

Massive Strikes Rock France



December 5: Millions of workers across France join strikes against Macron government attacks on pensions, including in Limoges (left) and Paris (right).

PARIS, December 10—Strikes and protests against the government’s proposed destruction of the pension system are sweeping France. On December 5, millions of workers went on strike, with some 1.5 million participating in demonstrations. Train and subway workers were joined by teachers, hospital personnel, electrical workers and hundreds of thousands of others, including the Paris Opera. National railway and Paris transportation workers, who are the backbone of the struggle, are now in the sixth day of their strike.

Today was another day of strikes and protests, although somewhat smaller than last week. Close to a million workers, students and teachers were out, and seven of the country’s eight oil refineries shut down. Widespread outrage was sparked two days ago by the revelation that the pension reform commissioner, Jean-Paul Delevoye, was acting (until yesterday) as an adviser to the insurance industry, which has been gunning for the pension system in order to rake in money from private pension funds.

The French police have become notorious in Europe for savage repression. On December 5, two journalists known for documenting police violence, Gaspard Glanz and Taha Bouhafs, were wounded by “crowd control” grenades. Many thousands of police searches have been carried out against demonstrators, and hundreds have been arrested. We say: *Drop all charges against protesters!*

The majority of the train and subway union federations have said that they will continue to strike until the pension reform plan is withdrawn. Tomorrow, Prime Minister Edouard Philippe is scheduled to announce the plan’s details. However, he made it clear today that there are “no

magic announcements” that will “stop the demonstrations.” We print below a translation of an article, datelined November 24, from *Le Bolchévik* (No. 230, December 2019), newspaper of the Ligue trotskyste de France. Our comrades have been distributing ICL press and intervening into general assemblies and demonstrations in Paris, Rouen and Lille.

* * *

The showdown over retirement pensions is approaching. For two and a half years, President Emmanuel Macron has sought to complete the dirty work begun under former president François Hollande’s Socialist Party (PS) government: to dismantle the unions and qualitatively escalate the attacks on all workers. To that end, the Hollande government passed the anti-union El Khomri law, followed by Macron’s decrees modifying the labor code.

In 2018, the elimination of rail workers’ status, based on significant benefits and other gains, aimed to weaken this powerful trade-union stronghold. By paralyzing the economy, railway workers had played a key role in halting the government’s attacks on the entire working class in 1986 and 1995. The dismantling of unemployment insurance last summer, following the gutting of the labor tribunals, also aimed to make workers think twice before raising their heads on the job. Getting fired now does not just mean that it would be difficult to scrape by; it could also mean destitution and ending up on the streets. Yet, a section of the bourgeoisie is beginning to worry about the scale of the mobilization called for December 5. A victory for the working class could turn the tide of the class struggle, not only in France but throughout Europe.

Down With the European Union!

The government uses “EU directives”—drawn up mainly in Berlin and Paris—as a war machine to justify the necessary

“reforms” so that France can maintain its status as one of the few powers whose financial capital, backed up by elite troops, oppresses the rest of the world.

The EU consists of a series of treaties signed between imperialist powers—mainly Germany (which generally has the last word) and France—and their victims, especially the countries of southern and eastern Europe. The latter are oppressed thanks to the “freedom of movement” of big German and French capital, which is guaranteed by the EU. The objective of the EU is to maximize the capitalists’ profit rate by maximizing the rate of exploitation. This is to be accomplished by the destruction of the trade unions, full-scale privatizations and the establishment of common standards that make markets more accessible to the most powerful capitalists (notably German and French, with the support of the United States). *Down with the EU and its monetary instrument, the euro!*

Pensions: Macron Targets Everyone, and Especially Women

Macron now wants to tear down the entire system of social benefits, and especially the retirement pension system. This is the most significant of all the gains that workers have been able to wrest since the victory of the Soviet Union against the Nazis in 1945. Since the destruction of the Soviet Union almost 30 years ago, all these gains have been systematically attacked. These attacks underline the fact that under capitalism, reforms that favor the working class can only be won through struggle and must be defended tooth and nail. To put an end to this exhausting struggle, the only solution is revolution—the overthrow of the dictatorship of capital and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The government is particularly targeting the special retirement benefits of public employees. This is an attempt to set

the rest of the working class against this supposedly “privileged” category. But in fact, the points-based pension system (the newly proposed system for calculating retirement pensions) targets *all* workers. Capping pension payments for a growing proportion of pensioners at their current level (13.8 percent of GDP) would automatically mean that over time everyone, including current retirees, would see their pensions slashed by some 20 to 30 percent.

The government for a while floated the idea that *at best* it would be willing to accept a “grandfather clause,” under which only new entrants into the labor market would be affected. This is ten times worse than the CPE. That was a bill, which then president Jacques Chirac tried to push through in 2006, mandating second-tier status for young workers—but it was for two years, not for their entire lives. Spurred on by a youth mobilization, the working class took to the streets en masse and forced the government to back down. That was the last great working-class victory in this country.

Who, aside from a treacherous bureaucrat à la Laurent Berger, head of the CFDT union, could view the grandfather clause as an acceptable compromise? How can workers, who are struggling to provide their children with a better life than they themselves had, accept that they be denied any semblance of a retirement pension? By dividing the workers according to the kind of employment contract they have, the capitalists can more easily attack everyone’s gains.

For the capitalists, the only way to solve the “budgetary equation” of pensions is to hasten the death of the elderly, who no longer create profits—by making them work longer, by reducing their pensions and by dismantling public health services. While hospital workers, including doctors, have been mobilizing for months, the government has stepped

continued on page 4



On the Syrian Civil War

26 October 2019

Hello,

I subscribe to Workers Vanguard and very much enjoy it. I was reading the article “US Imperialism Out Of Syria!” [WV No. 1163, 18 October] and had a question. You wrote that the Spartacus League does not take a side in the Syrian Civil War, and that it is “reactionary on all sides.” I was wondering what you mean by this, and if you could expand on your organization’s stance on this issue. I have read a lot about the Syrian Civil War but not from a communist perspective.

I hope it’s okay that I’m contacting you with this question.

Thanks,
Jocelyn

WV replies:

We welcome such questions from WV readers. The starting point for our stance on the Syrian civil war is: What advances the cause of the working class in the fight to shatter capitalist rule? When we say we take no side in the war, which is reactionary all around, it does not mean that we are indifferent to the plight of the Syrian masses. Rather, our aim is for the proletariat to emerge as an independent force, leading the oppressed behind it, in a struggle for state power.

In Syria, what began as anti-government protests in 2011 spiraled into the civil war involving the brutal regime of Bashar al-Assad, dominated by the Alawite minority, and an array of Sunni fundamentalist factions. These warring sides have received support from foreign imperialist or regional powers. For example, Russia and Iran have backed Assad, while the Pentagon and CIA have armed and financed various Sunni forces fighting the regime. These include so-called “moder-

ate rebels” in the Free Syrian Army (with ties to groups like Al Qaeda) as well as the White Helmets—Islamist outfits that Turkey also supports. (For more on the latter, see “Syrian ‘White Helmets’: Tools of U.S. Imperialism,” WV No. 1103, 13 January 2017.)

In this multisided communal war that pits different ethnic and religious groups against each other, the defeat of one combatant by another would do nothing to further the struggle of the workers and the oppressed. If, for instance, any of the fundamentalist forces came out victorious, it would mean vicious attacks against religious and ethnic minorities and the oppressed Kurdish people, as well as the suppression of working-class actions or movements. While the Assad government is more secularly based, its victory would mean the re-establishment of a bonapartist bourgeois regime that had alternately co-opted and repressed the workers movement while suppressing the Kurdish national struggle.

Though it has intervened in Syria, the U.S. has not decisively entered the civil war with its own armed forces to remove Assad. If Washington were to launch a direct attack or invasion of the country, Marxists would take a military side with Assad’s forces against imperialist assault while maintaining our political opposition to his rule. There is a distinction between military and political support: siding with Assad’s forces does not equal politically endorsing his capitalist government. On the contrary, it means we want the U.S. to be militarily defeated, which would benefit the working class in the Near East and also workers in the U.S. Our aim would be to combine the struggle against imperialist intervention in Syria with the

struggle against local capitalist rule and for social revolution.

When it comes to Syria and other neo-colonial countries, we have always emphasized that workers internationally have a side in opposing imperialism, whose crimes include carving up the Near East a century ago (see “Syrian Civil War: Legacy of Imperialist Divide-and-Rule,” WV No. 1009, 28 September 2012). We demand all U.S. troops and bases out of Syria and the Near East now, and call for the regional powers Turkey, Russia and Iran to get out as well. The U.S. imperialist rulers have slaughtered millions in their quest for profit and domination and are the greatest enemy of the workers and oppressed worldwide. So when Washington began its war on ISIS in the region in 2014, we stressed that any setback or defeat for the U.S. or its proxies, including by the ISIS arch-reactionary butchers, would correspond with the interests of the exploited and oppressed. These U.S. proxies were mainly Kurdish military forces, which had mostly stayed out of the war until they were attacked by ISIS.

The article referred to by Jocelyn underlined the criminality of the bourgeois-nationalist Kurdish leaders in Syria for entering into a military alliance with U.S. imperialism and acting as its foot soldiers in the war against ISIS (now largely defeated). Dismembered among Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey, the Kurdish nation needs its own state. We call for a united independent Kurdish state, and would also support Kurdish independence from individual capitalist states. However, in Iraq and Syria, the Kurdish nationalists have subordinated the just fight for self-determination to their alliance with Wash-

ington, thus betraying the aspirations of the Kurdish masses, while strengthening the hand of U.S. imperialism.

There are historical examples of civil wars where Marxists had a side, such as the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War. In Spain, the working class rose up against General Francisco Franco’s attempt to overthrow the Republican government. That civil war pitted the capitalist popular-front government—a coalition made up of bourgeois and workers parties whose purpose was to put a lid on an insurgent proletariat and peasantry—against Franco’s forces, which aimed to crush all workers organizations and democratic rights. It was crucial for the working class, which had its own militias, to fight militarily alongside the Republican forces against Francoist reaction, but offer no political support to the popular-front regime. The road to defeating the bonapartist Franco lay in the seizure of state power by the armed proletariat. But the popular front disarmed the working class, opening the floodgates to Franco’s decades-long bloody reign of rightist reaction. (For more, see “Trotskyism vs. Popular Frontism in the Spanish Civil War,” *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 61, Spring 2009.)

Our approach to such questions was learned from the concrete struggles waged by Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin in the course of putting forward a revolutionary program that would lead to the 1917 October Revolution. In our fight for new October Revolutions, we seek to build Marxist workers parties throughout the region, part of a reformed Fourth International, that fight for the establishment of a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Free Julian Assange Now!

Since WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange was dragged out of the Ecuadorian Embassy in London by British cops last April, he has been languishing in the maximum security Belmarsh prison, with a hearing on extradition to the U.S. scheduled for February. Both Democrats and Republicans have been screaming for his head on a spike going back to 2010 when WikiLeaks released a trove of documents provided by Chelsea Manning, then an intelligence analyst in the U.S. Army. That material exposed U.S. war crimes in Iraq and Afghanistan, and imperialist turpitude elsewhere. The Democrats especially have it in for Assange, who they scapegoat for supposedly having cost Hillary Clinton the 2016 election after WikiLeaks released a huge cache of Democratic National Committee emails. The U.S. has indicted Assange on 17 charges under the 1917 Espionage Act, each carrying a sentence of ten years. **No extradition! Drop the charges! Free Assange! For unobstructed passage to any country that grants him asylum!**

Assange’s health has been deteriorating rapidly, a cumulative effect of seven years of confinement to the embassy with no access to medical care, compounded by the hellish conditions of Belmarsh. Despite pleas by doctors who examined Assange over the years, the British government denied him access to proper treatment, even for a medical emergency. He continues to be denied medical care in prison. On November 22, more than 60 doctors from around the world signed an open letter to the British government expressing serious concern about Assange’s physical and mental health, warning that he “could die in prison.” In a December 4 letter, the doctors reiterated their concern that Assange “could die of deliberate medical negligence.”

Under the guise of being on “suicide watch,” Assange is kept under oppressive conditions of isolation and surveillance. He is only allowed limited visits by his lawyers and has been denied access to case files needed to adequately prepare his defense. A request by his lawyers to postpone the

extradition hearing pending the result of an investigation of a security company in Spain was refused. The company is accused of spying at the behest of the CIA on Assange while he was in the embassy and recording conversations with his lawyers and visitors.

With Assange firmly in the clutches of the British authorities, Sweden has dropped its investigation into cooked-up “rape” charges against him. The sexual encounters, by the accounts of the two women involved, were consensual, underscoring that the charges were never anything more than a flimsy cover for handing Assange over to the vengeful U.S. rulers. Sweden’s latest move clears the path for direct extradition to the U.S.

What the American government has in mind for Assange is shown by the treatment of Chelsea Manning. Convicted under the Espionage Act, she was held in torturous prison conditions for seven years. In March, she was thrown back in jail for refusing to testify before a grand jury against WikiLeaks. In a similar principled stand, “hacktivist” Jeremy Hammond—who provided WikiLeaks millions of emails from the private security firm Stratfor, detailing its spying operations on left and liberal groups—also refused to testify before the same grand jury. He, too, is locked behind bars. **Free Chelsea Manning and Jeremy Hammond now!**

By exposing the crimes of the ruling class, brave truth-tellers like Assange, Manning, Edward Snowden and others have provided a valuable service to workers and the oppressed. It is in the interests of the working class to fight against all attempts to silence them. ■

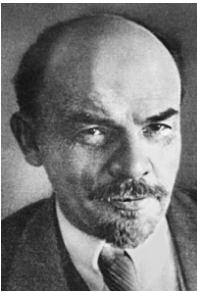
NOTICE
Workers Vanguard skips
an issue in December.
Our next issue will
be dated January 17.



TROTSKY

The Reactionary Role of the Church

Writing amid the mass radicalization that accompanied the 1905 Russian Revolution, Marxist leader Rosa Luxemburg addressed the role of the clergy and officialdom of the Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches in attacking the workers movement and promoting social reaction. Marxism is a scientific worldview based on a materialist understanding of class society, and is thus implacably hostile to all religious obscurantism, superstition and ideological backwardness.



LENIN

The clergy, no less than the capitalist class, lives on the backs of the people, profits from the degradation, the ignorance and the oppression of the people. The clergy and the parasitic capitalists hate the organized working class, conscious of its rights, which fights for the conquest of its liberties. For the abolition of capitalist misrule and the establishment of equality between men would strike a mortal blow especially at the clergy which exists only thanks to exploitation and poverty. But above all, socialism aims at assuring to humanity an honest and solid happiness here below, to give to the people the greatest possible education and the first place in society. It is precisely this happiness here on earth which the servants of the Church fear like the plague....

From the moment when the priests use the pulpit as a means of political struggle against the working class, the workers must fight against the enemies of their rights and their liberation. For he who defends the exploiters and who helps to prolong this present regime of misery is the mortal enemy of the proletariat, whether he be in a cassock [vestment] or in the uniform of the police.

—Rosa Luxemburg, “Socialism and the Churches” (1905), printed in *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* (Pathfinder Press, 1970)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Michael Davissou

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jeanne Mitchell (managing editor), François Donau (production manager), Edie Goldberg (letters editor), Mónica Mora (Spanish-language editor), Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Jon Brule, Paul Cone, Walter Jennings, Michael Joyce, Jane Kerrigan, Alan Wilde, Laura Zamora

The Spartacist League is the U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) is published biweekly, except skipping issues in January, June, July, August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 299 Broadway, Suite 1618, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. Email address: vanguard@tiac.net. Domestic subscription: \$10/21 issues. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is December 10.

No. 1167

13 December 2019

California: Fires, Blackouts and Capitalist Greed

Expropriate PG&E!

Santa Barbara County Fire Department

Fire in Montecito, California, 2017. Decaying power infrastructure has ignited numerous wildfires over last few years.

In November 2018, a spark from a fault on a century-old high-voltage transmission tower operated by the Pacific Gas and Electric (PG&E) company set off an inferno that destroyed the Northern California town of Paradise. At least 85 mostly poor and elderly people were killed, 14,000 homes gutted and 240 square miles torched. To get out from under an estimated \$30 billion in liabilities for the death and devastation in Paradise and other fires ignited by its criminally neglected infrastructure, PG&E declared bankruptcy. Last week, a settlement was announced, bringing little relief to victims, who will receive half their payouts in company stock, yet another slap in the face from the utility.

Earlier this year, as a long fire season again took hold, PG&E responded to an angry public by repeatedly shutting off power to millions of people, rather than mounting a serious effort to fix the underlying issues. These blackouts, which often came with little or no warning, threw a glaring spotlight on the social reality of decaying American capitalism. The lights were left on in the economic and financial centers of Silicon Valley and San Francisco, while the lives and livelihoods of the working class and the poor were disrupted and endangered. The sick and the elderly had life-saving medical equipment dependent on electricity cut off. Refrigerated food rotted; schools, gas stations and supermarkets were forced to close. At the same time, a massive fire erupted in Sonoma County, likely started by a PG&E transmission line that the company had decided not to de-energize.

The largest investor-owned utility in the U.S. and main provider of electricity to Northern and Central California, PG&E has a long and notorious reputation for its depraved indifference to public safety. Its deadly contamination of the water supply in the small California town of Hinkley with carcinogenic waste from a natural gas compressor station was portrayed in the 2000 movie *Erin Brockovich*. Three years ago, the company was convicted on felony charges for willful safety violations after a 2010 gas pipeline explosion in the San Francisco suburb of San Bruno killed eight people and leveled 38 houses. A PG&E worker told *Workers Vanguard* that, according to a company presentation, the occupational fatality rate for electrical workers who repair its lines is 2.6 times the national average for manufacturing. The overwhelmingly Latino workers brought in to trim trees and clear brush for PG&E face even more hazardous working conditions.

Meanwhile, the company's shareholders and investors have profited handsomely, raking in a reported \$4.5 billion in dividends in recent years as PG&E let its aging infrastructure continue to rot. Now, PG&E's CEO says it will take *ten years* to make the upgrades necessary to stop the fire season blackouts. Thus, California, which has the equivalent of the fifth largest economy in the world, is faced with a "new normal" of unreliable electric power more typical of an underdeveloped country.

More is at work here than simply the homicidal greed of PG&E—namely, the destructive irrationality of a system based on production for private profit and the anarchy of the market. PG&E is a monument to capitalist decay in the imperialist epoch, the period from the turn of the last century, marked by the domination of finance capital and the proliferation of monopolies. The company, which has since sold off its power plants, acquired monopoly status in 1930, after decades of alternately colluding with and gobbling up its competitors. This outcome gave PG&E a captive market, and greater incentive to price-gouge and run its infrastructure into the ground.

The PG&E monopoly cannot supply the energy needs of the population on a rational basis and, like all other monopolies, has acted as a barrier to development. At the same time, monopoly capitalism is based on substantial economic integration. In the case of PG&E, the electrical grid and gas supply were centralized, and the energy-sector workforce further con-

centrated. To harness the potential of such large-scale operations to provide vital services, and to clear the way for all-around social and economic progress, the proletariat must put an end to the rule of the tiny class of capitalist owners.

Reformist "Public Ownership" Schemes

Popular outrage against PG&E has led to calls for "public ownership" from many quarters. While the reformist left sometimes couples this call with one for "work-



AP

Personnel from Sacramento County Coroner's office scour for human remains in rubble of Paradise house burned to the ground in deadly Camp Fire, November 2018.

ers control" or "community control," what they are demanding is that PG&E be taken over by the capitalist state. Even if such a move were to be made, it would not be to address the needs of the population but rather those of the capitalist class that the state apparatus exists to defend. Currently, some form of public ownership of PG&E seems to be getting traction among sectors of the bourgeoisie.

As the *L.A. Times* (14 November) noted: "Even those on Wall Street are looking to state leaders to do more about power line-sparked wildfires and mass blackouts before they wreak long-term havoc on California's economy." Demands that the company be run as a customer-owned cooperative have also been made by more than 20 mayors in Northern California. Even Democratic Party governor Gavin Newsom, who went to bat with legislation to protect PG&E from liability for its crimes, has mooted the idea of a possible state takeover.

Any such takeover to bail out this failing enterprise, and restore its bottom line, will be purchased on the backs of working people and the poor. In fact, the measures passed to date by the Democratic-controlled California legislature have saddled consumers with higher rates for the mounting costs of keeping PG&E afloat. But this reality has not curbed the enthusiasm of Socialist Alternative (SAI) in peddling illusions that Democrats, who have long covered for PG&E, will come to the rescue. As the lights went out and the fires raged, SAI urged that "the Governor and state legislators need to act immediately to back up cities that want to nationalize their utilities and should introduced [sic] legislation for a state takeover of PG&E with compensation to shareholders based only on proven need" (socialistalternative.org, 27 October).

This revolting concern for PG&E's investors is matched by SAI's touching faith in the capitalist state, the executive committee of the capitalist class as a whole, to run the utility in the interests of the many and not the few. In fact, making a utility public does not stop it from sacrificing safety and reliability. One need only look at public services that have been run into the ground by government austerity. The deteriorating roads and bridges of California—among the worst in the country—are maintained by the Cal Trans public agency. Little to no money has gone to providing roads and other infrastructure in high-risk wildfire areas where workers and retirees are increasingly driven to look for affordable housing due to extortionate rents in the Bay Area.

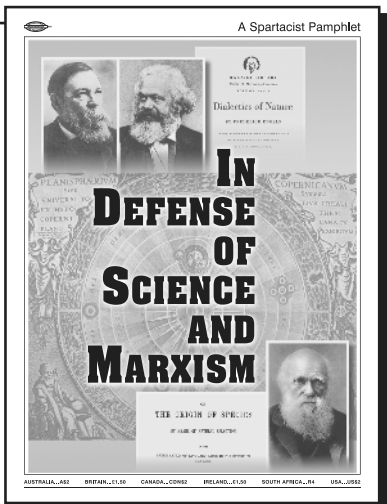
People trapped in traffic jams on the one main road out of Paradise burned to death in their cars. Fire warning systems were primitive or dysfunctional. With the state's firefighting budget criminally underfunded, the capitalist rulers have revived the convict slave-labor system. Inmates from California's overflowing prisons are paid \$2 a day (plus \$1 an hour when they are actively risking their lives) to fight fires. Currently, inmates make up one-third of the state's firefighting force but are effectively barred from working as firefighters when they are released!

PG&E *should be expropriated without a dime in compensation* and the utility run in the interests of society. So should the energy industry as a whole and all other services on which the survival of the population depends. But this perspective immediately raises the question of which class rules society. Unlike the reformists' demand for "public ownership" under capitalist rule, the demand for expropriation sharply poses the need for a revolutionary workers party that would link such a fight to a struggle to overthrow the entire capitalist system, establishing a workers government and a socialist planned economy.

The Fraud of "Workers Control" Under Capitalism

Putting a more left-wing gloss on the demand for public ownership of PG&E, a *Left Voice* article online (11 October) calls for "taking public ownership of these [big energy] companies immediately and

continued on page 8



\$2 (56 pages)

Order from: Spartacist Pub. Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

(continued from page 1)

So much for Macron's cynical whining about "violence against women." All his measures strengthen the institution of the family, the main source of oppression of women and youth. The workers in power will open the way for the emancipation of women by socializing housework and the care of children and the elderly, as the Bolsheviks began to do in 1917 under much more difficult conditions.

In the eyes of the capitalists and their lackeys in the government, workers need to know just enough to work with competence and increased productivity, but not enough to question this system of exploitation. And, in case they are needed, there are the fascists, who have been increasing their attacks, as for example against left activists at Nanterre University. The dean there called the cops to the rescue when



Inequalities due to class and ethnic origin are steadily increasing throughout the education system, which is precisely the goal of Education Minister Jean-Michel Blanquer's restructuring of secondary education. The education system needs a couple hundred thousand new hires and billions invested in infrastructure just to return to the shabby level of a few years ago! *For quality education for all, with living stipends and adequate student housing!*

In fact, of all the eclectic measures demanded by the Yellow Vest movement a year ago, the only ones that Macron has tried to carry out are the reactionary ones—namely, stepping up the deportation of undocumented migrants and strengthening the “substantial means

For the past year, the cops have been unleashed against the Yellow Vests, who were disrupting Macron's attacks on the workers and the oppressed. The cops are not workers; they are the guard dogs of capital. It is scandalous that all the union federations "unionize" them and welcome their participation in union demonstrations. A "strike" by cops is in reality a bonapartist mobilization to strengthen the



But the misleaders of these unions called off the strike at the crucial moment. That increased the bitterness, if not hostility, of a section of the Yellow Vests toward the labor movement. CGT head Philippe Martinez had openly denounced the Yellow Vests as fascists instead of taking up those demands they raised that were in the interest of the working class and mobilizing the workers' power to obtain them (while at the same time kicking out the fascists who were prowling around the Yellow Vests). This was hardly a surprise! In 2017, Martinez had called to vote for Macron. For Martinez and all the other reformist bureaucrats at the head of the unions, it

To justify their strike tactic, the bureaucrats invoked the need for consensus

More broadly, the fight against unemployment does not mean utopian appeals, in the manner of LO or the NPA, for the capitalist government to “ban layoffs.” It means a fight to divide the work among all hands, on full-time contracts—in other words, a massive reduction of working hours for everyone. This requires a struggle for free, high-quality childcare and nursery schools (without which women are forced to be only partially employed), as well as for contraception and abortion that are truly free and available to all women. It also requires a massive program to build affordable housing. With-



Free the Class-War Prisoners!

This year's Holiday Appeal marks the 34th year of the Partisan Defense Committee's program of sending monthly stipends as an expression of solidarity to those imprisoned for standing up to racist capitalist repression and imperialist depredation. This program revived a tradition initiated by the International Labor Defense under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary (1925-28). The PDC currently sends stipends to seven class-war prisoners.

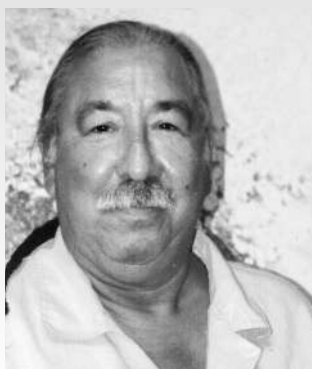
Mumia Abu-Jamal is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, a well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." Framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer, Mumia was sentenced to death explicitly for his political views. Federal and state courts have repeatedly refused to consider evidence proving Mumia's innocence, including the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot and killed the policeman. In 2011, the Philadelphia district attorney's office dropped its longstanding effort to legally lynch Mumia, condemning him to life in prison with no chance of parole. In 2016, attorneys for Mumia filed a petition under Pennsylvania's Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) seeking to overturn the denial of his four prior PCRA claims by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. On 27 December 2018, Judge Leon Tucker of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas granted Mumia's petition, allowing him to argue before an appellate court for reversal of his frame-up conviction.

Leonard Peltier is an internationally renowned class-war prisoner. Peltier's incarceration for his activism in the American Indian Movement has come to symbolize this country's racist repression of its Native peoples, the survivors of centuries of genocidal oppression. Peltier was framed up for the 1975 deaths of two FBI agents marauding in what had become a war zone on the South Dakota Pine Ridge Reservation. The lead government attorney has admitted, "We can't prove who shot those agents," and the courts have repeatedly denied Peltier's appeals while acknowledging blatant prosecutorial misconduct. Before leaving office, Barack Obama rejected Peltier's request for clemency.

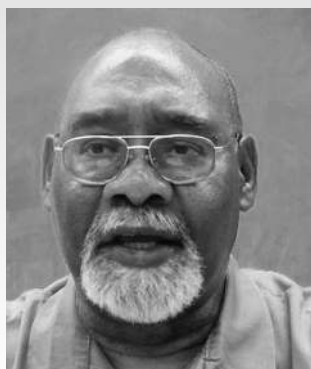
34th Annual Holiday Appeal



L'Humanité



whoisleonardpeltier.info



Michael Richardson

Three class-war prisoners supported by the PDC stipend program (left to right): Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier, Ed Poindexter.

OAKLAND

**Saturday, January 25
3 to 7 p.m.**

Oakstop, 1721 Broadway
(Near 19th St. BART stop)

Information:
(510) 839-0852

\$10 Donation • students/unemployed \$5

NEW YORK CITY

**Saturday, January 25
3 to 6 p.m.**

1199SEIU Auditorium 310 West 43rd St.
(Near 8th Avenue. Take A, C, or E trains to
42nd St./Port Authority)

Information: (212) 406-4252

Tickets \$10 • students/unemployed \$5

**This is not charity—it's an act of solidarity with
those in prison. Their fight is our fight!**



Labor Defender, Dec. 1927

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

(212) 406-4252 • partisandefense@earthlink.net • www.partisandefense.org

ency. The 75-year-old Peltier is not scheduled for a parole hearing for another five years. Peltier suffers from multiple serious medical conditions, including a heart condition which led to triple bypass surgery in 2017. He is incarcerated far from his people and family.

Two MOVE members—**Chuck Africa** and **Delbert Africa**—are in their 42nd year of prison. After the 8 August 1978 siege of their Philadelphia home by over 600 heavily armed cops, they were sentenced to 30-100 years, having been falsely convicted of killing a police officer who died in the cops' own cross fire. In 1985, eleven of their MOVE family members, including five children, were massacred by Philly cops when a bomb was dropped on their living quarters. Collectively known as the MOVE 9, two

of their number, Merle Africa and Phil Africa, died in prison under suspicious circumstances. After over four decades of unjust incarceration, five of these innocent prisoners, Debbie, Mike, Janet, Janine and Eddie Africa, have been released on parole.

Jaam Laaman is the last of the remaining anti-imperialist activists known as the Ohio 7 still in prison, convicted for his role in a radical group that took credit for bank "expropriations" and bombings of symbols of U.S. imperialism, such as military and corporate offices, in the late 1970s and '80s. Before their arrests in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts. Laaman faces prison torture, having been isolated in solitary confinement for extended periods. The Ohio 7's politics were once shared by thousands

of radicals but, like the Weathermen before them, the Ohio 7 were spurned by the "respectable" left. From a proletarian standpoint, the actions of these leftist activists against imperialism and racist injustice are not crimes. They should not have served a day in prison. Laaman's comrade, Tom Manning, died in prison on July 30. (See "Honoring a Class-War Prisoner: Tom Manning (1946-2019)," WV No. 1159, 23 August.)

Ed Poindexter is a former Black Panther supporter and leader of the Omaha, Nebraska, National Committee to Combat Fascism. He and his former co-defendant, Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa, who died in prison in 2016, were victims of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO operation, under which 32 Black Panther Party members were killed and hundreds more imprisoned on frame-up charges. They were railroaded to prison and sentenced to life for a 1970 explosion that killed a cop, and Poindexter has now spent more than 49 years behind bars. Nebraska courts have repeatedly denied Poindexter a new trial despite the fact that crucial evidence, long suppressed by the FBI, proved that testimony of the state's key witness was perjured.

Nina Droz Franco was arrested while participating in a mass rally in San Juan during a Puerto Rican general strike on May Day 2017. She was indicted by federal prosecutors based on outrageous claims that she had tried to burn down a bank. The main piece of "evidence" was video footage of a small piece of paper burning on a marble walkway outside the building. Facing decades in prison, Nina took a plea deal on the lesser charge of conspiracy and was sentenced to over three years. She was released from prison on November 26, but is now being held in a federal halfway house. Nina Droz Franco is the victim of a transparent frame-up by the U.S. colonial overlords, who have bloodily repressed and starved the Puerto Rican people for more than a century.

Contribute now! All proceeds from the Holiday Appeal events will go to the Class-War Prisoners Stipend Fund. This is not charity but an elementary act of solidarity. Send your contributions to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013; (212) 406-4252. ■

out all the above, demands for "women's rights" amount to nothing but the cynical gestures of bourgeois feminists.

Of course, the bourgeoisie will say that they cannot afford these demands (and that, in any case, the EU would prohibit it). If capitalism cannot satisfy the urgent and elementary needs of the working class and oppressed, let it perish! Trotsky wrote in the program of the Fourth International, the Transitional Program (1938):

"Insofar as the old, partial, 'minimal' demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism—and this occurs at every step—the Fourth International advances a system of *transitional demands*, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime. The old 'minimal' program is superseded by the *transitional program*, the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution."

Break with Class Collaboration!

Will this detested government succeed in its aims? The long-accumulated anger

of the workers, the poor and the oppressed is ready to explode. For that to happen, it is necessary to get past a sort of skepticism about whether the struggle can win given the present union leadership. It is indeed a question of leadership, but it is only in battle that a new union leadership, a class-struggle leadership, can be forged. This is indissolubly linked to the fight for a multiethnic revolutionary workers party capable of being the tribune of all the oppressed, in order for the working class to be able to lead them in a general struggle to overthrow capitalism.

It was basically the railway and transit workers' victory on the field of battle in December 1995 that allowed workers to retain for another 25 years their access to retirement pensions and the national health care system, despite all the attacks that have subsequently taken place. But this victory was diverted into a political dead end. The PS, PCF and LCR (the misnamed "Revolutionary Communist" League, which later became the NPA) had then concocted a new parliamentary combination with bourgeois parties (the

Greens, Chevènementistes and Left Radicals) dubbed the "Plural Left." LO, too, voted for the candidates of then prime minister Lionel Jospin's PS where they were running against those of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front.

The Plural Left was duly brought to power in 1997 under Jospin, with the PCF heading the Ministry of Transportation and Jean-Luc Mélenchon heading the Ministry of Professional Education. The government proceeded to privatize Air France and started the privatization of the SNCF national railway system (creation of the RFF), and demoralized the workers. The latest incarnation of these alliances with the so-called "left" bourgeoisie—examples of what are known as "popular fronts"—was the Hollande government, which spawned Macron.

We warn, even though on the eve of December 5 it is a perspective that may appear unbelievable: the PCF and the so-called "far left" will again betray by proposing a new popular front. We are already seeing its contours with the "red and Green" popular front of François

Ruffin. This "unbowed" leader of Mélenchon's party, La France insoumise (France Unbowed), to say the least, bowed before the anti-Muslim campaign by refusing to participate in the November 19 demonstration against Islamophobia. La France insoumise is a chauvinist bourgeois-populist party. These groups cynically manipulate the workers' aspirations for unity in order to drag them into "unity" with their bourgeois class enemy and divide the workers through chauvinism. It is necessary to build the unity of the working class *against the bourgeoisie*.

Beware the variants of this same thing in the form of calls for a constituent assembly! Even with a "left" majority, a constituent assembly would still be a bourgeois parliament with the perspective of a *capitalist* "Sixth Republic." What is needed is a new ruling class: the workers! It is on the basis of the Trotskyist program of proletarian revolution that we seek to rally the vanguard of the working class to build the party, the French section of a reformed Fourth International, that can lead the workers and oppressed to victory. ■

In Memory of James Robertson

The International Communist League recently held memorials for our comrade James Robertson, a founding leader of the Spartacist League/U.S. and its longtime National Chairman, who died on April 7. A private memorial in New York City in October drew around 200 people, as did a public memorial in the Bay Area on November 3.

A number of comrades paid tribute to comrade Robertson. Several representing sections in our international tendency spoke about his essential political role over the decades. These included Eibhlin McDonald on Britain, Phillipa Niland on Australia and Jeanne Mitchell on Japan. In the case of our German section, Renate Dahlhaus focused her comments on the centrality of Jim's leadership during our intervention into the incipient proletarian political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90. Other speakers highlighted aspects of Jim's wide-ranging and unique contributions to the party: Amy Rath spoke on *Women and Revolution*; Alan Wilde on *Workers Vanguard*; and Gene Herson on maintenance and trade-union work. The moderator described how Jim was a true polymath, and discussed his archival work.

We print below two presentations, edited for publication. The first is by George Foster, former deputy National Chairman of the SL/U.S. and one of Jim's longtime collaborators; and the second by Skye Williams, current National Chairman of the SL/U.S. The full set of speeches is projected for publication in an upcoming *Prometheus Research Series* (PRS) bulletin.

George Foster

Jim was politically active in the workers movement for over 70 years, and his legacy as a Marxist revolutionary is large. His obituary in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 1162, 4 October) is excellent, comprehensive and necessarily not short. To have remained a committed communist for so long is remarkable. To continue to be able to intervene on key programmatic issues facing the party when his health began to fail was even more remarkable. In that regard, we owe a lot to his wife and comrade, Martha, who vigilantly and diligently made sure he had adequate and timely medical care, this in addition to her many political and organizational responsibilities.

I, as well as many comrades here, go back with Jim a long way. I first saw him in action at an anti-Vietnam War teach-in at the University of Buffalo in 1965. Among the usual spectrum of speakers—pacifists, preachers, liberals and reformists—Jim's remarks stood out. They were Marxist, wide-ranging, sober and clearly presented. But what I remember most was the question-and-answer period where members of the audience put questions to particular speakers. Early on, someone rose from his seat and addressed his question to Jim: "Sir, are you a member of the international communist conspiracy?" Jim responded: "Well, there isn't one worthy of the name, but we're doing our best to create one because it's necessary to do so." That got quite a few laughs.

When Jim's son Ken heard the story, he looked at me and asked if I had considered that Jim had possibly planted the questioner in the audience. This is a case of the acorn falling not far from the oak. Jim had a wicked and mischievous sense of humor and often opined that the absence of a sense of humor reflected an inability to appreciate contradiction and hence Marxist dialectics.

Jim's answer to the anti-communist was funny, but in its stated intent completely serious. He was committed to the strug-



Singing of the "Internationale" at close of New York City memorial for comrade Robertson (right), a founding leader of the Spartacist League/U.S. and its longtime National Chairman.

gle to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party, as part of a reformed Fourth International, a party that is revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist.

A 1986 article in *Spartacist* (No. 37-38) titled "The SWP—A Strangled Party" put it well: "Cannon clung to the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] through its degeneration, but the Revolutionary Tendency took hold of the thread of Marxist continuity, based on the heritage of Cannon and the revolutionary SWP. As opposed to the sentimental looking-back with centrist blinders...we look forward with the confidence that we are the continuators of revolutionary Marxism in the United States and internationally." Simply put, Jim was central to the programmatic struggle that forged the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), which in turn led to the creation of the Spartacist League and, over time, to the International Communist League. This is his revolutionary legacy.

Forging such a party does not happen spontaneously, but must be consciously organized from the top down, based on Marxist program and embodied in a cadre committed to acting as a disciplined instrument of proletarian revolutionary struggle aimed at sweeping away capitalist society and its attendant state institutions.

Jim was the most determined, politically tenacious and conscious person I ever met. Early on, he took to heart Lenin's injunction: "Would it not be better if the salutations addressed to the Soviets and the Bolsheviks were *more frequently* accompanied by a *profound analysis* of the reasons *why* the Bolsheviks have been able to build up the discipline needed by the revolutionary proletariat?" As Lenin noted, absent that discipline, the Bolsheviks would never have been able to lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, nor able to hold onto power in the face of subsequent ferocious counterrevolutionary assaults.

If the FBI and the depredations of capitalism convinced Jim that the world needed communists more than chemists, ironically, the politically slow period attendant to McCarthyism gave Jim the time to critically study Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the corresponding history of the workers movement in the U.S. and internationally. By the time Jim regrouped with the SWP, he had very formed opinions of not only the SWP's programmatic strengths but also of its weaknesses.

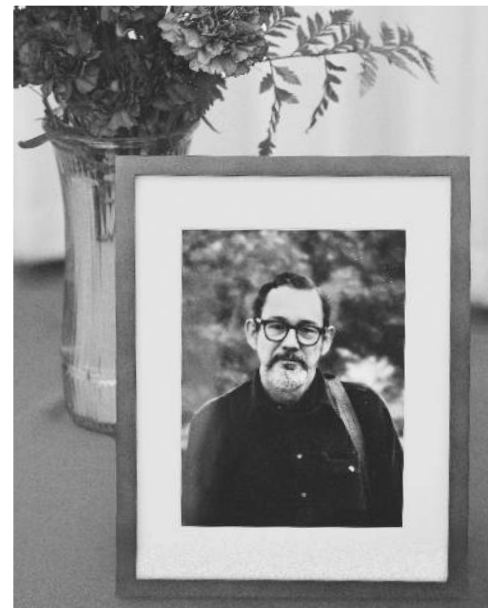
In addition to his very intensive study, Jim was also shaped by the particulars of his experience. His obituary in *Workers Vanguard* deals with these very well. But I want to underline his experiences as a

young communist thrust into a largely black Communist Party cell in the Richmond, California, shipyards. It helped shape him as a passionate advocate of black liberation and also made him acutely conscious of the centrality of the proletariat as a class. The San Francisco Bay Area in the immediate aftermath of World War II bears little resemblance to what exists there today. In 1945, there were over 240,000 shipyard workers and probably more than 100,000 longshoremen in the area, as well as many thousands of seamen. There were additionally many scores of thousands of workers in other industries. In all, hundreds of thousands of workers moved to the Bay Area during the war, and many were black and from the South. The sense of proletarian power in the Bay Area was palpable, and underlined by both the longshore strike of 1934 and the Oakland general strike of 1946.

The Russian October 1917 Revolution was the signal event of the 20th century and still, over a hundred years later, marks the dividing line between reform and revolution. We proudly proclaim ourselves the party of that revolution, basing ourselves on the lessons of October and the first four congresses of the Communist International (CI). As well, we are the party of Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition, which in the years after Lenin's death struggled against the Stalinist degeneration of that revolution.

If comrades go back and look at both the Spartacist League and its antecedent, the RT, they will see that Jim insisted we be a fighting propaganda group seeking to intervene in class and social struggles to the extent possible, engaging in exemplary actions that highlight our program. Acutely aware of our meager resources, we fought as hard as we could, realizing that ultimately, "The only real test is in hard-driving, all-sided involvement in living class struggle" ("Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency," *Spartacist* No. 23, Spring 1977).

In the SWP, a main axis of the RT's struggle was for Marxist intervention into the black freedom struggle that had erupted in the South. The core of the RT's position was that black equality could only be achieved through the victory of far-reaching social revolution in which the working class comes to power, understanding that black workers, as the most oppressed, conscious and combative layer of the working class, are destined to play a leading role in that revolution. The SWP majority instead uncritically



embraced black nationalism and abstained from intervention in the struggle. In the words of the RT: "The systematic abstentionism and the accompanying attitude of acquiescence which accepts as inevitable that 'ours is a white party' are most profound threats to the revolutionary capacity of the party on the American scene." The majority's abstentionism foreclosed the possibility of building a revolutionary movement in the South, which would have led to a historic breakthrough in forging a black Trotskyist cadre linked to the struggles of the black proletariat.

Out of his experience with the SWP's outrageous bureaucratic expulsion of the RT for being a faction that advocated Trotskyism, Jim had a very developed sense of workers democracy, the norms of democratic centralism and the rights of party oppositionists and minorities to argue for their positions. He also took care that key line questions be adequately discussed. I recall a Midwestern conference that had a very confused discussion on the Irish question and Ulster. Our proposed line carried by a small majority, but a plurality of the membership abstained. When Jim arrived at the end of the session, he demanded the vote be rescinded and that more written discussion and education be undertaken before taking another vote.

Jim and I began working closely together from 1971 onward. Many of the younger comrades have worked with Jim over the last decade; but, believe me, in his earlier days he was much more "intense." Let me give you a flavor of these earlier years. In 1971, we learned there was a collective of ex-Maoists, the Communist Working Collective (CWC), in Los Angeles moving toward Lenin and Trotsky. We had to get to L.A. fast, as this seemed to be a very important opportunity for a regroupment. How to do it? Our finances were very limited. Jim was in NY and I was in Boston. He called and thought we could use my car to drive, first to the Bay Area and then, after consultation with comrades there, on to L.A.

So, I left Boston and arrived at his apartment several blocks above Harlem at 4:30 a.m. He was all set to go, and we were off. Jim did not want to waste time. We traded off driving when we needed to stop for more gas, and the sooner you used up your tank, the sooner you could curl up in the back seat to get some sleep (after a small nip of cooking sherry redolent of the dishwashing detergent bottle in which it was stored). This strategy proved very efficient. We made it to Berkeley—2,900 miles—in just over 53 hours.

As most of you know, the fusion with the CWC was a success, and it gave us the cadre to begin recruiting from the student left and opponent groups. I do recall of those discussions in L.A. that Jim was delighted to learn that CWCer George Crawford agreed with him about his take on the Fourth Congress (of the CI) discussion on the workers government, namely

that for Marxists, the call for a workers government could only be understood as an algebraic slogan for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Jim forged cadre by working with them, and during the period when we were regrouping with leftward-moving formations, he always sought the assistance of various comrades, feeling he did better if he worked with others and had the opportunity to consult and discuss rather than going it alone. This was his general approach to building the party, and it stretched from work on *Spartacist* and *Workers Vanguard* to finances, maintenance projects, youth work, trade-union issues, legal defense, international work and our labor/black mobilizations against the Klan and Nazis. He knew what he was good at and also learned what he was not so good at, and concomitantly learned the strengths and weaknesses of other comrades. Very importantly in this capacity, he helped comrades become better Marxists. Further, he always worked with a close-knit team to both keep himself informed and to focus and amplify his capacity to function as a Marxist leader.

Jim's death leaves us weaker as a party not least because we lose his political acumen, programmatic firmness, historical knowledge and organizational experience. Significantly, we also lose his tactical and strategic audacity. I'll give some examples.

In 1984, it was Jim who first noticed the Confederate flag flying in front of San Francisco City Hall and demanded we tear it down. He was subsequently very much involved in the legal defense of Ritchie Bradley, who was arrested and tried for taking down that flag multiple times. When Ritchie's trial ended in a hung jury, Jim insisted that Ritchie's attorney, Valerie West, and I meet with the D.A. to argue that Ritchie wanted his day in court and to demand a new trial! Needless to say, the D.A.'s office was flabbergasted and refused. Defeated, Democratic Party mayor Dianne Feinstein gave up on trying to fly that flag of slavery.

Yet in the midst of the campaign against the flag, Jim also proposed that we call for defending the upcoming Democratic Party National Convention, to be held in San Francisco, from right-wing provocateurs and attendant police violence. In a public statement, we wrote: "The Spartacist League, a Marxist political organization, is today announcing our offer of a security team contribution of a dozen trade unionists and SL supporters to defend the democratic rights of the Democratic Convention. The SL also calls on the AFL-CIO, the Teamsters, ILWU and other labor organizations to organize an additional labor defense guard for the Convention. The profound political and class difference between the Spartacist League and the Democratic Party in no way belies our position that the Democratic Party has the right to assemble and nominate its candidate."

Jim was the main architect of our line on Afghanistan: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution!" Further, it was on his initiative that the Partisan Defense Committee offered to organize international brigades to help fight the CIA's *mujahedin* killers.

When Stalinist rule began to come apart in East Germany in October 1989, the choices posed for the workers in the DDR were proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. Jim proceeded with great energy and focus to mobilize our forces internationally in a struggle for proletarian political revolution. By early December, we were publishing a near-daily *Arprekorr* (Workers Press Correspondence) and organizing youth and workers in the DDR to widely distribute *Arprekorr* to the working class.

Our call for a united-front demonstration against a fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial and for defense of the workers state, taken up by the unraveling Stalinist ruling party, brought out some 250,000 people to Berlin's Trepow Park. For the first time in 60 years, Trotskyists were able to address a mass audience of workers, while the Stalinists

could only yowl episodic objections. Jim worked very closely with our speaker, Renate Dahlhaus, on her speech (also broadcast on East German TV), which highlighted our call for creating an egalitarian communist party and the rule of workers and soldiers councils.

In fact, we were getting warm welcomes not only from the working class, but also from DDR and Soviet military units. In the case of the latter, much interest was aroused by the distribution of our Russian-language material.

Frightened by the surge of the working class and the specter of Trotskyism, Gorbachev pulled the plug on the DDR. This, in short, opened the door to galloping capitalist counterrevolution. But, confronted

with younger comrades to reassert the Leninist understanding of the national question—absolutely vital to our small organization's capacity to be a genuinely internationalist party. Jim was very fond of Victor Serge's *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*. When he helped lead the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), he would ask YSAers what party they were a member of; most would reply, "the YSA." Jim would have them read Serge's novel and then they learned the right answer, "the Fourth International." Jim's struggle for revolutionary continuity, an ongoing process requiring intervention, struggle and study, is today embodied in the ICL, which seeks to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

Max Shachtman's piece on "Unprincipled Combinationism." The second Cannon book and Shachtman's document give a thorough picture of the Trotskyists in the 1930s, and of a precursor to the 1939-40 fight. I was still living in France when *Dog Days* and "Unprincipled Combinationism" came out. Since I didn't have access to the Prometheus Research Library (PRL), they allowed me to really wrap my mind around what revolutionary continuity is, to see Cannon's evolution as a Leninist and to understand my own evolution as a leader in that framework. Jim brought his own three-dimensional experiences to what would have otherwise been an academic exercise.

For years, I flew to California and talked with him about Cannon and the SWP and everything he knew. Then, I would go back to the PRL and read up on everything he said. Eventually, we started looking at the period when the Communist League of America did an entry into the Socialist Party in 1936-37. It turns out there was another break between Cannon and Shachtman then that, like in 1931-33, presaged the 1939-40 fight but wasn't decisive. That was new ground for both of us.

When I visited the PRL Western Station, I would always talk with Jim and Jane and Martha about what was happening in the party, and I counted on their collective feedback. Jane and Martha were crucial to Jim's working collective. Jim would always show me his coins, and I would sometimes fix up Jane's garden. There were always dogs around, which he enjoyed. Also, Jim used to collect aluminum cans and turn them in for the money, and so I used to bring my cans from the airplane with me.

Our struggle for continuity is not just a stale acceptance of what has come before, but entails active political thought and struggle. Jim was fond of pointing out that the future is not predictable and how Lenin, in January 1917, ended a talk saying, "We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution," but then, one month later, the February Revolution in Russia broke out. So, you never know what might happen. The UAW auto workers struck GM for over a month. We went to the picket lines, sold over 100 subscriptions and got a pretty good reception. Just as Marx and Engels laid it out, class struggle is integral to capitalism, and it produces its own crises.

In July 2015, after the Greek people had decisively voted "no" in a referendum against the European Union and against a starvation bailout, the ruling party at the time, Syriza, trampled on the referendum results and made a deal with the imperialists. In the ICL, we were heading to a leadership gathering in Europe. Late at night, I got a letter from Martha and Jim suggesting that we consider launching committees to mobilize workers, the unemployed, youth and others to tap into the mass anger in Greek society.

Our Greek section, the TOE, liked the proposal and so, within 12 hours, we sat down and worked out a program, using Jim's language, starting with "ENOUGH!" We mobilized our resources in West Europe to help the TOE see if there was enough anger in society that our tiny intervention could lead to the formation of workers committees. We got a lot of interest and we made a mark, but our tiny spark didn't prove to be enough of a lever to catapult the masses into motion.

I think Jim took a risk with me in a way, at a very old age. Unlike Cannon, who eventually gave up in his old age, Jim remained committed to a real future for the workers and the oppressed, the 1917 Russian Revolution being our only model. In contrast, Cannon blocked with Farrell Dobbs and gave the reins of the party over to him in the SWP's 1952-53 internal fight, which was a real but partial and belated opposition to Pabloite revisionism in the Fourth International. Although Jim later rethought the proposal, he once said that he wished that Cannon had been willing

continued on page 8



One of several memorial displays commemorating Jim's life and political legacy.

with an incipient political revolution in the DDR and given the forces we had at our disposal, we did our duty instead of betraying it. The stakes were high, and to have stood passively aside would only have made us a small auxiliary component of demoralization before the subsequent counterrevolutionary onslaught.

All the above examples are measures of Jim's capacity as a Marxist revolutionary. Perhaps his favorite work of Trotsky's was *The Lessons of October* (1924). In it, Trotsky noted that the February Revolution posed a fundamental controversial question: "Whether or not we should struggle for power; whether or not we should assume power." Trotsky explained the content of reformism, of not struggling for power: "By Social Democracy we are to understand the acceptance of a reformist opposition activity within the framework of bourgeois society and an adaptation to its legality—i.e., the actual training of the masses to become imbued with the inviolability of the bourgeois state." Jim was all about training the proletarian vanguard to struggle for power, all about the lessons of October.

His last big struggle was waged along

Jim's was a life dedicated to the struggle for the communist future, where mankind has made the leap from its present state of exploitation, poverty, wars and oppression generated by capitalism to the realm of equality and freedom for all.

Skye Williams

For the last eleven years, Jim and I were unorthodox political collaborators—he was nearly 45 years older than me. Plus, he lived on the West Coast, and I was in New York, so we worked together across generations and one continent. In 2008, we made a bloc against Rachel Wolkenstein, who had embraced liberal liquidationism in a quest to "revitalize" a mass movement for Mumia Abu-Jamal—subjectively desirable, but objectively infeasible. As the fight progressed, I became the central leader of the SL/U.S., and later, of the International. What started out as a principled political bloc with Jim became a kind of continual collaboration.

I think the most important thing that Jim did around the time he left the center was oversee the publication of the two Cannon books and *PRS* (No. 5) with

James Robertson...

(continued from page 7)

to start over with the Weiss faction in L.A. and a couple hundred young people. Our last big struggle in the ICL was in defense of the Leninist understanding of the national question. You can see today in Catalonia how people are insurgent due to the jailing of their independence leaders. We have a team there now, and we put out a supplement, including in Catalan. The struggle for national liberation is an integral part of proletarian internation-

PG&E...

(continued from page 3)

putting them under worker control.” It goes on to rhapsodize that this measure would create “space for those who actually do and know the work to plan, regulate and innovate to address the current needs of the people.” Contrary to this fantasy, in the absence of the workers mobilized in a revolutionary battle against capitalist class rule, the call for “workers control” simply amounts to the workers “managing” their continued exploitation under the anarchic and irrational rule of capitalism. As Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1931 article “Workers’ Control of Production”: “What state regime corresponds to workers’ control of production? It is obvious that the power is not yet in the hands of the proletariat, otherwise we would have not workers’ control of production but the control of production by the workers state.... Control can be imposed only by force upon the bourgeoisie, by a proletariat on the road to the moment of taking power from them, and then also the ownership of the means of production.” The labor movement has long been saddled with a leadership that has repeatedly sacrificed workers’ interests to maintain the profitability of American capitalism. It would be hard to find a clearer example of such subservience than that of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 1245, which represents PG&E workers. Saluting the “free private enterprise system,” the union contract with PG&E opens with a pledge to “support the principle of private ownership of public utilities under enlightened regulation by public authority.” While PG&E workers are dying on the job, the IBEW bureaucrats vow that their members “shall use their influence and best efforts to protect the properties of Company.” Rather than protecting the “property rights” of the exploiters, the union should be fighting for members’ right to shut down all unsafe work and for union-run safety committees! To repair and upgrade the company’s rotting infrastructure, a fighting union would demand a massive hiring program, both for electrical work and to clear trees and brush, bringing these workers into the union with full wages and benefits. Currently, much of the tree-trimming work for PG&E is done by Latinos, many of whom are Local

alism and the struggle against capitalist exploitation. Correcting some of our past positions on the national question was integral to our programmatic survival, and correcting political errors is also integral to political continuity. That fight started with the comrades in Quebec and me and Jim, but drew a whole new layer of cadres onto the International Executive Committee. We are dedicated to proletarian, revolutionary internationalism; we are racially integrated, quite multilingual, spread out on four continents and very committed to reforging the Fourth International. This international leadership embodies the kind of party that Jim fought for. It is the opposite of leadership in capitalist society—a lead-

1245 members. This example is but one underlining the need for labor to mobilize against the oppression of Latinos, not least against anti-immigrant attacks. The criminally exploited prisoners used to fight fires should also be getting union wages and benefits. But such a struggle requires a leadership that proceeds from the elementary understanding that the workers have no interests in common with the PG&E robber barons and that will fight it out *class against class*.

The “Green New Deal”

The crimes of PG&E have also been seized on to peddle the so-called “Green New Deal” (GND), a favorite talking point of Bernie Sanders, candidate for Commander-in-Chief of U.S. imperialism, and Democratic Congresswoman and Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) member Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. These plans to promote “clean energy” capitalism also promise jobs, as well as affordable housing, health care and food. And the bill for this pipedream is supposedly to be footed by the very capitalist rulers who have looted industry and forsaken the maintenance of the power grids, water and sewage systems, roads and bridges in their naked pursuit of profit. It is no accident that the GND invokes Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. Contrary to liberal myths, the purpose of FDR’s program enacted during the Great Depression was not to end mass poverty and destitution. It was to restore capitalist profits and to head off the possibility that the militant working-class struggles of the 1930s would be coalesced into a proletarian socialist movement. Today, the GND aims to decarbonize the economy—that is, ax entire industries in the U.S. like oil, natural gas and coal mining. Its implementation would result in the complete destruction of strategically placed unionized workforces in the name of “green” capitalist exploitation. No good can come from making common cause with Democratic representatives of the capitalist exploiters. An article in the DSA’s *Socialist Forum* (Winter 2019) argues for “the gradual dismantling of the centralized power grid,” to be replaced by “urban micro-power grids.” Calling to break up the centralized grid is thoroughly reactionary, as it promises a huge spike in energy inequality, not to mention that the notion of microgrids powering a modern industrial economy is

ership where the door is always open to workers and the oppressed based on their capacities and program, not a party led by snotty intellectual clones. The party came out intact in the struggle over the national question. Now, with our senior cadres, who are an important reservoir of knowledge and the traditions of the ICL, we have a future. Over the years, Jim *always* motivated the first four congresses of the Communist International and the political lessons of the Bolsheviks and based our own methods and practices on them. He used to talk about how the proletarian vanguard in 1919-23 stood atop a mountain; one cannot separate the ability to know the world from the ability to change it. The

completely absurd. With over 100 microgrids currently up and running in California, state officials, along with corporate magnates and environmental activists, are pushing to commercialize these localized electrical networks that can operate on or off the traditional grid. This push, presented as a way to generate lots of carbon-free electricity, is nothing but a substitute for fixing the existing infrastructure. The DSA scheme would have clean energy flowing to those with money, and everyone else would be paying through the nose for increasingly spotty service, if not literally left in the dark. Centralization is the best guarantee of service to *everyone, everywhere*. Wind and solar are by their nature intermittent power sources; only a vastly upgraded nationwide grid can bring renewable (or non-renewable) power from any part of the country to any other. The problem with power distribution in the U.S. is not that it is nationally interconnected, but rather that it is crumbling under the dead weight of private property and the profit motive. The experience of the Soviet Union shows the superiority of collectivized property and centralized economic planning, despite the degeneration of the workers state under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste. Thanks to the proletarian seizure of state power in the October 1917 Russian Revolution, a backward country achieved successes in development unparalleled in history. Among them, electricity generation jumped nearly twenty-fold between 1917 and 1935, placing the USSR behind only Germany and the U.S. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin evocatively put it, communism is soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country. (The soviets, or democratically elected workers, peasants and soldiers councils, were the organs of proletarian rule in the early years after the October Revolution.)

Climate Change and Capitalism

Climate change, raising summer temperatures and lengthening the fire season, is a factor in the growing number and intensity of wildfires that have long been endemic to California. But the capitalist

Comintern in Lenin’s time represented the proletariat at the height of state power. That now seems a high mountain that is far away, since we are down in the trenches of history, in the aftermath of the counterrevolutionary defeat of the Soviet Union. But it also underscores the vital importance of our task as revolutionists, the vital importance of *our place* in history: it’s our tiny fighting propaganda group that embodies the possibility of political revolutions in the deformed workers states and future October Revolutions. When Trotsky died, the SWP had a banner with his final message, which was only in English; I’ll also say it for others in the room: Go Forward! Vorwärts! En avant! ¡Adelante! ■

rulers’ profit-driven system greatly amplifies the risk of such blazes, as well as the resulting death and destruction. As we wrote in a polemic against self-described “eco-socialists”: “We are far from indifferent to climate change, whatever its timetable and consequences. But our primary concern is human civilization, and we are implacably hostile to its greatest enemy: the U.S. capitalist ruling class. Nothing good will come from advising these plunderers of the world on how to best generate energy. Instead, the proletariat must expropriate capitalist industry and put it at the service of society as a whole.” —“John Bellamy Foster & Co.: ‘Ecosocialism’ Against Marxism,” WV No. 1032, 18 October 2013

This country’s capitalist rulers have so squeezed working people that they are forced to work long hours or multiple jobs just to survive. Yet, eco-socialists, having declared war on carbon, haughtily lecture workers on the supposed evils of “limitless” consumption, often while pitching the GND. In contrast, the whole point of the fight for socialist revolution is to massively increase the production of things people need. A workers government would also strive to generate and use energy in the most rational, efficient and safe manner possible, including by developing nuclear, solar, wind and other non-carbon sources. Even then, it will likely prove necessary to harness fossil fuels for a period of time to lift everyone out of misery. The capitalist exploiters are incapable of maintaining this society, much less tackling global climate change. It is the historic mission of the class of collective producers, the proletariat, to overthrow capitalist rule, which can only be accomplished if the workers are mobilized in opposition to their class enemy, not least the Democrats. Successful socialist revolutions in the U.S. and around the world will enable the international planning necessary to mitigate climate change and its effects while laying the basis for a global society of full equality for all based on abundance, not generalized want. Then, for the first time, humanity will enter the realm of freedom from the struggle for existence. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

☐ \$10/21 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)

☐ International rate: \$25/21 issues

☐ \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

☐ \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist* and, in U.S. and Puerto Rico, *suplementos en español de WV*)

☐ I would like to contribute \$_____ to the production of *Workers Vanguard*.

☐ New

☐ Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone (____) _____ Email _____

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Purchase *Workers Vanguard* subscriptions online at: icl-fi.org/subscribe/wv

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

Local Directory and Public Offices

Website: www.icl-fi.org • Email address: vanguard@tiac.net

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

Chicago.....Box 6441, Main PO, Chicago, IL 60680
chicagospartacist@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: by appointment, call (312) 563-0441

Los AngelesBox 29574, Los Feliz Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90029
slsycla@sbcglobal.net
Public Office: by appointment, call (213) 380-8239

New YorkBox 3381, Church St. Sta., New York, NY 10008
nysl@tiac.net
Public Office: by appointment, call (212) 267-1025

Oakland.....Box 29497, Oakland, CA 94604
slbayarea@fastmail.net
Public Office: by appointment, call (510) 839-0851

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE IN QUEBEC AND CANADA

Montréal.....CP 83 Succ. Place-d’Armes, Montréal, QC H2Y 3E9, (514) 728-7578
trotskyiste.montreal@gmail.com

TorontoBox 7198, Station A, Toronto, ON M5W 1X8, (416) 593-4138
trotskyist.toronto@gmail.com

Vancouver.....Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2, (604) 687-0353
tl.vancouver.bc@gmail.com

8

WORKERS VANGUARD

Subject Index...

(continued from page 12)

Janet and Janine Africa Paroled—Free All the MOVE Prisoners!, #1156, 31 May (2)

Eddie Africa Paroled, #1158, 26 July (2)

On the Polanski Witchhunt: Correcting a Quote (C) [WV No. 1135, 1 June 2018], #1161, 20 Sept. (3)

• **Abu-Jamal, Mumia**

Mumia Wins Right to Appeal Frame-Up Conviction, #1147, 18 Jan. (8, 5)

“Progressive” D.A. Continues State Vendetta, #1149, 22 Feb. (2)

“Progressive” D.A. Drops Appeal, Continues Vendetta, #1155, 17 May (2)

Civil War and Reconstruction/U.S.—See **Black Question**. See also **Education**.

Cliff, Tony—See **International Socialist Organization (ISO)**.

COINTELPRO—See **Black Panther Party**. See also **Prisons**.

Comintern—See **Quote of the Week**.

Committee for a Workers' International (CWI)—See **Britain**. See also **Catalonia**; **China**.

COMMUNIST PARTY (U.S.)—And see also **Labor: History**.

On the CP's Democratic Party Betrayal (L), #1156, 31 May (2)

Confederate Flag—See **Black Question**.

Constituent Assembly—See **Algeria**; **Puerto Rico**.

Corbyn, Jeremy—See **Britain**.

CUBA—And see **Quote of the Week**. See also **Obituaries**.

Washington Tightens Vise—Defend the Cuban Revolution!, #1155, 17 May (1, 7)

Davis, Leon—See **Labor: History**.

DEATH PENALTY

California Moratorium: Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!, #1153, 19 Apr. (8, 7)

Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)—See **Death Penalty**; **Immigration**; **Infrastructure**; **International Socialist Organization (ISO)**; **Venezuela**.

Droz, Nina—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

EDUCATION—And see also **Canada**; **Los Angeles**; **Teachers**; ***Workers Vanguard***.

NYC Schools: Separate and Unequal, #1157, 21 June (8, 7)*

NYC Schools... (C), #1160, 6 Sept. (6)

Down With School Segregation, Legacy of Slavery! (S)

Part One, #1165, 15 Nov. (1, 6, 7)

Part Two, #1166, 29 Nov. (4, 5, 6)

El Paso, Texas—See **U.S.: General**.

Electrical Workers—See **Infrastructure**.

1199—See **Labor: History**.

Engels, Friedrich—See **Quote of the Week**.

Environmentalism—See **Canada**. See also **Infrastructure**; **Mine Workers**.

Eugenics—See **Abortion**.

EUROPEAN UNION—And see **Britain**. See also **Catalonia**.

Down With the EU! No Participation in Its Pseudo-Parliament!, #1154, 3 May (1, 2)

Family—See **Abortion**.

FASCISM—And see **New Zealand**. See also **U.S.: General**.

Fascists Stalk NYC—Labor Must Stop Them!, #1166, 29 Nov. (3)

Federal Aviation Administration (FAA)—See **Aerospace**.

Feinstein, Dianne—See **Black Question**.

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

Flint, Michigan—See **Infrastructure**.

FRANCE—And see **Kanaky**. See also **Algeria**; **Catalonia**; **European Union**; **Haiti**.

Anti-Muslim #MeToo Witchhunt Against Tariq Ramadan (*Le Bolchévick*), #1150, 8 Mar. (4, 5, 7)

Massive Strikes Rock France (*Le Bolchévick*), #1167, 13 Dec. (1, 4, 5)

Fraser, Richard S.—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **Black Question**.

General Motors—See **Auto Workers**. See also **Infrastructure**; **World Socialist Web Site**.

Germany—See **European Union**.

Granovsky, Victor—See **Obituaries**.

Greece—See **European Union**.

Green New Deal—See **Canada**; **Infrastructure**; **Mine Workers**.

Gun Control—See **U.S.: General**.

HAITI

Under the Boot of U.S. Imperialism: Mass Revolt and State Terror, #1165, 15 Nov. (8, 7)

Harlan County, Kentucky—See **Mine Workers**.

Harvard University—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

HEALTH CARE—And see also **Abortion**; **Civil Liberties: General**; **Labor: History**.

Capitalism Hazardous to Your Health—Measles Outbreak: For Mandatory Vaccinations!, #1154, 3 May (1, 6)

History of the Marxist Movement—See **Obituaries**; **Quote of the Week**.

Hong Kong—See **China**.

Hospital Workers—See **Labor: History**.

Huawei—See **China**.

IMMIGRATION—And see **Abortion**; **South Africa**. See also **Britain**; **New Zealand**; **U.S.: General**.

Down With Trump's Anti-Immigrant Drive! Pelosi, the Squad—Democrats Are Enemies of Immigrant Rights, #1158, 26 July (1, 2)

India—See **Kashmir**.

Indigenous Peoples—See **Bolivia**.

Indonesia—See **West Papua**.

INFRASTRUCTURE

Flint's Poisoned Water: Five Years of Cover-Up, #1159, 23 Aug. (3, 5)

California: Fires, Blackouts and Capitalist Greed—Expropriate PG&E!, #1167, 13 Dec. (3, 8)

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

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW)—See **Infrastructure**.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE—And see **European Union**; **Obituaries**; **Quote of the Week**; **Spartacist League/U.S.**

Statement by the International Executive Committee: ICL Expels Members of Polish Section, #1152, 5 Apr. (3)

International Marxist Tendency—See **Britain**.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (ISO)—And see also **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case**; **Teachers**.

ISO: Rest In Pieces—Anti-Communists Go Home to the Democrats, #1154, 3 May (8, 7)

INTERNATIONALIST GROUP (IG)—And see also **Black Question**; **Mexico**.

Skewed IG (L), #1152, 5 Apr. (6)

Internationalist Group: Anglo-Chauvinist Trash—Hate Quebec Independence, Hate the ICL (*Workers Tribune*), #1160, 6 Sept. (5)

IRAN

Down With U.S. War Moves Against Iran!, #1156, 31 May (1, 7)

Ireland—See **Britain**.

Islamic State (ISIS)—See **Civil Liberties: General**; **Syria**.

Israel/Palestine—See **U.S.: General**.

ITALY

On Italian Workfare (L), #1150, 8 Mar. (3)

Jackson, Michael—See **Sexuality**.

Jewish Question—See **U.S.: General**.

Kabylia—See **Algeria**.

KANAKY

France's New Caledonia Colony: Independence for Kanaky! (*Le Bolchévick*) (S)

Part One, #1154, 3 May (4, 5, 6)

Part Two, #1155, 17 May (4, 5)

KASHMIR

Self-Determination for Kashmir!—Indian Troops Out of Kashmir Valley!, #1159, 23 Aug. (1, 5)

King, Robert—See **Prisons**.

Kollontai, Alexandra—See **Quote of the Week**.

Krasner, Larry—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case**.

Kurdish Question—See **Syria**.

Laaman, Jaan—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

LABOR

• **General**—And see **Auto Workers**; **Mexico**; **Mine Workers**; **Teachers**. See also **Aerospace**; **Spartacist League/U.S.**; **U.S.: International Relations**.

NY Dems Squabble Over Amazon HQ, #1150, 8 Mar. (3, 7)

• **History**—And see also **Auto Workers**.

How Local 1199 Organized NYC Hospital Workers, #1165, 15 Nov. (4, 5)

Land Question—See **South Africa**. See also **Kanaky**.

Latinos—See ***Workers Vanguard***. See also **Abortion**; **Spartacist League/U.S.**; **Teachers**; **U.S.: General**.

Leaving Neverland—See **Sexuality**.

Left Voice—See **Infrastructure**; **Puerto Rico**; **Venezuela**.

Lenin, V. I.—See **Quote of the Week**. See also **International Socialist Organization (ISO)**.

Liebknecht, Karl—See **Quote of the Week**.

Los Angeles—See **Teachers**. See also **Civil Liberties: General**.

Luxemburg, Rosa—See **Quote of the Week**.

Maduro, Nicolás—See **Venezuela**.

Manning, Chelsea—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **U.S.: International Relations**.

Manning, Tom—See **Obituaries**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Maquiladoras—See **Mexico**.

Matamoros—See **Mexico**.

Measles—See **Health Care**.

Melanesians—See **West Papua**.

#MeToo—See **Civil Liberties: General**; **France**. See also **Sexuality**.

Mexican Americans—See **Spartacist League/U.S.**; **U.S.: General**.

MEXICO—And see **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **U.S.: General**; ***Workers Vanguard***.

Strikes Sweep Maquiladora Factories (WVesp), #1149, 22 Feb. (1, 6)

Ola de huelgas sacude maquiladoras en México, #1149, 22 Feb. (8, 6)

Women in the Maquiladora Sweatshops (*Espartaco*) (W&R), #1156, 31 May (3)

Lessons of the Maquiladora Strike Wave, #1160, 6 Sept. (3, 4)

MINE WORKERS

Harlan County Miners: Pay Them Now!, #1160, 6 Sept. (8, 7)

Morales, Evo—See **Bolivia**.

MOVE—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Muthana, Hoda—See **Civil Liberties: General**.

NAFTA/USMCA—See **U.S.: International Relations**. See also **Mexico**.

National Question—See **Algeria**; **Catalonia**; **Internationalist Group (IG)**. See also **Kanaky**; **Puerto Rico**; **West Papua**.

Native Americans—See **Spartacist League/U.S.**

Near East—See **Iran**; **Syria**. See also **U.S.: General**.

Netherlands—See **West Papua**.

New Caledonia—See **Kanaky**.

New York City—See **Education; Fascism; Labor: General, History.**

NEW ZEALAND

Fascist Massacres Muslims in New Zealand, #1152, 5 Apr. (8, 7)

Oakland—See **Teachers.**

Oakland Education Association—See **Teachers.**

OBITUARIES

Jim Robertson (1928–2019), #1153, 19 Apr. (3)
Victor Granovsky (1952–2019), #1157, 21 June (3)
Honoring a Class-War Prisoner: Tom Manning (1946–2019), #1159, 23 Aug. (2, 6)
James Robertson (1928–2019), #1162, 4 Oct. (4, 5, 6, 7, 8)
Tim Wohlforth: Who Was That Roadkill?, #1163, 18 Oct. (2)
In Memory of James Robertson, #1167, 13 Dec. (6, 7, 8)

Ocasio-Cortez, Alexandria—See **Immigration.** See also **Venezuela.**

Ohio 7—See **Obituaries.** See also **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Omar, Ilhan—See **U.S.: General.** See also **Immigration.**

Pakistan—See **Kashmir.**

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE—And see **U.S.: General.** See also **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case.**

PDC Holiday Appeal: Support the Class-War Prisoners (CSDN), #1147, 18 Jan. (2, 6)
34th Annual Holiday Appeal: Free the Class-War Prisoners! (CSDN), #1167, 13 Dec. (5)

Peltier, Leonard—See **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Permanent Revolution—See **Bolivia; Kanaky; Quote of the Week; South Africa.**

PG&E—See **Infrastructure.**

Philadelphia—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case.** See also **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Planned Parenthood—See **Abortion.**

Poindexter, Ed—See **Partisan Defense Committee.**

Poland—See **International Communist League.**

Polanski, Roman—See **Civil Liberties: Cases.**

Police—See **Civil Liberties: General.** See also **Britain.**

Preobrazhensky, Evgeny—See **Quote of the Week.**

PRISONS—And see **Britain.** See also **Death Penalty; U.S.: International Relations.**

Louisiana Black Panther: Albert Woodfox Chronicles Prison Hell (R), #1156, 31 May (6)

Progressive Labor Party (PLP)—See **Black Question.**

Protectionism—See **U.S.: International Relations.** See also **Auto Workers; China.**

Proud Boys—See **Fascism.**

PUERTO RICO

Cancel Puerto Rico’s Debt! (WVesp), #1158, 26 July (1, 2)
For a Revolutionary Workers Party—Down With the Colonial Junta! For the Right of Independence!, #1159, 23 Aug. (8, 6)
Por un partido obrero revolucionario—¡Abajo la Junta colonial! ¡Por el derecho a la independencia!, #1159, 23 Aug. (8, 7)

Puigdemont, Carles—See **Catalonia.**

QUEBEC—And see **Canada; Catalonia; Internationalist Group (IG).**
Quebec: Down With Anti-Muslim Headscarf Bill! (*République ouvrière*), #1156, 31 May (4, 5)
Clarification on Teachers and the State, #1160, 6 Sept. (6)

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg (V.I. Lenin), #1147, 18 Jan. (2)
Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution! (*Spartacist*), #1148, 8 Feb. (2)
Slavery and American Capitalism (Richard S. Fraser), #1149, 22 Feb. (2)
For Women’s Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! (Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky), #1150, 8 Mar. (2)
Lenin and Trotsky’s Comintern: International Party of Revolution (V.I. Lenin), #1151, 22 Mar. (2)
For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa (Leon Trotsky), #1152, 5 Apr. (2)
Fighting for Revolutionary Continuity (Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon), #1153, 19 Apr. (3)
The Russian Question and the Class Line (James P. Cannon), #1154, 3 May (2)
U.S. Imperialism in Latin America (Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism), #1155, 17 May (2)
The Liberation of Working Women (Alexandra Kollontai), #1156, 31 May (2)
The Fight for an International Trotskyist Party (*Spartacist*), #1158, 26 July (2)
Lenin on WWI: For Revolutionary Defeatism (V.I. Lenin), #1159, 23 Aug. (2)
Trotskyist Defense of the Workers States (Leon Trotsky), #1160, 6 Sept. (2)
The Bolshevik Revolution and Women’s Emancipation (V.I. Lenin), #1161, 20 Sept. (2)

On the Revolutionary Party (Leon Trotsky), #1162, 4 Oct. (2)
Workers Struggles and Revolutionary Consciousness (V.I. Lenin), #1163, 18 Oct. (2)
Break the Chains of Capitalist Exploitation! (Friedrich Engels), #1164, 1 Nov. (2)
The Russian Revolution and World Socialism (V.I. Lenin), #1165, 15 Nov. (2)
The Proletariat in Underdeveloped Countries (Leon Trotsky), #1166, 29 Nov. (2)
The Reactionary Role of the Church (Rosa Luxemburg), #1167, 13 Dec. (2)

Ramadan, Tariq—See **France.**

Refuse Fascism—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Religion—See **France; Quebec; Quote of the Week.**

Reuther, Walter—See **Auto Workers.**

Revolution Club—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Revolutionary Tendency—See **Black Question; Obituaries; Spartacist League/U.S.**

Robertson, James—See **Obituaries.** See also **Quote of the Week; Spartacist League/U.S.**

Russia—See **Syria.**

San Francisco—See **Black Question.**

Sanders, Bernie—See **Auto Workers; International Socialist Organization (ISO); Syria; Venezuela.**

Saudi Arabia—See **Iran.**

Science—See **Sports.** See also **Health Care.**

Semenya, Caster—See **Sports.**

Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—See **Labor: History; Teachers.**

Service Workers—See **Labor: History; Teachers.**

SEXUALITY

Leaving Neverland: Lying Hit Piece—Down With the Demonizing of Michael Jackson!, #1153, 19 Apr. (8, 6, 7)

Shachtman, Max—See **International Socialist Organization (ISO).**

Slavery—See **Black Question; Quote of the Week.** See also **Education; Spartacist League/ U.S.**

Socialist Action (Hong Kong)—See **China.**

Socialist Alternative (SAlt)—See **China; Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case; Infrastructure; Venezuela.**

Socialist Party (Britain)—See **Britain.**

Socialist Revolutionary Workers Party (SRWP)—See **South Africa.**

Bound Volumes of ICL Publications

SPARTACIST

Theoretical and Documentary Journal of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

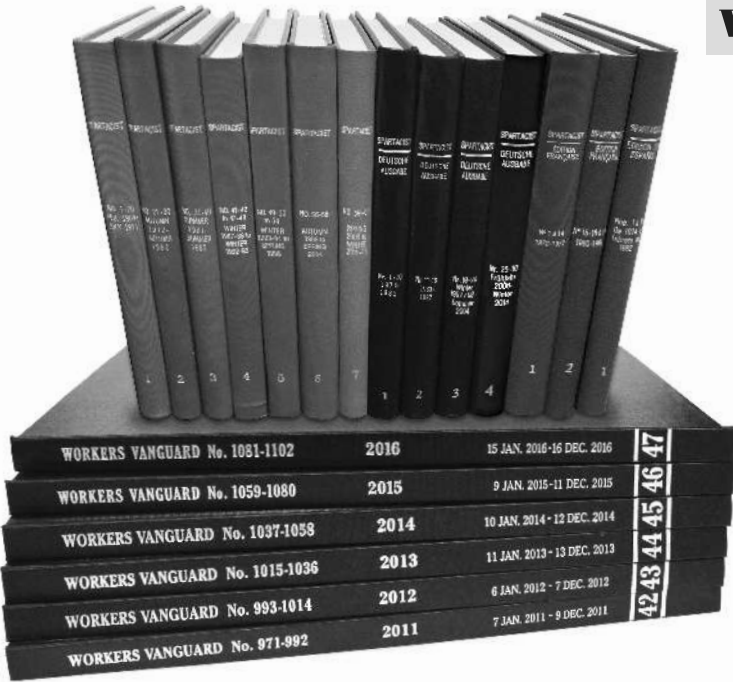
Spartacist (English edition)
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 20, February 1964 to July 1971 (out of stock)
Volume 2: Issues 21 to 30, Autumn 1972 to Autumn 1980 (out of stock)
Volume 3: Issues 31 to 40, Summer 1981 to Summer 1987 (out of stock)
Volume 4: Issues 41-42 to 47-48, Winter 1987-88 to Winter 1992-93
Volume 5: Issues 49-50 to 54, Winter 1993-94 to Spring 1998
Volume 6: Issues 55 to 58, Autumn 1999 to Spring 2004
Volume 7: Issues 59 to 63, Spring 2006 to Winter 2012-13

Spartacist (German edition)
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 10, Spring 1974 to Winter 1981-82
Volume 2: Issues 11 to 18, Winter 1983-84 to Spring 1997
Volume 3: Issues 19 to 24, Winter 1997-98 to Summer 2004
Volume 4: Issues 25 to 30, Spring 2006 to Winter 2014

Spartacist (French edition)
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 14, May 1972 to December 1977
Volume 2: Issues 15-16 to 26, Spring 1980 to Spring 1991

Spartacist (Spanish edition)
Volume 1: Issues 1 to 10, 1974 to February 1982

Price per volume (includes postage):
Spartacist (English edition) Volumes 5 and 6: \$75
All others: \$30



All volumes are indexed.
Some volumes available on microfilm upon request.
Discounts available for larger orders of any combination of WV and *Spartacist*. Please inquire.

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women’s Commission of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Volume 1: Issues 1 to 20, May-June 1971 to Spring 1980 \$27 (includes postage)
Volume 2: Issues 21 to 36, Winter 1980-81 to Spring 1989 (out of stock)
Volume 3: Issues 37 to 45, Spring 1990 to Winter/Spring 1996 \$30 (includes postage)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

Volumes 1 to 47, 1970 through 2016, include one year of WV except: Volume 1 includes 1970-73, Volumes 4 to 9 include six months each of WV weekly, 1976-78. (Volumes 1-3, 11, 13-15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 36, 37 out of stock.)
Price per volume (includes postage):
Vol. 1-35: \$35, Vol. 36-47: \$90

Suplementos en español de <i>Workers Vanguard</i>	
<div><div>No. 1</div><div>iAnular la deuda! El colonialismo estadounidense estrangula a Puerto Rico iPor el derecho a la independencia! (Traducido de WV No. 1075, 2 de octubre de 2015) — septiembre de 2016</div></div>	
<div><div>No. 2</div><div>Viva Oscar López Rivera, luchador por la independencia Reacción colonialista contra el Desfile del Día de Puerto Rico (Traducido de WV No. 1113, 2 de junio de 2017) Puerto Rico: Los estudiantes enfrentan la austeridad colonial iPor el derecho a la independencia! (Traducido de WV No. 1110, 21 de abril de 2017) — junio de 2017</div></div>	
<div><div>No. 3</div><div>iViva Marshawn Lynch! (Traducido de WV No. 1124, 15 de diciembre de 2017) — febrero de 2018</div></div>	
<div><div>No. 4</div><div>Manifestante puertorriqueña falsamente inculpinada por el gobierno federal—iLibertad para Nina Droz! (Traducido de WV No. 1128, 23 de febrero de 2018) — marzo de 2018</div></div>	
<div><div>No. 5</div><div>Huelga en el estado de Arizona—iVictoria a la huelga escolar! (Traducido de WV No. 1133, 4 de mayo de 2018) — mayo de 2018</div></div>	
<div><div>No. 6</div><div>Puerto Rico: Primero de Mayo Policía ataca manifestantes (Reimpreso de WV No. 1134, 18 de mayo de 2018) — 18 de mayo de 2018</div></div>	
	<div><div>No. 7</div><div>Oakland Paro del ILWU en protesta contra provocación racista (Traducido de WV No. 1113, 2 de junio de 2017) — 28 de junio de 2018</div></div>
	<div><div>No. 8</div><div>iPlenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los inmigrantes! Mujer inmigrante muere por disparo de la Patrulla Fronteriza de Texas (Traducido de WV No. 1135, 1 de junio de 2018) — 28 de junio de 2018</div></div>
	<div><div>No. 9</div><div>El despiadado Trump y los demócratas hipócritas iNo a las detenciones! iPlenos derechos de ciudadanía para los inmigrantes! (Traducido de WV No. 1136, 29 de junio de 2018) — 10 de agosto de 2018</div></div>
	<div><div>No. 10</div><div>iPor lucha de clases, ninguna confianza en los demócratas! El caso Janus: Ataque al movimiento obrero (Traducido de WV No. 1133, 4 de mayo de 2018) — 28 de agosto de 2018</div></div>
	<div><div>No. 11</div><div>Ola de huelgas sacude maquiladoras en México (Traducido de WV No. 1149, 22 de febrero de 2019) — 25 de marzo de 2019</div></div>
	<div><div>No. 12</div><div>iPor el derecho a la independencia! iAnular la deuda de Puerto Rico! iPor un partido obrero que luche por la revolución socialista! (Traducido de WV No. 1158, 26 de julio de 2019) — 23 de julio de 2019</div></div>
Los suplementos están disponibles en línea: icl-fi.org/espanol/wvsupl/archives/	

Socialist Workers Party—See Black Question; Obituaries.
<i>Solitary</i> —See Prisons.
SOMALIA Killer Drones and Imperialist Terror—U.S. Forces Out of Somalia Now!, #1153, 19 Apr. (1, 3)
SOUTH AFRICA —And see Quote of the Week. See also Sports. South Africa: The Land Question and Permanent Revolution (<i>Spartacist South Africa</i>)(S) Part One, #1151, 22 Mar. (4, 5, 6) Part Two, #1152, 5 Apr. (4, 5, 6) South African Trotskyists’ Open Letter to SRWP: No to Coalitions with Bourgeois Parties!, #1154, 3 May (3) Defend Immigrants! For Workers Defense Guards!, #1161, 20 Sept. (8, 6, 7)
Soviet Union—See Quote of the Week. See also International Socialist Organization (ISO); Obituaries.
Spain—See Catalonia.
Spanish-Language Articles—See Auto Workers; Mexico; Puerto Rico; Teachers; Workers Vanguard.
<i>Spartacist</i> —See Spartacist League/U.S.
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. —And see Black Question; Quote of the Week; U.S.: General; Workers Vanguard. See also Obituaries. 15th National Conference of the SL/U.S.: In the Predominant Imperialist Power—Revolutionary Internationalism Is Key, #1158, 26 July (4, 5, 6, 7)
Spartakusowska Grupa Polski—See International Communist League.
SPORTS Racist, Anti-Woman Campaign Against South African Track Star—Let Caster Semenya Run Her Race!, #1156, 31 May (8, 7) Clarification on PEDs, Sports and Socialism, #1159, 23 Aug. (2) “Squad”—See Immigration.
Stalinism—See China; Cuba.
Sullivan, Ronald—See Civil Liberties: General.
Supreme Court—See Abortion. See also Education; Spartacist League/U.S.
SYRIA U.S. Imperialism Out of Syria!—Turkish Forces Invade Syrian Kurdistan, #1163, 18 Oct. (1, 2) Syria: No to YPG Alliance with U.S. Imperialism, Enemy of Kurdish National Liberation!, #1164, 1 Nov. (8, 7) On the Syrian Civil War (L), #1167, 13 Dec. (2)
Taiwan—See China.
TEACHERS —And see also Education. L.A. Teachers: Strike to Win!, #1147, 18 Jan. (1, 6)

Maestros de L.A.: iA la huelga para vencer!, #1147, 18 Jan. (1, 7) Union Tops Bow to Democrats: Popular L.A. Teachers Strike Sold Short, #1148, 8 Feb. (8, 7) Oakland Teacher Anger Over Strike Settlement, #1150, 8 Mar. (1, 6) West Virginia Teachers Spike Charter School Gambit, #1150, 8 Mar. (6) On L.A. Teachers Strike (L), #1155, 17 May (3) Chicago Teachers: Fight to Win!, #1164, 1 Nov. (8, 6) Union Tops Knife Solid Strike—Lightfoot, Democrats Screw Chicago Teachers, #1165, 15 Nov. (1, 2)
Tennessee—See Auto Workers.
Texas—See Abortion; U.S.: General.
Tiananmen Uprising—See China.
Tlaib, Rashida—See Immigration.
Trotsky, Leon—See Quote of the Week.
Trotskyist Faction-Fourth International—See Puerto Rico; Venezuela.
Turkey—See Syria.
United Auto Workers (UAW)—See Auto Workers. See also Infrastructure; Workers Vanguard; World Socialist Web Site.
United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW)—See U.S.: General.
United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)—See Mine Workers.
United Nations—See Haiti.

UNITED STATES <ul style="list-style-type: none">• General—And see also Spartacist League/U.S. Nothing to Lose But Our Chains—Join the Fight for a Socialist Future!, #1148, 8 Feb. (2) Democrats, Zionists and the Witchhunt of Ilhan Omar, #1151, 22 Mar. (1, 6, 7) On the Liberal Myth of “Trump’s Base”, #1158, 26 July (5) El Paso: Democrats Exploit Racist Horror—Capitalist Rulers Set Sights on Your Rights, #1159, 23 Aug. (1, 4) • International Relations—And see Bolivia; China; Cuba; Iran; Quote of the Week; Somalia; Syria; Venezuela. See also Civil Liberties: Cases; Haiti. No to Protectionism—NAFTA/USMCA: Down With U.S. Pillage of Mexico!, #1149, 22 Feb. (1, 7) Free Julian Assangel!, #1153, 19 Apr. (1, 5) Free Julian Assange Now!, #1167, 13 Dec. (2)
United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA)—See Teachers.
Vaccines—See Health Care.
Vaping—See Civil Liberties: General.

VENEZUELA —And see Internationalist Group (IG). See also Cuba; Haiti. U.S. Imperialism Hands Off Venezuela!, #1148, 8 Feb. (1, 6) Democrats, Trump Push Coup—Down With U.S. War Moves Against Venezuela!, #1150, 8 Mar. (1, 2) Democrat-Backed White House Coup Flops, #1155, 17 May (1, 6)* Democrat-Backed White House Coup... (C), #1156, 31 May (3)
Virginia—See Black Question.
Volkswagen—See Auto Workers.
Wallace, Herman—See Prisons.
“War on Terror”—See Civil Liberties: General; New Zealand. See also Somalia; U.S.: General.
WEST PAPUA Independence for West Papua!—For Workers Revolution in Indonesia! (<i>Australasian Spartacist</i>) (S) Part One, #1147, 18 Jan. (3, 4) Part Two, #1148, 8 Feb. (3, 6)
West Virginia—See Teachers.
WikiLeaks—See Civil Liberties: Cases; U.S.: International Relations.
Wohlforth, Tim—See Obituaries.
Woman Question—See France; Mexico; Quote of the Week; Sports. See also Abortion; Civil Liberties: General; Quebec.
Woodfox, Albert—See Prisons.
Workers Party/ISL—See Obituaries.
WORKERS VANGUARD —And see also Civil Liberties: Cases; Spartacist League/U.S. Presentamos: Suplementos en español de <i>Workers Vanguard</i> , #1151, 22 Mar. (3) Introducing: Suplementos en español de <i>Workers Vanguard</i> , #1151, 22 Mar. (3) <i>Workers Vanguard</i> Subscription Drive 2019 Quotas, #1159, 23 Aug. (3) Week Two Totals, #1160, 6 Sept. (2) Week Four Totals, #1161, 20 Sept. (6) Week Six Totals, #1162, 4 Oct. (11) Final Totals, #1163, 18 Oct. (5) Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation, #1163, 18 Oct. (6) Letters Policy, #1164, 1 Nov. (2) WV Subscription Drive: Forging Links with Workers, Students, #1166, 29 Nov. (3)
Workers World Party—See Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case.
WORLD SOCIALIST WEB SITE Beware of Anti-Union “World Socialist Web Site”, #1162, 4 Oct. (1)
World War I—See Quote of the Week.
Yemen—See Iran.
Zionism—See U.S.: General.

ABORTION

The Fight for Abortion Rights and the War on Immigrants, #1155, 17 May (8, 7)

Fight for Free Abortion on Demand!, #1161, 20 Sept. (1, 2, 3)

Abu-Jamal, Mumia—See **Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case**. See also **Partisan Defense Committee**.

AEROSPACE

Boeing Crashes: Profit Drive Kills, #1152, 5 Apr. (1, 2, 7)

On Boeing (L), #1156, 31 May (2)

AFL-CIO—See **U.S.: International Relations**.

Africa—See **Algeria; Somalia; South Africa**.

Africa, Chuck—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Africa, Delbert—See **Partisan Defense Committee**.

Africa, Eddie—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Africa, Janet—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

Africa, Janine—See **Civil Liberties: Cases**.

African National Congress (ANC)—See **South Africa**.

Al Shabab—See **Somalia**.

ALGERIA

Algeria in Turmoil—For a Workers and Peasants Government! For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party! (*Le Bolchévique*), #1161, 20 Sept. (4, 5)

Amazon—See **Labor: General**.

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—See **Teachers**.

American Indians—See **Spartacist League**.

Angola 3—See **Prisons**.

Assange, Julian—See **Civil Liberties: Cases; U.S.: International Relations**.

Australia—See **New Zealand; West Papua**.

AUTO WORKERS—And see also **Infrastructure; Workers Vanguard; World Socialist Web Site**.

Bitter Union Defeat at Chattanooga VW Plant: UAW Tops Play by Bosses’ Rules, Again, #1158, 26 July (8, 7)

Government Hands Off UAW!, #1160, 6 Sept. (2)

UAW: Strike to Win!, #1161, 20 Sept. (1, 7)

UAW Class Battle Against GM, #1162, 4 Oct. (1, 9)

UAW: ¡Huelga hasta vencer!, #1162, 4 Oct. (3)

UAW: Fight to Win!—No to Union Tops’ “America Only” Chauvinism!, #1163, 18 Oct. (1, 4, 5)

UAW Holds Off GM Bosses, But Strikers Sold Short, #1164, 1 Nov. (1, 3)

Basque Country—See **Catalonia**.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY—And see also **Prisons**.

Correction on Panthers and COINTELPRO (C), #1156, 31 May (6)

BLACK QUESTION—And see **Civil Liberties: General; Education; Prisons; Quote of the Week**. See also **Abortion; Civil Liberties: Abu-Jamal Case; Death Penalty; Obituaries; Sexuality; Spartacist League; Teachers**.

Black Liberation Struggle: The Key to American Socialist Revolution (S)

Part One, #1148, 8 Feb. (4, 5, 7)

Part Two, #1149, 22 Feb. (3, 4, 5)

Master’s House in Disarray: The Democrats and the Racist Cesspool in Virginia, #1149, 22 Feb. (8, 5)

Refuting the Lies: Yes, Dianne Feinstein Raised the Flag of Slavery, #1153, 19 Apr. (2)

Why Marxists Don’t Use “African American”, #1163, 18 Oct. (3)

On Slavery and the “One Drop” Rule (L), #1165, 15 Nov. (3)

Boeing—See **Aerospace**.

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 2019, from issue No. 1147 (18 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 1167 (13 December). During this time, WV was published biweekly except skipping issues in January, June, July, August and December.
- 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. Corrections to articles from previous years indicate the issue number and date of the corrected article in brackets.
- 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:
UAW: Strike to Win!, #1161, 20 Sept. (1, 7)
means the headline of the article, issue No. 1161, dated 20 September, beginning on page 1 and continuing on page 7.
- 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:
Police—See **Civil Liberties: General**. See also **Britain**.
means that articles about Police can be found by going to the subject head **CIVIL LIBERTIES** and looking under the subcategory **General**. Related articles can be found by going to the subject head **BRITAIN**.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not a subject

- heading unless the article is primarily about the given person. Foreign political organizations are generally cross-referenced to their appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not normally under any other subject heading. Articles relating to Israel and the Occupied Territories will be found under the subject head **ISRAEL/PALESTINE**. Articles that deal centrally with U.S. foreign policy will be found under **U.S.: International Relations** or under the relevant geographical heading, for example, **CHINA**.
 - Articles under the *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (CSDN) masthead are by the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League.
 - Articles which were translated into Spanish and appeared this year in *suplementos en español de Workers Vanguard* are followed by (WVesp). A complete list of the *suplementos* appears on page 11.
 - Articles which appear in Spanish within the pages of *Workers Vanguard* are cross-referenced under Spanish-Language Articles.
 - Abbreviations used in entries are:
C: Correction
CSDN: *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* article
E: Editorial Note
L: Letter
R: Review
S: Series
YSp: *Young Spartacus* article
W&R: *Women and Revolution* article
WVesp: translation published in *suplementos en español de Workers Vanguard*
 - Entries for articles that first appeared in the press of another section of the International Communist League indicate the name of the press in parentheses, for example: (*Le Bolchévique*).

BOLIVIA

Down With U.S.-Backed Right-Wing Coup! For an Indigenous-Centered Workers and Peasants Government!, #1166, 29 Nov. (1, 2, 7)

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS)—See **U.S.: General**.

BRITAIN—And see also **U.S.: International Relations**.

Corbyn Betrays Working-Class Brexit Voters—Down With Racist, Anti-Worker European Union!, #1151, 22 Mar. (1, 2)

Britain’s Prison Hell—Peter Taaffe’s CWI: Correctional Workers International (*Workers Hammer*), #1153, 19 Apr. (4, 5)

British Trotskyists Say: Brexit Now! For a Workers Europe! (*Workers Hammer*), #1157, 21 June (4, 5)

British Elections: No Choice for Workers—Corbyn: EU Running Dog, #1166, 29 Nov. (8, 7)

British Labour Party—See **Britain**.

Bukharin, Nikolai—See **Quote of the Week**.

Busing—See **Education**.

California—See **Black Question; Death Penalty; Infrastructure; Teachers**.

CANADA—And see **Internationalist Group (IG); Quebec**. See also **Catalonia; China; Haiti; U.S.: International Relations**.

Against “Fight the Right” Reformism—For Workers Power! (*Workers Tribune*), #1162, 4 Oct. (10, 11)

Ontario, Canada: Down With Anglo-Chauvinist Attacks Against Francophone Minority! (*Workers Tribune*), #1163, 18 Oct. (7)

Cannon, James P.—See **Quote of the Week**.

Caste Oppression—See **Black Question; Spartacist League/U.S.**

CATALONIA

Free All Catalan *Independentistes*!—For a Catalan Workers Republic North and South of the Pyrenees!, #1150, 8 Mar. (8, 7)

Canada Bars Entry to Catalan Leader: Let Carles Puigdemont into Quebec!, #1155, 17 May (3)

Free All Imprisoned Catalan *Independentistes* Now!—Independence for Catalonia! For a Workers Republic!, #1164, 1 Nov. (1, 2)

Charter Schools—See **Education; Teachers**.

Chattanooga, Tennessee—See **Auto Workers**.

Chicago—See **Teachers**.

Chicago Teachers Union (CTU)—See **Teachers**.

CHINA—And see also **Iran; Kanaky; U.S.: International Relations; West Papua; Workers Vanguard**.

Huawei Executive Arrested—Drop the Charges!, #1147, 18 Jan. (8, 5)

U.S. Imperialists Ramp Up Trade/Tech War, #1157, 21 June (1, 6)

From the Archives of *Workers Vanguard*: The Truth About the Tiananmen Uprising [reprinted from WV No. 480, 23 June 1989], #1157, 21 June (2, 5)

Hong Kong: No to Counterrevolutionary Rampage!, #1160, 6 Sept. (1, 6, 7)

70th Anniversary of Chinese Revolution—Defend China! Down With Reactionary Hong Kong Protests! (S)

Part One, #1163, 18 Oct. (8, 6)

Part Two, #1164, 1 Nov. (4, 5, 6)

On Hong Kong (L), #1163, 18 Oct. (3)

Hong Kong Is Part of China (L), #1164, 1 Nov. (2)

CIVIL LIBERTIES

- **General**—And see **El Paso, Texas**. See also **Quebec**.
Sinister Attack on Citizenship—Let Hoda Muthana Return to U.S.!, #1151, 22 Mar. (8)- **#MeToo** Witchhunt Snares Black Harvard Law Professor, #1158, 26 July (3)
- **Morality Cops** Strike Again—Let Them Vapel, #1162, 4 Oct. (12)
- **LAPD** Spying Operation Exposed—Drop Charges Against Leftist Anti-Trump Protesters!, #1162, 4 Oct. (2)
- **Cases**—And see **Obituaries; Partisan Defense Committee; Prisons**. See also **U.S.: International Relations**.
Jailed for Refusing to Fink on Julian Assange: Free Chelsea Manning!, #1151, 22 Mar. (8, 7)

continued on page 9