke up and found Reagan in the White House, the "Russian question" on everyone's lips and a refurbished American social-democratic organization, Michael Harrington's DSA, firmly occupying the only stable terrain for a reformist formation hoping for the nod from bourgeois elements in a period of mounting anti-Soviet war drive: the "State Department socialist" niche. Barnes responded eccentrically, e.g., underscoring the SWP's vicarious Castroism, propounding a line on Afghanistan which was objectively pro-Russian (though hastily discarding it when the SWP "Watersuit" got to trial), hinting of possible "projects" with the Nicaraguans, Cubans or Vietnamese. This Barnesite eccentricity was soon to drive a wing of the SWP into opposition when the emergence of Solidarność in Poland opened up a tantalizing prospect for a bloc of Cold War union bureaucrats and the "anti-Stalinist" ideologues of the ex-Trotskyist SWP.

Barnes' Party in Crisis

Meanwhile, Barnes was still tightening the organizational screws, mainly by a combination of "age purges" and general social disdain directed at older party members who, though no less reformist than the rest of the SWP and now quite powerless as a pole within it, might retain in their upper spinal column some genuine experience in Trotskyist union tactics or might constitute some alternative role model to Barnes' boys in the eyes of some among the membership. And he kept relying on his usual bureaucratic techniques to muzzle a small but vociferous layer of dissidents from various generally right-oppositional points of the political compass.

But the oppositional layers in the SWP had begun growing and interpenetrating faster than Barnes was able to stomp on them. Fueled by the intima-

tions of political irrelevance, exemplified by the SWP's outflanking by the DSA, the crisis has now reached the point that administrative measures just don't seem to work any more. While Barnes scrambles to close any remaining loopholes in the draconian 1965 document ("The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party") which formalized the bureaucratic expulsion of the Spartacist nucleus and brought the SWP's organizational practice into keeping with its anti-revolutionary program, large sections of Barnes' party are becoming too disgruntled to go along.

Enter Ernest Mandel, the perennial factional intriguer (and backstabber) whose formal "international" credentials may bring together, at least for a time, a broad spectrum in opposition to the Barnes regime: would-be hot-shot workerists whose ambitions center on a comfortable position as "house leftist," adviser to some petty-ante local union bureaucrat; aspiring international adventurers of the Camejo type; older veterans who have long since forgotten authentic Trotskyism but who still intended to die honorably without explicitly renouncing the politics of their youth; YSA kids bitter at being excluded from the real internal life of the party that dictates every policy of the youth group; even Barnesites who want to stop the massive hemorrhaging of the SWP membership.

Barnes seems to be finding out the hard way that the "normal" methods of bureaucratic suppression don't work when an internal crisis reaches a certain critical mass. Last year we reported in some detail the massive efforts being made by the Barnes regime to stamp out internal dissent with a disciplinary rampage exemplified by 'an internal bulletin that had to be priced at \$8 to get in every last expulsion, motion and threat. This effort to enforce on a good-sized set of targets the methods that have worked for years against isolated dissidents—orders to "cease and desist" from "unauthorized" correspondence (with other party members!), pervasive social stigmatization of the offenders, forced population transfers, etc.—seems to have failed.

Thus the Barnes regime has apparently gone over from the symbolic expulsion as "morale"-builder to an effort to enforce a policy of internal silence regarding the continuing purges. Such a policy is doomed, particularly in the era of the xerox machine. The SWP



Jack Barnes

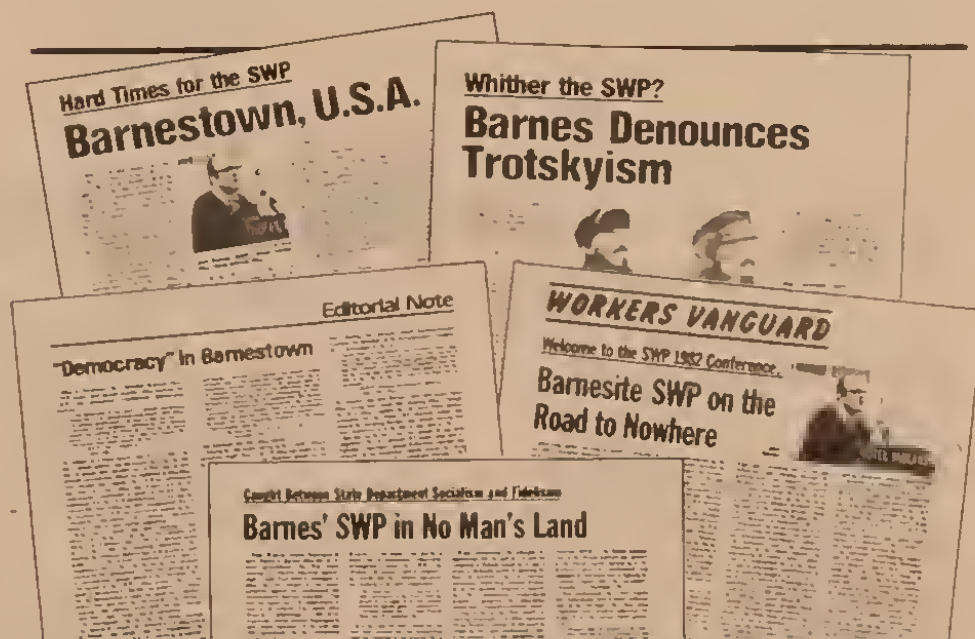
WV Photo

has had so many quits recently that the substantial milieu of SWP ex-members presently has a more intimate and daily knowledge of internal SWP developments than any SWP majorityite outside the inner circles of the Barnes clique.

Welcome to the 1983 Non-Convention

Regular readers of *WV* will recall that the last SWP national convention two years ago was marked by an interpenetrated oppositional milieu of two minority currents (Breitman/Bloom and Weinstein/Lovell). While during the mandated three-month pre-convention discussion period "a hundred flowers bloomed" in the SWP internal bulletin (leading to our characterization of the convention process as the last remaining loophole in the bureaucratic straightjacket of Barnes' party), dissent at the convention itself was held down to a tolerable level by the SWP's normal undemocratic practices of delegate selection, resulting in rounding off to zero the minority votes for delegates in all but the largest branches so that a minority comprising, say, 10 percent of the members ends up with only token delegate representation. But bureaucratism only works so far, as Stalinists for example are always finding out to their surprise—you can't legislate the dominance of a majority by waving a piece of paper called a party constitution when the polarization internally has begun to approach a split down the middle, at least not unless the cellars of Lubianka are close by.

Perhaps the supreme implicit confession that things were utterly out of hand in the SWP was the Barnesites' decision to cancel the party convention (and therefore the pre-convention discussion) previously scheduled, in keeping with SWP statute, for August 1983. It seems that Barnes had declared war on too many SWP components simultaneously. Meanwhile his recent venture into the realm of "theory"—the explicit public repudiation of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—has given the oppositions and their hoped-for international mentor Mandel an invaluable piece of ammunition. By his move to assume the "creative" role vacated by the death of Joseph Hansen in 1979, Barnes probably intended nothing more than to terminally affront the residues of the old SWP cadre as part of his waves of "age purge." But with the whole party decomposing into a seething cauldron of discontent, the move was singularly ill-timed. With Mandel now on the scene and actively recruiting to his



Now more than ever, you can't follow the crisis of the SWP without your **WV** scorecard.

program of slavish accommodation to international social-democracy, expressed in naked popular frontism and fulsome adherence to the anti-Soviet program of Cold War "free trade unionism" over Poland, the SWP crisis is at white heat.

Meanwhile, former Barnesite hatchetman "Pedro" Camejo has been touring about as Mandel's man, working over the sizable layers of SWP ex-members. The choice of Camejo is revealing: a scion of the Latin American ruling class (and the Long Island middle class), Camejo's "Third World" pretensions and penchant for lying for the sheer fun of it were much appreciated for years in the SWP. In 1979 he attained greater celebrity in some circles when he was accused by the Moreno tendency of having fingered leftists of the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the Nicaraguan government for deportation (something the SWP has never denied). Camejo's recent activities may signal that Mandel sees a reason to launch an American organization apart from the shrinking SWP, after having sold out the *leftist* oppositionists who in earlier years looked to the "international" for support against the SWP majority. Camejo for national secretary, anyone? That thought could almost persuade one to stick around in Barnestown.

Presently competing with the machinations of Camejo as a prime subject for rumor in the SWP is a lengthy letter recently mailed to the home addresses of apparently about a hundred SWPers by recently expelled long-time Barnesites Dianne Feeley and Carole Seligman. The Barnes regime has been confiscating all the copies it can get its hands on while speculation on the contents of the "Dianne Feeley letter" runs hot and heavy in internal SWP circles. In addition to confirming some of the more spectacular of the tales which we have all been hearing lately about the internal life of the SWP—like the case of the member expelled for distributing a poem she wrote at a party memorial meeting for the late Anne Chester—the letter gives a plausible if unconfirmed account of the May plenum which Barnes has sought to keep shrouded in secrecy, and we are therefore publishing some excerpts for the information of our readers.

For our part, we cannot permit a certain human sympathy for the few remaining SWP leftovers of the Trotskyist movement of Trotsky's time to obscure the underlying political reality: the SWP was down the tubes as a revolutionary instrument long before the present crisis. The expulsion of the

Revolutionary Tendency two decades ago, and the destruction of democratic-centralist internal norms necessary to that expulsion, was the watershed. The final "age purge" which has led elements of the SWP to "discover" that Barnes is a bureaucrat is just the final step, rather akin to the tidying up of the Russian CP in 1936-38 by a process popularly called the Moscow Trials. It is this fact which lends such a spouky, heyund-the-grave character to the present furor over organizational rules.

Take for instance the contribution of one Milton Alvin, who joined the Trotskyist movement in 1935 and, except for a brief stint with the Shachtmanites in 1940, has been a member ever since. In the SWP's *International Internal Information Bulletin* Vol. XIX, No. 1, May 1983, Alvin writes—referring to the SWP's investigative arm:

"Instead of acting like a Party Court of Justice, the control commission has recently taken on the characteristics of the Spanish Inquisition. Comrades live in fear of a knock on their doors that might bring a couple of representatives from the commission to ask all kinds of questions, deserved or undeserved."

Alvin notes with a certain bitter accuracy that "Obviously party leaders are more skilled at throwing members out than recruiting new ones." He complains of the "unauthorized and unprecedented intervention by party leaders into fields where they have no business." But, precisely because it's anything but "unprecedented," Alvin's protest is hollow. He was an active participant in the bureaucratic expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency, the unique example of a principled and disciplined Trotskyist opposition in the SWP. The RT was expelled on the basis of selective quotations lifted from internal tendency documents, in the absence of a trial or even presentation of written charges. To those who had qualms about such procedures, Alvin replied at the time: "In my mind that occupies a subordinate place, although on occasions we all know that formalities must be observed and have an importance of their own," ([SWP] *IIB*, April 1964, Part I).

Today's victims of Barnesite "democracy" run amok were eager participants in the political/organizational degeneration which paved the way. The 1965 resolution on organization was the *ex post facto* "legalization" of the witch-hunt against the RT—expelled for their ideas. It stated explicitly that "With or without proof of specific acts, the party had the right, and its leadership the duty, to stop the self-indicted factional raiders who were out to wreck our movement" (emphasis added). Vitiating the resolution's ritual genuflections in the direction of the "right to organize tendencies and factions" was the following warning:

"Comrades should not be hasty to organize internal groupings. When the party has made its decision on the issues in dispute, groupings formed during the polemical struggle should dissolve into the party as a whole."

How starkly counterposed this is to the tradition of the revolutionary SWP may be seen from the following section of a supplementary organizational resolution passed at the April 1940 SWP convention:

"6. No measures are to be taken against any party member because of the views expressed in the party discussion. Nobody is obliged to renounce his position. There is no prohibition of factions. The minority is to be given representation in the leading party committees and assured full opportunity to participate in all phases of party work."

—reprinted in Cannon, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, 1943

Whither the SWP?

Whatever Barnes & Co. have to offer the shrinking SWP membership in defense of their "line of march," it isn't "deepening" radicalization and mass

Excerpts From an Underground Best-Seller

In the interests of informed political debate within the workers movement, we publish below some paragraphs from a letter signed by two recently expelled long-time supporters of the SWP addressed to their former comrades. While we are unable to comment on the accuracy of the most recent internal information contained in "the Dianne Feeley letter," it appears to correspond minutely to what has been verified so far, and is given additional weight by the Barnesites' apparent policy of attempting to suppress any knowledge of its contents. The lengthy letter details the pretexts used to expel the two signatories ("I asked Dianne Feeley's stepson Jacob if he knew that she had been expelled from the party. I was accused of discussing internal party affairs with a non-member," i.e., a non-party YSA'er, says Carole Seligman) and gives an account of several other expulsions. The *pièce de résistance* is the description given of the SWP National Committee plenum held last May.

While we certainly hold no political brief for the recent and present SWP oppositions, we believe this account of recent organizational moves by Barnes' party is of sufficient general interest in SWP and ex-SWP circles to warrant publication of these excerpts for our readers.

July 11, 1983

Dear Comrades,

We are writing to you because we believe there is a fundamental crisis in the Socialist Workers Party and that this crisis can only be resolved by the party membership if it has information that is being hidden from it...

In its entire history, the SWP has never experienced so many individual trials and expulsions in any two-year period as it has had in the last eight months. Yet by a decision of the May plenum this information is being kept from the membership...

Each of us has been a party member for at least fifteen years....

Let us review some of the cases of expulsion, beginning with our own....

The trials are continuing.... Since the plenum the Los Angeles executive committee recommended that Walter Lippmann, a comrade who has been in the movement for almost twenty years, be expelled. He was charged with discussing political questions on disputed matters with another branch comrade at a public event—after a Militant Labor Forum—where nonmembers *might* have overheard the conversation. No proof that any nonmember did hear them was presented. The branch did *not* vote to expel him, but the California State Committee overrode the branch, and Walter was expelled in June....

Instead of following the normal course of organizing a convention for this summer, the leadership of the party has cancelled it. They presented three reasons for this unusual step: the disruption caused by the Gelfand trial and the party's lack of experience with

organizing its central campaigns, plant gate sales and active sympathizers' work, and the assertion that a convention isn't really essential at this time....

Normal channels have been closed off to the membership. And we believe that the membership of the party has the right to political information which is being kept secret. This information includes:

1. The two minority tendencies in the National Committee announced at the May plenum that they have organized themselves into an Opposition Bloc to work for a change in the party's incorrect policies on norms, practical tasks, and theoretical errors. They submitted their written platform and other resolutions, which were distributed to the plenum. This is an important development in the party. Should preconvention discussion open, comrades agreeing with the Opposition Bloc platform could adhere to it.

2. An unusual motion was adopted at the May plenum. It outlined what could be reported back to the branches. There was to be no mention of the Opposition Bloc formation or of its documents. There was to be no mention of what the minority said at the plenum. Yet the Opposition Bloc received extended time under four agenda points: Central American Solidarity Report, Political Report, Convention Report, and Appeals and Review Report. They also submitted counterresolutions. Yet this information is being withheld from the membership.

3. Comrades might also be surprised to discover that the majority caucus in the National Committee devoted the entire first day of the plenum to a majority caucus meeting which has been kept secret from the party.

4. Comrades might be disturbed by the reports of the Mexican comrades of the PRT. They have stated that leaders of the SWP told leading members of the FDR/FMLN about the internal political disputes in the Fourth International....

5. Bolshevik practice supports the inclusion of minorities on leadership bodies. But, in the list of incoming members of the Political Committee one notices the absence of any minority member....

Through the party press and in public talks the party leadership has publicly attacked the Fourth International. A major section of Jack Barnes' speech at the last YSA convention was just such an attack.... That speech was similar to two articles by Doug Jenness that have attempted to downplay Trotsky's theoretical contributions to the revolutionary movement....

The party has lost hundreds of members in the last few years....

We know that the NC majority will revile and slander us for writing this even more than they did when we were expelled....

In solidarity,

Dianne Feeley

Carole Seligman

recruitment. In fact, the largest "mass mobilization" the SWP has been responsible for in years is the not inconsiderable movement of SWPers out of the party. For this reason—coupled perhaps with a growing awareness of the political vultures circling the ex-SWP milieu—Barnes & Co. have launched a bold plan to organize "active supporters" into local branch work.

But centrally, there is the nagging question of what—apart from the collective egotism of the Barnes clique—justifies the SWP's political existence.

Sentimental attachment to the label and copyrights associated with comrade Trotsky are no longer in order. In Jack Barnes' view: "Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term."

For American revolutionists today, the cutting questions are the fight for black liberation—the mobilization of organized labor and minorities in independent, militant action against the domestic reflection of the anti-Soviet war drive, i.e., resurgent racist reaction and fascist provocations—and the

continued on page 12

Sound Familiar?

—Reprinted from *Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

Roger Abrams, supporter of the Revolutionary Tendency, was expelled from the Socialist Workers Party, February 13, by the New York City branch in a vote of 28 to 11. Comrade Abrams, a 23-year-old student, had participated in a hastily called picket line on January 22 at Columbia University protesting the awarding of an honorary degree to the Greek Queen Frederika. Abrams figured prominently in TV coverage of the demonstration when he was led away by guards who objected to his sign, "Free Greek Political Prisoners!"

Comrade Abrams was charged by the SWP Majority with joining the picket line "without prior consultation or approval of the branch or branch leadership." When Abrams stated that he was previously unaware of this new policy and that he would abide by it, he was also accused of internal disloyalty and expelled.

RWL/WSL's Last Liaison in London

For general information and amusement, we reprint below a bill of divorcement (for desertion) announcing the breakup of a typical centrist rotten bloc. The two-year political marriage between the American ex-college boy Peter Sollenberger and the English bully boy Alan Thornett was not exactly made in heaven—more like something cooked up at a mad hatter's tea party. Harvard grad Sollenberger and his sidekick Leland Sanderson run a sleazy operation in the Midwest college town of Ann Arbor, trying to pander to all manner of petty-bourgeois radicalism (campus parochialism, feminism, gay liberation, black and other assorted nationalisms), sometimes with hilariously egregious results. Thornett, a workerist philistine with the social values of a British Archie Bunker, and his wily (even when sober) bloc partner Sean Matgamna are deeply embedded in the "Little England" Labourite milieu.

It took the imperialist slaughter of 1914-18 to expose the conflicting chauvinisms in the social-democratic Second International, but a comic opera war over the Falklands/Malvinas last year was enough to blow up the sham



Dopey, Willy, Scummy and Sleazy. From left, WSL's Thornett, Matgamna; RWL's Sollenberger, Sanderson.

"Trotskyist International Liaison Committee" (TILC). Thornett/Matgamna's Workers Socialist League (WSL) predictably took a social-pacifist "save our boys" line. They identified themselves completely with Tony Benn's Labour "lefts," who want to preserve Britain's limited and elite military forces for use closer to home, such as in Northern Ireland. The WSL's *Socialist Organiser* (6 May 1982) featured a friendly and uncritical interview with Bennite MP

Reg Race, who called for imperialist economic blackmail to bring the Argentines to heel. Three months after the war was over the WSL changed its line to support of the Argentine junta's adventure, but by then the jingoist hysteria had passed.

But given the vicarious Third World nationalism fashionable in American student radical circles, it was also predictable that Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) would

rally to General Galtieri's cause. Even before they came out with a public position, we asked: "...will the Sollenbergerites, in their usual fashion, tail much of the American left and cheer on the bloody Argentine junta from the pizza parlors and pubs of Ann Arbor?" ("Save Our Boys' Socialists," *WV* No. 306, 28 May 1982). Sure enough, they did. The June 1982 *Workers Struggle* was headlined, "Defend Argentina! Down with British and U.S. Imperial-

Reprinted from

Fighting Worker

—June 1983

Workers Struggle name change marks split

TILC majority wins fight for Trotskyist internationalism

With this issue, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) has changed the name of its newspaper from *Workers Struggle* back to *Fighting Worker*. We are doing so because splits in the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee (TILC) have removed the conditions that required the name change to *Workers Struggle* in the first place.

The RWL changed the name of its paper from *Fighting Worker* to *Workers Struggle* in July 1981 as a concession to the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) (SL(DC)) in order to achieve fusion of the two organizations. This fusion was a condition of the RWL's becoming TILC's American sympathizing section.

In fall 1982 the core of the SL(DC), the four West Coast SL(DC) supporters around Steve Bryant, split from the RWL. Their split was a clique split with no real political basis. It strengthened the RWL by freeing the organization from having to struggle with a comrade who put his own petty ambitions, maneuvers and lies above the demands of the class struggle and the requirements of building a revolutionary party.

In April 1983 much more important splits occurred in TILC and the British section of TILC, the Workers Socialist League (WSL). The WSL's right-wing majority split from TILC and expelled the WSL's left-wing minority, which supported TILC.

Documents of the splits in TILC and the WSL — and of Steve Bryant's departure from the RWL — are available from the RWL at its Detroit office. In this article, we will briefly review the facts of the TILC and WSL splits.

In July 1981, at the same time as the RWL fused with the SL(DC), the WSL fused with another British Trotskyist group of about its own size, the International Communist League (ICL). The ICL was a centrist organization with a hardened right-wing leadership. But its ranks were active in the ferment going on at the time in the British Labour Party and had the potential to move either to the right or to the left.

The WSL-ICL fusion left a number of important political questions unresolved, centering on the Marxist attitude toward "democratic" imperialism. The fusion created an unstable situation in the WSL, making political struggle inevitable. The WSL had to evolve either to the left, which would result in a split of the Kautskyite ex-ICL leadership, or to the right, which would result in a split of the consistent Trotskyists. The outcome depended entirely on the character of the political struggle waged by the old-WSL leadership.

The non-British TILC sections did not oppose the WSL-ICL fusion — although most of them expressed grave reservations about it — because they saw the ad-

vantages to the WSL and TILC of winning the activist ranks of the ICL, and because they had confidence that the old-WSL leadership would wage a principled political fight. (See "Steps toward the Fourth International: TILC Strengthened Organizationally, Politically," parts 1 and 2, in *Workers Struggle*, nos. 1 and 2, September and November, 1981.)

Over the course of the first year of the WSL-ICL fusion, it became increasingly clear to the non-British TILC sections and to many old-WSL ranks that the old-WSL leadership was not waging the kind of aggressive, consistent political fight needed to defeat the ex-ICL right-wing leadership. Particularly inadequate were the fights around work among women, Labour Party work, and *Socialist Organiser* (the WSL-supported weekly newspaper oriented toward the Labour Party).

At the April 1982 TILC meeting, the weakness of the old-WSL leadership led to TILC's taking a false, dual-defeatist position on the Malvinas War, a position flowing from the ex-ICL leadership's softness on British "democratic" imperialism.

Over the summer of 1982, the old-WSL leadership attempted to regain its leadership of the left in TILC and the WSL. It joined with the non-British TILC sections and left-wing WSL ranks in a tendency fight against the ex-ICL leadership to change TILC's and the WSL's position to Argentine-defensism on the Malvinas War. This tendency fight won in TILC at its July 1982 meeting. It narrowly won at the September 1982 WSL national conference. But then the old-WSL leadership gave away the left's victory by agreeing not to publish TILC's and the WSL's change of position in *Socialist Organiser* and minimizing the political differences as merely "tactical" in the WSL's theoretical journal, *Workers Socialist Review*!!

It became clear for those with eyes to see that the old-WSL leadership was no longer genuinely part of the left in TILC or the WSL, but rather a center, which claimed to agree politically with the left but organizationally conciliated the right to the point where a left victory became impossible, at least in the WSL.

As a result of the old-WSL leadership's vacillation, center WSLers increasingly went over to the right, and left WSLers became demoralized and dropped out. The left-center bloc which had defeated the right over the Malvinas War at the September 1982 WSL national conference became a minority at the February 1983 WSL national conference. By the April 1983 WSL national conference, the ex-ICL leadership had established its complete control of the WSL. It imposed all its right-wing policies and began systematically

moving to expel the left.

The struggle between the left and the right in TILC came to a head over the question of whether TILC was to become democratic-centralist. The WSL right-wing bitterly opposed democratic centralism, because the left, which was a minority in the WSL, was a majority in TILC. The TILC left-wing saw democratic-centralism as a necessary step in TILC's political and organizational development and the only way to guarantee TILC's survival and to bring about the political regeneration of the WSL.

At the April 1983 TILC meeting, the non-British TILC sections joined with the WSL left to form a left-wing TILC majority to take the necessary political and organizational steps for TILC to become democratic-centralist over the course of 1983. They made a last appeal to the old-WSL leadership to break with the opportunism and revisionism of the ex-ICL leadership and begin a political struggle which could end only with a victory for orthodox Trotskyism by winning the majority in the WSL or with a split.

The old-WSL leadership chose to sacrifice the Trotskyist program and its international organization in order to preserve its now unprincipled fusion with the ex-ICL. It walked out of TILC with the WSL right.

The "loss" of the Bryant clique from the RWL is no loss at all. Nor is the "loss" of the right from the WSL. Both strengthened TILC politically. But the loss of the WSL center is really quite tragic. The WSL center contains a number of militants who still do good work in the unions. They are sorely missed. But neither the TILC left nor the WSL left could let concern for these comrades lead us into accompanying them as they followed the WSL right down the road to political sellout and organizational disintegration.

The remaining TILC sections and the British supporters of TILC must now resume the work of building TILC and rebuilding the Fourth International. To mark this turn in the development of the RWL and TILC — and to reaffirm the RWL's longstanding commitment to the American working class and to internationalism — the RWL is changing the name of its paper back to what it was before the "fusions" that destroyed the WSL politically and split TILC.

Note on *Fighting Worker* issue numbering

This and future issues of *Fighting Worker* will be numbered as a continuous series which will include the original *Fighting Worker* and *Workers Struggle*. The original *Fighting Worker*, September 1980 through July 1981, will be whole numbers 1 through 6. *Workers Struggle*, September 1981 through May 1983, will be whole numbers 7 through 17. This issue is vol. 4, no. 5 (whole number 18).

ism!" The RWL covered up the fact that they were on opposite sides of the barricades from their British "comrades," and implied an identity of line by claiming that the WSL "is actively organizing against the war drive." To find out the *real* position of Matgamna/Thornett, one had to read *WV*.

Nowhere is the WSL's scandalous capitulation to its "own" bourgeoisie more blatant than on the Russian question. The WSL actually came out to the right of the Thatcher government denouncing Maggie for defying Reagan's pipeline sanctions over Afghanistan and calling for trade-union boycotts against the USSR. Yet the platform of the WSL faction that Sollenberger has hooked up with says not one word about the Russian question. As our British comrades noted, the RWL's "internationalist" faction "implicitly accepts the utterly anti-Communist politics of Matgamna & Co., which line it up with NATO imperialism and its social-democratic henchmen in a period of anti-Soviet Cold War" (*Spartacist Britain* No. 50, June 1983).

You can't tell the players without a scorecard, and for the benefit of our readers who can't tell apart the old and new WSL, and the ever-shifting left, right and center, here are the actors in this tawdry British parlour drama:

"ex-ICL" = Matgamna & Co.
(also "WSL right")
"old WSL" = Thornett & Co.
(also "WSL center")
"new WSL" = Matgamna's ICL
plus Thornett's WSL
new "new WSL" = Matgamna/Thornett
minus the "WSL left"

Ready? So in the U.S. the RWL fuses with the San Francisco Bay Area SL(DC) of Steve Bryant in the summer of 1981 as a precondition for entering the TILC. Shortly thereafter the old WSL fuses with the ex-ICL to form the new WSL. The RWL then spits out the old SL(DC). The WSL center and WSL right gang up to expel the WSL left, some of whose members end up in the centrist Workers Power group. And the new new WSL thereupon walks out of the TILC. The dénouement occurred at the April 1983 TILC meeting, which reportedly never got past the first point on the agenda, attendance. Result: as our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain predicted two years ago, "Matgamna's wedding, Thornett's funeral." The RWL ends up with the Italian LOR, which however is negotiating fusion with the local United Secretariat section.

The breakup of this two-bit centrist "international" is testimony to the bankruptcy of those opportunists who fuse first and discuss later. "TILC Strengthened Organizationally, Politically," proclaimed the RWL's *Workers Struggle* in the fall of 1981, sweeping

under the rug a raging argument over whether their phony "international" should be governed by democratic centralism! (It wasn't.) The shotgun wedding between Sollenberger's RWL and Bryant's SL(DC) was the price for joining the TILC, but RWLers protested that their prospective beau was a "petty crook" and a "shyster" even before the ties were tied (*TILC Bulletin*, May 1983).

Politically, the RWL-WSL breakup is a split between New Left Third Worldism and British social-democratic Labourism. Both sides loudly rail against "Spartacist sectarianism," that is, principled revolutionary Trotskyism. Thornett/Matgamna don't even maintain a pretense of a party press, their *Socialist Organiser* defining itself as within the Labour Party, while the supposedly "left" Sollenbergerites at times mouth quasi-orthodox verbiage in their irregular and increasingly shriveled press, clearly written for distant consumption. But the RWL's real work of "coalition building" is quite as rotten as the Matgamna/Thornett crowd's. Like in the J. Edgar Hoover anti-communist myths, they operate through a maze of ever-changing front groups of front groups of front groups. In Ford's River Rouge plant, for instance, the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW represents their "maximum" program, while the Rouge United Front Caucus is their vehicle for cutting deals with skilled trades bureaucrats. And now that has fallen apart, just as has their phony "international."

But breaking up is hard to do. The new new WSL mourns the loss of Bryant, whose Labourism without a labor party was much more to their liking than the petty-bourgeois sectoralism of the RWL. The RWL for its part bemoans the loss of "a number of union militants who still do good work in the unions." Just what do they mean by "good work"? Scabbing, like Thornett did on the 1979 national engineering strike at British Leyland's Cowley plant? That would certainly appeal to the Sollenbergerites, who have the dubious distinction of having written a 70-page single-spaced document in defense of crossing picket lines!

In order to expunge from memory their hapless union with Thornett and his American agent Bryant, the RWL is reverting to the maiden name of its paper, the *Fighting Worker*; intervening issues will be renumbered in order to establish "continuity." No doubt Sollenberger would also like to do a little editing on Vol. 1, No. 1 of *Workers Struggle*, which hails the WSL-ICL fusion as having "great significance for the development of the British workers movement," declares that the RWL-SL(DC) marriage had produced a "strongly consolidated organization," etc. Or was that Vol. 2, No. 1 of the *Flinching Scab*...? ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 1)

internationally respected English-language *Saturday Review* have been banned, their offices sealed and editors detained. Now rail and bus transport between Jaffna and Colombo have been cut off. And most ominously, the government is calling upon all Sinhalese to leave the Northern Province to clear the way for the army's bloodletting. The same thing happened just before the anti-Tamil massacre in 1981, when the Jaffna public library, cultural and historical repository for the Tamil people, was burned to the ground.

In the capital city of Colombo, gangs of racist youth, trucked in, aided and abetted by the government, are roaming the streets engaging in systematic, massive burning and looting of hundreds of Tamil stores, houses and vehicles. At press time scores had reportedly been killed. As the [London] *Guardian* (25 July) wrote:

"Pillars of smoke and flame rose over the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo, yesterday as mobs attacked the minori-



The Island
Burnt-out storos in Vavuniya after Sri Lanka army rampaged through the Tamil-populated city in May.

ty Tamil community and burned and looted their homes and stores. Witnesses claimed counting at least 12 corpses on the streets. Hundreds of shops and scores of vehicles were destroyed....

"But all over the city by mid-morning, lorries jammed with young men shouting anti-Tamil slogans were moving into Tamil areas and into shopping centres, picking out Tamil stores....

"By noon, Colombo resembled a city after a bombing raid. Smoke obscured the sun, main roads were blocked by burnt-out vehicles and thousands of city workers, most on foot streamed back to their homes to avoid the violence...."

J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) government, prostrate before the International Monetary Fund, has introduced drastic austerity measures and schemes such as the "Free Trade Zones" in order to shore up the bankrupt economy. In exchange for access to U.S. markets for the cheap goods produced by the super-exploited Sinhalese women in these zones, J.R. is willing to trade the strategically important deep-water harbor of Trincomalee, a previously Tamil area. Possession of this port once decided the fate of all India. Here, over the last several years, a conscious program of Sinhalese colonization has been implemented by the government. U.S. imperialism's appetite to secure hegemony over the Indian Ocean as a staging area for control of the Indian subcontinent and Persian Gulf and as part of its encirclement of the Soviet Union is thus integrally tied to the preparation for an anti-Tamil pogrom.

Currently, Trincomalee has become an arena of escalating communal violence. Last month Sinhalese gangs set fire to a bus carrying Tamils from Jaffna to Trincomalee. Some 20 people were cremated in the blaze and 60 seriously injured. A young Tamil couple who helped rescue the survivors were found hacked to death the next day along with their young child. On July 5,

an Amnesty International news release documented the hideous systematic torture of Tamil activists:

"In some cases detainees have been kept in solitary confinement for more than eight months after arrest. Torture is said to include hanging victims upside down from hooks, beating them with metal bars and driving needles under the toenails and fingernails."

But that was last month, today many of the torture victims have been butchered.

In desperation the leaders of the Sri Lankan Tamil community have appealed to Indian head of state Indira Gandhi to intervene on their behalf. Gandhi draws significant electoral support from the tens of millions of Tamils in southern India. Indian diplomatic staff in Colombo suffered attacks and arson against their homes following a Sri Lankan press campaign against Indian "meddling" in Sri Lanka's affairs last week. New Delhi had expressed concern over UNP anti-Tamil measures. And in India's state of Tamil Nadu an opposition party has called for a half-day general strike for tomorrow in the state capital of Madras, protesting the atrocities against Tamils in Lanka. J.R. has rejected all protests by the Indians, Amnesty International and others as "internal meddling" and/or spreading false accusations. Certainly the presence of several divisions of the Indian army just across the narrow straits of Palk would act to restrain Jayewardene's blood lust against the Tamils. But the fate of Lanka's Tamil masses must not be left to Indira Gandhi, the brutal oppressor of her own national, ethnic, religious minorities in India. Indeed, a direct intervention by India, while it would stop the anti-Tamil terror, would tend to result (like the Turkish invasion of Cyprus) in reversing the terms of oppression between Lanka's nationalities.

This urgent task—a question of life and death for three million people—falls squarely upon the international working class and its allies. The international Spartacist tendency is organizing a campaign of protest to stop the terror against the Tamils in Lanka. The defense of the Tamils, now facing genocide, must be linked to a revolutionary socialist perspective, which alone can secure national justice for all the peoples of South Asia. This is the proletarian internationalist perspective of the Spartacist League/Lanka.

- Army and police out of Tamil areas!
- Free all victims of UNP terror!
- Down with the bonapartist J.R. regime! Restore democratic rights and elections!
- For the right of self-determination for the Tamils in Sri Lanka!
- Full citizenship rights for stateless Tamil plantation workers!
- U.S. imperialism, hands off Trincomalee! Out of Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean!
- Forward to a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka as part of a Socialist Federation of South Asia! ■

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Demonstrate!

Stop Anti-Tamil Massacre in Sri Lanka!

NEW YORK CITY, 28 July
Sri Lanka Mission to U.N.
630 Third Avenue
5 p.m.

LONDON, 27 July
Sri Lankan High Commission
13 Hyde Park Gardens
10 a.m.-2 p.m.

MELBOURNE, 27 July
Ceylon Tea Canter, Collins St.
5:30 p.m.

TORONTO, 29 July
Air Lanka, 11 Adelaide St., W.
4:30 p.m.

PARIS, 29 July
Air Lanka, rue du 4-Septembre
6 p.m.

Israel's June 1982 invasion and occupation of Lebanon, hacked by U.S. imperialism, marks a watershed in the history of the region. Neither Israeli society nor the Palestinian national liberation movement will ever be the same again. Now the genocidal logic of the Zionist colonization of Palestine has been made clear to everyone. Venerable old Zionists use the terms "Judeo-Nazism" to condemn the policies of the Begin/Sharon regime.

As Begin/Sharon's blitzkrieg extended northward into Lebanon last summer, spreading terror and destruction, morale in the Israeli army began to crumble and massive antiwar protests occurred in Israel, unprecedented developments in the midst of a military campaign. The Lebanese war was unraveling Fortress Israel. In this war the international Spartacist tendency stood for revolutionary defensism of the Palestinian commandos, recognizing that every Israeli soldier who returned home in a bodybag brought that much closer the destruction of the Zionist state from within. For this reason the decision of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership to withdraw from Beirut, a surrender arranged by U.S. imperialism, was especially catastrophic for the Palestinian people and the prospects for social revolution in the region.

If Israel's invasion of Lebanon has deeply upset liberal Zionists and their

PART FOUR OF FOUR

supporters, it has also shattered the fiction of Arab "unity" behind the Palestinian cause. During the siege of Beirut the number two man in the PLO, Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), exclaimed with bitter irony: "It is the first time in history the Arab countries have agreed with each other. I am referring to the unity of silence and of betrayal and of just looking on."

However, the Arafat leadership of the PLO reacted to its isolation in the face of the Israeli blitzkrieg by turning openly to Pax Americana, calling for and then surrendering to the U.S. Marines and other imperialist forces. And the Third World nationalist cheerleaders on the American left, notably Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party, supported sending the U.S. imperialist "peacekeepers" to Lebanon. In addition to disarming the Palestinians in the face of Zionist/Phalange genocidal terror, these U.S. troops and those of its NATO allies have in their gunsights the Soviet-backed Syrian forces. The battlelines in Lebanon could well be the tripwire for World War III. Should U.S. military provocations in the Near East lead to war with the Soviet Union, the urgent task of the international proletariat would be defense of the USSR against imperialism.

Arafat's betrayal in withdrawing from Beirut liquidated the PLO as an independent military force. The Palestinian commandos are today dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon are either firmly under the control of the Syrian army or (as in Tripoli)



Gamma

From left: "Moderate" Arafat with "radicals" Habash and Hawatmeh. All Palestinian nationalist leaders are responsible for the shattering defeat in Lebanon.

After Lebanon: The Left and the Palestinian Question From the "Arab Revolution" to Pax Americana



Occupying Israeli army terrorizes surviving Palestinian women and children in Sidon, Lebanon.

UPI

surrounded by it. In this situation it was predictable that Syrian strongman Assad would move to dominate the PLO, exploiting and manipulating the opposition to Arafat's Pax Americana line among Palestinian militants (see "Mutiny in the PLO," *WW* No. 333, 1 July).

The simultaneous crisis of Zionism and the Palestinian national liberation movement offers a crucial opportunity to crystallize an Arab/Hebrew Trotskyist vanguard. Such a revolutionary party must be based on this fundamental understanding: there will be no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East without the destruction of the Zionist state; and there will be no national liberation for the Palestinian people without breaking from Arab nationalism. The only road to peace and national justice for both peoples is

through a binational Arab/Hebrew workers state within a socialist federation of the Near East.

PLO: From "People's War" to Oil Diplomacy

If ten years ago someone had predicted that the leadership of the PLO would call for U.S. Marines to enter Beirut to protect the Palestinians from the Israelis, he would have been dismissed as a political lunatic. In leftist circles he would have risked physical assault for voicing something so outrageous. The PLO presented itself as the "armed vanguard of the Arab Revolution" against Zionism and imperialism and was so hailed by the Third World nationalist cheerleaders of the Western left.

Yet Arafat's embracing of Pax Americana is not some sudden, unexpected betrayal but the deepening of a political line pursued for the past decade. The PLO leadership around Arafat saw in the October 1973 war and the subsequent Saudi-organized oil boycott a decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of the Arab regimes. So did much of the Western left which hailed both. The PLO leadership sought to win through Arab and great-power diplomacy what it could not win through "armed struggle" against the U.S.-backed Israeli war machine. Its strategy became one of pressuring the Arab oil states to pressure U.S. imperialism to pressure Israel. This perspective seemed bright when a year after the

October War the various reactionary Arab regimes gathered at Rabat, Morocco and declared the PLO "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Soon thereafter Arafat would be waving an olive branch at the UN.

Increasingly the PLO's standard denunciation of "Zionism and imperialism" was replaced by appeals to U.S. imperialism to break with Zionism. For example, in a 1974 interview Arafat asked Washington rhetorically: "Can America ignore Israeli interests for the sake of its own interests? That is the question" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1975). He developed the same theme in his famous UN speech, urging Americans not to sacrifice friendship with the oil-rich Arab world for the alliance with Israel. The PLO leadership's efforts to woo U.S. imperialism were not limited to public pronouncements. The head of Fatah's security and intelligence unit, Ali Hassan Salameh (who was assassinated in Beirut in 1979), served as a liaison to the CIA, informing "the Company" of terrorist actions against American diplomats planned by other Palestinian factions!

In a 1977 article PLO spokesman Sabri Jiryis (who headed an abortive attempt to establish a diplomatic mission in Washington) analyzed the growing tendency toward Pax Americana within the Palestinian nationalist movement:

"...there is the Arabs' greater self-confidence in their ability to reach just solutions of their problems, in view of

their increasing strength at all levels. These factors and others have led to the emergence of a trend to the effect that it is better to seek a solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict through peaceful means, and through understanding with others, and especially with the Western camp, headed by the US."

—"On Political Settlement in the Middle East: The Palestinian Dimension," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Autumn 1977

Washington's idea of a "peaceful solution" to the Arab-Israeli conflict was the 1979 Camp David Accords. This "separate peace" with Egypt enabled the Zionist militarists to concentrate their war machine against the rest of the Arab world, especially the Palestinians. A few months after Sadat flew to Jerusalem in 1977 to embrace Begin, Israel celebrated the event by invading southern Lebanon, a dress rehearsal for its full-scale blitzkrieg last summer.

Even after Camp David the Palestinian nationalist leaders continued to rely on oil diplomacy to change American policy. On the morrow of Reagan's election in November 1980, the PLO's "foreign minister," Farouk al-Kaddoumi, could only exhort the Saudi monarchy and Persian Gulf sheikdoms to do better: "The Arab oil countries should play a bigger role in influencing American policy, and we hope these countries will apply more pressure, using their economic and petroleum capabilities" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1981). It was precisely the Palestinian nationalists' reliance on the Arab rulers—the "radical" Syrian Ba'athists as well as the feudal Saudi monarchy—which led to the historic catastrophe in Lebanon.

No to Another Imperialist Partition of Palestine!

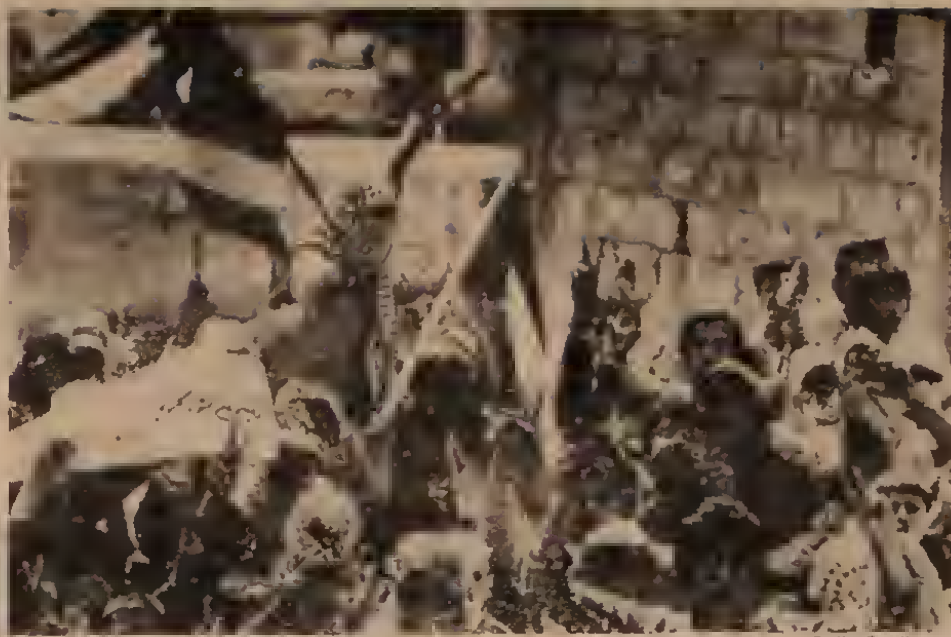
Central to the PLO's post-October War turn toward diplomacy and "moderation" was its acceptance of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza, a position it had previously rejected. Thus, in 1971 the Palestinian National Congress declared its

"Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland on the basis that any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question."

—*Free Palestine*, April 1971

This position was reaffirmed the next two years. However, meeting in Sadat's Cairo in June 1974 the PLO leadership reversed itself and came out for a Palestinian state on any "liberated" Palestinian territory.

Those Palestinian nationalist leaders, like George Habash, who opposed the mini-state solution—the so-called "rejectionists"—could offer no alternative except the prospect of more wars between the Arab bourgeois states and Israel. Yet in the unlikely event that the Arab states defeat Israel in a war, the



West Bank Palestinians protest Israeli military terror. Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories!

result will not be Palestinian national liberation but defense of the status quo of a balkanized and dispersed Palestinian population oppressed both by the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors.

When in 1974 the PLO changed its line on the West Bank mini-state, we wrote:

"A West Bank state led by the PLO would soon become a 'bantustan' in which neighboring states could dump their unwanted Palestinian refugees—900,000 in Jordan, 300,000 in Lebanon, 300,000 in Israel and 200,000 in Syria. It would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination.... 'A genuine exercise of Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, including all of what is now Israel and Jordan. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people.'"

—"West Bank Mini-State No Solution," *WPV* No. 57, 22 November 1974

The notion of a genuinely independent Palestinian state wedged between Zionist Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is ludicrous, even more so today than in 1974. The West Bank Palestinian population is already to a large degree economically integrated into Israel, providing super-exploited labor for Israeli capitalism. Half the employed labor force on the West Bank works in Israel. One third of the West Bank's salaried workers have been employed in Israel for at least ten years.

Officially the PLO position is that the West Bank/Gaza mini-state is but a transitional step toward its maximum program of "a democratic, secular Palestine." However, Arafat and his colleagues made it clear that if granted a statelet on the West Bank and Gaza, the PLO would abjure military action against Israel, which from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism is the only kind of effective action. For example, in a meeting with the U.S. Republican

Congressman Paul Findley in 1978 Arafat assured him: "The PLO will accept an independent Palestinian state consisting of the West Bank and Gaza, with connecting corridor, and in that circumstance will renounce any and all violent means to enlarge the territory of that state" (*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Winter 1979).

However, even if the PLO were to formally recognize Israel, U.S. imperialism would still not sponsor a West Bank/Gaza Palestinian statelet, much less apply the enormous degree of pressure needed to force Israel to withdraw from these territories. Washington has pressured Israel into withdrawing from some Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war only as a means of securing and strengthening its network of anti-Soviet alliances in the region. Sadat's Egypt got back the Sinai only several years after it had decisively broken with Moscow (Soviet advisers were expelled in 1972) and become a proven American client state. In the aftermath of the October War Kissinger sought to work a similar "reversal of alliances" with Assad's Syria, and for a time he was optimistic about the prospect. In his memoirs he writes: "It was precisely the realization that the Soviets could produce no progress that was driving the Soviets' best friends in the area—like Syria—in our direction, as it had already convinced Sadat to change course" (*Years of Upheaval* [1982]). Israel, however, stubbornly refused to give up a kilometer of the Golan Heights, so Assad did not follow Sadat's course.

Seeking an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East, to use General Haig's term, Washington policy makers have become acutely aware of the Palestinian "problem." The purpose of the Reagan plan, announced last September, was to establish a Palestinian "entity" on the West Bank under the overlordship of King Hussein's Jordan. However, the dominant view of the American ruling class is that a PLO-led statelet on the West Bank/Gaza is neither necessary nor desirable to achieve its aims in the region.

One prominent dissenter from this view is George Ball, a former high State Department official and leading Democratic Party braintruster. Ball's 1977 article, "How to Save Israel in Spite of Herself" (*Foreign Affairs*, April 1977), expressed the "liberal" imperialist line on the Palestinian question. He argued that Israeli expansionism destabilizes the Arab regimes and so allows the Soviet Union to ally itself with Arab nationalist revanchism. Hence, in his view, a Palestinian West Bank statelet would help secure American dominance in the Near East:

"...there is accumulating evidence that Arafat, and such elements of the PLO as he can control, are moving toward the acceptance of a partitioned Palestine and, as the price for the return of the West Bank, would agree to recognize the sovereignty of Israel within her pre-1967 borders.

"Moreover, it seems clear that the

current leaders of Saudi Arabia, as well as of Syria and Egypt, hope for a settlement to avoid the dangers of radicalization and the increase of Soviet influence in the area, as well as the high cost of maintaining Arab military might in an environment of hostility."

However, even those few representatives of the American ruling class who favor a West Bank Palestinian mini-state insist that it cannot be under "radical" (i.e., Soviet-allied) leadership. Here is how James Akins, a former leading State Department Arabist and ambassador to the Saudi monarchy, envisages Palestinian self-determination.

"It would be small; it would be largely demilitarized; and it would be surrounded on three sides by Israel.... Furthermore, the Palestinian state would be supported economically by the conservative states of the Arabian peninsula."

—*Middle East International*, May 1980

The Palestinian nationalists and their supporters on the Western left do not openly call for another imperialist-sponsored partition of Palestine as do Ball and Akins. A single exception is British radical journalist Fred Halliday. In a 1981 article, "Revolutionary Realism and the Struggle for Palestine" (*MERIP Reports* No. 96, May 1981), Halliday spells out the line of "moderate" Palestinian nationalism without the usual diplomatic cover and ambiguities.

From the correct premise that both the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs have a right to national self-determination, Halliday draws the reactionary conclusion that partition and forced population transfers are the only "realistic" solution:

"In Palestine the national oppression of Palestinians by Israelis is not as unique as most commentators would have us believe.... For such problems there exists a conventional remedy: national exploitation should be ended by allowing each national group to have its own state. If there is a disputed territory or mixed populations—as in India/Pakistan and Greece/Turkey—then population transfers can occur.... Why is partition in fact inapplicable to Palestine?"

Modern Turkey was consolidated after World War I over the corpses of a million Greeks and Armenians. The British partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 produced a communal bloodletting in which countless millions of Hindus and Muslims were killed. For Halliday to hold up Turkey/Greece and India/Pakistan as positive precedents for Palestine demonstrates the utterly reactionary—not to say barbaric—nature of his "revolutionary realism."

Essentially Halliday advocates the West Bank/Gaza mini-state with perhaps some additional territories, an updated version of the 1947 UN partition. In this respect Halliday's position is similar to that of the pro-Moscow Stalinist Rakah party in Israel. Stalin's Russia was a major force behind the 1947 UN partition, and the Kremlin has since continually reaffirmed its support for a two-state solution.

But whereas the Rakah Stalinists appeal to the Zionist "doves," Halliday sees in U.S. imperialism the main potential agency for achieving a Palestinian state:

"In the past, imperialist countries have supported national self-determination for their own reasons. The Versailles Conference of 1919 was one such instance. Under certain (admittedly improbable) conditions, the US could be ready to support the establishment of a Palestinian state in a manner that was also of benefit to the Palestinian people."

The Versailles Treaty as an example of imperialist support for the right of national self-determination? An incredible and outrageous statement! In the Near East, to take one example, the Versailles Treaty divided the Kurdish nation between five separate states. As Halliday knows perfectly well, the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky did not exactly share his positive view of the Versailles Treaty.

continued on page 10



U.S. Marines in Beirut disarm PLO commandos, set up Shatila/Sabra massacre of Palestinians.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 9)

The May 1919 Comintern manifesto, "Down with the Versailles Peace! Long Live the Communist Revolution!" declared:

"The Versailles peace terms have shown that imperialism of whatever coalition is equally bloodthirsty. Whatever 'democratic' fig-leaves imperialism may use to cover itself, it remains the embodiment of barbarism and bloodthirstiness."

This treaty of the victors of World War I had two main aims: to construct a *cordon sanitaire* against Bolshevik Russia in East Europe and to weaken and dismember Germany (e.g., incorporating three million Germans in the new Czechoslovak state). In this way the Versailles Peace Treaty contributed in large measure to the imperialist encirclement of the Soviet Union and its consequent Stalinist degeneration, and to the rise of Nazism in Germany, setting the stage for World War II.

Under what (admittedly improbable) conditions would U.S. imperialism reverse itself and sponsor a West Bank Palestinian statelet? Only if this policy shift was believed necessary to better secure American dominance in the Near East and to mobilize the region against the Soviet Union (Haig's "strategic consensus"). In such circumstances Washington's support for a West Bank statelet would not only perpetuate national injustice against the Palestinians, it would be part of a drive toward nuclear world war aimed at destroying the gains of the October Revolution.

A Democratic, Secular Palestine?

Whatever their differing attitudes toward the West Bank mini-state, all wings of Palestinian nationalism and their left tailists today propose "a democratic, secular state" as the ultimate, progressive solution. Typical in this regard is the pro-Moscow Stalinoid group led by Irwin Silber, which in a recent major article, "The Palestinian Revolution and the Struggle Against Zionism," asserts:

"The declared strategic objective of the Palestinian revolution as enunciated by Yasir Arafat before the United Nations in 1974 is the establishment of a single, democratic, secular state in all of Palestine....

"Not only does this perspective represent the only just resolution of the national oppression of the Palestinian people but it also represents the only completely consistent anti-imperialist approach to the question."

—Line of March, March/April 1983

The Silberites' citation of Arafat's olive-branch-waving UN speech is telling, since the formula of a "democratic, secular state" was concocted largely for its appeal to "liberal" imperialist opinion.

Historically, the Palestinian nationalist movement envisaged expelling the Zionist colonizers en masse. For example, in 1959 the publication of Arafat's Fatah, *Our Palestine*, asked rhetorically: "What shall we do with the Jews—

two million Jewish usurpers?" Its answer:

"We shall say to them what Saladin said to the Crusaders. Go back to the lands you came from. Unless you can prove that you were in Palestine before the iniquitous Balfour Declaration of 1917...."

—quoted in David Hirst, *The Gun and the Olive Branch* (1977)

This position was incorporated in the founding document of the PLO, the 1964 Palestinian National Covenant, which states that only "Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be

ie state on the land of Palestine it will incorporate, as our brother and leader Yasser Arafat said in his speech before the UN, all the Jews who currently live in Palestine...."

—"An Initial Response to Dr. Emile Tuma..." in Fouzi el-Asmar et al., ed., *Debate on Palestine* (1981)

The PLO's fake-left apologists typically argue that an oppressor people, such as the Israeli Hebrews, have *no rights* before the claims of the oppressed, a position recently reasserted by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party:

"Any demand that the oppressor



Israeli workers, largely Saphardic, demonstrate against Begin's austerity program, 1977. Hebrew-speaking proletariat must be broken from the grip of Zionist reaction.

considered Palestinians." The early PLO's implicit "drive the Jews into the sea" line enormously aided Zionist propagandists in appealing to liberal opinion in the U.S. and Europe, not to speak of solidifying the intense chauvinism and bigotry of the Israeli Jewish population. When after the debacle of the 1967 Arab-Israel war the PLO came under a new and more savvy leadership, it adopted the "democratic, secular state" formula in 1969. Here presumably was a solution acceptable to all men of good will on both sides. It is important to note that in the name of Arab unity and narrow nationalism this "democratic, secular Palestine" would *exclude* the 1.2 million Palestinians—a majority of the population—in King Hussein's Jordan. "Liberated" Palestine would be limited to the boundaries of the pre-1947 British mandate.

The "democratic, secular state" preserves the essential core of the Arab nationalist position in denying that the Hebrew-speaking people are a nation with the right to self-determination. Rather they are to be considered and treated as a religious community similar to Muslims or Christians. In a polemic against the Stalinist Rakah party in Israel, which advocates a two-state position, "moderate" PLO spokesman Naim Khader (who was subsequently assassinated) stated categorically:

"There is therefore no right of self determination for the Israelis in the land of Palestine. It is essential that this is completely clear and when the Palestinian people does establish a democrat-

nationality have veto power over the choice of the oppressed guts the demand for self-determination. This is the unilateral and unconditional right of an oppressed people." [emphasis in original]

—"Marxist View of Mideast Conflict and PLO," *Intercontinental Press*, 27 December 1982

The doctrine that an oppressor nation forfeits its right to exist has nothing in common with socialism and democracy; it is the ideology of genocidal irredentism. The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 was a historic crime against the Palestinian Arab people and thus a violation of the right of self-determination. But securing national justice for the Palestinians does *not* mean reversing the terms of oppression and denying the democratic rights of the Hebrew-speaking people. Basic to the Leninist position on the national question, the only consistently democratic position, is that all nations have a right to self-determination. At the same time, the right to self-determination is not absolute and unconditional but is subordinated to the struggle for general democratic aims and socialism.

The post-1969 efforts of the PLO leadership to give themselves "democratic, secular" credentials had a large element of hypocrisy. In 1970 the official organ of Fatah declared: "A democratic and progressive Palestine, however, rejects by elimination a theocratic, a feudalist, an aristocratic, and an authoritarian or a racist-chauvinistic form of government" (quoted in Paul A. Juredeini and William E. Hazen, *The Palestinian Movement in Politics* [1976]). These impeccably liberal-sounding principles did not in any way prevent Arafat & Co. from enjoying close ties to the Saudi monarchy and later embracing Khomeini's Islamic Republic of Iran, two of the most theocratic, authoritarian and racist-chauvinist governments on the face of the planet.

While striving to maintain good relations with Arab and Islamic reaction, the PLO leadership has in the past few years also been wooing Zionist "doves" like Uri Avnery and former Israeli general Matti Peled. This orientation to "democratic and progressive circles" in Israel was greatly reinforced by the Lebanese war, which dramatically exposed the impotence and treachery

of *all* the Arab regimes. The *only* mass protests in the Near East against Israel's genocidal invasion took place in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv! Hoping to encourage the Israeli "peace movement," last fall Arafat paid homage "to all of the Israeli or Jewish pacifists and democrats, I address the esteem and gratitude of the Palestinian people who will never forget their solidarity at the time of trial" (*New York Times*, 21 September 1982).

Even George Habash, not so long ago the main organizer of indiscriminate terrorism against Israeli Jews, now speaks of gradually establishing a "democratic, secular Palestine" through peaceful collaboration with the "democratic forces" in Israel. In an interview with a Spanish paper during the siege of Beirut, this erstwhile nationalist fire-eater projected:

"We are also prepared to accept some conditions for the establishment of a Palestinian state without more ado, and afterward we will find the way, cooperating with the Democratic Jewish forces, to build a democratic and secular Palestinian state. In this way we will save the Jews and the Arab peoples of the region from the outbreak of further conflicts."

—*Journal of Palestine Studies*, Summer/Fall 1982

If originally the program of a "democratic, secular Palestine" served as a liberal cover for Arab nationalism, more recently it has become associated with illusions in the reformability or self-liquidation of the Zionist state. When Arafat and Habash speak of the "democratic and progressive forces" in Israel, they mean the Zionist "doves"—represented by the Peace Now movement and Avnery's Sheli—who fear that Begin/Sharon's policy of uncontrolled expansionism will lead to the destruction of Israel. But there are no democratic and progressive forces within the Israeli ruling establishment. All wings of the Zionist polity are by their very nature committed to a racially exclusionist "Jewish state." At most the Zionist "doves" would concede the Palestinians a West Bank/Gaza statelet, thus perpetuating the historic crime of 1948. Daniel Amit, a leader of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, spoke for this milieu when he stated: "The struggle for a unified, secular state has no possible diplomatic strategy, only a military one, which would surely be viewed as a threat by the Arabs in Israel." For Amit and his colleagues, the only solution acceptable is "the creation of a Palestinian state, under the leadership of the PLO, alongside Israel" ("Strategies for Struggle, Strategies for Peace," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Spring 1983).

Palestinian Liberation Through Social Revolution!

At the heart of the Palestinian question is the impossibility of achieving national justice for geographically interpenetrated peoples within a bourgeois-democratic framework. Here one should look at the Balkans, historically a region of far older and even bloodier national/ethnic enmities than the Levant. Prior to World War I the Bulgarian "narrow" socialists advocated a Balkan federation as a democratic solution to the many-sided and savage national conflicts in the region. Reflecting on this program in the 1930s, Trotsky wrote:

"At that time, this slogan played a big role. We took it up although what was proposed was a [bourgeois] *democratic* federation. It is now clear that no democratic power exists in the Balkans that could make such a federation a reality. Rather this is a task for the proletariat." [emphasis in original]

—"A Discussion on Greece," *Writings, Supplement* [1929-33]

The Yugoslav revolution was a vindication of Trotsky's prognosis. Against the background of World War II a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist party led by the Croat Tito carried out a social revolution. As an

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Nahuel Moreno: Anti-Semite

Nahuel Moreno wants to drive Israeli Jews into the sea, and he says so. The Palestinian nationalist movement once called for the expulsion of all Jews who arrived in the region after 1917, a call which Zionist propagandists exploited to the hilt. But these petty-bourgeois nationalists had compunctions about directly advocating genocide. Not so the Argentine pseudo-socialist adventurer Moreno, who condemns the entire Hebrew-speaking people of Israel for the crimes of their rulers. For him, "There is no other way to destroy the Zionist state than to throw out the Zionists." This barbarous admirer of Third World nationalist strongmen from General Perón to Imam Khomeini is the antithesis of everything the communist internationalists Lenin and Trotsky ever stood for, and an abomination for every opponent of race-terror. Sounding like nothing so much as the pro-Axis Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Moreno spews forth his anti-Semitic line at the top of his lungs, declaring "Arab racism" to be "progressive"!

Writing in *Correo Internacional* (September 1982), Moreno responds to some of his Chilean comrades who call for a "constituent assembly in Palestine on the basis of the destruction of the Zionist state." In reality there is no bourgeois-democratic solution to the competing rights of two nations to the same geographical space—only under proletarian rule can there be an equitable resolution of the national question in Palestine. But this is not Moreno's complaint. He objects to giving a vote to the present inhabitants of Israel because they "are Zionists and have an absolute majority." This blatant *anti-democrat* writes:

"One of the basic problems in the war which, in different forms, has been going on for 34 years, is the dispute over who has the right to remain in Israel.... But if it is destroyed by the Palestinians' war, that would mean that the Zionists leave Israel, and together with them those who provide their social and political base. This slogan, 'Zionists out of Israel,' is decisive.... What kind of destroyers of the Zionist state are we if our main banner is to permit the

Zionists to win or participate in an election for a constituent assembly...?"

So all Israeli Jews are Zionists, and Zionists have no rights? Dixit Moreno:

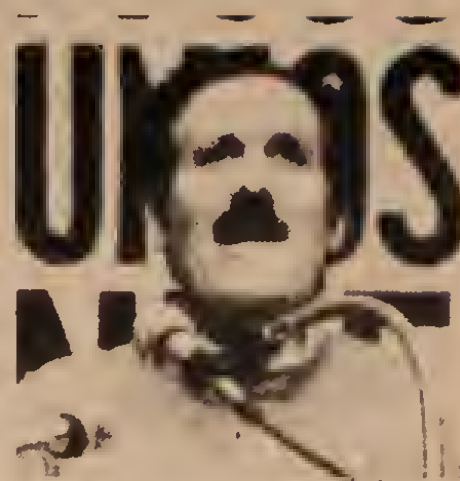
"If you want to insinuate that this constituent assembly would be made with non-Zionist Jewish residents, we have already answered this implicitly. Such imaginary inhabitants do not exist."

Elsewhere in this incredible piece of nationalist vituperation, Moreno calls on the petty-bourgeois Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to "struggle for socialism," placing "work in the PLO" before the construction of Trotskyist parties. Using the subterfuge that Arafat's organization is not a political front but a "nation *sui generis*" (of a unique kind), he advocates liquidation into bourgeois nationalism just as Stalin subordinated the Chinese Communists to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. Moreno makes no bones about it. On the demand for a constituent assembly, he remarks: "It is a strictly bourgeois slogan, just as bourgeois as ours" (i.e., for a "democratic, secular and non-racist Palestine")! But political capitulation to the bourgeoisie is the least of this Third World nationalist demagogue's crimes over Israel.

According to Moreno, who believes that "oppressor peoples" have no right to live, "Zionists out of Israel is what 'non-racist' means in the formula."

Spelling it out, he insists that destruction of the Zionist state "necessarily means the removal of its present inhabitants," for otherwise it would be "accepting the accomplished fact of the Jewish occupation of Israel." How about driving out the entire non-Indian population of Argentina, then, rather than "accepting the accomplished fact" of their annihilation of the indigenous population? As do many petty-bourgeois leftists, Moreno labels Israel an imperialist enclave, comparing it to the U.S. base of Guantánamo in Cuba. But where others hesitate to spell out the consequences—namely that every Jewish child is considered a legitimate war target, just as the Zionist terrorists with state power target the entire Palestinian Arab population—Moreno revels in this most reactionary nationalist chauvinism, proclaiming that "today Arab racism against Israel is progressive."

Such abominable verbal terrorism is cheap for this former café guerrillaist who is a long way from the guns of the Israeli army. We have pointed out before that Moreno is the archetype of Latin American petty-bourgeois nationalist "revolutionaries," a would-be *líder máximo* who imitates the social values which have produced countless mass-murdering *caudillos*. Against the hypocritical imperialist "human rights" outcry against the Argentine junta,



Nahuel Moreno

Revolución Proletaria

Moreno & Co. actually complained about "exaggerations and imprecisions about the repressive reality" (see "Morenoites Front for Bloody Junta," *WV* No. 316, 29 October 1982). This apology for junta terror was written under the regime of General Videla, whose armed thugs desecrated numerous synagogues, arrested and tortured many Jews (which did not stop the Zionist merchants of death from arming the Argentine junta butchers to the hilt for their "dirty war" against the left). In Israel, this two-bit Videlito calls for national annihilation of the Hebrew people.

The international Spartacist tendency, which defends the Palestinian people against the hideous oppression of racist Zionism, which defends the PLO against the Israeli holocaust in Lebanon, upholds the right of both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew peoples to self-determination. Only through proletarian revolution, mobilizing the Israeli workers and the Arab toiling masses against their rulers, can the genocidal logic of bourgeois nationalism be transcended. The Trotskyists struggle for an Arab-Hebrew revolutionary communist party, fighting for a bi-national workers state in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East. Unlike the financial swindler, political bandit and racist pig Moreno, we believe *all peoples have the right to exist*. ■



Survivors of Nazi Holocaust fled to Palestine. Moreno would drive Jewa beck into the sea.

Der Spiegel

expression of *proletarian state power*, albeit bureaucratically deformed, the Yugoslav federation laid the basis for the unity of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

In the Levant, the southern tier of the old Ottoman empire, just as in the Balkans, the northern tier, the road to peace and national justice lies through social revolution. It is only the Hebrew proletariat which has the capacity to

destroy the Zionist citadel from within and the vital interest in doing so. For unless the Israeli working class—especially its intensely chauvinist though relatively underprivileged Sephardic component (Jews from Oriental countries)—is broken from Zionism, there is no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East. The bloody course of Israeli expansionism makes the three million Jews of Israel the automatic scapegoat for the Arab rulers seeking to prevent the 200 million Arabs of the region from rising up against their exploiters at home. And in the context of U.S. imperialism's mad drive toward anti-Soviet world war, Israeli expansionism points directly toward a nuclear Masada (the fortress where ancient Hebrew zealots committed mass suicide rather than surrender to the Roman imperial army).

Probably only great historic events such as Israel's defeat and humiliation in war or a cataclysmic economic crisis could break a section of Sephardic Jewry from the Begins and Sharons and thereby lay the basis for a mass revolutionary workers party in Israel. For such a development to be possible there must be crystallized in Israel a Trotskyist nucleus from among the militant workers, left-wing students and especially the oppressed Palestinian-Arab population. Such a revolutionary vanguard would raise on its banner national justice for the Palestinian

people, fighting for basic democratic demands such as Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories, the right of all Palestinians to repatriate to any part of their historic homeland, including Tel Aviv and Haifa, and the total secularization of the clericalist Israeli state.

The Palestinian diaspora is one of the most politicized and radicalized elements in the Arab East. Palestinians constitute a majority of King Hussein's Jordan, a substantial minority in that feudal patchwork known as Lebanon and a strategic section of the labor force in the Persian Gulf oil fields. With the breakup of the PLO into conflicting client groups of mutually hostile Arab regimes, Palestinian militants now face both a historic choice and a historic opportunity. If they break with petty-bourgeois Arab nationalism and embrace the perspective of proletarian internationalism, Palestinians will be in the vanguard of socialist revolution in the Near East.

The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the bloody Ba'athist bonapartists in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon and shatter the Zionist state. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can

only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East.

This is the concluding part of the four-part series "After Lebanon: The Left and the Palestinian Question—From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana." Interested readers are referred to: Part 1, *WV* No. 317, 12 November 1982; Part 2, *WV* No. 322, 28 January 1983; Part 3, *WV* No. 325, 11 March 1983. ■



Der Spiegel

Arafat's dependence on the sheiks of Arab led to the catastrophe in Lebanon.

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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staunch unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states against U.S. imperialism from Central America to southern Africa. For the reformists in frightened flight from Reagan reaction, these questions are also strategic from another angle: the black population is key to the successful reforging of a labor/black/Democratic Party electoral offensive against Reagan, while anti-Sovietism is the precondition for reformist leftists to prove their reliability to the "anti-Reagan" wings of the ruling class.

The Barnesites' dilemma is that they are not prepared to embrace the Democrats electorally nor break with their eccentric brand of Castroism. They have tried hard to get around this contradiction by denying reality: centrally, by denying that the "Russian question" is in any way posed concretely, as for example in Central America. This flight from reality has fed the minorityites' growth as Barnes is unable to answer the obvious question: if the Cubans are so very good and the Russians so very bad, how come they agree on everything?

But even the Barnesites can't bury their heads in the sand forever. Witness Larry Seigle's recently published report to the May plenum:

"You can't have a serious political discussion about El Salvador without having a discussion about the Cuban workers state.
"...Because everybody knows that what the Salvadoran revolutionaries are fighting for is to become 'another Cuba.'...
"Does that mean, then, that if the FMLN triumphs El Salvador will become an ally of the Soviet Union? Yes. If the revolution succeeds, El Salvador will develop relations with the

Soviet workers state, just as Nicaragua and Grenada have done. We're for that, and the closer the relations the better. Otherwise they'll be crushed by imperialism." (*Militant*, 22 July)

Seigle also polemicized against British historian/disarmament leader E.P. Thompson for anti-Sovietism, noting that:

"First, there will never be a progressive movement in the Soviet Union or any of the Eastern European workers states that calls for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw pact. It will never happen."

But not only has Jack Barnes gone on record for just such unilateral disarmament of the USSR—a modest proposal floated as the SWP changed its line on Afghanistan to conform to the anti-Soviet war drive—but Polish Solidarność believes that even the "nuclear freeze" movement of Vietnam War criminals represents a dangerous appeasement by the "free world" of Soviet "imperialism." And for all the verbiage about Salvadoran rebels fighting for "another Cuba," the SWP has been only too happy to join with their fellow reformists in attempting to silence the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League because we demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Seigle fails to mention, as well, that the SWP is a firm supporter of the defeatist demand for a "negotiated sellout" of the FMLN fighters, just as it championed in counterrevolutionary and illiterate fashion the call for "U.S. Aid to Nicaragua [sic]."

Similarly, the SWP's record of abstention and patronizing liberalism on the black question is legend. Barnes' report on "The fight for independent working class and Black political action today" (*Militant*, 29 July) examines the recent electoral success of black Democrat Harold Washington, the "disap-

Barnes As Literary Critic

This poem was ruled grounds for expulsion from the SWP.

"EULOGY TO ANNE CHESTER"

I suppose the pain was too much
And the loneliness
Old woman
In a city
of cold foggy nights
And row upon row
of family fortresses
Where old people are
taken out
with the trash
And nobody listens
to an eccentric old woman
The young laugh foolishly
But what stories she had to tell!
In her blood
ran fifty years
of Revolutionary
history*
She lived it
she created it
with her wiry hands

and her own sweat
One of a small hand
of determined Trotskyists
Her bones shaking with vision
through two world wars
unemployment lines
McCarthyism
Vietnam
Years of dull factory work
Strikes and protests
as numerous
as the wrinkles that grew
on her face
marking her persistence;
Now the earth feasts
on her ashes
Fertilized, enriched
Nobody listens
to an eccentric old woman
But I sink my roots
deeper
deeper

*Anne Chester was chairman of the SWP Control Commission that expelled the Revolutionary Tendency.

—ANN MENASCHE
February 23, 1983

pointing" direction of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and the SWP's own mayoral campaign for "Invisible" Ed Warren in Chicago. It all adds up to (you guessed it) a "deepening class polarization" and the "breaking out of the class struggle in a certain form." Simply put, the SWP has no program for black liberation, for the destruction of racist oppression in America will require the fundamental anti-capitalist social revolution the SWP gave up on twenty years ago.

Thus, the SWP has alternately tailed the liberal-led civil rights movement, black nationalism (excluding its most subjectively revolutionary expression—the Black Panthers—who were dismissed as "ultraleft"), community control, the NAACP, NBIPP, and even Harold Washington. Where Barnes stops short is just giving the Democrats the vote. The basic SWP principle is to stay away from and/or denounce any militant mobilization against fascism and to defend the so-called "rights" of the Klan/Nazi scum against ultraleft blacks, workers, communists. Whether it's a 5,000-strong anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C. or some 100 trade unionists and other protesters demonstrating for union action against the racist murder of New York City black transit worker Willie Turks, you can count on the SWP to not be there.

Caught in no-man's land between State Department socialism and its own brand of sycophantic Castroism, between capitulation to the Democrats and a habit of withholding direct electoral support—the SWP is in big trouble. There are no fundamental barriers to either the minority or majority eventually liquidating into Harrington's cesspool, although Barnes will probably choose to drown in his own. The minority may try it with Mandel/Camejo. Whatever the sequel, it couldn't happen to a nicer bunch. Bon appétit. ■



In 1939 the then-revolutionary SWP mobilized 50,000 workers to stop the Nazi Bund at Madison Square Garden. Today it is the Spartacist League which initiates and organizes mass labor/black anti-fascist actions while the SWP does nothing but call for "free speech for fascists."

It Takes Lots of Money to Fight the Moonie Libel

On June 14, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed a libel lawsuit against the dangerous cult of Sun Myung Moon and his publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the daily *Washington Times*. The *Washington Times* libeled and set up the Spartacists as would-be cop-killers because the SL initiated and was the principal organizer of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 (see SL statement on the libel lawsuit, "Moonie Libel That Kills" and the legal complaint in *WV* No. 332, 17 June 1983).

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC)—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in

accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—has launched a campaign to help pay for and publicize this important legal battle. Defeating the Moonies will help to protect all the intended victims of the Moonies. This case can be the instrument to strike back against this ultra-right cult's most important thrust for influence and power in America, the *Washington Times*.

But it will be a tough fight. We have the truth on our side, but it will take more than the truth to win against the Moonies. The cult seems to be made of money. It has legions of lawyers and right-wing connections in high places. From his giant munitions plants in South Korea to bilking his flower-peddling zombies to his big-money

backers, Moon's "holy war" of reaction is well financed.

We have very limited financial resources. The Spartacist League takes on this case because it must in self-defense. The SL/SYL faces the most dangerous kind of lie—the kind that kills. If the Moonie cult has its way, the cops will have an excuse to shoot on sight.

If we allow the Moonies to set up the organizers and participants of the November 27 anti-Klan protest, any group or individual in the lead of struggle against fascist terror will be marked for destruction. Everyone on the Moonie hit list has a stake in this case: parents who have seen their children twisted by the cult, the left and civil libertarians who are marked

as "Satan" in Moon's drive for theocracy, clergy and professors deceitfully used to increase Moon's sinister influence, and decent Americans everywhere who hailed the November 27 anti-KKK demonstration as their own and want to see the fascist terrorists stopped. As the SL said in its statement on the Moonie libel suit: "The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League, but liberties we all treasure. It is in this sense that our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours."

Your financial support and endorsement are urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Please send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York City, N.Y. 10013

Reagan's War Moves...

(continued from page 1)

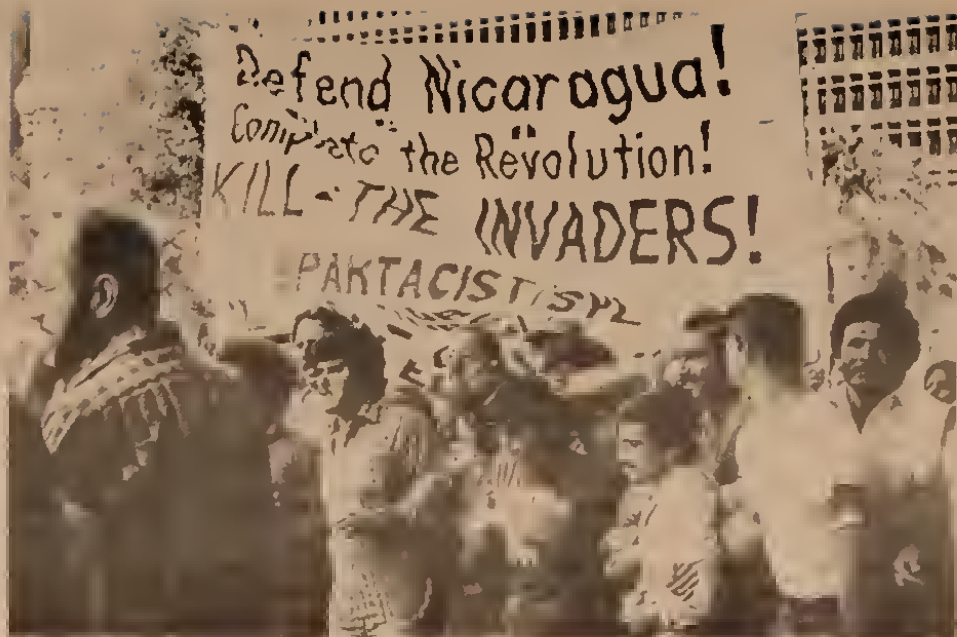
skin, and capitalism's, at this crucial moment the FSLN calls for *cutting off arms to both sides* in the Salvadoran civil war! How would the Sandinistas have liked it if someone tried to do that to them five years ago?

U.S. imperialism is in big trouble in Central America. Reagan's butchers in El Salvador are losing to the leftist insurgents. And if the Sandinistas mobilize the masses to fight, neither the *contras* nor the corrupt and dispirited Honduran army can stand up to them. Reagan cannot suppress the popular insurgencies in Central America with his local surrogates. His escalation goes only in one direction: toward the direct introduction of U.S. combat troops. But this would not only inflame opposition to Yankee imperialism throughout Latin America, it would provoke potentially mass protests and resistance on the home front, where memories of Vietnam are very much alive.

Washington does not presently envision committing ground troops. But the escalation it is undertaking could pose the question point blank, whether

16-inch guns and two types of cruise missiles, will be brought back from a tour in Southeast Asia. "Various kinds of maneuvers" are envisioned for these "exercises," no doubt including blocking and boarding in a "demonstration quarantine." In addition there will be some old-fashioned gunboat diplomacy as the warships steam past Grenada and Surinam at the other end of the Caribbean.

Meanwhile, three Honduran airfields are already being expanded by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to receive giant C-5 air cargo transports. U.S. air strikes against Managua would be guided by an AWACS radar plane now in place. And with great "foresight" Washington has already set up a special radar station near the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, not to "track supplies from Nicaragua to Salvadoran guerrillas" (the usual excuse for American military moves there) but explicitly to guide U.S. military aircraft. On the Caribbean coast, under the guise of a "training facility" for Salvadoran soldiers, the Pentagon is setting up a giant \$150 million naval base spread over 100 square miles: Puerto Castilla is to be the Central American Cam Ranh Bay. And while Democratic Congressmen try to keep Reagan to the 55-adviser speed limit in El Salvador, just over the border there will be some 5,000 U.S. combat



Los Angeles, July 23: To curry favor with Imperialist "doves" reformists try to exclude SL's revolutionary politics but fail.

troops: "no such plans...no desire... (but) a president should never say never." As to a blockade, a July 12 directive by Reagan specified that the exercises are to "test and refine plans for imposing a military quarantine around Nicaragua" according to the *New York Times* (23 July). Coming from the administration that talked about exploding a "demonstration" H-bomb over the Baltic Sea to intimidate the Russians, Washington's "test quarantine" could easily be mistaken for the real thing. And the purpose? As one Pentagon official put it, "Everything that we're doing for the purposes of a military exercise we'd also be doing if the aim were to overthrow the Nicaraguan government" (*Washington Post*, 22 July). A *contra* leader declares that the large U.S. military deployment represents a "shield" for a "spectacular" *contra* campaign; Reagan says they are a "shield for democracy," presumably represented by the Somozaist torturers, while UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek, talks of the "reversibility" of the Sandinista revolution.

The reference to Vietnam is more than "an awkward parallel." Ever since the humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Indochina in 1973-75, the mass of the American population and key sectors of the U.S. ruling class have been wary of foreign military adventures. The liberal Democrats warn against "another Vietnam in

Central America" because they don't want another *losing* war which only saps U.S. strength. Looking at El Salvador's Duarte and D'Aubuisson they see replicas of South Vietnam's Thieu and Ky. in the Salvadoran 9-to-5 army another corrupt, ineffectual ARVN. And while only eight percent of the American public in recent polls knew which side the U.S. was supporting in Nicaragua and El Salvador, 57 percent were opposed to sending in American troops to avert a Communist government (and 71 percent expected Reagan to do it). The "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well, setting the stage for explosive conflict within the U.S. as well, *but the key to fostering bourgeois defeatism is to defeat the bourgeoisie.*

Reaganauts: "WWIII Almost Over"

According to the NSC working paper, "The situation in Central America is nearing a critical point." The combination of bad news from the battlefields and bad news in Congress placed the administration policy in jeopardy. Its conclusion: "Given their inherent weaknesses, most nations in Central America (as well as other nations in the Caribbean and South America) might fall under Communist rule and threaten the political structure in Mexico." The U.S. "has the power and resources to prevent such outcomes," it says, but "the present U.S.

continued on page 14



León, July 19: Sandinistas proclaim, "All Arms to the People!" But not for Salvadoran leftists.

it likes it or not. The expectation of "another Vietnam" is pervasive. However, the situation of the Central American national-revolutionaries is fundamentally more precarious than that of Vietnam in the latter's struggle against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism because: 1) the Central American supply lines are vulnerable and the supplies meager and irregular; 2) there is no hinterland to which the militants could retreat, regroup and strike back; 3) compared to Vietnam's 55 million people, the entire population of Central America is not very large; and 4) there is little unity, certainly between Nicaragua and El Salvador and *damned little* among the Salvadoran insurgents. This is the fruit of the nationalist reformism of the Central American left. The Trotskyists fight for international proletarian revolution, from the inter-American isthmus to the Southern Cone and the North American imperialist heartland.

Vietnam in Central America?

Things have now gone beyond war scare headlines in the scandal press about "Killer Fleet Heads South." A battle group including the carrier USS *Ranger*, a cruiser, three destroyers and other craft will take up position imminently off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, dwarfing the FSLN's "navy" of a dozen patrol craft. The *Ranger's* 70 jet fighters will face the Sandinistas' handful of two-engine prop planes and T-28 trainers. Next will come the USS *Coral Sea*, a second aircraft carrier, and its warfleet along Nicaragua's Caribbean coast, while the USS *New Jersey*, the Navy's only battleship afloat, with its

troops already in place. And this time it's no quick in-and-out operation with technical personnel, but ground troops staying for up to *six months*. If that's the "war games," how long a war are they planning?

Those are the publicly announced measures. In recent days the American press has published additional reports on secret decisions taken at a July 8 National Security Council. These include a \$400 million increase in military aid to Central American rightist regimes—in addition to the multibillion cost of the "exercises," air and naval facilities, to be paid for out of "various Pentagon accounts"—i.e., not subject to Congressional approval. Covert aid to anti-Sandinista counterrevolutionaries is to be increased to support a force of 12,000 *contra* mercenaries on the U.S. payroll. "Advisers" in El Salvador will be increased to 125 (there are already 300-plus in Honduras, not to mention "contract" personnel and several hundred CIA agents roaming the region). For special projects, Israel will be used as a supplier of Soviet tanks, artillery and small arms captured from the PLO in Lebanon. This was prompted, according to a working paper from the NSC meeting, by the administration's realization that "incremental escalation to stave off defeat for the time being" was not working and presented "an awkward parallel with Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 17 July). So instead the Reagan administration has apparently decided to go in heavy and hard now.

When it comes to what all these forces are supposed to be doing there, they get cagey. In his TV press conference this evening Reagan issued a classic "non-denial denial" on the use of combat

"Resolution For Union Action To Stop War Moves"

Reprinted below is the Militant-Solidarity Caucus resolution introduced at the July 25 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union.

WHEREAS:

Ronald Reagan launched military operations with major naval forces in the Caribbean and Pacific Oceans—an act of war by the United States, and

WHEREAS:

Reagan and the Democrat Carter before him, have been attacking labor, particularly blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, creating a climate in this country of increasing racism and anti-communism to prepare for war against Cuba and the Soviet Union...beginning with a war against the working people of El Salvador, Nicaragua and throughout Central America, and

WHEREAS:

NMU officials go along with the capitalist war moves which will increase attacks on labor and minorities, and

WHEREAS:

NMU officials are trying to bribe,

deceive and pressure us—the working seamen—into supporting these war plans based on racist, anti-labor, anti-Soviet policies, and hoodwink us with MSC/military-chartered sub-union-standard jobs, be it therefore

RESOLVED:

That the National Maritime Union oppose Reagan's war moves and link up with other maritime unions, especially the west coast longshoremen, in militant labor actions including:

- 1) A one-day shutdown of all ports to oppose Reagan's war drive;
- 2) Boycott the quarantine and naval operations against Central America on MSC and private contract vessels;
- 3) Refusal to handle shipments to El Salvador;
- 4) Hot cargo military goods to Central American rightist dictatorships;
- 5) Stand for: "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador/Nicaragua! Military Victory to Leftist Salvadoran Rebels!"

Reagan's War Moves...

(continued from page 13)

policy faces substantial opposition at home and abroad; an increased effort would have to surmount even greater opposition." So Reagan & Co., in addition to drastically escalating American military intervention in Central America have gone on the offensive in the U.S. Their vehicle is the National Bipartisan Commission headed by none other than Henry Kissinger. The architect of the 1970 "secret war" in Cambodia who ordered the 1973 Christmas bombing campaign against Hanoi is supposed to design a "bipartisan" strategy for the U.S. in Vietnam II.

It's symptomatic that the closest the Reagan administration can come to the mainstream of bourgeois American politics is this power-mad engineer of imperialist genocide. A Jewish son of German refugees from Hitler, he worked for the American spy agency OSS after World War II recruiting former Nazis (such as the recently apprehended Butcher of Lyons, Klaus Barbie) as anti-Soviet operatives. In Chile, he was best known for his comment, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people." Dr. K backed this up with the 1970 U.S.-sponsored assassination of "constitutionalist" general Schneider; the murder of Allende was one "option" considered, finally accomplished in the bloody Santiago coup of 11 September 1973. Ronald Reagan's personal representative to the panel is Kirkpatrick, who considered mass murderer Somoza a model "moderate authoritarian"; and the "bipartisan" Democrat is superhawk Henry Jackson, the "Senator from Boeing!"

No wonder the liberal imperialist "doves" feel put up against the wall. Reagan's policies on Central America were accurately foreshadowed in the 1980 document of the Committee of Santa Fe, which included several top administration officials. The Caribbean has become "a Marxist-Leninist lake," they say, infested by "Soviet surrogates" and ringed by "socialist states." "The United States can no longer accept the status of Cuba as a Soviet vassal state," it opines, adding that "if propaganda fails, a war of national liberation against Castro must be launched." Notably it puts the battle for Central America in the context of the anti-Soviet war drive, in terms which represent the *real* thinking of the Reagan administration, unpretitified for TV consumption:

"Containment of the Soviet Union is not enough. Detente is dead. Survival demands a new U.S. foreign policy. America must seize the initiative or perish. For World War III is almost over."

—"A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties" (1980)

These are the unvarnished Reagan-aunts, who accuse Democratic Senator Dodd of being a crypto-Communist, who fondly recall Teddy Roosevelt, but prefer to "speak loudly and carry a Big Stick." The Democratic liberals make a show of opposing them in Congress, and a confrontation is now brewing over "covert" CIA aid to Nicaraguan *contras*, the subject of last week's special secret session of the House of Representatives. Naturally, the administration's *real* secret program was not spelled out, though it was revealed in the press a few days later. This was the result in particular of command-level officers in the U.S. armed forces "leaking" the details of Reagan administration policies which they feel will only lead to disaster. Unfortunately, however, their confessions are not about to seriously damage the interests of U.S. imperialism. Even if the Democratic liberals' resolution against covert CIA aid to the Somozaist *contras* wins, it will mean an \$80 million appropriation for overt aid

to anti-Nicaraguan Central American regimes.

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America

Reagan plans his war moves in Central America under the banner of stopping Communism in this hemisphere. The "liberal" imperialists have the same banner but different tactics. They don't think Reagan's old-fashioned "Big Stick" will work. From Congressional Democrats to Mitterrand and Felipe González in Europe to the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela, they fear that Reagan will only continue to inflame passions against Yankee imperialism. They are for more sophisticated political and military options to break the Sandinistas and Salvadoran rebels.

Thus, over the last weekend several Latin American bourgeois governments known as the "Contadora Group" (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela) called for a "negotiated solution" in El Salvador and Nicaragua. These Latin American bourgeois politicians understand the depth of hostility to Yankee imperialism among their own people and the explosive impact sending the Marines into Central America would have throughout the region. To avoid this danger they demand that Nicaragua submit to imperialist pressure, calling for a freeze on arms shipments and establishment of international border patrols, measures which are ultimately directed against leftist insurgents in the growing Central American civil war.

Yet the Contadora proposals were endorsed by Fidel Castro, in his speech today celebrating the 30th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Barracks, the beginning of the Cuban Revolution. And in his speech in Nicaragua's second city of León on the July 19 anniversary of the overthrow of Somoza, FSLN junta coordinator Daniel Ortega called for "an absolute end to all arms supplies by any country to the parties in El Salvador" (*New York Times*, 20 July). If there were any question as to the treacherous policy of the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime, an interview in the September 1983 issue of *Playboy* magazine spelled it out:

"*Playboy*: To put it directly: If you found Salvadoran weapons moving through Nicaraguan territory, would you stop them?"

"*Ortega*: Yes, we would. It would go against our feelings to do it, but we would—because reason has to be the important thing. We have to act with seriousness and responsibility. When Thomas Enders was here, we asked him to give us what information he had on these arms shipments through our country."

Salvadoran rebels, who contributed several million dollars to purchasing arms for the Sandinistas during the Nicaraguan struggle, who today are locked in a life-or-death struggle against the murderous armed forces and death squads of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie, cannot be enthusiastic about the Nicaraguans' offer for a "negotiated" sellout of their struggle. In agreeing to the Contadora proposals, the FSLN and Castro are exposing their own *nationalist* politics. While the overthrow of capitalist rule, already accomplished in Cuba, still remains unfulfilled in Nicaragua, already the Ortegas & Co. are ready to sell out *somebody else's* revolution. Yet in the end this only aids the counterrevolutionaries who would strangle the Nicaraguan revolution. Only through a struggle that spreads the flames of revolution throughout Central America can the workers and peasants of these tiny republics resist the onslaught of the imperialist colossus. Only a Trotskyist party, not petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Sandinistas, can spread workers revolution throughout the region, centrally to Mexico.

Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America! ■

"Courts won't give us satisfaction, what we need is union action, sweep the racists off the streets!"



NYC Transit...

(continued from page 16)

"Smash the Taylor Law! Defend the Right to Strike!" and "Stop the Nazis! Stop the Klan! Only Workers Defense Guards Can!"

TWU speakers included Ed Kartsen, a principal organizer of the rally; Dennis Dixon, one of the Gravesend victims; Benny Foster, TWU chairman of the Track and Power Distribution division; Sean Ahern, a TWU shop steward. Another union speaker was Gene Herson of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union. Some 80 transit workers endorsed the call for the demonstration. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in the crew rooms, barns and yards throughout the system. Word went out over WLIB and WINS radio. Wives and relatives of transit workers also marched on the picket line, along with phone workers and a contingent of militant seamen.

The call for the rally emphasized, "We must unite and act to stop lynch mobs! A militant mass demonstration by TWU forces at the courthouse can immediately lay the basis for union squads of thousands of militants on flatbed trucks to patrol Gravesend to insure safety and order!" TWU Local president John Lawe has opposed the mobilization of union power to stop the racist attacks, telling the workers to let the courts take care of it. The mockery of justice in Brooklyn exposes the utter bankruptcy of relying on the capitalists' cops, courts and politicians to protect black people. And it was the liberal Democrats, headed by the office of D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman, that ran the Mormando and Bova trials.

"The racists are killing us on the outside, the TA is killing us on the inside," said transit worker Ed Kartsen. Only days before the Mormando verdict was announced, the bosses once again scapegoated transit workers for their rotting subway system by charging that "cowboy" motormen are responsible for the rash of train derailments. But it's the Transit Authority that's killing transit workers and endangering the public with their criminal neglect for safety. Two years ago motorman Jesse Cole was killed in a train crash when the TA ordered the trains to keep running over track where the signals had totally failed. The demonstration call pointed out: "Instead of organizing a massive emergency effort to free Jesse Cole from his crushed subway car-cab, [TA president] Simpson ghoulishly organized a press conference to pin the blame on Cole as he bled to death." The racist punks on the streets of Gravesend take their cues from the labor-haters like racist Koch and Simpson. The chants of the angry demonstrators made the connection loud and clear: "Mormando is a murderer—vengeance for Willie Turks! The TA is a murderer—vengeance for Jesse Cole!"

The anger and resentment of motormen and conductors had been building for weeks. In June the Transit Authority put up caution lights in 400 places throughout the system to slow the trains but never changed the schedules! Motormen and conductors were working

with no breaks, no lunch, and many were forced to carry cups in their cabs to relieve themselves because they didn't even have time to take a piss. Then the TA hired Harry Williamson, a \$500-a-day "expert" from San Francisco, who tried to pin the blame on the workers for the ten derailments in the last six months. This joker even contradicted the TA's own findings that the major cause of the derailments was the massive numbers of guardrails in disrepair and other defective equipment. The bankers and the bosses have turned the subways into a death trap. Everyone knows the TA did absolutely no preventive maintenance for five years after the fiscal crisis in 1975 (and damned little before or after)!

So when the TA's "expert" tried to pin the blame on "wildmen-cowboys" for speeding—i.e., running the trains on schedule—that was the straw that broke the camel's back. Outraged motormen began a slowdown action. Finally Lawe was forced to sanction the slowdown after the fact and instruct TWUers to work to rule. According to a leaflet issued by several of the militants who initiated the demonstration, two dozen transit workers were victimized, and the officials were doing nothing. The militants demanded: "Rescind all disciplines NOW!"; "The TWU must enforce standards of safety and decency in the shops, barns and on the tracks. No more Jesse Coles! But union control of safety means a class-struggle fight on the shop floor with management whose only concern is to get trains out and maintain schedules no matter how dirty and dangerous they are."

It's going to take mass mobilizations of workers and blacks on the streets and in the shops to beat back the racist lynchers and TA bosses. At the rally Dennis Dixon, one of the Gravesend victims, said bitterly: "I'd like to thank everyone out here that's not a TWU member of Local 100, and as for the TWU members of Local 100, it's a little bit too late. I needed you all last week.... Anything that could come of this, I support that." Dixon was right: the courts should have been packed with hundreds of transit workers during the Bova and Mormando trials. Benny Foster, chairman of the Track and Power division of TWU, said: "Brothers and sisters, and members, I'm here and I hope my presence will inspire others to show up.... We have 2,000 members [in Track and Power] and at your next demonstration I hope to have at least 1,100."

Other speakers at the rally included Charles Baron of the National Black United Front (NBUF), who said: "I believe it's time for people of good will to come together to state to this city administration that we will tolerate no more racist attacks, nor will we tolerate any brutality and killing by the police department." Marjorie Stamberg, a former Spartacist Party candidate for NY State Assembly who ran on a program of a socialist fight to save New York, came out to express solidarity: "The racists who killed Willie Turks are protected and encouraged by the capitalist ruling class. We will only get rid of them when we go in and sweep out all the rot, when the workers take power led by a multiracial revolutionary party that

Cop Brutality Hearings...

(continued from page 16)

witnesses are outside," shouted others. The meeting dissolved in chaos. John Conyers, chairman of the House criminal justice subcommittee, with Representative Charles Rangel and Mayor Koch in tow sneaked off to another room and declared the hearings were canceled. As "hizzoner" Koch and police commissioner McGuire left the building they were surrounded by the irate citizenry of Harlem who booed and jeered, and kicked and pounded their limousine before they sped away.

Black New Yorkers hate Koch—he was booed by 150,000 people at the recent Diana Ross concert in Central Park. The racist policies emanating from the White House and Gracie Mansion have given a signal to the race-haters everywhere that it's open season on black people. There's a good reason why Harlem hates Koch. Koch has systematically destroyed and dismantled social services in the black community. Harlem residents still remember the day Koch sicced his cops on 400 protesters supporting the sit-in to save Sydenham Hospital. And they burn with indignation at the daily harassment, intimidation and racist victimization and violence by the cops.

The blue ribbon hearings were obviously meant to be a dignified "VIP" affair, with handpicked witnesses and a select audience. The meeting was scheduled in a room with a seating capacity of 150—barely adequate for the press corps and the "star witnesses," the self-anointed leaders of the black community. As people waited in the sweltering heat, the "pillars of the community" were hustled upstairs. The main concern of the black pols and preachers was that the sham hearings proceed. When the hearings were first announced Koch leapt to the defense of "New York's finest," saying police brutality "is not systemic," though he was distressed about the "lack of courtesy and offensive language from our police officers"! But black Harlem was hopping mad and blacks poured out from all five of the city's boroughs determined to be heard.

The preachers tried to cool things out. "Brothers and sisters, the racists don't want us to have this hearing," said Rev. Timothy Mitchell. He pleaded "in the spirit of black unity" for the crowd to "respect our black leaders" and allow the hearings to continue. But the enraged crowd shouted him down. So the demagogic Rev. Daughtry, playing on his "activist" credentials, gave it a try, claiming that if the masses disrupt this select gathering, "we are playing precisely right into their hands." Finally, as a compromise they promised to pipe the proceedings to the overflow crowd

upstairs and on the street. But during the recess Conyers cut a deal with Koch to cancel the hearing because of the "unruly" crowd.

The scheduling of the Congressional hearings brokered by Daughtry and his sidekicks was a publicity coup for the black politicians. When Koch took office he slammed the door to City Hall in their faces. Recently, the black Dems launched a new citywide Coalition for a Just New York to try to turn the enthusiasm over the victory of Harold Washington in Chicago (and Wilson Goode in Philadelphia) into a massive voter registration drive and a campaign to elect a black mayor in NYC.

Victims of Koch's cossacks tell their stories. Annie Brandon (front left), mother of Randy Evans: "My son was shot in the head."



Representative Charles Rangel and Brooklyn Congressman Major Owens, who were instrumental in setting up the hearings, have both been mentioned as possible mayoral candidates. The black pols are using the issue of police brutality to further their electoral ambitions. Then when thousands of angry blacks showed up and were turned away, Rangel had the audacity to denounce a grieving mother, Shirley Roper, whose son was gunned down by the cops June 4, of being a "professional troublemaker" and a "provocateur"—despicable charges which were repeated by Rev. Timothy Mitchell and spread all over the media.

Feeling embarrassed and betrayed when they were deserted by Rangel and Conyers, Daughtry announced they would convene a "People's Tribunal" to hear the people who had turned out in such numbers. Over 50 people came forward to testify. The outpouring of grievances against Koch's thugs in blue shows the deep-seated anger of blacks and minorities at the racist "street justice" the cops meted out:

- One of the key speakers was Mrs. Annie Brandon, who testified, "I am the mother of Randolph Evans who was killed Thanksgiving 1976. My son was killed by police officer Robert Torsney. He was shot in the head... Torsney was

acquitted on epileptic seizures. Now you figure it out from there." Right, he was suffering from a "rare form of epilepsy" which affects the trigger finger in particular! As we wrote at the time of the murder:

"That he [Torsney], upon seeing a young black face, found himself apparently compelled to shoot it is the result of long conditioning of capitalism's hired thugs—racism transformed into reflex."

—"Point-Blank Racist Murder in NYC," *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976

- Larry Peoples told how last February 17 he took his one-year-old baby and got into his van to go to the grocery

store. Suddenly, several men ran by with guns. He said that a white officer held a gun to his head and forced him out of the van saying, "Lie down on the fucking ground or I'll blow your fucking head off!" Along with other officers the cop kicked and blackjacked Peoples. "He took his right foot and stomped down on my face." He said the cops unzipped his baby's snowsuit in a search, and left the baby crying with the van open in the dead of winter for an hour and a half. Peoples was charged with resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer.

- Cory Gibson told how the cops ran over him and his friend Larry Dawes as they were on their way home from the Park Slope area of Brooklyn on their mini-motorcycle on 15 March 1983. "They were coming so fast that he [Larry] couldn't stop immediately, so he swerved on to the sidewalk.... They hit us one time, and as we were about to fall they smashed us into a parked car, killing my friend Larry Dawes.... The white police officer got out of the car and laughed at me. He backed his car up over Larry...they started kicking him and stomping him. My friend Larry is gone, he's dead. I believe these cops are still on the police force, nothing's happening to them."

- The testimony of Victor Moses, who

was attacked by racist thugs as he went to take a court officers examination in the Sheepshead Bay section of Brooklyn underscores the connection between the racist violence of Koch's cops and the rise of lynch mob terror in the streets: "I was approached by two whites, one had a bat and one had a metal pipe. They said, 'What are you doing in this neighborhood, nigger? I was hit in the right side of my head with a baseball bat and everything went black. I had a fractured nose and a fractured skull.... They pleaded guilty to first degree assault and yet still they only got six months and a black history report."

The only "solutions" the black politicians and preachers of the "People's Tribunal" had to offer were more black cops, a "truly independent" civilian review board (handpicked by the governor, instead of the police commissioner!), and the creation of a state commission on racial violence. "The only way we can make some changes in the final analysis will be at the voting booth," said Laura Blackburne of the NAACP. That was the constant theme of the self-appointed "People's Tribunal": vote out the bad guys and vote us in. But black Brooklyn had already had a taste of the "good guys" justice. Daughtry/Vann/Green & Co. helped elect "progressive" Democrat Liz Holtzman as D.A. The so-called justice system even under these liberals has treated the racist murderers of black transit worker Willie Turks with kid gloves.

It will take a fighting labor movement leading the ghetto poor to turn things around in Reagan's racist America and Koch's NYC. Instead this city has been plagued by a cycle of black/union confrontations from which only the racists like Koch benefit. Al Vann & Co. are a gang of professional labor-hating union busters who cut their teeth breaking the NYC teachers strike in 1968. Daughtry, for his part, tried to take the heat off the cops after they killed Arthur Miller in Brooklyn and instead deliberately sought to provoke a pogromist explosion, setting blacks against Jews in the tinderbox community of Crown Heights. Their porkbarreling politics are a dead end for blacks.

New York doesn't need another phony civilian review board to white-wash the daily, ritual racist violence of the cops. What is needed is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks to fight Koch's killer cutbacks and the racist attacks. Labor/black actions can stop racist terror on the streets and teach the cops some respect. The truth is that *none* of the Democrats are fighting for blacks, neither the virulent racists like Koch nor the black elected officials. The bankers and the bosses are willing to let this city go to hell on wheels. Only an integrated revolutionary party of black and white workers fighting for a socialist revolution can save New York from racist capitalist rot. ■

will rip the factories out of the hands of the people who bring us only war and unemployment and race-terror. So, enough already. We need a socialist revolution so a black man can go out and buy a hagel on the streets of Brooklyn."

Ed Kartsen told *WV* that transit militants succeeded in making the need for union action to stop racist attacks a hot issue in the TWU. Mike Scott, a supporter of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and chairman of the United Motormen's Division of Local 100, reportedly refused to endorse. But the anger of black workers forced even "dissident" Arnold Cherry to give paper support to the action. Cherry had redhatted Kartsen and other militants who first proposed a union mobilization right after Willie Turks was killed. Cherry claimed they were just "using the death of a fellow transit worker for their own purposes." Cherry's own "proposal" at the time was to push for transit

workers to go to a pro-Democratic Party lobbying "rally for jobs" in Albany sponsored by the AFL-CIO tops!

Cherry's opposition to union action flows from his policies of relying on the courts and the Democrats. Because Lawe and Cherry blocked any union action, anti-union demagogues like NBUF's Rev. Daughtry stepped in to use the lynch mob killing for their own pro-Democratic Party purposes. Daughtry cynically used the blacks from the Gravesend Marthoro housing projects to stage a march last summer into the racists' stronghold calling for more police protection. Yet the racist cops did nothing to rescue Willie Turks from the vicious mob on Avenue X! Daughtry's small, isolated march totally divorced from the labor movement was a display of weakness which could only serve to provoke more racist violence. What is needed instead is a massive, integrated show of force—thousands of TWU

union brothers and sisters patrolling the area on flatbed trucks to put a stop to this racist crap.

Also notably absent at the rally was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)-supported Committee for Justice. Kartsen told *WV* that when SWP supporters were asked to support the demonstration they argued nothing could be done about the Turks case now. As for the Committee for Justice, it's defunct. The "peaceful legal" reformists of the SWP have a long history of telling black people to rely on the racist bourgeois state to defend them. In Boston back in 1974-75 the SWP called for federal troops to protect black school children when racist mobs took to the streets to defeat busing. These phony socialists also think race genocide is debatable. SWP supporter Mark Friedman, who is a member of TWU Local 100, even debated a Klansman on TV! Maybe they're waiting for a chance to debate Bova and Mormando out in Gravesend?

The mobilization of integrated union power is what is necessary to stop lynch mob terror in the streets. This demonstration was an important development toward that end. As the rally drew to a close, Ed Kartsen told the workers:

"Right here we have the beginning of a core of people to make a class-struggle fight to stop the racist murderers—a fight in this union to utilize our class power. We run this city...they couldn't run it without us! And we have the power to bring it to a stop if they don't stop this racist murder! We've got to go back to our locals and fight for a class-struggle program, for a class-struggle leadership.... John Lawe, the leadership that refused to fight, they'll have to step aside...because we're going to put them aside. They're telling us to rely on the Democrats. The Democrats never do anything. Even the black Democrats haven't been doing anything. What we need is to mobilize our own forces for our own political party based on militant union action to put a stop to all acts of racist terror.... This is the beginning of the effort to stop any more Jesse Coles, any more Willie Turks" ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Court Lets Off Another Lynch Mob Murderer

NYC Transit Workers Demand: Vengeance for Willie Turks!

One hundred transit workers and supporters rallied at the Brooklyn Supreme Court on July 20 to express their outrage at the racist acquittal of Paul Mormando, one of the leaders of the lynch mob that murdered black transit worker Willie Turks. The militant, integrated demonstration called by members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU)—the strategic intersection of labor and blacks in New York City—was an important first step in mobilizing the kind of union action necessary to keep this town safe from the racist vigilantes. "Lynch mob murder—never again! For union squads to clean up Gravesend," chanted the pickets. "Courts won't give us satisfaction! What we need is union action! Sweep the racists off the streets!" The demonstration came in the wake of the sham police brutality hearing as well, and exemplified the strategic role the TWU can and must play in a class-struggle fight to save New York.

It was Mormando who pulled Willie Turks from the car on 22 June 1982, in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn, only a few hundred feet from the Coney Island transit shop where he worked, tackled him as he tried to run for his life, and held him while Gino Bova bashed his brains out. Two co-workers, Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper, were beaten bloody. Yet Mormando got off on misdemeanor charges! The maximum time he will serve is six months—and the judge has the power to let him off scot free! This after Gino Bova got five years in the pen, a slap on the wrist, though

Brooklyn Supreme Court, July 20—Transit workers demand union action to stop lynch mob effects.



even the judge who sentenced him admitted: "There was a lynch mob on Avenue X that night. The only thing missing was a rope and a tree. Gino Bova supplied that when he hit Turks over the head."

The courts have treated these racist punks with kid gloves and given them a legal license to kill and kill again. Mormando got up and lied through his

teeth on the witness stand, directly contradicting his own statements made the day after the killing, which were played on videotape during the trial. And still the jury refused to convict him of any felony charge! In this so-called justice system, a racist punk's lies are worth more than a black man's life!

The demonstration drew a broad section of militant TWU members,

including many motormen and conductors. The main banner for the rally expressed the anger and determination of everyone who came out, "Vengeance for William Turks! For TWU Action to Smash Gravesend Racist Lynch Mob Terror!" Other placards and chants included, "For Free, Safe Mass Transit—Tear Out the Turnstiles!"

continued on page 14

Angry Black Citizenry Chase Out Racist Koch

Cop Brutality Hearings Explode in Harlem

The black Democrats meant it to be a sedate forum against NYC mayor Ed Koch. But things got out of hand when over a thousand blacks justly outraged at the degrading racist harassment and abuse they suffer on a daily basis at the hands of Koch's cossacks turned up to tell their story. The July 18 Congressional hearings on police brutality in New York City exploded as hundreds of angry blacks were locked out of this so-called public meeting in the Harlem State Office Building. Just as the proceedings got underway, a group of outraged women burst into the jam-packed room. "They killed my son! Eight bullets! They killed my son!" wailed Shirley Roper. "This a sham! They're keeping people out—the main

continued on page 15



Racist mayor Koch flees into police limousine, but Harlem residents give "hizzoner" a send-off.

OeLucia/NY Times