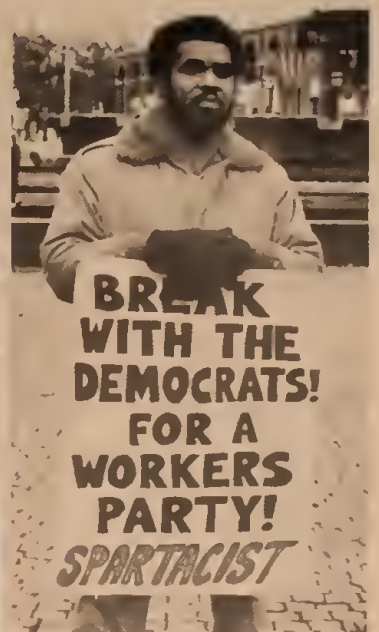


Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

For a Workers' America!



Teamsters show their muscle in support of striking Greyhound workers, Philadelphia, November 1983. Right: demonstrator at November 5 labor/black mobilization which stopped the Klan and skinheads in Philly.

In the wake of the successful November 5 Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Philadelphia, the Spartacist League held a series of educational events in New York City, Chicago and the Bay Area. We print below an edited version of a presentation on "The Struggle for a Workers Party" given by comrade Joseph Seymour of the SL Central Committee in Chicago on December 4.

In December 1941, the United States entered World War II after Franklin Roosevelt provoked the Japanese into attacking Pearl Harbor. Most professional athletes in this country were either drafted into the army or they volunteered. But for some inexplicable reason they decided to go ahead with the 1942 major league baseball season. They used teenagers and old-timers and players who had flunked their army physical. They even had a World Series, with teams consisting of such sterling players. Some reporter asked Casey Stengel which team he thought would win. He scratched his head and said, "I don't think either of these teams could win."

Well, we just had a presidential election like that. I frankly didn't think either of these turkeys could win. I don't remember when there was more generalized disgust at what's called politics in this country, more cynicism and indifference to the contest for high government office between the Republicans and the Democrats. But a few days before this election, which was a big yawn, a political event occurred that was very different, and very meaningful.

A few months ago the Ku Klux Klan and the skinheads said they were going to hold a "white pride day" rally at the founding site of the American government, the Constitution area in Philadelphia. But instead there was a mobilization of trade unionists, black

activists, radical and liberal student activists. It was made clear to the Klan that if they did show up, they were going to face thousands of working people, both white and black, and that they would suffer a humiliating political defeat. So they canceled, and did suffer a humiliating political defeat.

What happened in Philadelphia was not a spontaneous outpouring of rage. The rage was spontaneous, but not the organization. Black shipbuilders from the Virginia Tidewater area, Philadelphia activists who organize in defense of the homeless, gay liberation activists at Temple University do not normally get together in common actions against a common enemy.

This mobilization, heavily built by the Spartacist League, was initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. It was organized with the Marxist understanding that the main social force in fighting all forms of racist and capitalist reaction is the organized working class, which must rally and lead other oppressed sections of society. On a small but important scale the November 5 Labor/Black Mobilization showed the power of a workers party, and pointed toward workers power and a workers government.

"American Exceptionalism"?

Now, the United States is the only advanced country in which there is no mass party which calls itself socialist or communist or labor, which has the support of the organized labor movement. In the 1920s James P. Cannon, who became the leader of the American Trotskyist movement, was then a leader of the Communist movement. He said, in Europe the labor bureaucrats resort to demagoguery, they say they're fighting for socialism, they're fighting for a workers government, and they betray the workers in practice. Here they don't even do

that. They're militantly *pro-capitalist* and *anti-radical*.

There was a big debate in the Communist Party in that period over what was called "American exceptionalism." Is the class struggle in American capitalism exceptional? And if it is, how and why and what can be done about it? Well, in one sense the difference with Europe is fairly obvious, namely, that European capitalist societies developed out of feudal society, very often through revolutionary struggle. You always had a rigid class structure. But in North America, you had the creation of a mercantile capitalist society on sort of virgin social soil.

In fact, you had two societies in North America, one in the South and one in the North. In the South you had a resurrection of an ancient form of class society, namely slavery, within the framework of a world capitalist economy. Moreover, the class divisions under slavery coincided almost 100 percent with racial divisions. In the North, there was no permanent working class prior to the Civil War. Factories were small, equipment was primitive. Most work-

ers could realistically aspire out of their wages to save up enough money to become a small artisan, or maybe go West and buy a farm somewhere.

Now, that Northern society was destroyed by the Civil War, which opened up a rapid period of industrialization. By the 1880s, you clearly had a permanent working class in this country. Nonetheless, this working class did not, as in Europe, organize into parties or even unions. You did not have mass trade unions in this country until the 1930s, until long after the industrial revolution had been completed. Why not? The main reason is that the American working class, unlike the European working class and the working class of even the most backward countries, was created through successive waves of immigration from different countries. Therefore there were always deep national and racial divisions which blocked class consciousness.

In the decades following the Civil War, the Democratic Party consolidated on a seemingly contradictory basis, a character which continued well

continued on page 8

**After Labor/Black Mobilization
Stopped the KKK**

Natural Blowback?

**Black Nationalists
Assault Marxist Organizers**

SEE PAGE FOUR

On Marshal Zhukov

21 September 1988

To the Editor,

In reading the article, "Kim Philby: In Memoriam" (WV No. 454, 3 June), I see that you quoted from an earlier 1977 article, "Heroic Soviet Spies":

"But how can it be that within one and the same government apparatus, at the very heart of the military and security organs of state power, there can be such mortal enemies: the Zhukovs and Tukhachevskys, the Abakumovs and Treppers, the Zborowskis and Reisses—the jailers and those who tomorrow will be their prisoners, the assassins and those who will be their victims, all loyally working in the interests of the Kremlin? The answer is to be found in the fundamentally contradictory character of the Soviet deformed workers state."

—WV No. 166, 15 July 1977

This is a well-balanced illustration of Trotsky's point about the dual nature of Stalinism, except for one thing: the name of Marshal Zhukov seems out of place here. Within the spectrum of Soviet Stalinism, Zhukov does not

belong alongside the vile assassins, Abakumov and Zborowski, and he certainly seems miscast as an enemy of Marshal Tukhachevsky. While there is a good deal that Zhukov would have had to answer for to a tribunal of a proletarian political revolution, he also had enormous services to Soviet power to his credit.

When Tukhachevsky and the cream of the Soviet officer corps were massacred on the eve of World War II, Stalin relied on Zhukov's superior and mentor, Timoshenko, to step in. This advanced Zhukov's position as well. But nothing indicates that Zhukov played any part in facilitating the purge. He was much too junior and remote to be in on a cahal with Stalin. Basically, Zhukov's whole career was shaped by the fact that he was a man of the army first and the party second. And the purge of the generals was a conspiracy of Stalin's clique against the army. In his memoirs, Zhukov wrote glowingly of Tukhachevsky. It is suggested by one author (Otto Chaney Jr.) that Zhukov prompt-

ed the rehabilitation of Tukhachevsky and that this contributed to his own final demise.

Zhukov was a loyal lieutenant of Stalin. As the highest-ranking Soviet military observer in the Spanish Civil War, he couldn't have had clean hands. Having become chief of staff on the eve of WW II, he later caught heat for not having done more to prepare for the Nazi attack. In the first hours and days after Hitler invaded, local commanders calling into Stavka for instructions were told not to return fire, worsening the rout of Soviet forces. Later in the war, Zhukov astounded the German generals with the Russian casualties he was willing to accept in the course of the battles he won. But he didn't do it like Stalin, senselessly. And his military leadership contributed greatly to saving Soviet power from a desperate situation set up by Stalin.

No doubt the proletarian, internationalist traditions of communism had become remote for the imperious, privileged officer whose career rose in the flood tide of Thermidor. So it does not come as a surprise that when the first rumblings of workers political revolution against Stalinism broke out in Eastern Europe, Zhukov came out as a hard-liner for military suppression. When Khrushchev brought an entourage of Kremlin heavies to confront Gomulka in Warsaw '56, Zhukov was commanding an armored column on the approaches to the city. After Khrushchev called him off he reportedly told a Western ambassador, "We could have crushed them like flies." Within a few weeks his tanks were shooting down revolutionary workers in Budapest.



Georgi Petrusov

Marshal Georgi Zhukov

Zhukov's military service in crushing the Nazi invasion (and battling the Japanese invasion at Kholkin Gol in '39) is well known. His political profile reflects the *contradictory* imperatives of Stalinist rule. Casting him as a "jailer" or "assassin" and suggesting that he was a "mortal enemy" of Tukhachevsky is way off the mark. In fact, the only person whom Zhukov personally arrested and jailed was Beria, in 1953, who was a real example of the bureaucracy's capacity to generate venal assassins of the proletariat! Marshal Zhukov must be judged differently.

Communist greetings,
Victor G.



TROTSKY

Lenin to the American Workers

In an open letter to American workers written toward the end of World War I, the Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin noted that they "have to play an exceptionally important role as uncompromising enemies of American imperialism," the latest and strongest imperialist power. He appealed to the revolutionary traditions of the American people, particularly in the Civil War which destroyed chattel slavery. The struggle to finish the Civil War, to complete the



LENIN

emancipation of black people, requires a third, proletarian revolution to sweep away the capitalist system of wage-slavery.

The American people have a revolutionary tradition which has been adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who have repeatedly expressed their complete solidarity with us Bolsheviks. That tradition is the war of liberation against the British in the eighteenth century and the Civil War in the nineteenth century. In some respects, if we only take into consideration the "destruction" of some branches of industry and of the national economy, America in 1870 was behind 1860. But what a pedant, what an idiot would anyone be to deny on these grounds the immense, world-historic, progressive and revolutionary significance of the American Civil War of 1863-65!

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand that for the sake of overthrowing Negro slavery, of overthrowing the rule of the slaveowners, it was worth letting the country go through long years of civil war, through the abysmal ruin, destruction and terror that accompany every war. But now, when we are confronted with the vastly greater task of overthrowing capitalist wage-slavery, of overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie—now, the representatives and defenders of the bourgeoisie, and also the reformist socialists who have been frightened by the bourgeoisie and are shunning the revolution, cannot and do not want to understand that civil war is necessary and legitimate.

The American workers will not follow the bourgeoisie. They will be with us, for civil war against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the world and of the American labour movement strengthens my conviction that this is so. I also recall the words of one of the most beloved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene Debs, who wrote in the *Appeal to Reason*, I believe towards the end of 1915, in the article "What Shall I Fight For"... that he, Debs, would rather be shot than vote credits for the present criminal and reactionary war; that he, Debs, knows of only one holy and, from the proletarian standpoint, legitimate war, namely: the war against the capitalists, the war to liberate mankind from wage-slavery.

—V. I. Lenin, "Letter to American Workers" (August 1918)

Dick Fraser



WV Photo

1913-1988

MEMORIAL MEETING

Sunday, January 8
2:00-6:00 p.m.

Sheraton Town House
Terrace Room, 2961 Wilshire Blvd
(Entrance and parking at Commonwealth)

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(213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 467

16 December 1988

Washington State Protest Against Fascist Terrorists Metzger's Skinheads and The Order

Last month a gang of racist skinheads with baseball bats beat a black Ethiopian man to death in Portland, Oregon—a brutal example of the wave of murderous fascist terror in the U.S. Now this past weekend, in a state park on Whidbey Island just north of Seattle, Washington a cabal of top neo-Nazis and skinheads met under the guise of a so-called "Martyrs Day" to "honor" Robert Mathews, the founder of the white supremacist terrorist group called "The Order." Some 300 leftists and community activists from the Seattle area protested this fascist conclave, as a couple dozen skinheads wearing swastikas, Confederate flags and other fascist regalia filtered into the park.

The Order's fuhrer Mathews died in a blazing inferno in 1984 after a shootout on Whidbey Island with FBI men. In December 1986 a Seattle federal jury convicted ten members of The Order on conspiracy and racketeering charges stemming from a two-year rampage of armed robbery, terror and murder, a \$3.6 million robbery of a Brinks armored truck and the assassination of Jewish talk-show host Alan Berg. A five-man Order hit squad using a MAC 10 machine-pistol killed Berg outside his Denver home in June 1984. Ordinarily the capitalist government protects the fascists, keeping them in reserve; The Order went *too far*, not only targeting blacks, Jews and leftists, but declaring war on the feds, calling to overthrow the so-called "ZOG," or "Zionist Occupation Government."

The Order was an offshoot of Richard Butler's "Aryan Nation" outfit, a bunch of Hitler-lovers operating out of Hayden Lake, Idaho. A July 1986 gathering of fascists at Butler's bunker brought together Klansmen, Nazis, racist survivalists, Posse Comitatus and TV evangelists who burned crosses, gave stiff-arm salutes, brandished AR-15 automatic rifles and swapped hit lists for their personal computer networks. Among those present was Tom Metzger, the former California KKK "grand dragon" and now head of the "White Aryan Resistance" (WAR). During the 1985-86 trial Bruce Carroll Pierce, The Order's honcho after the death of Mathews, testified that over \$250,000 of the money stolen by that group went to Metzger, and the rest was divided among other fascist groups. Of course the feds never followed up on this revelation.

Metzger, who refers to The Order criminals as "POWs," has now turned his attentions to organizing the growing racist skinhead movement with the help of his son John. Both Metzger and Butler came to Whidbey Island this past

Racists "Honor" Kill-Crazy Nazi-Died in Shootout with FBI



American fascist would-be fuhrers: Tom Metzger (left), Aryan Nation's Richard Butler.

weekend in a so-called "private vigil" for the "martyr" Mathews. According to the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* (11 December), Metzger's skinhead followers distributed a press release accusing federal officials of murdering Mathews and threatening, "Someday, those who murdered our people will be brought to Aryan justice."

Metzger likes to put on a "respectable" cover at times, even running in the Democratic Congressional primary in San Diego, while operating his vigilante "border patrols" against Hispanic immigrants. But with his ties to the Nazi Order, Metzger is in the thick of this conspiracy of kill-crazy hombers, armed robbers and murderers. In the home of Mathews' sidekick Gary Lee Yarborough, the FBI found an arsenal including a .45 calibre machine-pistol, 100 sticks of dynamite, plastic explosives, hand grenades, semi-automatic rifles, infrared night vision scopes, gun silencers, booby traps, police scanners and 6,000 rounds of ammunition.

Documents seized in Mathews' house on Whidbey Island include a "Declaration of War" on the "ZOG." According to federal court charges, The Order had a point system for becoming an "Aryan warrior" which included "the murder of federal judges, FBI agents and other

federal officials and employees as well as the murder of Jewish people, black people and others." The "Aryan Database" included hit lists of prominent Jews and government officials. With the violence-crazed skinhead psychos, the "Aryan" religious cults and paranoid survivalists, Metzger's California Reich swells



Alan Berg, Jewish talk-show host, murdered in Denver by The Order fascist terrorists.

its ranks with some of the most debased human garbage on the planet.

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop the Fascists!

The "United Front Against Fascism," which organized the December

10 protest, was initiated by the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party. *Workers Vanguard* spoke with Luma Nichols, an FSP organizer of the demonstration, who noted that the Seattle left came out along with black groups, gays and Native Americans to picket the isolated forested island camp. They were met by an army of cops who sealed off the fascist encampment. Nichols called the demonstration "a moral and political victory" as the media had whipped up a campaign of hysteria against the anti-fascists, while the fascists were supposedly just going to have a "nice little quiet Nazi family picnic."

The night before the demonstration some local residents held a candlelight vigil against the fascists, supposedly to avoid the "confrontation" which the media had threatened would happen the next day. As it turned out there were no incidents, especially since the Park Police protected the handful of violent fascist scum even as they spewed out racist epithets against a Japanese American photographer and a black TV reporter. Ironically, also present in the "United Front Against Fascism" was a large contingent of Guardian Angels, which has made itself notorious as racist vigilantes working with the cops on the New York City subways.

Whidbey Island is typical of the backwoods settings where the fascists typically hole up. Where they can be met and defeated is when they try to penetrate the major cities with their large working-class and minority populations. Last month, the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated, union-centered mobilization in Philadelphia spiked the Ku Klux Klan's plans for a

provocative "white pride" rally in that heavily black city on November 5. The KKK canceled out, and that was a victory for the working class. It is the mobilization of *labor power* leading all the oppressed that is the key to stopping the fascists in their tracks. ■

What Was the Workers League Doing at 207th St.?

The day before the November 5 mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan and skinhead racists from terrorizing the streets of Philadelphia, a woman comrade selling *Workers Vanguard* was surrounded by six white thugs outside the 207th Street transit barn in New York City.

They physically tried to prevent her from talking to the members of this heavily black shop about coming down to Philadelphia on November 5. They screamed that the Partisan Defense Committee's call to bring out labor and black power against the KKK night-riders made the Spartacist League "anti-white racists." They could have been members of Tom Metzger's White

Aryan Resistance, whose psycho skinhead killers scream about "anti-white racism." But they weren't. They were members of David North's shady and sinister outfit, the Workers League.

Members of the powerful New York City Transit Workers Union, Local 100 proudly served in the front lines of the November 5 mobilization against the KKK. They came with their own banner calling for "Labor/Black Defense to Smash Racist Terror!" TWU members were part of the disciplined and effective union defense guard which lined the perimeter of the rally to defend against fascist provocation. Those who couldn't make the bus to Philly bought seats for others.

Both the United Motormen's Division and the Track Division of Local 100 voted overwhelmingly to endorse the "All Out to Stop the KKK!" mobilization. At the October 19 evening meeting of the motormen, a Workers League supporter was the *only one* to vote *against* endorsing. At the morning meeting another WL supporter, Allen Cherry, abstained. Outside, he denounced the November 5 mobilization to a group of workers as "divisive" and "black nationalist." In fact it is the Northites who are united with the frenzied black nationalists in loathing the sight of the integrated power of labor and blacks mobilized in class struggle.

After the Spartacist League initiated

a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982, the WL dismissed this victory as an "adventure which played right into the hands of the police"! They wrote that the Spartacists separate "the struggle against racism from the struggle of the working class." And in 1986, a *Bulletin* smear job on the SL indicted us for "An Obsession With Race"—in this deeply racist country!

The Northites are cynical hustlers who have for years been trying to recruit among minority youth while in the unions they push "colorblind" economism reflecting *their* obsession with

continued on page 10

After Labor/Black Mobilization Stopped the KKK

Natural Blowback?

The November 5 Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Philadelphia was bitterly opposed by some who claim to speak for the oppressed but hate above all our Marxist strategy of integrated class struggle to interdict the fascists. Now we are seeing the blowback to this successful action initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

In Washington, D.C. on December 2, a Hispanic supporter of the Spartacist League, Dr. Cesar Armendariz, was stocking a bookstore near Howard University with *Workers Vanguard* supplements on the anti-Klan mobilization when he was brutally attacked by two followers of Black Muslim leader Farrakhan. The next day, at the University of California at Berkeley, a group from the African People's Socialist Party (Uhuru House) assaulted the opening session of the Spartacist educational. These thugs were repulsed.

With the violence come the lies. A

Black Nationalists Assault Marxist Organizers

leaflet by the APSP falsely claims we called the police at Berkeley; we did not need to, nor do we believe in calling the cops. An article in their paper *Burning Spear* (November 1988) pretended the PDC and Spartacist supporters did not oppose the police presence at an October 18 meeting in Philadelphia on the KKK threat; in fact, we were among the few who voted for the motion to expel the cops.

Moreover, when two APSP leaders were arrested the next day while distributing anti-Klan leaflets, the PDC protested to the Philadelphia D.A. (see

page 5). Asked about the APSP's plans at an October 24 press conference, PDC spokesman Al Nelson replied that "any efforts on that day to stop the Klan are certainly welcome."

But when our mobilization of labor power forced the Klan to back off, the APSP put out repugnant leaflets denouncing us as "Ku Klux Communists" and calling on people *not* to demonstrate. So they fell in behind Mayor Goode, the Zionist ADL and the rest who were telling Philadelphians to stay home.

This unscrupulous outfit was driven

into a murderous frenzy by the integrated, mass mobilization which allowed people with different viewpoints to join together in common action; which was endorsed by class-war prisoners and former Black Panthers Mumia Abu-Jamal and Geronimo Pratt; and was addressed by Greensboro Massacre survivor Nelson Johnson and by Beverly Africa on behalf of the MOVE family.

We must add that *Burning Spear's* claim that we said the demonstration would be "perfectly 'non-violent'" is a provocative lie, since in the face of violence-baiting from the bourgeoisie we repeatedly stated that it would be "disciplined, democratic and militant." Whether November 5 would be peaceful was not up to us alone, given the fascist skinheads and the cops who tried to escort them into our protest.

We reprint below two Spartacist League statements on the attacks in Washington, D.C. and the Bay Area.

Howard University Spartacist Leaflet

Last Friday, December 2, a Spartacist League supporter was assaulted while distributing literature about the November 5 Mobilization which stopped the Klan in Philadelphia. Our comrade Dr. Cesar Armendariz was leaving the Pyramid Bookstore in the "House of Knowledge" on Georgia Avenue near Howard University after dropping off copies of our press, the *Workers Vanguard* special supplement, "Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan!" Two men working in the Tape Connection in the same building menacingly "invited" Cesar into their shop. As Dr. Armendariz left the building, they warned him: we don't like what you say about Farrakhan. He was grabbed, struck and thrown against a wall. He was hit on the back of the head by a blunt instrument. Cesar broke free and ran, bleeding profusely from the head, into the street. Horrified onlookers called 911. An ambulance took him to Howard University Hospital where doctors treated the half-inch deep head wound.

This was a vicious, cowardly, potentially lethal attack. Mercifully, our comrade was not critically injured. This outrage was directed not only at him, but is

aimed against every student at Howard who supported the successful mobilization against the Klan lynchers and skinhead thugs in Philadelphia.

Dr. Cesar Armendariz has been an activist and opponent of injustice for more than ten years. He is also a doctor at a clinic in the integrated working-class community of Landover, Maryland, specializing in family practice. In the weeks prior to November 5, Cesar was the main person organizing at Howard for the demonstration, and met spokesmen of many campus groups and many other students concerned about the Klan and the rise of official racism and its terroristic "fringe" in America.

In Philadelphia, in D.C., and throughout the country, especially against the backdrop of the elections, anti-Klan organizers found a real appetite to do something useful and strike back against years of right-wing reaction, civil rights "rollback," union-busting, etc. The "White Power" KKK and Nazis, and now especially their very active youth movement of racist, violence-cultist skinheads, are a spearhead of reaction and a felt threat. When the mass sentiment to stop them got organized, the fascists



WV Photo

Dr. Cesar Armendariz, Spartacist supporter assaulted by followers of Black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan in Washington, D.C.

called off their provocation.

The November 5 rally against the KKK, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, provided a platform for the victims of racist state terror, particularly death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and the MOVE family whose causes the PDC has championed. Also speaking at the rally was a representative of the New Alliance Party who urged support for their can-

didate Lenora Fulani, whose campaign Farrakhan endorsed. Other speakers had different perspectives on building an alternative for blacks, labor and others to the racist Democratic Party. But this was as it should be in a united-front action—we all shared the common determination to stop the Ku Klux Klan.

This modest but satisfying victory for the multiracial working people has evidently driven some Farrakhan supporters into a murderous frenzy. The supporters of Farrakhan oppose the fight against Klan terror. For Farrakhan, the Klan is the logical organization for "white devils." Farrakhan has friendly relations with Klansman Tom Metzger because they share hatred of integration ("race-mixing"). Farrakhan said that "Hitler was a great man" because Hitler was a nationalist. The anti-Semitic demagogue Farrakhan has a lot in common with the Zionists, who prior to Hitler were a small minority among Jews. The Zionists welcomed Nazi atrocities against Jews to reverse the assimilation of Jews in European society and drive them desperate into a "Jewish homeland" carved out of Palestine. Today every racist crime helps Farrakhan recruit to his own program of segregation based on despair at the possibility of an integrated struggle for liberation.

The fascists have a long list of intended victims—blacks, Hispanics, immigrants, Jews, Catholics, Asians, gays. So it was not surprising that the labor mobilization to stop them was very popular in Philadelphia. Notable exceptions—who were very hostile indeed to mobilizing labor's multiracial power against the Klan and skinheads—were the racists themselves, the mayor Wilson Goode, the cops, and unfortunately most of the organized Jewish groups, who represent the interests of Jews about as well as Farrakhan represents the real interests of black people, which is to say not at all. The Zionist "Anti-Defamation League" professional red-baiters, who claim to speak for Jewish people, leveled slanders about "violence" at those who stopped swastikas and Dixie flags from invading the city. The organized Zionists, consciously hostile to the fight for black freedom, help the deadly enemies of Jews. Whose interests are the



Howard University students joined with union militants at victory rally over KKK in Philadelphia, November 5.

Bay Area Spartacist League Statement

Supporters of African People's Socialist Party (Uhuru House) today staged a deliberate and violent attack on the Marxist organizers of the recent victory against the Ku Klux Klan lynchers in Philadelphia. This potentially murderous attack took place outside an educational meeting sponsored by the Spartacist League to build on the victorious Partisan Defense Committee-initiated November 5 mobilization against the KKK and to draw the lessons of that victory for all anti-racists and labor movement activists. These APSP provocateurs were quickly repulsed and removed; their provocation spiked, they left.

This was a violent, vicious, potentially murderous assault. The black separatist thugs of Uhuru are driven by spleen over the success of integrated labor centered mobilization in stopping the KKK race-terrorists and vented it on interracial couples. One of the Uhuru hoodlums karate kicked the face of a Hispanic woman—a blow which could have killed her; another victim of the

assault was her husband, a longtime trade unionist who has been on the Executive Board of his union. Another trade unionist received a deep gash over his eye, while his black wife was thrown to the ground.

Whose interests do this violent provocation serve? Not the interests of black liberation. Not the interests of successful struggle against race-terror and reaction. No, the APSP plays right into the hands of the racist police, of the Klan/skinhead terrorists, of all the enemies of black people.

The Uhuru House separatists claim a monopoly to speak on behalf of all black people everywhere, just like the Zionists of the Anti-Defamation League claim a monopoly to speak on behalf of Jews. Yet together they stand out as being the two most outspoken organizations that sought to prevent the mobilization which stopped the terrorist enemies of blacks and Jews cold in their tracks in Philly.

Uhuru earned the contempt of the decent people of Philadelphia, black and white, for their attempted wrecking operation against the united mobilization of all the intended victims of racist terror—blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians, trade unionists, socialists. While mouthing macho rhetoric about stopping the KKK "by any means necessary," in fact the only means these pseudo-socialist nationalists pushed was an obscene and groveling petition begging Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode—bomber of the black MOVE commune and an entire black neighborhood—to "oppose" the Klan march and "lead city government in the fight against Klan anti-black terror."

The APSP, passive in the face of Klan terror, reserves its violence for the people who actually initiated the mobilization that stopped what was intended to be a massive racist KKK provocation against the people of Philadelphia and the whole country. This is not the first time the APSP has launched a violent physical attack on supporters of the Spartacist League. The last time was after we succeeded in tearing down the Confederate flag of slavery raised by Mayor Dianne Feinstein in San Francisco in 1984. To these politically bank-



Interracial couple viciously attacked by APSP/Uhuru thugs in violent provocation against Spartacist League educational in Bay Area.

rupt gangster nationalists, integrated working-class struggle against racism is a crime against nature which they obviously hate far more than they hate the Klan killers of black people.

Let the APSP/Uhuru House know: we will not be intimidated from fighting for mass, militant labor/black mobilizations—the only strategy which can crush the racist terror of the Klan/Nazi

killers. We state our determination to pursue our program of organizing integrated class struggle, as in Philly on November 5, to defend the interests of the multiracial American working class and to lead it in the fight for a victorious socialist revolution.

Bay Area District
Spartacist League
3 December 1988



Richard Bradley, a Labor Black League and Spartacist supporter, tears down Confederate flag of slavery in San Francisco, 1984.

Despicable
stayaway call
distributed by
APSP/Uhuru
black nationalists,
who tried to
wreck integrated
labor/black action
against the KKK
in Philadelphia.

community faces themselves. In this context they called the counter-demonstration to stop the Klan by any means necessary.

The White Left and the Klan Go Hand in Hand!

The Partisan Defense Committee, actually led by the Spartacist League, called the Uhuru House several times from New York to ask who is to do lead demo they insisted on coming out to support the black working class the plentiful resources they had on hand. This was just another attempt to hold back the re-emerging Black Power Movement.

That is why the APSP calls these white left groups the Klu Klux and so do these left groups like the Spartacist League, the All People's Congress etc.

Philadelphia is South Africa!

This society that tells us that we are somehow more valuable than other human beings. This is a call to white people to take a genuine stand with humanity, in solidarity with the Black Power Movement.

This is a movement of white workers who refuse to tolerate the conditions of apartheid in their own communities.

Solidarity—fundraising, building political support for the renovation of the Uhuru House building.

White People—Take a Stand Against the KKK and the Klu Klux Communists!

DON'T DEMONSTRATE ON NOV. 5!

Join the Campaign for White Citizens' Reparations to the Black Community! 726-8

Farrakhanite thugs serving?

Black people in America don't need "leaders" who love Hitler. Howard University doesn't need Farrakhan's friends behaving like the KKK. They have no answer to the Klan's deadly program—which is race war and genocide. Their own program is cynical "black capitalist" hustles, and as for black women, you should sit at home under a veil. When Malcolm X split from the Black Muslims in 1964 because he wanted to fight the racist rulers of this country, Farrakhan wrote that "such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death" (*Muhammad Speaks*, 4 December 1964). Two months later, Malcolm X was dead.

Those who are sunk in the deep despair of black nationalism were jolted by the sizable mobilization from black neighborhoods and integrated trade unions to stop the KKK, Nazis and skinheads from openly parading their violence throughout Philadelphia. This mobilization was a victory. But the struggle goes on. The fascists can be stopped for all time only when the working class of this multiracial, multinational country comes to power on a program to do away with the largely white capitalist political and economic rule over all the working people—the most conscious of whom have fused together in a Leninist vanguard party to struggle

for this goal.

Don't let Louis Farrakhan's "militant"-sounding gospel of despair turn you away from the struggle against racism and injustice! A handful of violent elements who have appointed themselves thought-police must not intimidate the campus community. Students must make it clear that the right to read socialist literature will be defended at Howard. Revolutionary struggle by the multiracial working class is the road to a future for us all.

Spartacist League
Washington, D.C.
5 December 1988

Partisan Defense Committee Wins Retraction of Violence Slander

The successful November 5 Mobilization, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, which stopped the KKK in Philadelphia was forged in political battle against such forces as the anti-communists of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. On WCAU-TV October 28, Barry Morrison, Philadelphia regional director of the ADL, called the PDC "responsible for bringing about a great amount of violence and damage" in the 27 November 1982 demonstration that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. This deadly slander was lifted from the ultrarightist Moonie *Washington Times*, which was forced to retract it in print when confronted with a libel suit by the

Spartacist League.

The PDC demanded a retraction from WCAU, citing the documentary record which showed the broadcast to be "false and the knowledge of its falsity known to you." On November 8 WCAU aired the following retraction: "A clarification on a story we aired previously involving the Partisan Defense Committee and its plans to protest a proposed KKK demonstration in Philadelphia. In our reports, we broadcast comments about violence during a 1982 demonstration in Washington, D.C. Material provided by the Defense Committee indicates that they were not involved in any violence during that demonstration."

22 October 1988

Ron Castille
District Attorney
Philadelphia, PA

Dear Mr. Castille:

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the beating and arrests of Clarence "Doc" Hatter and Frank Moses, members of the African People's Socialist Party.

Mr. Hatter and Mr. Moses were arrested on October 19 for their opposition to a proposed Ku Klux Klan rally on November 5. Philadelphia's minorities and working people are revolted at the prospect of the KKK and their skinhead allies parading for genocide in their city. These arrests are an affront to all those, of varying viewpoints, who honestly seek to keep Philadelphia's streets safe from the KKK, skinheads and all racist terrorists.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges against Clarence Hatter and Frank Moses be dropped!

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
for the PDC

cc: APSP

Canada Trade Pact Elections

The following is a joint editorial statement of Workers Vanguard and Spartacist Canada.

The November 21 Canadian elections became a referendum on the "free-trade" agreement negotiated between Canada's ruling Conservative Party and the Reagan White House, which would eliminate all tariffs between the two countries over the next ten years. Despite an outburst of Canadian nationalism from the union bureaucracy and the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), cynically played up by the opposition Liberals who accused Tory prime minister Brian Mulroney of "selling out" Canada, the Conservatives won a 38-seat parliamentary majority. Passed by the U.S. Congress in September, the trade pact is set for parliamentary approval in Ottawa by January 1.

Initiated by the Canadian government in an attempt to get around increasing protectionist measures passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress, for the U.S. imperialists the trade agreement is an attempt to shore up the declining American Empire on its northern flank. Over the past decade the United States has gone from being the world's leading creditor nation to the highest debtor. Its international competitiveness and solvency have deteriorated, especially vis-à-vis Japan. Now the American bourgeoisie is faced with the European Economic Community's plans to create a unified internal market by 1992, which financially and industrially would be the world's largest economic unit.

The *Washington Post* (21 November) headlined American rulers' "Big Stake" in the outcome of Canada's free-trade elections, noting a "real concern in the United States about a possible Fortress Europe after 1992." In Canada, major business organizations forked out \$1.3 million for pro-free trade advertising in all the major newspapers. The plan is to build "Fortress North America" centered on the world's two largest trading partners, drawing in Mexico (the U.S.' No. 3 partner) with something akin to Japan's "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" of the 1930s for their Caribbean and Central American neo-colonies.

As Marxists we are for the increasing economic unity of the world on a democratic and egalitarian socialist basis. This is a very different kettle of fish from a deal aimed at strengthening the power of the U.S. bourgeoisie. With the abolition of all remaining tariffs between Canada and the U.S. a common customs board between the two countries will be established to levy protectionist tariffs against their imperialist rivals, primarily the Japanese and European

Common Market. At the same time such imperialist economic alliances serve to reinforce the underpinnings of the imperialists' anti-Soviet military alliances such as NATO and the North American Air Defense (NORAD).

In opposition to the free-trade pact the labor bureaucrats on both sides of the border pushed for increased protectionism. An AFL-CIO leader argued against the abolition of tariffs "with our largest trading partner and one with which we have so many problems." The

ing together of the peoples of North America. Rather it is a cynical maneuver by the capitalists in Canada and the U.S. to maximize their profits, and it is the working people who will pay.

In her "independent review of the free trade agreement," titled *On Guard for Three*, former Canadian judge Marjorie Bowker points out that the Canadian bosses will use the agreement as a club against Canadian social programs such as government-subsidized medical care and other universal social security pro-



Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney (left), junior partner of U.S. imperialism, meets with Reagan.

Canadian Labour Congress organized flag-waving demonstrations at the border, and the Canadian Auto Workers marched with signs reading "Free Trade Could Cost Us Canada." When the bourgeoisie talks of the benefits of free trade, they mean strengthening their hand against the unions and tearing apart social programs. Yet the way to fight this is not by protectionist poison, setting Canadian and U.S. workers at each other's throats, but by common class struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their Canadian junior partners.

Free Trade or Protectionism: The Working People Lose

The 49th parallel dividing Canada and the U.S. is an artificial border, created by the British to safeguard their interests and the defeated counterrevolutionary Loyalists who fled the American Revolution. The English-speaking people of Canada and the U.S. share a common language and culture, and the two economies are already overwhelmingly integrated. But the free-trade agreement does not represent a com-

grams with the argument of competing with two-tier wages and cheap labor in the U.S. The president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association put it baldly: "It is simply a fact that, as we ask our industries to compete toe to toe with American industries... we in Canada are obviously forced to create the same conditions that exist in the U.S...."

Only two days after the Conservative election victory the Gillette Company announced it was closing plants in Montreal and Toronto, throwing nearly 600 workers on the streets. This could be the first of many such closures, as American-owned companies, many of which were established in Canada to get behind the tariff wall, opt to supply the Canadian market from plants in the U.S. that have lower overall labor costs and taxes. And it's not just Canadian workers that will suffer. The erosion of living standards north of the border will reverberate in increased union-busting attacks in the United States. But the campaign by anti-free traders like federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent to "save" Canadian industry from U.S. "domination" is as ludicrous as it is reactionary.

As far as "takeovers" go, given the fewer restrictions on investment in the United States over the past few years, capital export has tended to work in the opposite direction. In 1987, while American investment in Canada amounted to \$75 billion, Canada with one-tenth the U.S. population had \$45 billion invested south of the border, making it the fourth largest investor in the United States. Most recently, Canada's Robert Campeau bought out Federated Department Stores, Inc. (owner of Macy's) for \$8.8 billion. It was the largest foreign takeover of a non-energy corporation in U.S. history and more than 1,000 workers were axed by the Canadian entrepreneur.

The Maple Leaf nationalism of the labor tops and social democrats only serves to encourage feelings of national hostility among the working people, poisoning the possibilities for common class struggle while protecting "Canadian" bosses like the International

Nickel Company. Inco squandered the millions it made in the brutal exploitation of mine workers in Northern Ontario and then made the miners pay through massive job slashing, which has turned its company town of Sudbury into a mass unemployment center.

The union bureaucrats and the NDP have tried to sell the lie that "backward" American workers are responsible for the layoffs and givebacks. Four years ago, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the great Flint sitdown strike that founded the United Auto Workers, Canadian Auto Workers president Robert White split the union. White claimed he was pulling the 120,000 Canadian auto workers out of the UAW in opposition to the giveback contracts negotiated by the International leadership. Having isolated Canadian auto workers, White is now signing his own giveback contracts. Rather than this reactionary nationalism, what's needed to take back the givebacks is a leadership that could unite auto workers from Hermosillo, Mexico to Detroit/Windsor and Ste. Thérèse, Quebec in joint strike action against the Big Three.

A Greater North American Co-Prosperity Sphere?

"From the Yukon to the Yucatan" is the battle cry of the Reaganite right wing as they look not simply to shore up the flagging U.S. economy but to "roll back Communism" from Central America to the Soviet Union. This latest version of Manifest Destiny was behind Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (followed up by Ottawa's CARIBCAN scheme, to keep the islands profitable for Canadian banks). Now they're putting the screws on Mexico. But even the Mexican government, which has tightened the helts of Mexican workers to the point of starving them in carrying out Washington and Wall Street's austerity policies, recognizes that "free trade" with the U.S. would mean a wholesale Yankee takeover of Mexico's economy.

In contrast, Canadian capital overwhelmingly opted for a strengthened economic bloc with Wall Street in defense of their own imperialist interests. Nonetheless, as 19th century German "Iron Chancellor" Otto von Bismarck noted, in any alliance there is a horse and there is a rider. Bismarck should know: after the defeat of the 1848-49 German Revolution he unified Germany on the basis of Prussian dominance, centered on a customs union (the *Zollverein*) excluding Austria, which was given teeth by Prussia's military victory in three wars. In the U.S.-Canada trade alliance, the American imperialists are clearly the rider over their much smaller and weaker junior partners in Ottawa.

Unlike English-speaking Canada, the French-speaking nation of Quebec is a separate nation which was forcibly incorporated into Canada. While the Canadian labor tops and the NDP social democrats raised the spectre of "Yankee" domination, the only domination the Québécois feel is that of English Canada, which brought down the jackboot in 1970 when Pierre Trudeau's federal Liberal government ordered the military occupation of Quebec.

Quebec was the only province other than Alberta where the Tories won a majority of the popular vote. Moreover, both the ruling Quebec Liberals and the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) supported the free-trade pact, claiming it would aid Quebec business by opening up new markets in the U.S. PQ leader Jacques Parizeau, who had split from the party a few years

continued on page 11



Auto workers at Toronto demonstration. Opposition to "free trade" pact is channeled into "maple leaf" nationalism and protectionism.

Australia Demonstrators Defend Yugoslav Consulate

SYDNEY—500 pro-Yugoslav demonstrators came out December 3 at the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney to protest the threat by the Labor government of Robert Hawke to close this official representation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Australia's largest city. The protesters included Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, Macedonians and others. Also joining the protest against the Canberra regime's Cold War move was the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), while the viscerally nationalist and Laborite reformist left kept their distance.

The next day, the anti-Soviet, pro-CIA Hawke government closed the Yugoslav consulate. The action by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans followed an armed attack on the consulate a week earlier by Croatian fascist Ustasha rabble "protesting" Yugoslav National Day. As the 1,500-strong crowd shouted "terrorists" and "gypsies" (a racist epithet among Yugoslavs), some 30 Ustasha youth invaded the consulate grounds and tried to rip down the Yugoslav flag. At one point they surrounded Consul-General Stanojlo Glisic, striking him in the face with a rubber hose before security guards fired warning shots in the air.

Holes in the consulate's first floor windows indicate that the Ustasha mob was firing projectiles from the street. In the melee one of the young scum was wounded in the neck, likely by a ricochet from a shot fired by one of his own. After this frontal assault on the territorial integrity of diplomatic

missions, reactionary elements from the Hawke government to the Murdoch gutter press screamed for blood, threatening reprisals if the "gunman" from the consulate (!) wasn't turned over. The New South Wales Labor Council placed a ban on dealings with the consulate.

The Yugoslavs refused, and Yugoslav foreign minister Budimir Loncor later said: "Our envoys defended with honour, courage and dignity the country's sovereignty." With good reason. The remnants of Ante Pavelic's Nazi puppet Ustasha regime in wartime Croatia—aided and protected by the Australian secret police organization ASIO (which thinks and acts like a branch office of the CIA)—have a long history of violence and murder in both Australia and in Yugoslavia. On the day the consulate was expelled, the president of the Yugoslav Center in Adelaide had his taxi firebombed.

The SL/ANZ joined the December 3 demonstration with some placards reading: "Ustasha Fascists—Hitler's Mass Murderers—Anti-Yugoslav Terrorists!" "Stop Closure of Yugoslav Consulate! Down with Hawke/Evans Anti-Communist Hysteria!" and "Anti-Soviet War Drive Means Social Reaction at Home! Defend the Soviet Union and Vietnam!" The small Spartacist contingent was cheered as we marched in, flanked by the red flag with the hammer, sickle and "4" of the Fourth International.

Demonstration organisers eventually banned our signs. This decision was not popular with many Yugoslav demonstrators. One protester had



Sydney, December 3—Spartacists (above) join protest against Australian Labor government's Cold War moves against Yugoslav consulate.

snatched up the Soviet defencist placard and waved it before TV cameras. Another grabbed the sign that nailed Hawke as the criminal and marched into the center of the demonstration, later explaining: "It was the best sign. The organisers don't want the truth told."

The truth is that the Cold War Hawke government is waging war on the unions, blacks and immigrants at home while working together with

U.S. imperialism to exploit the nationalist turmoil in Yugoslavia for counterrevolution. As an 8 December *Australasian Spartacist* special supplement stated: "In this nasty country, where the Labor government takes its side with Ustasha fascists, it is urgently necessary to split the ALP [Australian Labor Party] along class lines and build a revolutionary internationalist workers party to fight for a workers government."

Racist San Francisco Cops Attack Muni Worker

SAN FRANCISCO—Militants in the Muni bus drivers union here are mobilizing to beat back a racist frame-up against a black union brother. Transport Workers Union Local 250-A member Greg Wiggins, viciously beaten by cops two months ago, now faces a December 19 court hearing on charges of battery, resisting arrest and disobeying police orders. A leaflet is being circulated, signed by 89 TWU union members, calling on the local to go "All out in uniform to pack the courtroom at Greg's hearing." All transit workers, including BART and AC Transit, must join in mass labor action now, drawing

in strategic unions such as the ILWU and Teamsters, to stop racist police terror!

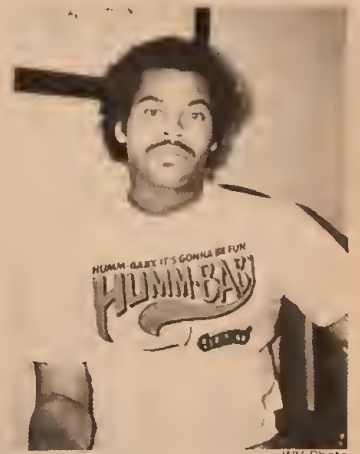
While waiting to move his bus through a traffic roadblock on Bayshore Boulevard early in the morning of October 19, Wiggins was subjected to racial epithets by the cops. When he objected, one cop told him, "Don't you know by now we do what the fuck we want to do?" Wiggins radioed Muni central control for help, to no avail. Other cops approached the bus and one of them gave the signal: "Let's get this nigger."

After Muni inspector Carl Politis forced the bus door open, four cops stormed on, handcuffed Wiggins, grabbed him in a stranglehold and repeatedly slammed his head against the pole near the driver's seat. They kicked him off the bus, dragged him by the hair and, as he told *Workers Vanguard*, "put my head in the bushes and started dribbling it like a basketball." When he tried to protest that they were strangling him one of the cops said to Wiggins, "Die, motherfucker!"

Bleeding from his injuries, Wiggins was taken to Potrero Station and thrown in a holding cell. The cops refused him medical treatment while they continued to harass him and then shuttled him off to police headquarters for booking. Among the trumped-up charges against him was refusal to display a driver's license, which the cops had earlier removed from his jacket. Some seven hours after the beating occurred, coworkers took him to St. Francis hospital where he was sent away without treatment!

From the cop thugs who beat him to the company and city authorities, there was collusion against him down the line. Several days later he was again refused treatment, this time on orders from the city claims adjuster. Then Muni sent Wiggins a 30-day "pending dismissal" notice, and denied him all benefits including medical care, workmen's comp, and assault pay. He is seeing a physical therapist six times a week for his injuries. Progressive Labor/InCAR publicized the cop attack last month.

Wiggins told *WV* in a recent inter-



Greg Wiggins, victim of vicious police assault, faces years of prison in legal frame-up.

view, "I've got rights and I believe in standing up for my rights to the best of my ability." To the marauding cops, if you're black, a trade unionist, a leftist or a homosexual—you have no rights, you're just another police target.

For Union Action Against Racist Cop Terror!

From "Operation Zebra" under Mayor Joe Alioto in 1974, indiscriminately picking up young black men off the streets, the cops have periodically

continued on page 11

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard
skips a week in
December.
Our next issue will be
dated January 6.

Workers' America...

(continued from page 1)

into the 20th century. In the North its main electoral base was lower-class immigrants, initially mainly Irish Catholic, later Italian and East European, again predominantly Catholic. In the South, the Democratic Party was the party of the former slaveowners. You had a party which in a sense combined some of the most oppressed sections of Northern society with the most reactionary ruling sections of the South. With the successive waves of immigration, you got increasing divisions within the Northern working class. Frederick Engels writing to one of his German American followers in the 1890s explained

"...these immigrants are divided into different nationalities which understand neither one another nor, for the most part, the language of the country. And your bourgeois knows better even than the Austrian government how to play off one nationality against the other: Jews, Italians, Bohemians, etc., against Germans and Irish, and each against the other, so that differences in workers' standards of living exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard of elsewhere."

In the late 19th and early 20th century, the most serious efforts to build a working-class socialist movement basically sought to ignore these divisions. Each in their own way, the principal left-wing leaders of this period—Daniel De Leon, Eugene V. Debs, Vincent St. John—simply appealed to the workers as workers. Take Debs, who was the most authoritative and popular socialist workers leader of this period. Debs fought, as it turned out unsuccessfully, within the American Railway Union to drop the color bar. But he never fought racism outside the narrow confines of the labor movement. He argued that the socialist movement has nothing special to offer black people, that insofar as blacks are workers they will benefit from socialism along with white workers, no more and no less.

Probably the most serious and subjectively revolutionary workers organization in pre-World War I America was the Industrial Workers of the World, known as the IWW or Wobblies. The doctrine of the Wobblies was known as revolutionary syndicalism. The Wobblies conceived of themselves as "one big union." They would recruit all workers and when they got big enough they would overthrow capitalism and run the economy. What's wrong with that conception?

One, it confuses the role of a revolutionary party with the role of a trade union by attempting to combine them. On the one hand, the Wobblies said, we are a union, but in order to join this union you had to believe in the overthrow of capitalism, which the mass of American workers at that time did not. So the unintended effect of the Wobblies' policies was to consign almost all of the workers except the most advanced to the old Gompers AFL



Labor Defender

James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, began his revolutionary career as organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World. Right: IWW rally in New York brought together East European Jewish workers and Irish socialists.



Library of Congress

unions—corrupt, racist and reactionary. The IWW only was able to organize small pockets of very radical workers, mainly metal miners in the West and immigrant textile workers in the East.

There's another problem with revolutionary syndicalism. Workers do not live in the factory only. They're oppressed in other ways, they have other loyalties and other affiliations. The majority of the industrial workers in this period were first or second generation immigrants. They had problems of learning the language, they had problems of schooling, they had problems in

elections is a sham. What difference does it make whether women don't have the right to vote in this sham? Well, it made a difference to women, because it was a symbol of male chauvinist society. There's a fundamental and important lesson to be drawn. If the workers party does not fight for the rights of other oppressed sections, including workers who are members of those oppressed sections, they will look to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties which claim to represent those interests.

What black worker is going to be attracted to a so-called revolutionary

Russian Marxism, George Plekhanov, put it, the Marxists must be tribunes of the people as well as leaders of the working class. It was the Russian Bolsheviks who prodded the early American Communists to make a special effort to win over black people. They said this is clearly the most oppressed and therefore the most potentially radicalized section of American society. And the American Communists did win over black cadres, initially from a left-nationalist milieu.

During the 1920s, the Communist Party became the primary party of American leftism. The IWW pretty much disintegrated. The once large Socialist Party became a sterile collection of old fogies and young fogies. All the vital, live, real elements of working-class radicalism, as well as many radical intellectuals, grouped in and around the Communist Party. But the Communist Party of 1930 was not the Communist Party of 1920. It was deformed by the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. This had a profound effect on the history of the American working class. Because when the mass of American workers were not yet ready for a revolutionary party, the Communist Party was revolutionary. When they became ready for a revolutionary party, the Communist Party had become anti-revolutionary.

During the 1920s, the United States was experiencing relative economic prosperity, and there were enormous illusions in the continued, ever greater growth of the American economy. But then came the worst capitalist depression in the modern era. Between 1929 and 1934, millions of people were thrown out of work. You had slowly but gradually a general radicalization caused by the Great Depression, and not limited to the working class. In 1933 another event occurred, which deepened this radicalization, especially among the more politicized left-wing workers. Adolf Hitler came to power in Nazi Germany. It became clear to more politically knowledgeable workers what the capitalists would do if they felt they had to. It was no secret that the big German capitalists, the Krupps and the Thyssens, supported the Nazis. It was clear therefore that militant anti-Communism led to fascism.

Mass Unionization, Stalinism and Roosevelt's New Deal

During the mid-1930s, you experienced a genuine mass radicalization in this country, centered on the proletariat but involving other oppressed sections of society. In 1934, you had three citywide general strikes in this country, all of them led by left-wing, avowedly revolutionary political parties: the Minneapolis general strike, led by the Trotskyist Communist League of America, a general strike in Toledo, Ohio, led by the American Workers Party, the San Francisco general strike led by the Stalinist Communist Party. In the follow-



Library of Congress

During the early Depression years, the Communist-led International Labor Defense fought against racist capitalist injustice through integrated class struggle.

becoming citizens of this country. But the Wobblies didn't directly address these broader social questions. As a result of this, the Democratic Party ward heelers were able to become their political representatives, claiming to service the immigrant Irish, Italian and Polish communities.

Another aspect—women did not have the right to vote in this period. There was a big movement for women's right to vote, the suffragette movement. The Wobblies said voting in capitalist

socialist party which does not protest loudly, forcibly and angrily when the Philadelphia police, the black Democratic mayor and the Reagan White House firebomb the MOVE commune, killing eleven black people? What woman worker would be attracted to a so-called workers party which does not defend her right to abortion?

Formation of American Communism

In order to build an effective workers party, it was necessary to transcend revolutionary syndicalism with revolutionary Marxism. This happened not simply as a result of organic developments in this country, but rather as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution effected a regroupment of forces in the workers movement in every country. The American Communist Party was formed mainly from cadres of the IWW who broke from syndicalism and from the left wing of the Socialist Party, especially the foreign language federations.

The American Communists learned many things from the Bolsheviks. One of the main things they learned was how to combine being a real workers party with being a broad-gauged socialist party, which fought all kinds of social oppression and was able to attract other sections of society. As the founder of

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ing years you had the big struggles which huilt the CIO industrial unions.

If you look at every strike—auto, the Little Steel strikes, packinghouse, Teamster—in almost every single case these strikes were led by members of the various left-wing parties. They were not simply led by people who wanted just to build trade unions in capitalist society. They were led by people who were committed to the establishment of a new egalitarian socialist society.

What happened is a relatively small cadre of left-wing workers, of socialist and communist workers, served as a bridge between the different sections of the working class who in themselves did not trust one another. You had black socialists, especially black Communists, who could organize black workers who had good reason to distrust whites. You had white radical workers who could organize more backward workers, who still had racist prejudice. This is one of the reasons that you need a communist vanguard party. This party is a political collectivity of people who have transcended the prevailing bigotry and prejudices in society at large so that they can fight them.

Part of the mass radicalization was a generally sympathetic attitude toward Red Russia in this period. As a result of its work in the 1920s and early '30s, the Communist Party had become the most active political force in the black ghettos. In his autobiographical novel, *Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison writes about a black intellectual who goes from the South to Harlem. One of the first things he sees is this old black woman being evicted. Her furniture's being put on the street. Fifteen minutes later a bunch of guys come and they bring the furniture back, sort of "unevicting" her. It turns out these are members of the Harlem Communist Party. As a result of this experience, he joins.

So the Stalinists were uniquely placed to link the black community to the trade-union movement. But the Communist Party was not communist. In 1935, Stalin and the Communist International proclaimed a new line, the "popular front against fascism," which meant in practice collaboration with liberal capitalist politicians. The Communist Party entered and supported the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt. They were the glue holding the so-called New Deal coalition together, holding the socialist-minded trade unionists and black militants and Jewish intellectuals with the racist Dixiecrats in the South, with the people who were allied with the Ku Klux Klan. In this way they set themselves up for the Cold War witchhunt in the late '40s.

Cold War Red Purge and Anti-Labor Offensive

During World War II, the American Communist Party, in the name of national unity against the fascists, pursued a policy that was to the right even of ordinary business unionists. The American Stalinists not only opposed strikes in war industry, they opposed strikes in mail order houses! They discredited themselves among many advanced militant workers. So when after the war the Cold War with Russia

began, the Stalinists had made it much easier to purge them from the unions. The Cold War against Russia coincided with the red purge, driving out not only the Stalinists, but the Trotskyists and other radicals from the union movement.

The Cold War also meant a war against the unions on the domestic front. In 1948, you had three events. Truman announced the so-called Truman Doctrine of fighting Russian influence in Europe. The remaining unions that were controlled by the Communists were expelled from the CIO. And the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, which was denounced even by right-wing, anti-Communist union leaders as the "slave labor act." It not only aimed at purging communists, but at weakening the unions. Because from the standpoint of the capitalist class, the unions themselves are the enemy, if not today, then tomorrow.

During the 1950s, the unions remained—despite Taft-Hartley and the red purge—economically fairly strong. One union in particular, the Teamsters, actually grew quite rapidly. Its leadership was politically right-wing. Beck and Hoffa supported the Republicans.



The fight for a workers party is the fight for a revolutionary program. Demonstrators at Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., November 1982.

But they were aggressive business unionists. They even made some headway in the South. So, in the late 1950s, you saw a new anti-labor offensive, not directed against the so-called reds, but against the Teamsters. You had the same kind of attempt to whip up hysteria against the Teamster leadership which you had seen a few years earlier against the Communists, and you'd see a few years later against the Black Panthers.

I have a book which was very influential at the time—it's called *The Enemy Within*. The only book ever ghost-written for Robert F. Kennedy, who declared:

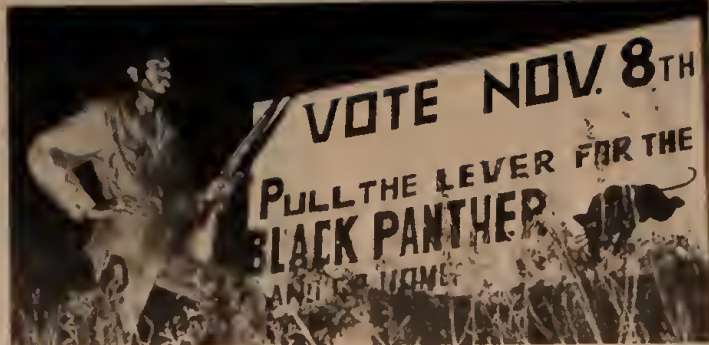
"The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in this country—aside from the United States Government

under Hoffa is not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil."

The evil empire! The Teamsters union!

Toward a Revolutionary Workers Party

The campaign against the Teamsters, which was really a campaign against



Seeking to break with Democratic Party liberalism, civil rights militants launch Lowndes County, Alabama Black Panther Party in 1966. Spartacist League called for Freedom Labor Party to link power of labor with struggle for black rights.

itself... They control the pickup and delivery of milk, frozen meat, fresh fruit, department store merchandise, newspapers, railroad express, air freight, and of cargo to and from the sea docks.

"Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters. But, though the great majority of Teamster officers and Teamster members are honest, the Teamster union

labor, was spearheaded not by right-wing Republicans and the Dixiecrats, but by the new up-and-coming liberal wing of the Democratic Party, the Kennedy brothers. Kennedy came into power with a reputation as an enemy of "big labor" but a friend of the civil rights movement, as an enemy of Jimmy Hoffa but a friend and protector of Martin Luther King. The Kennedy White House pitted the emerging civil rights movement against the labor movement. You had a new generation of liberals, radicals and black activists who began to see the unions—especially the more predominantly white, the better paid, the more politically conservative unions—as an inherently reactionary and racist force.

The Spartacist League originated in this period of the early '60s, the Kennedy/Johnson years. We came out of the Socialist Workers Party which had ceased to be revolutionary. One of the main issues was the SWP refused to intervene in the civil rights movement. We said, this is a mass historic movement, an enormous opportunity. But we could see the growing danger of a split and counterposition between the black movement and the labor movement. And we threw in our small forces in an attempt to channel the civil rights movement into a working-class perspective. Specifically in the South, we called for a Freedom/Labor Party, that the civil rights movement should break with the Democrats on a program which is potentially capable of attracting white workers also.

During the 1960s, there was a lot of radical activity, especially aggravated by the growing opposition to the Vietnam War. But the union bureaucrats became ever more rabid in their hostility to the prevailing radicalism. The Meanyite bureaucracy and pro-war politicians incited construction workers in New York to attack antiwar student protesters. In Detroit, the UAW

continued on page 10



Liberal Democrat Robert F. Kennedy (left), former counsel for Joe McCarthy, spearheaded anti-labor witchhunt against Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa (right).

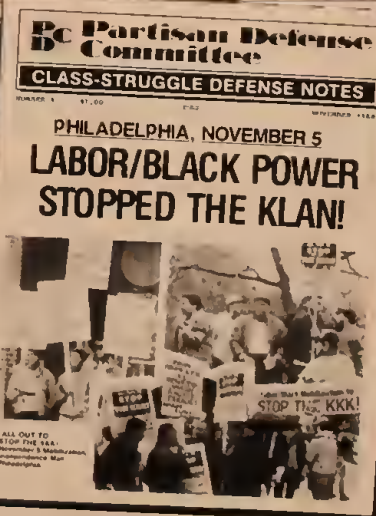
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Workers' America...

(continued from page 9)

bureaucracy did to the black nationalists what they had done to the Communists 20 years earlier: they connived with the hoes to fire them. On the other hand, the radical movement disdained and turned its back on the organized labor movement. This was the heyday of black nationalism. The Panthers preached lumpen vanguardism. Students preached student vanguardism. Radicalized women preached feminist vanguardism. Gays preached gay vanguardism. Everybody was the vanguard.

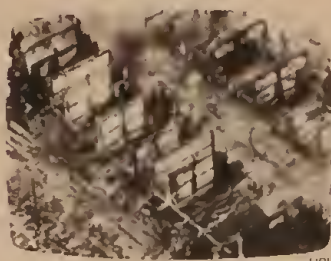
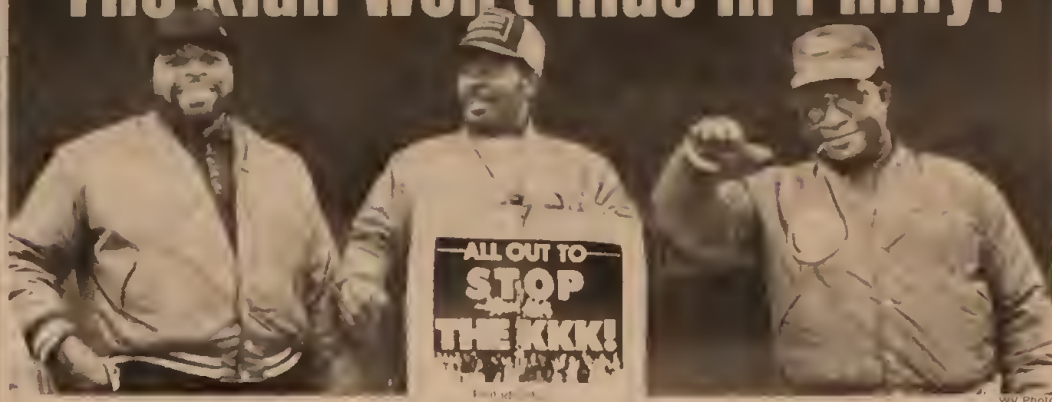
What was the effect of all this? After the Vietnam War, by the mid-70s both the labor movement and the black movement were more isolated. You've seen over the past 15 years and especially during the Reagan years the simultaneous attack on the gains of the civil rights movement and efforts to weaken and break the union movement. Because without the support of organized labor, the black community and the Hispanic community cannot defend themselves. And without broad and active support from other oppressed sections of society, centrally the black community, the union movement cannot go forward.

At the same time the American economy is going to hell. It's becoming deindustrialized. Much of the Midwest is now conventionally known as a "rust belt." The infrastructure is crumbling. The whole war buildup has been paid for by horrowing from the Germans and Japanese. So that the United States went within the space of two-and-a-half years from being the world's highest creditor nation to being the world's biggest debtor nation. A few days ago, the most authoritative financial spokesman in the American ruling class, Paul Volcker, the former head of the Federal Reserve, testified before Congress. Normally, when economists testify before Congress, it is a big yawn. But this time when Volcker spoke, it was standing room only. What he had to say is that unless the United States cuts its budget deficit, and pronto, this country is heading for a big economic crisis, and perhaps a prolonged and deep depression.

We can easily see in the next few years a quite cataclysmic economic crisis in this country, perhaps giving rise to a new wave of labor, black and popular radicalization. But without a revolutionary party, which can channel these struggles and these attitudes into a struggle for power, all we'll see is some kind of new popular front, some kind of new "New Deal." And there's a real danger under such conditions of the growth

Spartacist Video

"The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!"



Trade unionists at November 5 labor/black mobilization (above); aftermath of cop bombing of Philadelphia MOVE (left); Nelson Johnson, survivor of Greensboro Massacre by KKK/Nazis.



The KKK lynchers and skinhead terrorists threatened to march in Philadelphia on November 5. Instead, over 1,000 trade unionists, students, gays—black and white, Hispanic and Asian—came out to Independence Mall in response to the call by the Partisan Defense Committee to stop the racist terrorists.

A Spartacist video is now available telling the story of the mass, labor-centered mobilization which made sure "The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!" Contains footage of the Greensboro Massacre and the bombing of Philly MOVE, and of the labor/black mobilizations in Detroit, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., which

kept the fascists off the streets.

The video covers the political battle in Philadelphia as the anti-Klan mobilization gathered forces. You see how the mobilization was built, in the unions, in the ghettos and on campuses. This documentary vividly shows the Spartacist League's Marxist approach of bringing out the power of labor and minorities to fight fascist terror.

The November 5 video is available for showing to unions, student groups and others. Write to the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Running time: 60 minutes.

of a mass fascist movement.

Revolutionary parties are not built overnight. I want to emphasize again that the Communist Party could lead and mislead the radicalization of the black movement and the union movement in the '30s because it had been built as a solid and large cadre party in the '20s, before the crisis hit. We can't talk right now about a mass party. We want to build a solid cadre party, so that when the masses are ready, when they are looking for the reds, we will be there in sufficient numbers and with sufficient organization, just as on a small scale we

were there in Philadelphia.

I've noticed very often when new people come around, they think: "I would love to see workers and blacks get together and fight their oppression. But is it going to happen? Can your program ever be accepted other than by a small group of idealists?" Let me answer with a historical anecdote.

A few years before the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin was in exile in the city of Cracow, Poland, and he made friends with a Polish liberal journalist. After the Bolshevik Revolution, everybody wanted to know, who is this character called

Lenin? This Polish liberal wrote an article, saying, I knew Lenin a few years ago. He's a good chess player, an educated and intelligent man. But I regarded him as the most hopeless idealist romantic you could ever meet. Every time we started to talk politics, it was this Marxist principle and that Marxist principle. I believed that as a practical politician this guy was hopeless, that any Polish trade-union leader was more effective as a practical politician than Lenin. The next thing I know, he's the undisputed leader of the former empire of the tsars! ■

WL at 207th...

(continued from page 3)

ailing after the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. In Local 100, when the class-struggle militants of the Committee for a Fighting TWU mobilized support for union action in defense of token clerk James Grimes, framed by the company and the D.A. for defending himself against muggers, the *Bulletin* fingered Grimes for not following "required" procedure.

Currently, WL supporter Allen Cherry is once again running for office in the motormen's division, on a program which says *not one word about racism*. And this is in Ed Koch's New York City, where TA cops killed black artist Michael Stewart, son of a retired transit worker, where a police "decoy" unit set up hundreds of black and Hispanic men, where transit police frequently shoot black youth as "fare-beaters," where black transit worker Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob near the Coney Island yards. About all this the Workers League has nothing to say.

In the pursuit of their outrageous

years-long vendetta against the reformist Socialist Workers Party, the Northies have suddenly and cynically discovered the issue of black oppression in order to get a white SWPer in Iowa sent to prison for 25 years on a dubious rape charge. Beware of those who peddle conspiracy theories like the WL's claim that the SWP is "FBI-controlled"; such cop-haters are not only frequently deranged, but are thoroughly divorced from any working-class principles or elementary morality. For their despicable purposes they will do or say just about anything.

The class line is like a revolving door for the Northies, who more often than not find themselves on the wrong side of it. In their rabid opposition to the anti-Klan protest, the Workers League which yesterday hailed the murder of Iraqi Communists by the Ba'athist colonels now find themselves in the company of the Zionists, the racist cops and their bourgeois masters. But when a TWUer reported back at a union meeting on the successful November 5 mob that stopped the fascists in Philly, transit workers applauded *their* victory. They know where the class line is. ■

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San Francisco Cops...

(continued from page 7)

behaved as though it's martial law in San Francisco. In July 1984, Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein authorized a virtual state of siege at the Democratic convention to smash liberal protests. In May 1986, undercover SF cops screaming racial epithets blew away Larry Lumpkin in a KKK-style execution, an atrocity accidentally recorded on police radio. The killer cops were exonerated.

The Police Officers Association actively campaigned for the new mayor, liberal darling Democrat Art Agnos. In return, Agnos gave the cops a license for untrammelled terror against this increasingly yuppified city's minority and working people. Last February the cops shot down a Samoan teenager who was playing with a toy gun in Potrero Hill. On Labor Day dozens of riot cops arrested people for the "crime" of feeding the homeless and hungry.

When United Farm Workers vice president Dolores Huerta was nearly killed in a rabid cop assault at a September 14 protest, it blew the lid off the racist police reign of terror. But the grand jury "investigation" white-



San Francisco cops beat up demonstrators at protest against George Bush, September 14.

washed the cop and instead called for more effective "crowd control" techniques—like what, plastic bullets? Condemning the "vicious wave of citizen hating by SFPD undercover cops," *San Francisco Examiner* (29 November) columnist Warren Hinckle quotes a resident in the largely black Hunters

Point area: "... they act like vigilante types. They come up the hill to the projects and they beat up the kids, they're hitting and kicking them, sometimes they even take their money and the little drugs they sell, and they laugh."

While fascistic skinheads beat up black workers in broad daylight in the

Haight, the trigger-happy racist killers in blue showed their true colors in August 1986 when they flaunted a Nazi swastika poster in a police van at a Spartacist League protest over hangings in South Africa. San Francisco is still a labor town and the heavily black Muni drivers union must mobilize now, together with other unions, in a fight to defend Wiggins. As the TWU militants' leaflet said:

"The police in this city are terrorizing black people from Muni drivers to little kids in Hunters Point. This racist frame up of Greg Wiggins must be stopped by a mass show of support by his union brothers and sisters. He must not stand alone. Chicago ATU driver Cassandra Seay beat back similar frame-up charges because of the solid union support she received including from members and officers of our local."

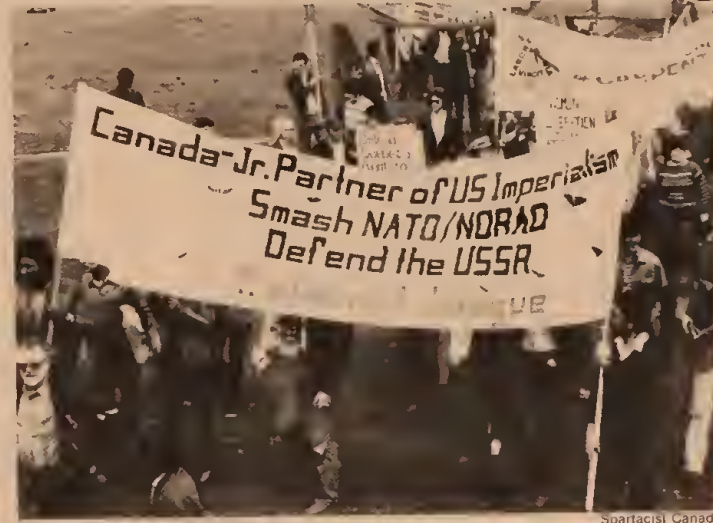
The leaflet appealed to all members to turn out for the December 15 union meeting to fight for a union-centered show of strength and to demand that all charges against Greg Wiggins be dropped, that he receive retroactive workmen's comp, assault pay, full medical treatment, and withdrawal of the 30-day pending notice. Transit workers: All out on December 19, 9:00 a.m. at SF Hall of Justice! Defend Greg Wiggins! Let Agnos and his thugs know that the working people of San Francisco will not tolerate the terrorizing of blacks and other minorities! ■

Canada Elections...

(continued from page 6)

ago complaining that it had abandoned the cause of Quebec separatism, now crows that with open access to U.S. markets Quebec independence can be won without the compromise of an "economic association" with English Canada. But the trade deal and sharply increased integration with the U.S. could prove to be fool's gold for the Quebec nationalists.

Already an oppressed minority nation within the Canadian confederation, on a continental scale Quebec would be far more isolated and up against a greater English-speaking mass. The November 8 American elections saw the passage of reactionary "English Only" laws in several states. In the context of this backlash of bigotry against growing numbers of Spanish-speakers, the much smaller Québécois population can hardly hope that French will be recognized as an "official" language. As Gérard Docquier, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America, asked: "Under the free-trade deal, will we still be able to demand that the labeling of products be done in French, if the product is produced in Texas?" (*Globe and Mail*, 30 November 1987).



Trotskyist League of Canada at Vancouver May Day rally, 1982.

content" by blacking out the two principal centers of English-language culture—New York and London—only enforce ignorance, backwardness and isolation. Cultural and economic protectionism feeds bigoted xenophobia and racism. In the U.S. 23-year-old Vincent Chin was beaten to death with a baseball bat by a foreman who mistook Chin for Japanese and blamed him for the auto layoffs. In Canada, desperate refugees fleeing terror from Sri Lanka to El Salvador have been the target of the most vicious racism, from the halls of Parliament to fascist demonstrations in the streets.

Racism, union-husting and anti-Sovietism go hand in hand. The Cold War social democrats' campaign to preserve Canada's "sovereignty" from "Yankee" domination does not extend to the anti-Soviet military alliances between Canada and the U.S. During the election campaign federal NDP leader Broadbent disappeared any mention of the NDP's paper demand for "Canada out of NATO." Rather, he promised to continue "cooperating" with the U.S. on defense matters.

The Canadian imperialists have long served as the loyal junior partners of U.S. imperialism in anti-Communist military adventures from Korea and Vietnam to the Near East. Where the "Yankees" aren't welcome, Canadian "peacekeeping" troops are sent in as the policemen for the American rulers. Most recently the Canadian govern-

ment has offered to send troops to Central America to hold the line against revolutionary struggle in a region where Canadian bankers and industrialists have vested interests to protect.

To shore up the power of their decaying system the imperialists are making a bid to establish one North American imperialist common market through the increasing exploitation of the working

class and the oppressed. What is desperately needed is a revolutionary, internationalist leadership of the working class that can unite the proletariat of this continent in class struggle.

Labor must champion the rights of all the oppressed: Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers! Defend Quebec's right to self-determination! Against the imperialists' attempts to drive down the living standards of all workers through the superexploitation of undocumented workers and the establishment of "free trade" zones in Mexico and the Caribbean, organized labor must launch a real fight to organize the unorganized. And as the imperialists take aim at the remaining gains of the Russian Revolution, which abolished capitalist rule on one-sixth of the planet, we demand: Down with NATO! Down with NORAD!

The pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats call for more tariffs to protect "our" industries, "our" mines, "our" country. The factories, the mills, the resources of North America do belong to the working people. But to make them "ours" we have to break the power of the bosses through socialist revolution. When we workers have the wealth in our hands, then we can begin to work toward the genuine economic integration and fraternity of the world's people through building a planned socialist economy on an international scale. ■

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Meanwhile, the nationalist crusade against so-called American "cultural imperialism" is purely reactionary. The attempts to legally enforce "Canadian

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Subject Index...

(continued from page 16)

CENTRAL AMERICA

- **General**—See **Mexico**.
Smash Yankee Imperialism in Central America!, #449, 25 Mar. (1, 12, 13)
- **El Salvador**
Salvador Workers Strike Against Death Squad Regime, #448, 11 Mar. (11)
Labor Solidarity Frees Humberto Centeno, #449, 25 Mar. (3)
10,000 March Against Anti-Strike Law, #458, 29 July (4)
Free Salvadoran Bank Workers' Leaders!, #461, 23 Sept. (2)
- **Nicaragua**—See **U.S.: International Relations**.
George Washington vs. *La Prensa* (L), #444, 15 Jan. (2, 14)
Honor Nora Astorga (by Jimmy Breslin [reprint]), #444, 15 Jan. (3)
Finish Off the Contras—Complete the Revolution!, #445, 29 Jan. (1, 10, 11)
Sandinista-Contra Pact: Revolution in Grave Danger, #450, 8 Apr. (1, 4, 5)
Nicaragua in Turmoil, #452, 6 May (1, 10, 11)
Nicaraguan PRT: Centrists in a Quandary, #454, 3 June (12, 13)
Spartacist Brigadista Eyewitness Account (YSp), #462, 7 Oct. (10)
- **Panama**
CIA-Contra Drug Connection, #448, 11 Mar. (1, 10, 11)
U.S. Out of Panama!, #450, 8 Apr. (4)
- **U.S. Antiwar Protests**—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.
Navy Ordered Death Train, #445, 29 Jan. (3, 4)
Harvard Protest Against Contra Terrorist (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (5)
Reagan's War Moves Provoke Coast-to-Coast Protests, #449, 25 Mar. (1, 13)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)—See **Central America: Panama; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Elections**.

CHICAGO—See also **Abortion; Civil Liberties: Cases; Transit Workers**.

- Chicago After Harold Washington, #444, 15 Jan. (4, 5)
- Racism and Anti-Semitism in Chicago, #458, 29 July (10)

CHILE

- Smash Pinochet Plebiscite! #461, 23 Sept. (1, 9)

CISPES—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

- **General**—See also **AIDS; Campus Repression**.
Smokers Revolt Against "Health Fascism", #445, 29 Jan. (8)
Supreme Court Gags High School Students (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (8)
The Legal Murder of Willie Darden, #449, 25 Mar. (16, 14)
Librarians to Feds: We Won't Fink! (YSp), #449, 25 Mar. (10)
U.S. "Drug War": License for Global Terror, #453, 20 May (1, 10)
Warning: Anti-Smoking Crusade Dangerous to Your Rights, #453, 20 May (6, 7, 8)
Smoking Letters (L), #453, 20 May (7)
WV Cuts Through Smokescreen, #462, 7 Oct. (3)
Drug Testing: Threat to the Unions, #466, 2 Dec. (12, 11)

- **Cases**—See **Central America: El Salvador; Miners; Near East; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Puerto Rico**. See also **San Francisco; South Africa**.

- Cassandra Wins!, #443, 1 Jan. (12, 10)
- Chicago Victory Party for Callie and Cassandra, #446, 12 Feb. (2)
- FBI Witchhunts Central America Protesters, #446, 12 Feb. (3, 10)
- FBI "Terrorist" Scare Targets Arabs, #459, 12 Aug. (3)
- Free All the MOVE Prisoners!, #463, 21 Oct. (9)

- **Abu-Jamal, Mumia**—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**. See also **Fascism: Philadelphia**.

- Abolish the Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #454, 3 June (6, 14)
- Black Militant on Death Row, #454, 3 June (7)
- What You Can Do, #454, 3 June (7)

- **Pratt, Geronimo**—See **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

- "60 Minutes" Exposes Frame-Up of Geronimo Pratt, #443, 1 Jan. (3)
- Geronimo Pratt Put in Chains, #451, 22 Apr. (12, 11)
- Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt!, #455, 17 June (2)
- Reaganite Court Throws Out Pratt Appeal, #457, 15 July (6, 7)
- Mumia Abu-Jamal: "Free Pratt from Net of Naked State Terror!", #457, 15 July (7)

CIVIL RIGHTS—See **Civil Liberties; Fascism; New York City; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Students**. See also **San Francisco**.

- Cop Terror Stalks Black America, #444, 15 Jan. (16, 15)
- Racist Roundup Seizes Thousands of Black, Latino Youths: LAPD—The Deadliest Gang in Blue (YSp), #453, 20 May (4, 5)
- Grand Jury Can't Wash Blood Off Mayor Goode's Hands, #453, 20 May (12, 11)
- Gruesome Racist Murder in Cleveland, #453, 20 May (11)
- Atlanta Cops Attack Blacks, Homeless, #455, 17 June (12, 11)
- Hispanic Outrage Over Racist Cop Terror, #455, 17 June (12)
- Loyal Garner Was Victim of Racist Murder!, #458, 29 July (12, 11)

Columbia University—See **Students; Fascism: Philadelphia**.

Communist Parties: International—See **France**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes; West Germany**.

COMMUNIST PARTY USA (CPUSA)—

- See **New Alliance Party**. See also **Campus Repression; History of the Marxist Movement; Students; Workers Vanguard**.
A Reply to CP's Jim West: Workers Revolution—The Only Road to Peace, #451, 22 Apr. (5, 10, 11)
Report from CP Youth Convention (YSp), #460, 9 Sept. (9)
Resignation from the YCL (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (7)

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

- San Francisco: "Scabs Out!", #448, 11 Mar. (5)
- Bay Area Labor Tops Wave Flag for Democrats, #449, 25 Mar. (6)

Cornell University—See **Students**.

Cuba—See **Angola**.

Death Penalty—See **Civil Liberties: General; Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

Defense Cases—See **Civil Liberties**.

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—See **Labor**.

Détente—See **Communist Party USA; Soviet Union; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Quote of the Week; United Secretariat**.

Disarmament—See **Soviet Union; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Quote of the Week; United Secretariat**.

Drugs—See **AIDS; Central America: Panama; Civil Liberties: General**.

EAST EUROPE—See **Poland; Soviet Union; Yugoslavia**.

- "Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe (S)
Part 1—The Bankruptcy of the Yugoslav Model, #444, 15 Jan. (8, 9, 10, 11)
Part 2—Hungary: "Goulash Communism" Goes Bust, #448, 11 Mar. (6, 7, 8, 9)
Part 3—For Central Planning Through Soviet Democracy, #454, 3 June (8, 9, 10, 11)

East Germany—See **East Europe; West Germany**.

Economics—See **East Europe; Soviet Union**.

ELECTIONS—See **Black Question; France; Mexico**. See also **AIDS; Armed Forces; Homosexual Rights; New Alliance Party; Quote of the Week**.

- Jesse Jackson Fronts for Party of War and Racism, #449, 25 Mar. (16, 14, 15)
- Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party, #451, 22 Apr. (1, 8, 9)
- Unchain Labor, Blacks—Break with the Democrats!, #456, 1 July (1, 9, 10)
- Democrats' Racist "Unity", #458, 29 July (1, 4, 5)
- Bush-Dukakis: The Bad News Bores, #460, 9 Sept. (1, 11)
- Bush's Nest of Nazis, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 11)
- We Need a Workers Party!, #464, 4 Nov. (16, 15)
- CIA's Man in the White House, #465, 18 Nov. (1, 13)

El Salvador—See **Central America**.

Farm Workers—See **San Francisco**.

FASCISM

- **General**—See **France; West Germany**. See also **Elections; Quote of the Week; San Francisco; Soviet Union**.

- Berkeley Students Protest Fascist (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (4, 5)
- "The Klan Must Not Ride in Berkeley!" (YSp), #446, 12 Feb. (4)
- Liberal Muddleheads Make Way for Fascist Metzger (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (5, 9)
- Dallas: Integrated Protest Routs KKK, #448, 11 Mar. (12, 10)
- 1,000 Protest Philadelphia Area KKK March, #454, 3 June (2)
- KKK Gets Hot Reception in Atlanta, #458, 29 July (5)
- Fascist Metzger and His Deadly Skinhead Thugs, #462, 7 Oct. (6, 12)
- Skinheads: Psycho Killers on the Loose, #464, 4 Nov. (3, 13, 14)
- Skinhead Racists Assault Family, #464, 4 Nov. (3)
- Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982: How Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan, #464, 4 Nov. (4)

From *The Autobiography of Malcolm X: Nightmare of KKK Terror* (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (7)

In Memory of the Greensboro Martyrs (PDC Statement) (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (12)

Murderous Skinhead Terror, #466, 2 Dec. (12, 11)

Metzger's Skinheads and The Order, #467, 16 Dec (3)

• **Philadelphia (November 5 Mobilization to Stop the KKK)**—See also **Zionism**.

Klan Lynchers Target Philly, #463, 21 Oct. (3, 10, 11)

All Out to Stop the KKK!, #463, 21 Oct. (12)

PDC Demands: Let Mumia Speak!, #463, 21 Oct. (9)

It'll Take \$\$\$ to Stop the KKK!, #463, 21 Oct. (11)

Partial List of Endorsers, #463, 21 Oct. (11)

The Klan Won't Ride in Philly!, #464, 4 Nov. (1, 11, 12)

Partial List of Endorsers, #464, 4 Nov. (10)

A Victory Against the Klan! (PDC Press Release), #464, 4 Nov. (11)

It Takes \$\$\$ to Make Sure the Klan Won't Ride in Philly!, #464, 4 Nov. (11)

Students Build Anti-Klan Mobilization (YSp), #465, 18 Nov. (3, 4)

Labor/Black Power Stopped the Klan! (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (5, 6, 7)

A Victory Against the Klan! (PDC Press Release) (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (6)

Excerpts from speeches (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (8, 9, 10)

Telegram from Guadeloupe (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (8)

Excerpts from labor support statements (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (9)

List of Endorsers (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (10, 11)

Support the November 5 Mobilization (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (11)

Mumia Abu-Jamal Speaks from Death Row (Sup), #465, 18 Nov. (12, 10, 11)

Stop the Klan Through Class Struggle!, #466, 2 Dec. (5)

Black Press Covers November 5 Mobilization, #466, 2 Dec. (5)

Partisan Defense Committee Wins Retraction of Violence Slander, #467, 16 Dec. (5)

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Black Question**; **Civil Liberties: General**; **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

Firemen—See **San Francisco**.

FRANCE—See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**; **Quote of the Week**.

Trotskyists in United-Front CP Protest: Thousands March Against Fascist Le Pen, #446, 12 Feb. (12, 10, 11)

Le Pen—Enough Is Enough!, #446, 12 Feb. (11)

Revolutionary Regroupment in France, #450, 8 Apr. (6, 7, 8, 9)

Behind French Elections: Fascist Threat Mounts, #452, 6 May (1, 8, 9)

Bolshevik Campaign in French Elections, #454, 3 June (16, 15)

French Trotskyists' Program of Struggle, #454, 3 June (15)

A Trotskyist Voice in French Elections, #455, 17 June (3)

French Printers Roll Back Union-Buster, #459, 12 Aug. (5)

Fraser, Dick—See **Obituaries**.

Freedom Socialist Party—See **Fascism: General**.

Gay Rights—See **Homosexual Rights**.

GUARDIAN ANGELS

Guardian Angels—Racist Vigilantes, #457, 15 July (4, 9)

HAITI

Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution (S)

Part 1—Birth of the First Black Republic 1791-1804, #446, 12 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

Part 2—Slave Revolts in the Americas, #447, 26 Feb. (6, 7, 8)

HARVARD—See **Campus Workers**. See also **Airline Workers**; **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests**.

Confederate Soldiers in Harvard Yard? (YSp), #453, 20 May (4)

Health Care—See **AIDS**; **Hospital Employees**.

Hispanics—See **Civil Rights**; **Puerto Rico**. See also **AIDS**; **Campus Repression**; **New York City**.

HISTORY OF THE MARXIST

MOVEMENT—See **Soviet Union**; **Trotsky**. See also **France**; **Quote of the Week**; **West Germany**; **Workers League**.

Shachtman and Stalin, Again (L), #444, 15 Jan. (2, 14)

Russian Revolution Shows the Road to Black Liberation (YSp), #449, 25 Mar. (7, 8, 9)

Honor Ignace Reiss, #452, 6 May (7)

In Honor of Christian Rakovsky, #455, 17 June (7)

The Bolshevik Revolution: How the Working Class Took Power (YSp)(S)

Part 1, #460, 9 Sept. (7, 8, 9)

Part 2, #462, 7 Oct. (7, 8, 9)

The Bolsheviks in World War I: A Correction (YSp)(L), #462, 7 Oct. (8)

Homeless—See **New York City**. See also **AIDS**; **Civil Rights**; **San Francisco**.

HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS—See **AIDS**.

Boston Gay Democrats Push Dukakis, #455, 17 June (4)

1,000 in NYC Protest Attacks on Gays, #461, 23 Sept. (3)

HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES—See also **AIDS**.

S.F. Hospital Workers Back Bosses Down, #460, 9 Sept. (13)

HOTEL WORKERS

Boston Union Maids Refuse to Kneel, #443, 1 Jan. (10)

Housing Question—See **Black Question**.

Hungary—See **East Europe**.

Imperialism—See **United States: International Relations**. See also **Quote of the Week**.

International Association of Machinists (IAM)—See **Airline Workers**.

International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT)—See **Labor**; **Teamsters**.

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—See **Longshoremen**.

International Longshoremen's Association (ILA)—See **Longshoremen**; **Tugboat Workers**.

International Spartacist Tendency (iSt)—See **France**. See also **Australia**; **Spartacist League**; **West Germany**.

Iran—See **Kurdish Question**; **U.S.: International Relations**.

Iraq—See **Kurdish Question**; **U.S.: International Relations**.

Ireland—See **Britain**.

Israel—See **Near East**; **Zionism**. See also **Students**.

Jackson, Jesse—See **Black Question**; **Elections**.

Japan—See **Auto Workers**; **World War II**.

Jewish Question—See **Near East**; **Poland**; **Quote of the Week**; **Zionism**.

Kampuchea—See **Vietnam**.

Ku Klux Klan—See **Fascism**.

KURDISH QUESTION

Defend the Kurdish People!, #462, 7 Oct. (11, 12)

LABOR—See **Civil Liberties: General**; **Elections**; specific occupations.

Rogue's Gallery of Labor Traitors: William Serrin on AFL-CIO Tops, #448, 11 Mar. (3, 4)

Smash Feds' Vendetta Against Teamsters! Unchain the Unions!, #459, 12 Aug. (1, 10, 11)

Latin America—See **Central America**; **Chile**; **Mexico**. See also **Quote of the Week**.

Left Organizations—See **Afghanistan**; **Trotsky**; specific organizations.

Lenin, V.I.—See **History of the Marxist Movement**; **Soviet Union**; **Trotsky**. See also **Quote of the Week**.

LONGSHOREMEN—See also **Construction Workers**; **Tugboat Workers**; **Workers Vanguard**.

Northwest Port Shutdown, #445, 29 Jan. (9)

Malcolm X—See **Fascism: General**.

Mandel, Ernest—See **United Secretariat**.

Medicine—See **Abortion**. See also **AIDS**.

MEXICO—See also **Trotsky**.

Starvation Elections (S)

Part 1, #456, 1 July (12, 11)*

Part 1 (C), #459, 12 Aug. (9)

Part 2, #457, 15 July (12, 10)

Mexico Erupts Over Elections, #457, 15 July (12, 11)

Militarism—See **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Armed Forces**; **Quote of the Week**.

MINERS—See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**; **West Germany**.

Feds, Finks Convict Kentucky Miners, #444, 15 Jan. (6)

Free the Kentucky Miners!, #447, 26 Feb. (12)

Morenoites—See **Central America: Nicaragua**; **Mexico**.

MOVE—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**; **Civil Rights**. See also **Fascism**; **Philadelphia**; **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

MOVEMENT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (MRCI)

Workers Power: The Baggage of State Capitalism, #456, 1 July (8)

National Question—See **Britain; East Europe; Kurdish Question; Near East; Soviet Union.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Nazism—See **Fascism.**

NEAR EAST—See also **Zionism.**

Palestinian Rebellion Against Zionist Jackboot, #443, 1 Jan. (1, 6, 7)

Free Mordechai Vanunu!, #443, 1 Jan. (6)

Israeli Stormtroopers Terrorize Palestinians, #445, 29 Jan. (12, 11)

Palestinians Defy Israeli "Iron Fist", #447, 26 Feb. (1, 10)

Mordechai Vanunu Sentenced to 18 Years, #450, 8 Apr. (3, 5)

Pogrom Unleashed Against Palestinian Villagers, #451, 22 Apr. (1, 3)

Palestinian Uprising—A Year of Defiance, #466, 2 Dec. (1, 8, 9, 10)

NEW ALLIANCE PARTY (NAP)

Stalinists vs. Fulani at the End of the Rainbow, #460, 9 Sept. (4, 5, 14)

NAP Gave Platform to Anti-Union Lorenzo Stogges, #460, 9 Sept. (5)

NEW YORK CITY—See **AIDS; Transit Workers.** See also **Black Question; Guardian Angels; Homosexual Rights.**

Howard Beach Was Racist Murder!, #443, 1 Jan. (12, 10, 11)

They're Waging War on the Homeless, #445, 29 Jan. (3, 9)

NYPD: Dial 911 for Murder, #448, 11 Mar. (5)

Racist NYPD Guns Down Women, #452, 6 May (12, 11)

New York Bridges Are Falling Down, #456, 1 July (4, 5)

Ed Koch: Enemy of the People of New York, #460, 9 Sept. (16, 15)

Racist Cops Burn Over Larry Davis Verdict, #466, 2 Dec. (9)

Nicaragua—See **Central America.**

North Korea—See **South Korea.**

OBITUARIES

In Memory of a Yugoslav Communist (L), #452, 6 May (3)

Kim Philby: In Memoriam, #454, 3 June (4, 14)

Dick Fraser, 1913-1988, #466, 2 Dec. (3)

PAKISTAN

Pakistani Women March Against Zia's Islamic Terror, #459, 12 Aug. (2)

Palestinians—See **Near East.** See also **Spartacist League; Students; Zionism.**

Panama—See **Central America.**

PAPER WORKERS

Solidarity Rally for Maine Paper Strikers, #447, 26 Feb. (2)

International Paper Strikers Shafted, #463, 21 Oct. (2)

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

• **General**—See **Civil Liberties; Abu-Jamal Case, Pratt Case; Fascism.** See also **Central America; El Salvador.**

• Class-Struggle Defense Notes

Holiday Appeal Success, #443, 1 Jan. (2)

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!, #445, 29 Jan. (2)

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter Finally Wins Fight for Freedom, #448, 11 Mar. (2, 10)

Save the Sharpeville Six! Free Moses Mayekiso!, #450, 8 Apr. (2, 5)

Geronimo Pratt Back Safe—Free Him Now!, #452, 6 May (2)

Free Leaders of Turkish CPI, #456, 1 July (2, 10)

Lexington Women Win Case Against Hellhole Prison, #458, 29 July (2)

Free All Victims of Turkish State Repression!, #462, 7 Oct. (2)

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners, #466, 2 Dec. (2, 3)

Persian Gulf—See **Kurdish Question; U.S.: International Relations.**

Philadelphia—See **Fascism.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases, Abu-Jamal Case; Civil Rights.**

Philby, Kim—See **Obituaries.**

Phone Workers—See **Central America; El Salvador.**

POLAND—See **East Europe.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Hail Warsaw Ghetto Fighters!, #452, 6 May (5, 6)

What's Behind Polish Strikes, #453, 20 May (3, 9)

Solidarność' Dirty Dollars, #458, 29 July (3)

Police—See **Civil Rights; New York City; San Francisco.**

Public Employees—See **San Francisco;** specific occupations.

PUERTO RICO

Free All Victims of U.S. Colonial Repression!, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 10, 11)

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

Lenin vs. Gorbachev on "Peaceful Coexistence" (V.I. Lenin), #443, 1 Jan. (2)

Finland Yesterday, Afghanistan Today—Defense of the USSR! (Leon Trotsky), #444, 15 Jan. (2)

For a Strong Revolutionary Government (V.I. Lenin), #445, 29 Jan. (2)

France: The Fight Against Fascism (Leon Trotsky), #446, 12 Feb. (2)

The Appeal of Tom Mooney, Labor Martyr (James P. Cannon), #447, 26 Feb. (2)

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (Communist International theses), #448, 11 Mar. (2)

Class War Against Colonial War (*Cahiers du Bolchévisme*), #449, 25 Mar. (2)

Soviet Power in the Caucasus (Leon Trotsky), #450, 8 Apr. (2)

History Will Avenge the Crimes of Stalin (Leon Sedov), #451, 22 Apr. (2)

Return to Lenin's International! (Ignace Reiss), #452, 6 May (2)

The End of Empires (Leon Trotsky), #453, 20 May (2)

Only Socialist Revolution Can Prevent Nuclear War (*Militant*), #454, 3 June (2)

Socialism Through World Revolution (Leon Trotsky), #455, 17 June (2)

Behind the Moscow Trials (Leon Sedov), #456, 1 July (2)

Latin America: For Revolutionary Working-Class Independence (Leon Trotsky), #457, 15 July (2)

Break With the Bosses' Parties! (James P. Cannon), #458, 29 July (2)

Imperialist War Crime Against Japanese Americans (*Militant*), #459, 12 Aug. (2)

For Working-Class Political Action (James P. Cannon), #460, 9 Sept. (2)

Teach the Fascists a Lesson (Leon Trotsky), #461, 23 Sept. (2)

For Rebirth of the Fourth International! (Leon Trotsky), #462, 7 Oct. (2)

Organized Workers Power Can Stop Fascists (*Socialist Appeal*), #463, 21 Oct. (2)

Socialist Revolution or Fascist Barbarism (Leon Trotsky), #464, 4 Nov. (2)

Fight Fascism and Anti-Semitism! (Leon Trotsky), #465, 18 Nov. (2)

Marxism vs. Nationalism (V.I. Lenin), #466, 2 Dec. (2)

Lenin to the American Workers, #467, 16 Dec. (2)

Racial Discrimination—See **Black Question; Civil Liberties; Civil Rights; Fascism; South Africa.** See also **AIDS; Campus Repression; Chicago; Haiti; History of the Marxist Movement; New York City; Partisan Defense Committee; Class-Struggle Defense Notes; Students; World War II.**

RAILWAY WORKERS

Metro North Workers Flex Their Muscle, #461, 23 Sept. (5)

Rakovsky, Christian—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Reiss, Ignace—See **History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Russia—See **Soviet Union.**

Russian Question—See **Soviet Union; Trotsky.** See also **Bolshevik Tendency; Communist Party USA; Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International; Quote of the Week; Workers League.**

SAN FRANCISCO—See also **Hospital Employees.**

Swastika Targets S.F. Minority Firemen, #444, 15 Jan. (5)

S.F. Racist Cops Target Minorities, #448, 11 Mar. (12, 10)

S.F. Mayor Targets City Workers, #454, 3 June (3, 14)

Arrested for Feeding the Homeless and Hungry, #461, 23 Sept. (3, 9)

Racist San Francisco Cops Attack Muni Driver, #467, 16 Dec. (7, 11)

Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—See **Hospital Employees; San Francisco.**

Shachtman, Max—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

SHIPYARD WORKERS

Victory to Electric Boat Strikers!, #457, 15 July (3, 9)

Shut It Down—Win the Strike!, #458, 29 July (3)

Skinheads—See **Fascism.**

Smoking—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Social Democrats USA—See **Labor.**

SOCIALIST ACTION (SA)

Hornell Strike: Where Were You When It Counted? Socialist Action Strikes Out, #466, 2 Dec. (4)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)—
See **Workers League**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

Sweep Jack Barnes into the Dumpster of History!, #443, 1 Jan. (3)

SOUTH AFRICA—See also **Angola; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

3 Million Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid, #455, 17 June (1, 10, 11)

Free the Alexandra Five! Save the Sharpeville Six!, #455, 17 June (10)

Urgent Appeal to Free the Sharpeville Six!, #457, 15 July (9)

SOUTH KOREA

South Korea's Police-State Olympics, #460, 9 Sept. (1, 12, 13)

SOVIET UNION—See **Afghanistan; East Europe; History of the Marxist Movement; Trotsky; U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Angola; Communist Party USA; Obituaries; Poland; Quote of the Week; Vietnam**.

Peaceful Coexistence with Imperialism Is a Pipe Dream, #444, 15 Jan (7, 13)

Soviet Workers Protest in Yaroslavl, #445, 29 Jan. (4)

Gorbachev's Afghan Sellout: Some Russians Say Nyet, #449, 25 Mar. (4, 11)

Behind the Armenia Crisis, #450, 8 Apr. (12, 9, 10, 11)

The Bukharin Dossier, #455, 17 June (6, 7, 8, 9)

Perils of *Perestroika*, #458, 29 July (6, 7, 8, 9)

Soviet Workers Must Crush Pamyat!, #461, 23 Sept. (1, 4)

Perestroika Fuels Nationalist Turmoil, #462, 7 Oct. (16, 14, 15)

On Marshal Zhukov (L), #467, 16 Dec. (2)

SPARTACIST LEAGUE (SL)

Cops, Palestinian Nationalists Seal Off Reds, #444, 15 Jan. (3, 6)

L.A. Times Retracts Deadly Libel (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (6)

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! (YSp), #464, 4 Nov. (6, 7)

Spartacus Youth Clubs—See **Fascism: General; Spartacist League; Students**.

Stalinism—See **East Europe; France; Poland; Soviet Union; Trotsky**. See also **Communist Party USA; History of the Marxist Movement; Obituaries; Quote of the Week**.

Steel Workers—See **Construction Workers**.

STUDENTS—See **Campus Repression; Campus Workers; Fascism**. See also **Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; Civil Liberties: General; South Korea**.

UMass Amherst: Campus Contrás Assault Gus Hall Meeting (YSp), #443, 1 Jan (5, 9)

Ann Arbor: Students Seize Racist Dean's Office (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (7)

Columbia University: Protesters Drive Off Israeli General, #446, 12 Feb. (5)

Smash Racist Attacks at Amherst! (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (4, 9)

Radical Student Confab at Rutgers (YSp), #447, 26 Feb. (5, 9)

Gus at UMass Amherst: You Read It Here First (L), #448, 11 Mar. (2)

Anti-Soviet Psychos Foiled at Cornell (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (6, 7)

Stop the Attacks on Minority Students! (YSp), #452, 6 May (4, 11)

Madison: Drive Out Racist Frat Rats! (YSp), #465, 18 Nov. (3)

TEAMSTERS—See **Agricultural and Food Workers; Labor**. See also **Railway Workers**.

Teamster Revolt Over Contract, #452, 6 May (9)

TRANSIT WORKERS—See also **Civil Liberties: Cases; Railway Workers; San Francisco; Workers League**.

NYC Transit Workers: Tear Up the Taylor Law!, #449, 25 Mar. (6)

Chicago Transit Militants: Don't Bring Back CTA Cops!, #454, 3 June (3)

NYC Transit Workers Mourn Slain Union Sister, #457, 15 July (4)

TROTSKY, LEON—See also **History of the Marxist Movement; Quote of the Week; Soviet Union**.

NYC Meeting on Moscow Trials Victims, #451, 22 Apr. (4, 10)

Fighter for World Revolution, #456, 1 July (3)*

Fighter for World Revolution (C), #459, 12 Aug (9)

Trotsky Belongs to Workers of the World, #461, 23 Sept. (2)

Trotsky and the Gorbachev School of Falsification (S)

Part 1, #464, 4 Nov. (8, 9)

Part 2, #466, 2 Dec. (6, 7, 8)

TUGBOAT WORKERS

ILA: Shut Down New York Harbor!, #447, 26 Feb. (2)

Exchange on the Sellout of the S.F. Tug Strike, #448, 11 Mar. (3, 4, 5)

Turkey—See **Kurdish Question; Partisan Defense Committee: Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.

UNITED SECRETARIAT (USec)

Ernest Mandel: La Guerre Est Finie, #444, 15 Jan. (11)

UNITED STATES

• **General—**See **Civil Liberties: General; Civil Rights; Elections**. See also **Central America: El Salvador; Labor; New York City**.

What Do Nancy, Hitler and the Tsarina Have in Common? Reagan's Star Wars, #453, 20 May (1, 10)

737 Rips Apart in Midair, #455, 17 June (5)

Genocide U.S.A., #463, 21 Oct. (1, 4, 5)

Greed Beyond Belief (Reprint from *New York Times Magazine*), #463, 21 Oct. (5)

For a Workers' America!, #467, 16 Dec. (1, 8, 9, 10)

• **International Relations—**See **Afghanistan; Central America: General, Nicaragua, Panama; Soviet Union**. See also **Angola; Canada; World War II**.

Gorbachev Talks "Peace" with War Crazy Reagan, #443, 1 Jan. (1, 8, 9)

Democrats Shift U.S. War on Nicaragua, #446, 12 Feb (1, 9)

Soviet Navy Sends U.S. Warships Packing, #447, 26 Feb (1, 8)

Nuclear Nut Hits Moscow, #454, 3 June (1, 13)

Massacre in the Persian Gulf, #457, 15 July (1, 8, 9)

Iranian Airbus Massacre Made in Washington, #459, 12 Aug. (12, 11)

Democrats Push Aid for Contra Terrorists, #459, 12 Aug (12, 11)

Daniloff Guilty As Charged, #462, 7 Oct. (3)

University of California at Berkeley—See **Fascism: General**.

University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA)—See **Campus Repression**.

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor—See **Students**.

University of Wisconsin at Madison—See **Students**. See also **Fascism: Philadelphia**.

Vanunu, Mordechai—See **Near East**.

VIETNAM—See also **Armed Forces**.

Vietnam—Don't Abandon Kampuchea!, #461, 23 Sept. (6, 7, 8)

Washington, Harold—See **Chicago**.

WEST GERMANY—See also **Fascism: General**.

Fissures in the West German Reich, #447, 26 Feb. (3, 11)

German Trotskyists Honor the "Three L's", #447, 26 Feb. (11)

Anti-Nazi Protests in West Germany, #448, 11 Mar. (9)

West German Mine Disaster, #455, 17 June (3, 4)

Over the Berlin Wall: Escape from the "Free World", #459, 12 Aug. (3)

West German Unions, Radicals Stop Nazis, #464, 4 Nov. (16, 15)

Kristallnacht: Reign of Nazi Terror, #465, 18 Nov. (16, 15)

Woman Question—See **Abortion; Afghanistan; Pakistan; Quote of the Week**.

WORKERS LEAGUE (WL)

David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son, #456, 1 July (6, 7, 8, 9)

What Was the Workers League Doing at 207th St.?, #467, 16 Dec. (3, 10)

Workers Power—See **Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International**.

WORKERS VANGUARD—See also **Civil Liberties: General**.

Longshoremen Read WV, Stalinist Hacks Fume: *Glasnost* on the Waterfront?, #453, 20 May (5, 9)

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive
Week One of Six Totals, #460, 9 Sept. (10)
Week Three of Six Totals, #461, 23 Sept (11)
Week Five of Six Totals, #462, 7 Oct (12)
Final Totals, #463, 21 Oct. (2)

World Politics—See **U.S.: International Relations; specific countries**.

WORLD WAR II—See also **Quote of the Week**.

The Infamy of America's Concentration Camps, #459, 12 Aug. (6)

Racism, Anti-Semitism and Atomic Holocaust, #459, 12 Aug (7, 8, 9)

On Atom Bombing of Japan (L), #459, 12 Aug. (8)

WRITERS

Victory to the Writers Guild Strike!, #451, 22 Apr. (11)

Young Communist League (YCL)—See **Communist Party USA**.

YUGOSLAVIA—See **East Europe; Obituaries**. See also **Australia**.

Yugoslavia Inflamed, #463, 21 Oct. (6, 7, 8)

ZIONISM—See **Near East**. See also **Poland; Students**.

ADL Redbaiters Defame Anti-Klan Protest, #465, 18 Nov (2, 14)

WORKERS VANGUARD

1988 SUBJECT INDEX

1 January to 16 December 1988 (Issues Nos. 443-467)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1988, from Issue No. 443 (1 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 467 (16 December). During this time, WV was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:
Bush's Nest of Nazis, #461, 23 Sept. (12, 11)
means the headline of the article, issue No. 461, 23 September, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:
Death Penalty—See **Civil Liberties: General, Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee; Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**
means that articles on the death penalty can be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Abu-Jamal**, and by going to the subject head **PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE** and looking under the subcategory **Class-Struggle Defense Notes**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
C: Correction Sup: Supplement
L: Letter YSp: *Young Spartacus*
S: Series article

ABORTION

- Let American Women Have Safe Abortion Pill!, #451, 22 Apr. (2)
Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!, #452, 6 May (12, 11)
Chicago: Protest Stops "Right to Life" Bigots, #453, 20 May (12)
Moral Majority Bigots Target Atlanta, #460, 9 Sept. (6, 13)
Defend Abortion Rights!, #464, 4 Nov. (2)

Abu-Jamal, Mumia—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case; Fascism: Philadelphia; Partisan Defense Committee; Class-Struggle Defense Notes.** See also **Black Question; Civil Liberties: Pratt Case.**

AFGHANISTAN—See Soviet Union. See also Bolshevik Tendency; Pakistan.

- Russia Must Win Afghan War!, #444, 15 Jan. (1, 12, 13)
Soviet Pullout Would Mean Bloodbath: Fake-Lefts Caught in Cold-War Vise, #449, 25 Mar. (5, 11)
Afghan Women Fight for Their Lives, #452, 6 May (7)

AFL-CIO—See **Labor.**

AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD

WORKERS—See also **San Francisco; Socialist Action.**

- Watsonville Cannery Workers Won't Touch Scab Broccoli, #443, 1 Jan. (4)

AIDS—See also Homosexual Rights.

- The Politics of Death in New York City: AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos, #462, 7 Oct. (1, 5, 13)
California Referendum Targets AIDS Victims, #462, 7 Oct. (4)
Congressional Bigots Shaft D.C., #462, 7 Oct. (5)

AIRLINE WORKERS—See also New Alliance Party; U.S.: General.

- Eastern Flight Attendants Defend Air Safety: Ice? No Dice!, #443, 1 Jan. (4)
Mr. Air Disaster Sues Unions, #455, 17 June (5, 11)
Eastern Workers: Sock It to Lorenzo!, #461, 23 Sept. (5)
Eastern Unions: Fight or Die!, #463, 21 Oct. (8)

All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP)—See **Black Question.** See also **Fascism: Philadelphia.**

American Civil War—See **Black Question.** See also **Harvard.**

Amherst—See **Campus Repression; Students.**

ANGOLA

- Bitter Fruit of Gorbachev's "Peaceful Coexistence": Rotten Deal with Apartheid Terror, #458, 29 July (12, 11)

Anti-Semitism—See **Fascism; Zionism.** See also **Chicago; Elections; Poland; Quote of the Week.**

ARCHIVES OF THE MARXIST

MOVEMENT—See **Quote of the Week.**

- 1921 Leninist Resolution on Organization, #460, 9 Sept. (2)

ARMED FORCES—See also Central America: U.S. Antiwar Protests; U.S.: International Relations.

- Imperialism's Gutless Wonders (L), #460, 9 Sept. (3)

Armenia—See **Soviet Union.**

Asian Americans—See **World War II.** See also **Quote of the Week.**

Atlanta—See **Abortion; Civil Rights.** See also **Fascism: General.**

AUSTRALIA

- Demonstrators Defend Yugoslav Consulate, #467, 16 Dec. (7)

AUTO WORKERS

- GM/Toyota, UAW Tops Team Up Against Workers, #459, 12 Aug. (4, 5, 9)

Azerbaijan—See **Soviet Union.**

BLACK QUESTION—See **Civil Rights; Elections; Fascism; History of the Marxist Movement.** See also **Chicago; Civil Liberties; Haiti; Students; U.S.: General.**

- Down with Dixie Flag of Slavery! (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (5, 6)

Pan-Africanist Kwame Ture Goes for Jesse (YSp), #445, 29 Jan. (6)

Norfolk NAACP Forces Down Dixie Flag of Racist Terror, #449, 25 Mar. (15)

Jackson Action—Same Old Reaction (by Abu-Jamal) (L), #455, 17 June (2)

Integrate Boston Housing!, #457, 15 July (2, 11)

Racist Backlash in Yonkers, #460, 9 Sept. (16, 15)

The Case of Al Sharpton, FBI Fink, #460, 9 Sept. (14)

Battle of Christiana: A Blow Against Slavery, #464, 4 Nov. (5, 14)

After Labor/Black Mobilization Stopped the KKK: Natural Blowback? Black Nationalists Assault Marxist Organizers, #467, 16 Dec. (4, 5)

BOLSHEVIK TENDENCY (BT)

From the BT... (L), #446, 12 Feb. (2)

BT Says Don't Hail Red Army in Afghanistan, #449, 25 Mar. (10)

BT Protests Too Much (L), #453, 20 May (2)

Boston—See **Black Question.** See also **Hotel Workers.**

Boston University—See **Campus Repression.**

BRITAIN—See **Fascism: General.** See also **Movement for a Revolutionary Communist International.**

Thatcher's Death Squads Hit IRA, #449, 25 Mar. (2, 14)

North Sea Workers Burned Alive, #457, 15 July (5)

Burning Spear—See **Black Question.**

CAMPUS REPRESSION

UMass Amherst: CP Youth Barred from Office (YSp), #451, 22 Apr. (7)

UCLA: Latino Student Barred from Office (YSp), #454, 3 June (5)

No Sex Under Silber (YSp), #462, 7 Oct. (9)

CAMPUS WORKERS—See also **Airline Workers.**

A Union Victory at Harvard (YSp), #454, 3 June (5)

Victory to NYU Clerical Workers! (YSp), #460, 9 Sept. (10)

CANADA

Canada Trade Pact Elections, #467, 16 Dec. (6, 11)

Cannery Workers—See **Agricultural and Food Workers.**

Capital Punishment—See **Civil Liberties: General, Abu-Jamal Case; Partisan Defense Committee; Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

Carter, Hurricane—See **Partisan Defense Committee; Class-Struggle Defense Notes.**

continued on page 12