

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Smash Reagan's Nicaraguan "Bay of Pigs"!



For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Military Victory to Salvador Rebels!

JANUARY 9—The battle for Central America is on. Since the beginning of December, Honduras-based counter-revolutionaries bought and paid for by the CIA have launched three invasion-force attacks against Sandinista Nicaragua. The "contras" were defeated in hard fighting by the Nicaragua army and people's militia. But with more than 650 people killed last year as a result of the border raids and terrorist actions, the U.S. is no longer waging a "silent war" of harassment. The popular insurrection which overthrew the bloody Somoza dynasty in 1979 opened up the prospect for social revolution throughout the region. And despite the efforts of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to conciliate capitalist forces at home and abroad, U.S. imperialism is determined to crush the radical-nationalist regime in Managua. The issue is sharply posed: socialist revolution or bloody counterrevolution in Nicaragua. There is no "third road."

In El Salvador, for half a decade a civil war has raged pitting the mass of workers, peasants and radical intellectuals against the U.S.-backed oligarchy. Now a three-month-old offensive by the left-wing rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) has pushed government troops out of the hills and back to the cities, consolidating a 1,000 square mile "arc of liberty" along the northern border. With the U.S.-

backed government on the defensive, hardliners in the military linked with fascist death squad leader (and constituent assembly president) D'Aubuisson have revolted against war minister General Garcia. Despite calls by leaders of the FMLN and the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) to call off the civil war in favor of a "political solution," the issue is sharply posed: either military victory for Salvadoran leftist insurgents, or a "peace" of 200,000 dead.

For the last two years, Reagan & Co. have drawn the front line of their war against Communism through the isthmus, "America's back yard": Nicaragua's a "Soviet surrogate," Salvadoran leftists are "cat's paws" for Cuba. American liberals, European social democrats, the Mexican government and a whole host of nationalists/reformists worry about "another Vietnam" in Central America. If the whole region is inflamed with revolt, they fear, it could threaten capitalist rule throughout the Americas. Their answer is to end the war, lay down the arms and the oppressed masses will be at peace with their exploiters. This is nothing short of suicidal. Genuine communists fight instead to win the war in which so many tens of thousands have already shed their blood. The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution is the only road to getting rid of the mass murderers and the oligarchs forever.

This is what the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) is fighting for.

The Battle for Nicaragua

Ever since the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship, the U.S. has kept the remnants of his murdering praetorian guard in reserve. A year ago Reagan's National Security Council decided to unleash these dogs of war against the Cuban-backed Sandinistas. With millions of CIA dollars, gusano and Argentine "advisers," the Somozaist *guardias* stepped up their "destabilization." As the prospect of a Bay of Pigs II grew, however, even elements in the Reagan administration began worrying about being dragged into another fiasco. The 5,000 *contras* in Honduras planned to stage a full-scale invasion of Nicaragua behind the screen of U.S.-Honduran military exercises, scheduled to begin December 4, thus forcing direct American intervention. Cooler heads prevailed in Washington and the joint exercises were postponed, but the *contras* continued with their invasion plans.

On the weekend of December 3-5, as President Reagan was on his "goodwill tour" of Latin America, a force of 400 Somozaists backed up by a Honduran artillery battery just across the border launched a major battle at Loma Oscura in Nueva Segovia department. Several days later, an even larger counterrevolutionary force totaling 900 men launched a five-day attack (December 8-13) aimed at conquering the town of Jalapa and proclaiming it a "provisional capital." The *contras* were well entrenched, having constructed a command post and more than 1,500 yards of trenches within a couple miles of town. The Nicaraguans beat off the coordinated attack, eventually driving the invaders back to Honduras. For the first time the Sandinistas' Soviet-made T55 tanks and BTR-60 armored personnel carriers were deployed to defend Jalapa. And on December 15-16 a third force of 200 *guardias* was defeated in close fighting in the area of Terrerios, also in Nueva Segovia.

In the midst of this constant fighting
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Whither the SWP?

Barnes Denounces Trotskyism.....8

In Defense of Marshal Tukhachevsky

24 November 1981

Department of English
Montclair State College
Upper Montclair, New Jersey 07043

The Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear Sir:

In your interesting article exposing *Solidarność* ("Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland", *WV* 20 Nov. 1981, p. 7), you state that the failure of the Red Army's drive in July-August 1920 against Warsaw was due in part to "Stalin's insubordination."

This is not the opinion of the most recent scholar of the subject, Professor Norman Davies. In an article in the anti-communist journal *Soviet Studies* (Vol. 23, No. 4, April, 1972), Prof. Davies concluded that Stalin was not guilty of insubordination (p. 584). Davies also reveals that the "Stalin's insubordination" story is pushed today by current Soviet defenders of Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had been in overall command of the operation against Warsaw for the Red Army.

Soviet historians do not speak of it today, but Tukhachevsky was a well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist, not at all unlike the Pilsudski portrayed in your article. Tukhachevsky's views were outlined by a friend and ex-comrade in German captivity, the former French officer Rémy Roure ("Pierre Fervacque"), in his book, *Le chef de l'armée rouge* ("Head of the Red Army"), 1928 (see pp. 24-5 for Tukhachevsky's attacks on Jews and Bolsheviks). Far from repudiating this account, Tukhachevsky kept up his friendship with Roure until shortly before his execution in the "military purges" of June, 1937 (see Fervacque's article in *Le Temps*, July 24, 1937, p. 3).

I think you should beware of repeating judgments that echo those of contemporary Soviet historians, even when, as in this case, the latter's views appear to correspond with those of Trotsky.

Respectfully yours,
Grover C. Furr III

Replies: We thank Professor Furr for his letter drawing our attention to the continuing circulation of certain timeworn falsehoods regarding Marshal of the Soviet Union Tukhachevsky. Tukhachevsky a "well-known anti-Semite and right-wing Socialist"? It is not surprising to find such defamation is still current—after all, lots of people still "know" that Lenin was the Kaiser's agent and Trotsky Hitler's. Underlying the questions of historic fact raised by Professor Furr is a crucial political issue: whether Stalin was justified in liquidating the senior cadres of the Red Army officer corps on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army commander and Bolshevik since World War I, was executed by Stalin in 1937 as a German spy; his wife and brother died in prison. He was "rehabilitated" in the Soviet Union in the course of the 1956 Khrushchev revelations which exposed a fraction of Stalin's monstrous crimes against the October Revolution. Obviously only the Kremlin archives could lay bare the full depth and breadth of Stalin's murder and defamation of Marshal Tukhachevsky. We have drawn on the limited materials at our disposal to sort out historical fact from Stalinist falsehood; it seems sufficient for the point at hand. If other readers believe they have significant new information to offer on this question, we would be glad to discuss it further.

Trotsky, in *Stalin* (1941), wrote of the young Tukhachevsky:

"Until the conquest of power by the Bolsheviks, he had been a lieutenant in the Tsarist Army. The October Revolution won him over heart and soul. He not only offered his services to the Red Army but became a Communist. He distinguished himself almost immediately at the front, and within a year had become a general of the Red Army. His brilliance as a strategist was acknowledged by admiring foes who were the victims of that very brilliance."

Trotsky, as Tukhachevsky's immediate commander during the 1920 Polish campaign, was certainly in a position to know what occurred then. Writing in October 1939, shortly after the Hitler-Stalin pact and the entry of Soviet troops into eastern Poland, Trotsky gives the following account of Stalin's earlier betrayal:

"But Stalin also has his personal motive for the invasion of Poland, as almost always, a motive of vengeance. In 1920 Tukhachevsky, the future marshal, led the Red troops against Warsaw. The future Marshal Yegorov advanced toward Lemberg [Lwów]. With Yegorov was Stalin. When it became clear that Tukhachevsky was menaced on the Vistula by a counterattack, the Moscow command ordered Yegorov to turn north in the

direction of Lublin, in order to help Tukhachevsky. But Stalin feared that Tukhachevsky, after having taken Warsaw, would 'seize' Lemberg, thus depriving him of this achievement. Hidden behind the authority of Stalin, Yegorov did not fulfill the order of the general staff. Only four days later, when the critical situation of Tukhachevsky became acute, did the armies of Yegorov turn north toward Lublin. But it was already too late. The catastrophe was at hand. In the high councils of the party and of the army, all knew that the person responsible for the crushing of Tukhachevsky was Stalin. The present invasion of Poland and the seizure of Lemberg is thus for Stalin a revenge for the grandiose failure of 1920."

—Trotsky, *Portraits, Political and Personal*
(reprint of an article dated 2 October 1939)

This is confirmed in Wollenberg's *The Red Army*, where both Tukhachevsky and Pilsudski are quoted in detail; their statements fully confirm Trotsky's account. We have previously written on the 1920 Polish campaign, in particular in our article "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution,'" in *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.

Professor Furr's letter cites as his "authority" the article in *Soviet Studies* by Norman Davies, an open admirer of Pilsudski's "iron will." But far from acquitting Stalin of insubordination, this article in fact confirms Stalin's deliberate defiance of the directives of Lenin and the Politburo. Davies acknowledges "the absence of coordination between the Soviet Western Command [under Tukhachevsky] and the three armies of the South-Western Command [led by Stalin and Yegorov]. Despite an order of 13 August to assist the Western Front, the South-Western Command played no significant part in the battle whatsoever..." He goes on to describe Stalin's opposition to a planned division of the South-Western Command which would have placed a major section under Tukhachevsky's command: "... there is definite proof that he accepted the Politburo's plan with bad grace. On 4 August, when Lenin informed him of the proposed division of the South-West Front, he cabled back: 'The Politburo ought not to bother with such trifles.'" After vacillating under pressure from Stalin, Kamenev finally ordered the Twelfth Army and the First Cavalry Army (the *Konarmia*) transferred on August 13—an order which Stalin, as political commissar, refused to sign. According to Davies, Stalin did not directly countermand this order, but instead "ordered the *Konarmia* on 12 August to besiege Lwów, knowing that it was due to be transferred to the West.... Was it to spite Tukhachevsky, as Trotsky and other more recent Soviet commentators have maintained? Was it to win

Crown



Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Red Army hero, victim of Stalin's terror and slander.

glory? Was it to enmesh the 'Konarmia' in an engagement from which no order of Kamenev's could extract it?... All one can say for certain is that Stalin was profoundly suspicious of the regrouping... that he did nothing to help it but that he was not guilty of open insubordination" (our emphasis). No, not open insubordination—underhanded, treacherous sabotage and subterfuge! Davies concludes by blaming Tukhachevsky for having "angered Egorov and Stalin" and attributes the Red Army's defeat at Warsaw to this "cumulative friction"! (Perhaps Trotsky too was guilty of having "angered" Stalin, his exile and assassination on Stalin's orders also the result of "cumulative friction"?)

One of the principal architects of the mechanization and scientific modernization of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky's outstanding military career is well documented. Likewise are the myriad Stalinist lies invented to justify the murder of a brilliant Red Army officer whose only crime was to present a potential threat to Stalin's power. Tukhachevsky's early military victories included the rout of the anti-Bolshevik Kronstadt Uprising in 1921—hardly the act of a "right-wing Socialist." An improbable characterization as well of his political deviations: in fact, he bent the stick

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On the Revolutionary Tendency Amendment

11 January 1983

New York, NY

To the editor:

The last issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 320, 31 December 1982], boxed in the article "Barnestown, U.S.A.," reprinted a 1963 amendment by the Revolutionary Tendency [RT] in the Socialist Workers Party to an SWP Political Committee resolution, "Preparing for the Next Wave of Radicalism in the United States." Unfortunately, no explanation was given of the significance and the circumstances in which this amendment was presented.

The PC document was the SWP Majority's domestic resolution for the SWP National Convention. It was unexceptionable, bland, and devoid of any but the most routine propagandism. The real meat for the Majority at that convention lay elsewhere: tuning up internationally with the Pablo-Mandel revisionists of the "Fourth International" in good part to be a joint cheering section for the Cuban Fidelistas and guerrillism generally. The Majority also passively enthused over the leaders of the then-current movement for black civil rights. And the Majority spent some time debating Arne Swabeck's pro-Maoism.

Meanwhile, Tim Wohlforth's Reorganized Minority Tendency—a bloc of American Healyites with the semi-syndicalist Art Phillips—presented a 49-page counterresolution advocating a half dozen massive agitational campaigns, that the party jump up and charge in all directions simultaneously. Organizing Mexicans in the Southwest, for instance, where we had

absolutely zero points of contact.

So in the light of both of the other documents, the RT, as an amendment to the Majority document, took a small paragraph about a "general propaganda offensive" and replaced it with a significant implementation section: some factory sales, looking toward industrial fractions, attention to the black movement and orienting toward building branches in the South where we had been through a lot of exploration and contact with the sit-ins and the civil rights movement. But it was rejected out of hand by the Majority at the convention. Therefore, the RT rightly refused to support either.

In part, the Mage/Robertson/White amendment was a statement that we considered ourselves a real faction of the SWP, and were quite prepared—if the Majority accepted an amendment that might well be in the spirit of the document—to vote for Majority positions on particular issues. In other words, we were not for a faction war pure and simple, right or wrong. But the Majority had other ideas and followed up the convention by our expulsion from the SWP and YSA, in which they were aided and abetted by the Healyites Wohlforth and Mazelis.

The point of the amendment today is simply that our modest, serious amendment, then denounced as sheer adventurism, looks like and is such simple sanity and rational socialist determination as compared to the gyrations, excesses and irrational actions of the current Barnesian SWP.

Comradely,
James Robertson

Black Youths Killed in Cold Blood

Cop Terror in Miami Ghetto

Black Miami erupted in rage Tuesday, December 27 when the cops shot a young black man in the head. Twenty-one-year-old Nevell Johnson, Jr., a mail clerk, was playing Pac-Man in an arcade only blocks from his home that evening. After they gunned him down, the cops tried to frame him up on the usual charges of carrying a concealed weapon, claiming they "saw a bulge in his shirt pocket," and "he made a threatening move." But Jeffrey Hoskins, Johnson's friend, recounted the real story with horror, "He never had time to say a word. They just grabbed him, spun him around and shot him." Nevell Johnson died Wednesday night. It was cold-blooded murder.

Black residents of Overtown, scores of whom witnessed this racist killing, exploded in outrage. The cops moved in to seal off and occupy a 105-block area just north of downtown and only a couple of miles from Liberty City. Another youth, 17-year-old Alonso Singleton, was gunned down by the cops outside a frozen food warehouse, and when it was all over there were two dead, 26 injured and 44 arrests. Less than a week after the cop atrocities, about a dozen hooded and robed scum from the Ku Klux Klan and their leader, Bill Wilkinson, appeared distributing their race-hate filth at a busy Miami intersection. Cops out of the ghetto! Jail the killer cops! Free the victims of the racist roundup! Fight Klan terror!

Two years ago Liberty City went up in smoke when a lily-white jury acquitted four cops of the bludgeon murder of black businessman Arthur McDuffie. The cops and the National Guard sealed off Liberty City—15 died, 300 were injured and over 1,000 were arrested in a racist dragnet. When the courts acquitted the cops who killed McDuffie they gave the racists in blue a license to kill. And the Miami police are a particularly trigger-happy, unsavory bunch. Blacks become the targets as these killers are turned loose to "clean up" the city's image for the tourist industry.

Even the conservative London *Economist* recently noticed the obvious fact, "Miami is not a good city in which to be black." The massive influx of

thousands who fled Castro's Cuba for the "promised land" has created a desperate competition for even low-paid menial jobs. Violence is a way of life on the streets as drug trafficking has become an "establishment" occupation, laundered through major banks. Overtown is only blocks from the opulent "miracle mile" shopping area. While the gusanos are greeted with open arms, black Haitians lucky enough to make it ashore in their rickety skiffs are carted off to the Krome Avenue detention center. Miami blacks are front-line victims of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. As Archie Hardwick, a spokesman for a private black action group, noted, "the U.S. government wanted to show the world that it was better here than in a communist country like Cuba," so they gave \$2 billion to the Cuban refugees and cut funds to the black community to a pittance.

After the 1980 explosion they bulldozed the rubble in Liberty City. Nothing has been done since. Small businesses took their insurance money and ran. Black youth unemployment in the ghetto is now 70 percent. Fed up, driven to the wall, blacks in Overtown exploded. However, what happened in Miami was not a social fight, but an elemental outburst. It is a measure of the despair of black America that blacks respond to injustice by putting the ghettos to the torch, even if this means getting shot, beaten and arrested by the cops. Marxists champion the defense of the black population against police terror. But mindless cheering by phony "socialists" like *Workers World* (31 December 1982), which hailed the Miami "rebellion," can only lead the black masses' struggle for freedom to a dead end. What's needed is a revolutionary program to lead the black masses in a conscious and organized political struggle aimed at destroying the root of race-terror: the capitalist system.

When Reagan was asked about Miami he replied, "Whether they're taking place there or Washington or in any place else, I just don't think there is any room for that, for violence in the streets." Well, the only violence we've seen in D.C. or Miami was the cops

Cops rampage in Miami's Overtown after blacks explode in fury over killing of youth—Cops out of the ghetto!



teargassing and beating anti-Klan demonstrators in front of the White House, killing a harmless old guy at the Washington Monument and shooting two kids in cold blood in Overtown. They were gunned down in a wanton fashion at a minimum, but so American. Reagan's warning is an ominous threat, asserting the bonapartist power of the imperialist presidency. He's saying cops can murder black youth and walk off scot-free, and the KKK race-hate terrorists can parade the streets from Washington to Miami... with the backing of the White House. And black people are just supposed to eat it.

But black people don't have to eat it. Reagan was incensed about November

27—the day thousands of black workers and youth, led by the Spartacist League (SL), stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. The bourgeois politicians and the media have engaged in an orgy of violence-baiting because they didn't like what they saw—blacks and reds together in action, backed up by the power of the labor movement, winning an important victory against the raceterrorists. Their answer: "Shoot to kill."

The black ghettos in Miami are isolated and have been taking it from all sides. The mass, independent labor/black mobilization in Washington on November 27 shows the road to victory against racist attacks. To stop cop terror, to smash the Klan/Nazis, to build militant self-defense requires a break with the Democrats and building a workers party, based on the unions and fighting for the ghetto poor. That is the Trotskyist road of black-white class struggle to overturn the capitalist system and win justice against the racist killers who maintain it. ■

Jail LAPD Killers of Larry Morris!

LOS ANGELES—The racist LAPD killers of Larry Morris are being let off scot-free. In one of L.A.'s more grotesque cop killings, Morris, a 28-year-old black man, was strangled to death in his own bathroom on 17 June 1980. The police stormed Morris' house, beat his cousin David with their batons, broke into the bathroom and choked Larry Morris to death—all on the pretense of having heard gun shots. No gun was ever found. The "shots" turned out to be firecrackers.

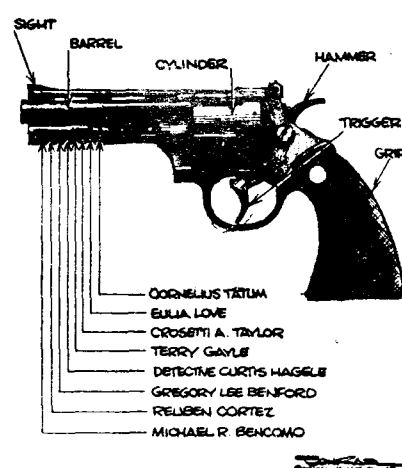
A county coroner's inquest ruled 9-to-0 that Morris died of strangulation "at the hands of another other than by accident"—a legal euphemism for cold-blooded murder. But in an unprecedented move the coroner vetoed his own inquest and certified that Morris died of heart failure. Now after two and a half years of "investigation" designed to whitewash this cop lynching, the DA's office made it official January 3: the killer cops will not be prosecuted.

The LAPD has a well-deserved reputation for racist slaughter. Larry Morris, Eulia Love, Larry Wilkins and countless others—all killed by the police in a city run by ex-cop, black mayor Tom Bradley. Impotent civilian police review boards, such as proposed by the reformist Communist Party, have changed and will change nothing. LAPD chief "Choke-hold" Gates now brazenly admits that he personally ordered massive police spying on all political "enemies," from the ACLU and Mayor Bradley to the Maoist RCP. But when ordered to destroy intelligence files the cops simply moved them from police headquarters to their homes.

What's necessary is a massive mobilization of labor and blacks against racist terror, whether it comes from the cops in blue or their friends in white sheets. The Spartacist League-initiated anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. November 27th points the way to ending cop killings

and Klan terror once and for all, through socialist revolution! Jail the cop killers of Larry Morris!

OFFICIAL L.A.P.D. REVOLVER



Which innocent black will become the next notch of LAPD terror?

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 321 14 January 1983

Ed Kartsen Speaks on National Black Radio

How We Stopped the KKK November 27

Last month the National Black Network radio program, "Night Talk," discussed the November 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C. which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the nation's capital. Moderator Bob Law spoke with Ed Kartsen, a spokesman for the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK, and a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 (NYC transit).

The discussion, which lasted three hours, touched on subjects ranging from black leadership and the role of labor to the need for a multi-racial revolutionary workers party. In order to alibi the black Democrats who wanted to let the KKK march, moderator Law resorted to scurrilous baiting of the "white left"—directed at black trade-union militants and black communists. In this he was echoing the red-baiting, race-baiting remarks by D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy who denounced "Tarzan Trotskyites" for bringing out black trade unionists and youth November 27. But for many thousands of black Washingtonians and opponents of racist terror everywhere the mobilization that stopped the KKK was a proud victory.

We print below excerpts from the December 3 program.

* * * * *

Law: I'm Bob Law, the program is "Night Talk," and we're going to talk to Ed Kartsen. He's the chairman of the rally to stop the Ku Klux Klan, and he's a member of TWU Local 100.

We want to talk about the rally that took place in Washington, D.C. We have discussed that somewhat here on "Night Talk," after looking at the press coverage of the rally and the confrontations in the street that followed the rally. We want to know what happened in the street there Saturday. But maybe we'll start back before that and talk about some of the things that were done to plan the rally. How was it that people were told about it? Who were the groups that participated, just how was the rally put together?

Kartsen: The rally was initiated by the Spartacist League. The main movement behind it initially was from the unions

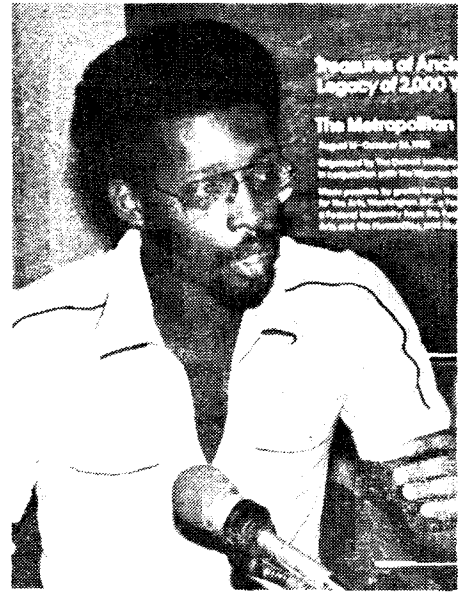
down in Norfolk and Newport News, Virginia. They in particular, since they're so close to the Washington area, were some of the first unions to drive very hard behind it.

Law: Now, the Spartacist League is a coalition of unions?

Kartsen: No, the Spartacist League is a labor/socialist organization that started the ball rolling. The Spartacist League has taken a position as part of their political program that the fascists must be stopped, that you cannot rely on any other political force to do that except labor and black people, the mobilization of the people who are the Klan's intended victims. They had been driving for a mobilization of all the labor/black

Law: What happened then? People did not just go home? What happened at that point?

Kartsen: As I said, a sense of enthusiasm grabbed the whole crowd, which decided, the streets of Washington don't belong to the Klan, the streets of Washington belong to us. The police left the barricades and people just went into the streets and marched right up to the hill where they thought the Klan was. Then somebody said, let's go where the Klan said they were going to end their march. We felt, we've stopped their march, we stopped them at their rally site, let's march their route and make sure they're not rallying even at the end point. At that point there was a march



WV Photo
Ed Kartsen, chairman of November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK.

enough to say, wait a minute, there's another side to this, they're not showing the positiveness. What can we really do to educate our young people to know this is serious business? We're talking about life and death here.

Kartsen: The young black people who came to that rally learned some history there, learned from their own actions what has to be done to stop the Klan. They saw the cops protecting the Klan, they saw the government allowing known race-terrorists to march down



WV Photo
Overwhelmingly black protest of 5,000 initiated by SL stops the KKK in Washington, D.C.

organizations involved around the Washington area. In my own union, as well, there was an attempt to mobilize forces to get down to Washington to prevent this Klan rally.

The result is that we got an enormous amount of labor and black support that mobilized that day the Klan said they were going to march, early on, [where] the Klan said they were going to start their rally. The Klan was going to demonstrate for extermination of black people, for smashing unions and centrally that day, demonstrating against foreign workers. Behind that is the [program] which they carried out ever since Reconstruction, which is to drive black people back into conditions of slavery.

The reports had been that the Klan had come out in their suits and ties, stuffing their white sheets inside of bags somewhere, and came out to show they could be on the streets with the police surrounding. It was finally announced—the police found it would be impossible for them to march down the streets with the Ku Klux Klan, with so many people out there outraged against the Ku Klux Klan. So they announced the Ku Klux Klan was not going to march. That sense of victory captured the whole crowd—it was indescribable—I've never seen it before in any rally.

all along the streets. The head of the rally was the Labor/Black Mobilization Against the Klan; it was a spontaneous march all the way up to Lafayette Park.

Law: You were up to the point where the confrontations broke out. Now, precisely why did that happen?

Kartsen: The march was enthusiastic and chanting all the way, "We Stopped the Klan!" We got to the rally site and continued to chant there. The only violence that I saw was on the part of the police firing tear gas in the perimeters of the demonstration. You see, the point is really that the main success was ignored, which was the Klan was stopped from marching down the streets of Washington. That was something that they hadn't been able to do since 1925. To allow them to do it today, when Reagan is carrying out the Klan program in the White House, would have meant a tremendous escalation of violence in this country.

Law: Okay, we're going to open the phones. We're going to take a call from Passaic, New Jersey.

Caller: I'm 31, so I basically grew up with the knowledge of the violence and the genocide the Klan plans against our people. I was very disturbed over what I saw on the media. And knowing the media and how they cover us and our problems, I was at least intelligent

the streets. They wouldn't allow any other terrorists to walk down the streets, believe me, but the Klan terrorists were allowed to do that. That's an educational experience. And it has to be codified in the organizing of a revolutionary party, organizing a workers party that will fight for a workers government in this country.

Law: We'll take another call, from New York City. This is "Night Talk," you're on the air.

Caller: I'm with the Spartacus Youth League, and I was at the demonstration in Washington. A point that has to be made is that black people in this country can't count on the Democratic Party, whether it's a black face in the Democratic Party or a white face. Because you have a black mayor, Marion Barry, and this black Congressman in Washington, Fauntroy, and these people just stood by and did nothing....

Law: Let me ask you this, what would you have had the mayor do? What did his powers allow him to do?

Caller: Well, what he did was send out the cops in order to surround the anti-fascist fighters, and protect the Klansmen. And the program of Fauntroy was to ignore the Klan.

Law: I understand that. I'm saying, what would you have had a Congress-

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man do, what can a Congressman do about the Klan marching in Washington?

Caller: Here's the point. These people are tied in with the system, okay? They're the people that were in power when Greensboro happened and these Klan killers got off scot-free. It's the Democratic Party which these people are a part of and the point I'm trying to make is that you need independent mobilizations. And you have the other example, of Coleman Young in Detroit. Now, we organized a demonstration a couple of years ago in Detroit, and Coleman Young did everything to harass and threaten arrests of the anti-Klan demonstrators.

Law: Since Marion Barry is not here, or Coleman Young, let me just raise some of the opposition to white leftist organizations coming into the black community.... The left has a history of involvement in the black community that has been characterized by many as exploitation of black workers. If you're talking about Coleman Young, if you look at a black mayor, there are a number of people in the country who say that one of the things that we should do in the cities where we can is to elect black mayors. That there's still some goods and services that come through the mayor's office, there's still some decisions that are being made by elected officials that affect the quality of life for black folk, and where we ought to have a black mayor. And everybody's pretty much agreed and understands that the position of black mayor is one of limited power. So the question becomes, do we go to Detroit and then act like we are surprised when the mayor acts like a mayor, is that a legitimate criticism?

Kartsen: I'd say one thing about this question of Coleman Young: how far do you have to sell your black political soul to the Democratic Party?

Law: If you ignore the white left, does that constitute selling your soul to the Democratic Party?

Kartsen: When you say white and black left, already we're getting involved in accepting the categories of white and black separation. Which is a reality, this is a segregated country. The only time that black and white people mostly get together, and have to work in tight dependence upon each other, is in the factories. These are the points of integration. And these are the points about which blacks and whites have to struggle together and unite in a disciplined fashion, otherwise be divided and crushed separately. I think the question is not black or white left, I think the real question is one of the elimination of black oppression, of segregation. And doing that not in terms of accepting the already existing power structure, which is what the black elected officials must do if they join the Democratic Party, which is controlled by white, multi-

billion dollar outfits. That's the thing that constrains the black politician in the Democratic Party, he must fight for the political and economic interests of capitalism in this country.

You notice that Metzger, who was Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, won the Democratic Party nomination in California. How is it possible that on the one hand you can have the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan running and at the same time have somebody claiming to defend black people in the same political organization. The Democratic Party is an obstacle. That's the problem with these black elected officials. They have betrayed black people by opposing these demonstrations.

Law: The point is that when you make a political analysis of where the failures are, the failure's in the system not responding to the question of justice. It's not a black failure. The criticism of elected officials, as though it is black politicians who are responsible for the system not responding correctly, is not simply unfair, it is politically incorrect.



Lustig/Washington Post

Washington Mayor Marion Barry (left) ran out of town when Klan arrived. Congressman Walter Fauntroy baited anti-Klan protesters as "Tarzan Trotskyites."

Kartsen: Maybe that's something that gets to the core of where we differ. I would say, a betrayer of black people is someone who betrays the interests of the people who they've asked for their votes and said they would fight for. Now, a white member of the left, or a white worker, or for that matter Latino or any other, who united around the interests of us all—that is the interests of the exploited, working-class people and oppressed people—you're talking about fighting for the interests of black people. And the program of fighting for the interest of the oppressed—black liberation through socialist revolution—captures exactly what the strategy has to be. Those who want some moderation of that must find themselves in political betrayal, inevitably. The [Congressional] Black Caucus for example, many members have found themselves opposing anti-Klan demonstrations.

You see, what happened in Washington was something that was new altogether on the 27th. Different from

what happened in the civil rights movement, in the sense that not only did you have black people on the streets, but you had organized labor out there with tremendous social force and social power. You talk about turning around the situation in this country—labor during the '30s, as we all know, took over whole factories, whole cities, provided the spark for what could have been a complete social overturn of capitalism in this country. So when we talk about a leadership, we're talking about a political organization that can back up a program that fights for the interests and rights of working-class people and all the oppressed. That's what this demonstration in Washington is the spark for. As one of the callers said, it doesn't stop there and it can't stop there.

Law: We're going to take a call from KPRF in Kansas City. Ed Kartsen is on your phone, you're on the air.

Caller: First of all, I agree with the aim of his organization here, of "Stop the Klan," this type of thing. Your guest is a



WV Photo

member of TWU, which is a labor union. I look at the effect of labor unions on black people. If you look at the executive structure of IAM there are very few blacks, probably none. So I think that black people are being misled by the Democratic Party, they're also being misled by labor unions.

Kartsen: I'd agree with you that the leadership of the trade-union movement has been willfully inadequate with respect to not only taking a stand on black issues, which involve a tremendous number of their membership, but they have also shown contempt toward the interests of their white members as well. You must have heard about so many of the sellouts and givebacks that have occurred throughout this country. It is pitiful. There has to be a fight for the correct leadership inside the trade unions, the election of leaders that are going to stand on defense of the interests of workers against the bosses and to utilize the power.

Caller: Too many blacks in this country feel that there's a split between management and labor. They don't realize that the president of the TWU or the IAM on weekends plays golf with the president of General Electric. And I still think that black people in this country are still pawns, no matter whether you're in management, no matter whether you're in the union.

Kartsen: There I disagree strongly. What you've got in this country between labor and management is a sharp difference, a sharp clash. And I'm talking about the interests of the massive numbers of exploited workers versus management, which have taken a beating lately, particularly under Reagan. The attacks on unemployment, the destruction of PATCO, can be viewed as nothing else but war on labor.

Law: Let me just ask this, though. PATCO, before Reagan double-crossed them, thought that they had a lot in common. They didn't see any difference between what Reagan stood for and what they stood for, and they in fact were supportive of him.

Kartsen: There's a difference in the

mentality of the politically backwards leadership of the trade-union movement and the trade-union movement itself. In other words, these guys, although they're corrupt and may play golf with people on the executive boards of the corporations, nonetheless, the existence of the trade unions is an organization of protection of the workers against what would otherwise be nothing but brutal exploitative attacks by the company against labor. What we need is a militant leadership of the trade unions, which has to center on the blacks in the industrial trade unions. Because the blacks happen to have a political sense and a political history of the exploitation in this country, much less illusions about the American Dream.

Law: We'll take a call from Newark, New Jersey. This is "Night Talk," you're on the air.

Caller: To me, if you want to talk about terrorism, you have the FBI in this country, you got the Mafia, you got the Ku Klux Klan. And in every town you will go into in the United States of America, the police attempt to put fear, especially into people of color. It's odd to me that an organization would like to stop the KKK, when you have other terrorists....

Law: What would you have him do instead?

Caller: Well, you can't stop the Klan, because as long as you are living in this integrated society, it's racism. We will never be able to stop the Klan, so therefore what we have to do is separate. If they don't want to send us back to Africa where we come from, like the Messenger said, let us live in separation, give us some land and territory even in this country.

Kartsen: The Ku Klux Klan cannot be stopped? Well, I'll tell you something, they were stopped on November 27. They did not march down the streets of Washington. The value of that demonstration can be measured in terms of lives, of black people's lives, of trade-union organizers' lives. I reject this concept of defeatism which can only perpetuate black people's sense of impotency, of inability to fight and struggle.

Caller: Well, you had the Black Panthers in the '60s, correct? All right, the United States government with all its police forces went to the extreme to stop their movement. And as far as any other black organizations that were about liberation for black people—they have been destroyed. Well, why should we want to continue to be Americanized, brother?

Kartsen: Why should we continue to be the victims of racial oppression, or victims of racist terror? What I'm saying is what is needed most urgently today is the sense that you can fight to change things. You don't have to accept the Ku Klux Klan. You don't have to accept exploitation. You don't have to accept Reagan and Reaganomics. You don't have to accept a future of extermination.

Law: It seems to me what Ed Kartsen is saying is that the Klan exists right now, 1982, the Klan exists and the Klan is participating in racist murderous acts. And we cannot tolerate another murder, we cannot tolerate another hour of terrorism. There is an absolute need to protect our communities right now. And I don't think that need can be ignored. I mean, these brothers didn't "want" to be in Washington on November 27. That wasn't a hip idea, that was a requirement of history.

We're going back to the phone, we'll take a call from New York City.

Caller: You know, they're pouring all this money into the military. And it's obvious to me, it should be obvious to a duck, this society just can't support 10-11 million people unemployed. Consequently, we're going to be involved in a war to cut down some of the numbers

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SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office

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

Ann Arbor

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

Berkeley/Oakland

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

Boston

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

Champaign

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

Chicago

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

Cleveland

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

Detroit

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

Houston

Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles

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

Madison

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

New York

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

Norfolk

P.O. Box 1972
Main P.O.
Norfolk, VA 23501
(804) 543-4300

San Francisco

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

Washington, D.C.

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

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

Moral Majority Witchhunt Against Gay Activists

Defend NAMBLA!

The FBI, the repressive apparatus of the state, is leading the "Legions of Decency"—the anti-homosexual bigots and bashers from the local vice squad, the Moral Majority bible-thumpers and a titillated media, the liberal moralizers of every sort and feminist book-burners along with the self-appointed arbiters of "healthy and unhealthy sex"—in a vengeful crusade against a small group of homosexual activists. The witch-hunters have whipped up a campaign of smear, set-up for violence, arrests and worse against NAMBLA—the North American Man/Boy Love Association. NAMBLA proclaims its purpose as defending the civil rights of "men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships with each other." For the witchhunters this makes NAMBLA and its members easy targets for persecution and prosecution on "kidnapping" slanders and phony charges of "child molestation" as the reactionary age-of-consent laws recognize no possibility of consensual sex between men and youth.

As is often the case, the reactionaries have launched this dangerous and vicious COINTELPRO-type operation under the banner of protecting children. It is a banner used most spectacularly for similar purpose in Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual "Save Our Children" campaign a few years ago. And in Reagan's America the crusade against

teenage sexuality goes on at fever pitch: attacks on the availability of birth control, abortion and even the miserable sex education provided in some schools. The right-to-lifers and fundamentalists see themselves as front-line soldiers in the sexual "counterrevolu-



SL opposes reactionary age-of-consent laws. WV Photo

tion" to restore the public morality of the family allegedly so disrupted during the "liberated" 1960s.

Over the last month the ongoing harassment and persecution of NAMBLA members has increased sharply. Members have been arrested on wild, trumped-up charges. The cops have broken into their homes. They have

been beaten. Documents have been seized. It is all part of what the FBI calls its "investigation" of NAMBLA.

On December 3, Massachusetts and New Jersey cops burst into a private Cape Cod cottage in Wareham, Massachusetts and arrested three NAMBLA members. David Groat (28), Brett Portman (26) and Harold Baker (17) were charged with having sex with "minors" (a 13-year-old who was visiting the cottage and a 16-year-old youth). Also, the cops made phony "child pornography" charges. Groat and Baker have been jailed, Portman is out on bail. Harold Baker just 18 months ago was named as an "innocent victim" in another case, now he is by law a "dirty old" teenage criminal.

NAMBLA reports that Groat, who is the former coordinator of NAMBLA, has been set up by the jail guards to be repeatedly beaten by inmates who were told he was a "child molester." Once he was beaten to unconsciousness, and had his teeth knocked out. At the request of Groat's attorney, in response to the beatings, he has been transferred to a psychiatric hospital (*Gay Community News*, 18 December 1982).

To justify this witchhunt, the cops and feds concocted a phony "connection" between NAMBLA and the much-publicized disappearance of six-year-old Etan Patz, missing since May 1979 from his home in the SoHo section of

New York City. The cops claimed that in the December 3 raid on the private home they and the press call a "NAMBLA chapter," they discovered a photograph that "looked like" Etan Patz.

The media swung into slanderous action on the Etan Patz disinformation. "Did Sex Club Trap This Boy?" asked Boston's *Herald American* (20 December 1982) in two-inch headlines. The *New York Post* (29 December 1982) did its part headlining a quote from a Long Island D.A.: "Man-Boy Network Preys on Kids." And it wasn't only the scandal-mongering tabloids which pushed the lie of "porno ring" and prostitution-kidnapping "network" against NAMBLA. The hysteria found a shrill voice in the respectable *New York Times* (28 December 1982) in a particularly vile piece by Sydney Schanberg. He tries to frame up NAMBLA for the Etan Patz kidnapping with a sinister picture painted with pure bigotry:

"And if Etan who would now be 10, has been drawn underground, as is suspected, into a homosexual organization known as the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), he could have been moved clandestinely by now to any city or town in the country.... Does this support network include kidnapping 6-year-olds? In the name of what twisted idea of sexual freedom can anyone justify as 'benevolent' the criminal taking of a first-grade boy from his parents?"

"What was Mr. Groat doing with the picture that so mirrors Etan?" demands Schanberg. The beaten and jailed Groat must know something. "Since Mr. Groat refused to help find Etan, perhaps someone should lose the key to his cell forever."

At a December 28 press conference in
continued on page 14

Return Kid to Leftist Mother!

Anti-Communist Kidnapping

On December 21, San Mateo County (California) Superior Court judge Gerald Regan ruled that Tina Stevenson, a supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), would get her 11-year-old daughter Riva back at the end of the school year after a two year custody battle. Regan's ruling reversed an August 1981 decision by commissioner James Browning that granted the father, Ted Fishman, temporary custody because of alleged neglect. This was a government-sanctioned kidnapping in pursuit of an anti-communist legal vendetta against a left-wing political activist. It should never have happened in the first place! Riva should be returned to her mother immediately!

Tina Stevenson and her youngest daughter Riva lived in Chicago. Fishman, Stevenson's ex-husband, who already has custody of an elder daughter, hid his plan to file for a change of Riva's custody until she was in California for a visit two years ago. Judge James Browning approved Fishman's request to grant him temporary custody on the grounds that "an emergency situation due to neglect does exist." The motivation was explicitly political. Tina Stevenson was declared an "unfit" mother because of her radical political beliefs. Fishman's petition states:

"Ernestine has become more and more involved in political activities, specifically those of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the U.S.A., a Chicago based political organization advocating the violent overthrow of the present government of this country. Ernestine's political activities of recent date have all been to the detriment of our daughter...."

And attached to the petition was an article about the felony charges against Tina stemming from the Washington,

D.C. "Mao Defendants" case.

In his ruling Browning admitted that Riva, a straight-A student, was "unquestionably well cared for." But he argued that Tina Stevenson had withheld the more "intangible aspects of parenting," has "a preoccupation with interests other than parenting," and that the court could take Riva away simply because her mother faced felony charges. Judge Browning's message is clear: a woman's place is in the home... and certainly not in a cell meeting! Browning rejected the testimony of a court-appointed social worker who argued no emergency situation existed and instead allegedly based his decision chiefly on the testimony of Riva. This after a previous ruling which awarded Stevenson custody in the first place noted Fishman's attempts to line up the children against their mother!

The state has tried to deny the political character of this punitive campaign and claims that it is the amount of time Tina spends away from home that makes her an unfit mother. But what really bugs them is what she does when she's away from home. If Ms. Stevenson spent her time with the PTA, the girl scouts, or the church there'd be no custody case. Jack Murphy, Fishman's attorney, laid the cards on the table: "The woman can't be trusted because she has no values; she doesn't believe in the system." The threat to take children away from left-wing, homosexual or interracial households is a particularly vicious form of blackmail. If they can take Tina Stevenson's child, any parent could be next. Keep the bourgeois state out of people's private affairs!

The legal kidnapping of Riva Fish-

man is a direct outgrowth of the "Mao Defendants" case. In January 1979, Tina Stevenson was arrested along with 78 others after a clash with the police at a demonstration in Washington, D.C. protesting the state visit of Chinese deputy prime minister Deng Xiaoping, only days after the RCP's adventurist/provocative attack on the Chinese embassy. Tina and ten others faced trial on federal felony charges. Bob Avakian, the megalomaniacal leader of the politically berserk Mao loyalists of the RCP, fled to France and sought (unsuccessfully) political refugee status. After a three-and-a-half-year legal battle the government dropped all charges against Avakian (who remains in France), and Tina and the other defendants pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges. Tina was fined \$50 and given three months probation. After the D.C. trial one of the federal prosecutors told her, "You'll pay in your own flesh and blood for this."

This is clearly a political vendetta orchestrated by the government. In the custody hearing, collaboration between Fishman's attorney and the federal prosecutors of the "Mao Defendants" was admitted. Judge Browning, who initially ruled in Fishman's favor, was an active agent in COINTELPRO operations against left-wing organizations in the 1970s, including the Revolutionary Union (RU), predecessor of the RCP. As Nixon's head U.S. attorney in Northern California he prosecuted draft resisters, tried to send Panther leader David Hilliard to prison for allegedly threatening the life of President Nixon, and presided over the FBI break-in operations which targeted the RU. Browning was eventually forced to

disqualify himself from this case because he was "too close." In October 1981, Tina's probation officer was removed because he wrote a brief against taking the child. The newly assigned officer, Dan Daugherty, made clear the political motives of the government in his interrogation of Tina: "Are you second in command of the RCP, if not who is? What is the guarantee that you won't take Riva and go to France, after all Bob Avakian is in France and he is your leader?"

The government-sanctioned kidnapping of Tina Stevenson's child is an outrage. There's a history to this politically motivated child snatching. In 1980, the U.S. government grabbed 12-year-old Walter Polovchak (the freckle-faced baby dissident who didn't want to leave his bicycle) from his parents when they wanted to return to the Soviet Union, and made him a cause célèbre in its anti-Soviet campaign. Ordinarily the bourgeois state tries to enforce the values and norms of the nuclear family on everybody. But when it comes to reds, they break up the family as a cruel means of victimization. ■

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The Strange Case of Provocateur Alan Gelfand

Healyite Slanders and SWP Cowards

We reprint below an exchange of correspondence between the Spartacist League (SL) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP was for 35 years the Trotskyist organization in this country, but in the early 1960s it abandoned Trotskyism in all but name and, passing rapidly through centrism, transformed itself into an eccentric reformist formation.

In our last issue, *WV* explored the internal wrangling now at an advanced stage in the SWP (see "Barnestown, U.S.A.," *WV* No. 320, 31 December 1982). We laid particular emphasis on SWP head Jack Barnes' ongoing purge of survivors of the old revolutionary party, noting that the SWP's decisive break from Trotskyism did not automatically expunge all aspects of human and organizational continuity with the old party:

"Long after the Trotskyist content was gone, some elements of basic organizational competence and professionalism still functioned... something that could still organize a demonstration, write a polemic, co-opt an opponent, run a defense case...."

We noted that the "age purge" process unleashed by Barnes, particularly following the death of SWP revisionist theoretician Joseph Hansen in 1979, had systematically destroyed those residues, citing in particular "the very strange case of Alan Gelfand" as a demonstration of the hard-to-believe ineptness of today's SWP.

Alan Gelfand is a lawyer and a political agent of the Gerry Healy group, an unstable and sinister British-based tendency which after years of shamelessly opportunist political banditry jumped from the ranks of the workers movement into the political service of certain Arab governments. In 1979 Gelfand sued the SWP in federal court.

The very strange case of Alan Gelfand began in 1977 when Gelfand surfaced in the Los Angeles SWP as a mouthpiece for Healy's "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign against the SWP. The campaign, launched in the Healyite press in 1975, claimed the central leaders of the SWP were actually long-time agents of the capitalist and Stalinist secret police. In particular, the slander campaign targeted Joseph Hansen, who had served as secretary to Leon Trotsky in Mexico, as an "accomplice" to the assassination of Trotsky by the Stalinist GPU in 1940.

Healy's loathsome lies—echoing the discredited Stalinist tales that Trotsky's murder was carried out by his own people—were an assault not only against the SWP of today but against the revolutionary past of the SWP whose Trotskyist work we claim as part of our own history. So the Spartacist

Socialist Workers Party

14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014 • 212/242-5530

October 28, 1982

Spartacist League
c/o Rachel Wolkenstein
299 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

This is in response to your letter, postmarked October 21, which has been referred to me for reply.

The Socialist Workers Party will not provide any assistance to the Spartacist League.

Craig Gannon

Craig Gannon
Socialist Workers Party

SWP stonewalls on Gelfand provocation.

League campaigned actively against Healy's slanders, including picketing Healyite meetings with signs demanding, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?"

Much of Healy's smear campaign centered on Hansen's role as a main SWP contact with the bourgeois authorities in the investigation of Trotsky's murder. This confidential work, testifying to Hansen's position of trust in the Trotskyist movement, constituted the core of Healy's "evidence." In 1975-76 Hansen published point-by-point refutations of Healy's claims as well as statements of support from prominent left political spokesmen (including Spartacist national chairman James Robertson), veterans of the Trotskyist movement of Trotsky's time, etc. These materials effectively laid Healy's baseless slanders to rest.

Indeed Healy's "evidence," where there is any, itself refutes Healy's claims. For example, prominently featured in the Healyites' press was a letter from Hansen to the American Consul in Mexico City (regarding the Trotskyists' attempts to unravel the identity of Trotsky's assassin). Healy claims that this shows secret contact between Hansen and the FBI behind the backs of the SWP. Unfortunately for Healy, Hansen's letter gives as his return address 116 University Place in New York—which was at the time the SWP's own national headquarters!

The Gelfand lawsuit is the latest round in Healy's scurrilous, paranoid vendetta. In January 1979 the SWP discovered to its horror that Gelfand had filed a "friend of the court" brief in the SWP's own lawsuit against the FBI. Gelfand was hastily expelled from the

SWP on January 11. He then brought suit against the SWP charging the expulsion resulted from FBI control of the party, and citing all of Healy's crazy lies to "prove" it. Gelfand's suit claims the government has the right to intervene in the internal life of left organizations, ostensibly to enforce their adherence to their own rules. It would be difficult to overstate the danger posed by this case, which if upheld would give the capitalist state a license to "regulate" the internal life of working-class organizations. That in this case the disgruntled ex-"member" was from the outset evidently a Healyite plant only adds insult to injury.

Nothing to Cover Up, But SWP Covers Up Anyway

The uninformed observer might imagine that the SWP, in elementary self-defense, would seek broad support for its rights and its good name in this important legal case, much as Hansen did when Healy's "accomplice" smear first started. But the uninformed observer would be reckoning without Jack Barnes' singular capacity for political stupidity. Incredibly, the SWP's public press has said *not one single word* about the Gelfand case since it began! Apparently Barnes & Co. made a deliberate decision to treat the lawsuit as some kind of guilty secret—as if Healy's threadbare lies were impossible to answer. This is a crime not only against the members of the SWP but against the late Joe Hansen and all the founding Trotskyist leaders whose reputations are being dragged through the mud. The SWP's failure to mount a vigorous public counterattack aimed at mobilizing support against Gelfand's provoca-

tion is equally a crime against all working-class organizations, who have the right and duty to smash Gelfand's precedent for government snooping and witchhunting against the left.

In August 1982, the newspaper of the American Healyites, the *Bulletin*, gleefully reported that the SWP's motion for summary judgment in the Gelfand case had been denied. In October 1982 attorney Rachel Wolkenstein on behalf of the SL wrote to the SWP asking for information enabling us to cover the lawsuit in our own press. We think the letter speaks for itself, as does the SWP's two-sentence reply to us.

The SL's expressed interest in the case probably helped the SWP to figure out that the issue could not be buried forever. In any case, the SWP National Committee plenum held in early December was embarrassedly self-critical about the public silence. The SWP finally made some public acknowledgment of the case at the convention of its youth group held in Chicago over New Year's. But incredibly, the report did not mention the Healyites at all, much less their years-long slander campaign against Hansen. If ever a policy were guaranteed to lend credence to Healy's baseless slanders, this is it.

Instead of covering over the "Healy connection," the SWP should acquaint the American radical public with Healy's long and sordid history of going to the capitalist courts against his political opponents. In England right now, Healy is pursuing a vicious two-year legal effort to muzzle and bankrupt a small socialist current on the fringes of the Labour Party, the "Socialist Organiser" grouping of Sean Matgamna. Taking exception to some hostile political characterizations of the Healy organization which appeared in a January 1981 *Socialist Organiser* article, Healy simply sued for "libel" under Britain's draconian libel laws. When Matgamna complained, the Healyites gave the rich man's answer, coyly suggesting the little group should hire itself some good barristers.

The SWP is unfortunately not unique in its criminally sectarian refusal to mount an aggressive public defense against legal provocation. Progressive Labor (PL), the target of a vicious civil suit by the Los Angeles police, similarly rejects the support of other left organizations, all of whom have a stake in a PL victory over this assault on their existence and rights.

One doesn't have to agree with or even like the SWP or PL to recognize the need for substantial and urgent support in these important cases. In this spirit, we are publishing the Wolkenstein letter and the SWP's reply for the information of our readers.

Rachel H. Wolkenstein
Attorney at Law
299 Broadway
New York, New York

October, 1982

Shelly Davis
Attorney at Law
Socialist Workers Party
410 West Street
New York, New York

Re: *Gelfand vs. SWP et al.*

Dear Ms. Davis:

In my telephone conversation with you on 5 October 1982 I requested access to and a copy of the public court record of *Gelfand vs. SWP, et al.* This

request was made on behalf of the Spartacist League/U.S. and the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). Although this record is available to the public from the federal court clerk in Los Angeles, California, given the location and volume of the file, I thought it expeditious to try to secure access to and a copy of the court record from your office. Additionally, I have since learned that permission is needed from one of the attorneys on the lawsuit to gain access to the depositions taken of the Socialist Workers Party defendants. Of course, I offered to pay all costs for copying.

Your response, after consultation with your client, was to inform me that

the request must be "made in writing, on official letterhead, containing the reasons for the request." Since those reasons were given to you in our phone conversation, I am perplexed as to the rationale for this prerequisite to determining whether you will assist the Spartacist League/iSt in obtaining access to the *Gelfand* court record. However, because of the seriousness of the issues posed by this lawsuit, compelling the Spartacist League/iSt to take a stand, the reasons for this request are restated herein.

The Spartacist League/iSt became aware of the gravity of this lawsuit after the appearance of an article in the August 6, 1982 issue of the *Bulletin*

stating that a Federal District Court judge denied the Socialist Workers Party defendants' motion for summary judgment. Reportedly, the court held this case for trial after finding factual support for Gelfand's claim that his expulsion from the SWP was due to government manipulation and control of the SWP.

It is apparent that Gelfand's case was instituted and is financed by the Workers League/Workers Revolutionary Party/International Committee of the Fourth International. This lawsuit is a continuation of Gerry Healy's vicious slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, accusing him of having been an

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Whither the SWP?

Barnes Denounces Trotskyism

"Trotskyism, that term itself, I predict, none of us will call ourselves before this decade's out. In fact, if I'm right that what Trotskyism originated as was a fake term by the Stalinists... Trotskyism as such doesn't have much value as a term."

—Jack Barnes,
31 December 1982

On New Year's eve, at a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) public meeting in Chicago, SWP head Jack Barnes finally declared outright what has been the reality for two decades: the SWP is not the Trotskyist party in this country. Barnes announced that "80 percent of those on a world scale who call themselves Trotskyists... are hopeless, irreformable sectarians." Barnes' two and a half hour speech, delivered as the highlight of the annual convention of the SWP's youth group, centered on a barrage of attacks on the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution: "The permanent revolution, if these things are true, is not a correct generalization, or an adequate one, or one that doesn't open up more problems than it solves..." By "these things," Barnes referred to his idea of a "fusion" with the "revolutionaries" of the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the Grenadan New Jewel Movement, the Salvadoran and Cuban Communist Parties (CPs). "We are not Trotskyists..." Barnes revealed, and truer words have never passed his lips.

We must stop here to alert our readers to the fact that our quotations from Barnes' speech cannot be up to our usual standard of accuracy, thanks to the SWP having excluded our known observers from the meeting. For the first time in years, the SL was not permitted an observer in the youth conference; one of the first points on the agenda was a proposal to exclude the SL, lumping us together with the dubious Workers League (which presently subordinates itself to squalid anti-working-class Near Eastern military and religious dictatorships and which is presently engaged in attacking the SWP through the capitalist courts—see material on the Alan Gelfand case in this issue). The exclu-



Like the Stalinists, SWP falsifies Leninism to attack Trotskyism.

sion was motivated by the claim the SL had tried to "disrupt the convention by passing out their leaflet and selling their newspaper"! Barnes' public talk was attended by about 1200, about 400 more than participated in the youth convention itself.

It will not be news to regular readers of *WV* that the reformist SWP is not Trotskyist. The Spartacist League, as the authentic Trotskyists of this country, has dealt extensively in our press with the key programmatic positions defining the SWP politically as a reformist party, from its calls for U.S. aid to Nicaragua (fully in harmony with the imperialist liberals who fear Reagan's intransigence will force the Sandinistas down "the Cuban road") to its opposition to militant mobilizations based on the power of labor and minorities to stop fascist terror here at home. But we have been rather negligent in commenting on the "theoretical" disputes of SWP ideologues over "Trotskyism," which have about the character of Stalinist discussions about Leninism—the grotesque perversion of the revolutionary thrust in the service of reformist appetite.

But for any party the explicit renunciation of long-standing "isms" is

a significant event and an unusual one. Organizations whose lip-service to Marxist tradition has been long since emptied of content nonetheless shy away from outright renunciation of their claims to "continuity." Take the furor of the last several years inside various West European CPs over the explicit dropping of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." In real political line, displayed a thousand ways, the craven reformist CPs have had for decades utterly nothing to do with the Leninist program of proletarian class power. Yet the repudiation of "d of the p" by the Spanish CP, for example, was nevertheless a real political event, brought on by the heightening of Cold War tensions which made pro-Moscow parties, no matter how slavishly reformist and social-patriotic in fact, unacceptable participants in capitalist "coalition" governments.

Even an organization on a vastly smaller scale, like the SWP, ordinarily possesses a considerable stake in its historic "labels," particularly since the SWP has been in the Trotskyist business—first in political fact and then as an empty label—for upwards of 50 years. The explicit anti-Trotskyism of the living thought of Jack Barnes will cost something. In the SWP right now there are two distinct, substantial right-wing minorities looking for a way out of Barnestown. Perhaps Barnes welcomes their further alienation as saving him the trouble of some expulsions. But even among the hardened Barnesite reformists of the majority, now rather desperately tailing after local Stalinists and radical-nationalists, some elements surely maintain a programmatically empty sentimental attachment to Trotskyism; there are Pathfinder Publishers' Trotsky books which have brought in considerable revenues; there are surely some older ex-members who have continued supporting the SWP financially under the illusion it maintained some continuity with the organization they remember.

Then there's the tricky question of the SWP's relations with its European bloc partners of the "United Secretariat" (Usec), with whom the SWP has been in an almost constant state of war during the 20 years of SWP/Usec fraternal

association. Hostilities are presently at fever pitch, and Barnes now explicitly writes the Usec off in declaring that 80 percent of the world's "Trotskyists" are hopeless sectarians. While Barnes certainly shouldn't mind splitting with these "hopeless" people, his explicit attack on Trotskyism provides them with unhopd-for polemical ammunition.

"The Transition Years"

Jack Barnes has ruled the SWP with an increasingly iron hand since the mid-1960s. He has consolidated his control particularly against remaining party old-timers, with tactics ranging from the use of "emeritus" status to get older leaders off the National Committee to conspicuous sneering at the idea of listening to party veterans' reservations about his organizationally adventurist ideas of union "tactics."

As the SWP's machine-boss leader, Barnes' first contributions to SWP "theory" tended to consist mainly of slogans systematizing the SWP's reformist program, along the lines of "if you like feminism, you'll love socialism." But following the death of Joseph Hansen in 1979, Barnes emerged as the international "theoretician" of his party. Now Barnes' "new" creative contributions (actually, they are old, old menshevist/Stalinist attacks on Trotskyism) are making their appearance in earnest.

Earlier signs included especially the recent articles by Barnesite hack Doug Jenness denouncing Trotsky's analysis of the 1917 Russian October Revolution, as well as some provocative symbolic acts. For example, the list of revolutionaries in the youth convention brochure was: Marx, Engels, Lenin—no Trotsky. Or take Barnes' description (*SWP Internal Bulletin* No. 1 in 1982, September 1982) of upcoming titles in Farrell Dobbs' series on "Revolutionary Continuity": according to Barnes, Part III covering the years through 1959 is to be titled "The Trotskyist Years," while the next volume will be "The Transition Years."

Transition to what, you may well ask. In exchange for what influence, to conciliate what allies, does Barnes undertake the tricky business of explicitly disavowing Trotskyism? "Every time a party fuses with other parties it itself changes, and that's the road forward," says Barnes. That Barnes' eccentric, shrinking formation is in the mood for a "fusion" we don't doubt—but with whom?

Barnes' target, according to his New Year's eve speech, is Central America, "where the most important thinking in the world is going on." Barnes' modest proposal is for a "common world Marxist movement" comprising the SWP and the Central American "revolutionary" forces. And who are they? Well, there's the government of Nicaragua, the radical-nationalist Sandinistas whose program of conciliating the "anti-Somoza capitalists" in a "mixed economy" runs smack up against the necessity to break the social power of the capitalist class in Nicaragua, particularly in the face of U.S. provocation and

Preserve the Trotskyist Heritage!

Dear archivally-minded comrades in and around the SWP,

Our research library has substantial archival holdings of the early American Communist Party and American Trotskyism, but with significant gaps. We are highly interested in obtaining more of and preserving this material, especially since much of it was originally published only in poor-quality mimeograph or faint carbon copy.

Our collection of early Trotskyist Political Committee and Plenum minutes is fairly complete from 1931-1936, but has major gaps in the 1936-1956 period. From 1956-1964 our collection is substantial, but with significant omissions. While the

library has 95+ percent of the English-language *Internal* and *International* bulletins of the Trotskyist movement, we are missing some, especially in the 1940-1942 period. We have a selection of the letters exchanged between Cannon, Dunne and Cochran in 1938 concerning key trade-union issues. We lack the mimeographed material which was circulated by American Trotskyists from March to August 1937, during the entry into the SP.

Xeroxes of the originals are for us nearly as satisfactory as the originals themselves. Please contact us.

Prometheus Research Library
Box 185, Canal St. Station
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the regionalization of the Central American insurgency. Then there's the Castro regime in Cuba, which as an article of Barnesite faith is defined as bearing no resemblance to the Stalinist sellouts in Russia—this despite the fact that the Cuban and Russian Stalinist regimes demonstrably agree on just about everything. And let's not forget El Salvador, where Barnes' "revolutionaries worthy of the name" are the CP: a month ago, the SWP announced internally Barnes' discovery that the BPR faction of Cayetano Carpio (which the SWP, along with the Marcyites and others, had been assiduously courting all this time) was less "proletarian" than the CP wing.

The question of power is posed in Central America as the sadistic oligarchies backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism are confronted in one country after another with popular rebellions. The Nicaraguan leaders temporize with the "patriotic" bourgeoisie and seek to placate the Pentagon by refusing to provide arms to the Salvadoran insurgents; the Salvadoran leaders' perspective is a negotiated "political solution" which would rob the plebeian masses of the victory they are fighting and dying for; the Cuban leaders alibi their support to "progressive" military juntas from Peru to Brazil with the argument that Latin America is not "ready for socialism." These nationalists and Stalinists, in the illusion of pacifying U.S. imperialism, are only setting the Central American masses up for popular-frontist tragedies like Allende's "peaceful road" in Chile, which infuriated the domestic capitalists and militarists (and the multinationals and the CIA) without decisively breaking their power, thereby paving the way for General Pinochet's bloodbath. To be sure, American imperialist warmongering has the Central American left ideologues talking out of both sides of their mouths; along comes the SWP, selectively quoting like mad, and voilà, new "revolutionaries of action" are revealed.

For authentic Trotskyists, the revolutionary struggles in Central America, the heroic resistance of the masses, the arguments over strategy present a crucial opportunity to win subjective revolutionaries in the region to the

perspective of working-class independence from all wings of the bourgeoisie, the only road to victory. Our strategy is the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to lead the proletariat, at the head of the poor peasant masses, to the seizure of power (this is the core of the theory of "permanent revolution"). For Barnes & Co., this is precisely the time to formally denounce permanent revolution, smear Trotsky and relegate the struggles of the Fourth International explicitly to the "old days" before Castro.

Permanent Revolution: "Sectarian and Ultra-Left"

Barnes began his speech with extensive paraphrases from the recent works of one Schafik Jorge Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran CP. But most of the talk had a more familiar ring—familiar, that is, to anyone who has ever read or heard the classical reformist arguments against Trotskyism. Barnes' recitation of the early Trotsky's errors as a left Menshevik in opposition to Bolshevism, for the purpose of dismissing Trotsky the Leninist revolutionary, might have been lifted outright from Carl Davidson's "exposé" of Trotskyism ("left in form, right in essence") which appeared some years back in the *Guardian*. Barnes then castigates the theory of permanent revolution as flawed in 1905, wrong in 1917 and flatly "ultra-left" in China in 1928.

The theory of permanent revolution was tested first and foremost in the Russian Revolution. The theory anticipated the change in Lenin's own thinking as he made the transformation, under the pressure of events, from revolutionary social-democrat to communist. By the time of the Prague Congress of 1912, Lenin was a communist on the organizational question. But his views on the precise class character of the revolution in Russia were still evolving. Prior to April 1917, Lenin sought to oppose the old Menshevik (subsequently, Stalinist) schema that Russia required a "two-stage revolution"—first a "democratic" revolution under the leadership of the "democratic bourgeoisie," and only after a period of capitalist development, a "socialist" stage. But his formula for drawing the

Permanent Revolution in action: Russian workers march in Petrograd, 1917. Bolshevik banner reads: "Down with the War! Down with the Capitalist Ministers!"



line against Menshevik reformism was the inadequate formula of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," postulating the class rule of two classes. Lenin's greatness was precisely that he did not pare down his revolutionary program to fit an inadequate formula, but seized the possibility presented in life to lead the proletariat to the conquest of state power, through the revolutionary combat party he had built for that purpose.

In so doing he confirmed the theory of permanent revolution, which had predicted that in the period of imperialist decay the weak ruling classes of the backward nations could not and would not play the progressive role associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the earlier epoch. Thus the "democratic tasks" once addressed by the old "enlightenment" bourgeoisie—e.g., national self-determination, destruction of feudal class relations in the countryside, abolition of the monarchy, universal suffrage, etc.—could be achieved in countries like Russia only under the class rule of the revolutionary proletariat, which itself had become more powerful, being now concentrated in large industrial enterprises and sectors.

For Barnes, the theory of permanent revolution is "sectarian" and "ultra-left," and was never accepted by Lenin in word or deed. Indeed, Barnes goes so far as to delicately accuse Trotsky of lying about Lenin's positions: "This is the only thing I can remember Trotsky ever writing which I believe is factually false"! To explore this question, some review of the debates surrounding the Russian Revolution is in order.

In his introduction to the first Russian edition of *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky noted that for Stalin & Co. the theory of permanent revolution "represents the original sin of 'Trotskyism'." He placed the debate in its distinct historical context. In his "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" (August 1939), a work of crystal-line precision, he defined three major arguments on "the historical nature of the Russian Revolution and its future course of development." These were:

1) *The Menshevik view*: "the victory of the Russian bourgeois revolution was possible only under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie and must put the latter in power. Later the democratic regime would let the Russian proletariat, with incomparably greater success than heretofore, catch up with its elder Western brothers on the road of the struggle for Socialism."

2) *Lenin's perspective*: "the backward Russian bourgeoisie is incapable of

completing its own revolution! The complete victory of the revolution, through the intermediacy of the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry,' would purge the land of medievalism, invest the development of Russian capitalism with American tempo, strengthen the proletariat in the city and village and make really possible the struggle for socialism. On the other hand, the victory of the Russian revolution would give tremendous impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, while the latter would not only protect Russia from the dangers of restoration but would also enable the Russian proletariat to come to the conquest of power in a comparatively brief historical period."

3) *Permanent Revolution*: "the complete victory of the democratic revolution in Russia is conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, leaning on the peasantry. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which would inevitably place on the order of the day not only democratic but socialistic tasks as well, would at the same time give a powerful impetus to the international socialist revolution. Only the victory of the proletariat in the West could protect Russia from bourgeois restoration and assure it the possibility of rounding out the establishment of socialism."

In 1917, "Lenin was obliged to alter his perspective, in direct conflict with the old cadres of his party." The October Revolution was the historic test, and confirmed Trotsky's prognosis. There ceased to be "debate" on the character of the Revolution after 1917 because the question was solved by the revolution's course. When Lenin appeared before the Petrograd Soviet several days after the insurrection, he announced, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!"

Lenin vacated his algebraic "democratic dictatorship" theory in April 1917. His "Letters on Tactics" states:

"We have side by side, exiting together, simultaneously, *both* the rule of the bourgeoisie (the government of Lvov and Gruchkov) and a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, which is *voluntarily* ceding power to the bourgeoisie, voluntarily making itself an appendage of the bourgeoisie...."

"This 'second government' has *itself* ceded the power to the bourgeoisie, has chained *itself* to the bourgeois government."

"Is this reality covered by Comrade Kamenev's old-Bolshevik formula, which says that 'the bourgeois-democratic revolution is not completed'?"

"It is not. The formula is obsolete. It is

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Failing reformist party seeks Havana/Managua/Grenada franchise: will alter principles to suit Sandinista Daniel Ortega, New Jewel Movement's Maurice Bishop and Fidel Castro (below). Contact Jack Barnes (left).

Perspectiva Mundial



(continued from page 9)

no good at all. It is dead. And there is no use trying to revive it...."

Adolph Joffe's final letter to Trotsky, quoted in Trotsky's *My Life*, also verified Lenin's adherence to permanent revolution:

"This [decades of joint work and friendship] gives me the right to tell you in parting what I think you are mistaken in. I have never doubted the rightness of the road you pointed out, and as you know I have gone with you for more than twenty years, since the days of 'permanent revolution.' But I have always believed that you lacked Lenin's unbending will, his unwillingness to yield, his readiness even to remain alone on the path that he thought right in the anticipation of a future majority.... I told you repeatedly that with my own ears I had heard Lenin admit that even in 1905 you, and not he, were right."

China and Permanent Revolution

The rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia, its acquisition of counterrevolutionary consciousness codified in the slogan of "socialism in one country" and the Stalinization of the Communist International resulted in defeat after defeat for the world proletariat. In China, Stalin's policy was not the ambiguous "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" but the Menshevik theory of "stages." It could hardly be otherwise, as 1917 had resolved once and for all the question of whether there could be any genuinely democratic solution short of proletarian rule. In *The Permanent Revolution* Trotsky had summarized:

"The great historic significance of Lenin's formula lay in the fact that, under the conditions of a new historical epoch, it probed to the end one of the most important theoretical and political questions, namely the question of the degree of political independence attainable by the various petty-bourgeois groupings, above all, the peasantry. Thanks to its completeness, the Bolshevik experience of 1905-17 firmly bolted the door against the 'democratic dictatorship'."

Elsewhere in the book, Trotsky quotes Lenin:

"... the whole history of revolution, the whole history of political development throughout the nineteenth century, teaches us that the peasant follows the worker or the bourgeois.... The economic structure of capitalist society is such that the ruling forces in it can only be capital or the proletariat which overthrows it."

—"The Deception of the People by Slogans of Freedom and Equality," May 1919

Permanent revolution, confirmed positively in 1917, was confirmed in the negative in the defeat of the Chinese proletariat in 1927-28 at the hands of their bourgeois Kuomintang "allies." The debate on China was simply over whether or not to subordinate the Chinese workers and peasants to the



Communist beheaded in 1927 by Kuomintang in Shanghai. Barnes denounces Trotskyism as "ultra-left" for warning that coalition with "progressive" nationalist Chiang Kai-shek would lead to massacre.

native bourgeoisie, a debate in which Barnes says Trotsky "bent the stick to the left." Since 1924, in the China debate and up to the present day, the debate over "permanent revolution" between Stalinism (Menshevism) and Trotskyism (Bolshevism) has been the struggle between the advocates of "alliances" with the bourgeoisie ("anti-fascist," "anti-feudal," "anti-imperialist" to be sure) and those who struggled for the independent mobilization of the proletariat, the vanguard of all the exploited and oppressed, against all wings of the class enemy.

In *The Permanent Revolution*, Trotsky imagines a conversation between a Communist from the East and an apologist for the Stalinized Comintern over the question of what is the "democratic dictatorship":

"But won't you please tell us what this slogan looks like in actuality? How was it realized in your country?"

"In our country it was realized in the shape of Kerenskyism in the epoch of dual power."

"Can we tell our workers that the slogan of the democratic dictatorship will be realized in our country in the shape of our own national Kerenskyism?"

"Come, come! Not at all! No worker will adopt such a slogan; Kerenskyism is servility to the bourgeoisie and betrayal of the working people."

"But what, then, must we tell our workers?" the Communist of the East asks despondently.

"You must tell them," impatiently answers [the Stalinist] Kuusinen, the man on duty, "that the democratic dictatorship is the one that Lenin conceived of with regard to the future democratic revolution."

If the Communist of the East is not lacking in sense, he will seek to rejoin: "But didn't Lenin explain in 1918 that the democratic dictatorship found its genuine and true realization only in the October Revolution which established the dictatorship of the proletariat? Would it not be better to orient the party and the working class precisely toward this prospect?"

"Under no circumstances. Do not even dare to think about it. Why, that is the per-r-r-manent r-r-r-evolution! That's Tr-r-r-otksyism!"

Barnes' attack on Trotsky's 1928 China position is a fundamental statement of anti-Trotskyism. In the year

1928, the Left Opposition issued its *Criticism of the Draft Program of the Comintern*, which marked the decisive extension of Trotskyism from a revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union into an international political tendency. It was over China that Trotsky first put forward the theory of permanent revolution not as particular to Russian conditions but as generally applicable to the whole colonial world. In dismissing Trotsky as some kind of ultra-leftist on China, therefore, Barnes is actually attacking Trotsky's program for all the countries under the yoke of imperialism.

The refusal of reformist working-class leaderships to break with the bourgeoisie and struggle for proletarian state power has led to bloody defeat from Spain to Indonesia to Chile. Less frequently, under certain exceptional conditions (including centrally the absence of the organized working class as a contender for power in its own right), Stalinist- or petty-bourgeois-led peasant-based guerrilla movements have come to power in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam. The result has been new bureaucratized workers states on a national-Stalinist program—i.e., counterrevolutionary in their policies beyond their own borders, thus minimizing the shift in the world balance of forces. Yet these deformed social revolutions are themselves partial confirmations of the theory of permanent revolution, as these leaderships were forced—in opposition to their stated programs—to go over to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the adoption of the socialized property forms first established by the victory of the October Revolution, as the only way to achieve genuine national liberation and to address classically bourgeois-democratic tasks like land reform.

The applicability of permanent revolution to the struggles of today has never been more urgent, or more obvious. Take for example the struggle of the Palestinian masses against class and national oppression. For as long as we can remember, the SWP and its USec allies have hailed something called "the Arab Revolution" as a great anti-imperialist struggle embracing the hideously oppressed Arab workers and peasants and their rulers. Has it ever been clearer than it is today that the "anti-Zionist" oil sheiks, the nationalist colonels, etc. who rule the Arab states are not "allies of the Palestinian struggle" but grotesquely subservient to imperialism? The road to Palestinian liberation lies through united class struggle by the Arab, Hebrew-speaking and other toilers of the Near East against Zionism and against all the Arab exploiters, and the creation by the proletariat of a Socialist Federation of the Near East.

Fidel Castro or Judge Griesa?

Whatever emotional satisfaction Barnes may derive from sneering at those who "read Comintern documents through permanent revolution eyes," denouncing Trotsky still doesn't make the SWP much of a candidate for the Sandinista or Fidelista franchise. The

SWP's yearning for reformist "respectability" necessarily conflicts with its passion for Castro when push really comes to shove—Fidel Castro or Judge Griesa? An early indicator of the already rotted fibre of the SWP was the party's response nearly 20 years ago to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, mortal enemy of the Cuban Revolution, architect of the Bay of Pigs invasion, whose CIA buddies made numerous attempts on Castro's life. When Kennedy was shot, allegedly by Lee Harvey Oswald, publicly identified as a member of the SWP's "Fair Play for Cuba" Committee, the SWP wrote: "We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief.... Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans...." (*Militant*, 2 December 1963). The same issue of the *Militant* approvingly featured a statement by Chief Justice Earl Warren, with the SWP adding the headline, "At the Moment of Crisis There Were Voices of Sanity." To his credit, Castro did not send condolences; in fact, he used the occasion to remind the world that the U.S. imperialist chief had acted in "a spirit of aggression and hostility" to Cuba.

On the 20th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, Barnes displayed his unique brand of Castroism: "The Castro leadership began their struggle not by taking up arms, but by doing something we emulated 20 years later—they filed suit against the government. When Batista made his coup in 1952, Fidel went to court...."

Or take the question of the arms race, not a small matter in a period of frenzied anti-Soviet war drive. In 1977 Joe Hansen excoriated the Russians: "it is clear that Brezhnev must be blamed for failing to seize the initiative on disarmament." In a 1980 speech on Afghanistan, Barnes suggested Brezhnev "go on television and announce that the USSR is destroying a big part of its nuclear arsenal and propose to Washington a schedule to destroy the rest." If the SWP's counsels of unilateral disarmament for the Russians had been heeded by the Kremlin, who can doubt that Cuba would already have been smashed or reduced to irradiated rubble? That's "defense of the Cuban Revolution," SWP style.

But the real question is: what does Barnes think he has to offer the Central American and Cuban CPs that anybody could possibly want? We are reminded of a diplomatic mission made by Mikoyan to Cuba after Castro's revolution, at a time that both Russia and China were bidding for Cuba's allegiance. What Mikoyan told the Cubans was, roughly: look, we can supply you with all kinds of things—petroleum, grain, machine tools from Czech factories, the most advanced weaponry, you name it. And what can you get from the Chinese? Only an unlimited supply of human blood plasma.

Well, at least the Chinese had something to offer—after all, they do have state power in China. What does Barnes have? Now if the SWP were the dominant force in a major wing of the Democratic Party, that could be worth something to the Cubans and Central Americans looking down the Americans' gun sights—they might believe the SWP's influence in leading bourgeois circles could mitigate the drive toward American military intervention. But the main asset the SWP has is the copyrights on some of Trotsky's books.

Fidel is unlikely to pay much attention to Barnes' speech. Somebody who surely will pay attention is Ernest Mandel, leading spokesman for the SWP's not-so-fraternal fraternal buddies of the European USec. The USec has been fuming as the SWP tears up Mandel's English section; meanwhile, the USec has been monkeying around among the SWP minorities and expellees. Particularly in this context, we can

Corrections

The selection of names for the buses going to the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK in Washington, D.C. was more accurately described in *Young Spartacus* No. 105 (December 1982-January 1983) than in *Workers Vanguard*. *YSp* noted that the contingent from New York was somewhat facetiously dubbed the Yuri Andropov Brigade "as a sardonic jibe at the rather large number of ex-SL members headed for D.C." *WV* (No. 319, 10 December 1982) had called it a "factional jibe." We were, of course, pleased to see so many former Spartacist League members, without however making political concessions to them.

In the article "Why They Lie" (*WV* No. 320, 31 December) we wrote that

"We strongly suspect that the RWL [Revolutionary Workers League] was not even in Washington on November 27." But no. Even though they got even the date of the anti-Klan demonstration wrong (*twice* referring to November 25), and simply invented their account about the SL, the RWL was there. In *Workers World* (3 December 1982) we saw a picture of an All-Peoples Congress goon squad, and there in the second row was none other than leading RWL supporter Shanta Driver. Apparently Shanta was too busy holding back the outraged militants and ghetto youth who wanted to leave the Marcyite liberal talkathon to get at the Klan to notice that several thousand anti-KKK militants had marched up to and occupied Lafayette Square—the Klan's advertised rally site—with the Spartacist League in the lead.

Hundreds of Blacks on Death Row

Executioners Go to Work in Reagan's America

"He's got plenty of good veins," the prison "doctor" said approvingly. And so the medical technicians strapped the black prisoner to a table, inserted a catheter needle into a vein of each arm, and injected him with a triple dose of lethal drugs. Seven minutes later 40-year-old Charlie Brooks, Jr. was pronounced dead. The scene was not in a Nazi concentration camp 40 years ago but a Texas prison last month. It was still state murder.

Ominously, Brooks was the first black prisoner to be executed since the 1976 Supreme Court decision which declared the death penalty to be constitutional (reversing the previous 1972 Court decision). And Brooks was not a Gary Gilmore, who "wanted to die" in 1977, but a man who fought his execution to the end, and told his would-be wife to "be strong" moments before his death. Outside the building where he lay dying, a bunch of racist white students cheered the legal lynching with signs like "Kill 'em in vein." They didn't need white sheets because it was all "legal."

Brooks' execution may have opened the floodgates for an orgy of racist state-enforced murders. According to the

NAACP Legal Defense Fund's statistics, of the 1,138 prisoners now sitting on death row across the country, a disproportionate 43 percent are black—a reflection of racist "justice" in capitalist America.

A Legal Lynching

Liberal lawyers have complained about the government's rush to execute Brooks, although they have failed to explain it. "If you go to the Fifth Circuit [Court] you will find a live appeal and a dead plaintiff," remarked Texas ACLU director John Duncan. The normal process of appeal was abruptly cut short despite the fact that the state never even bothered to prove whether it was Brooks or his partner Woodie Loudres who committed the murder which they were both convicted of. Loudres had a separate trial and escaped the death penalty, and will be eligible for parole in about six years.

The liberals focus on the disparity of sentences, the arbitrariness. What they won't recognize is that the whole purpose of the death penalty is not to mete out justice but to terrorize the population by demonstrating the state's *monopoly of violence*. The mushroom-

ing unemployment lines threaten mass upheaval, fueling the racist fears of the ruling class, who cry for a stronger state apparatus. The 1976 Supreme Court decision opened the legal gates for the executions, but so far only white prisoners have been sent to the chair.

The government wanted to get past the hurdle of actually executing a black man—and not during a "long hot summer." The Brooks case gave them their chance, and they grabbed it. In quick succession, his appeal for a stay of execution was turned down by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the State Board of Pardons and Paroles, Texas Governor Clements and finally the U.S. Supreme Court. "What [Texas Attorney General] Mark White has done through this is manage to conduct a judicial lynching," said Duncan.

"The situation is ripe for the nation to witness executions at the rate approaching the three a week that prevailed during the 1930's," remarked one federal official recently, pointing to the real reason for the sudden escalation of executions. When the capitalist economy falls apart and people lose faith in the ruling class and its government—as happened in the 1930s and is happening again today—then all the government has left is naked force, applied with a racist edge in the "American way." Needless to say, the death penalty never deterred crime—from the daily hangings of 17th century England to the gas chamber and electric chair of FDR's America to the present-day "humane" lethal injections. Its purpose is to maintain the power of the criminal ruling class.

Abolish the Death Penalty

Liberal papers like the *New York*

Times (8 December 1982) hypocritically sermonize against "the thirst of a frustrated public for vengeance against criminals." But they of course staunchly defend the system of unemployment, poverty, racism which give rise to lynching—both the KKK's and the legal kind carried out by the state. In fact it was the Democratic liberals like Jimmy Carter who paved the way with attacks on busing for integration and other minimal gains of the civil rights movement. Reagan merely carried the attack forward into an all-sided assault on the working class, blacks and poor. What unites all the bourgeois politicians is the desperate desire to save the faltering capitalist system, primarily through a new war drive aimed at counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

We stand with the original Bolshevik revolution of 1917, which banned both torture and the death penalty in the USSR. "No tortures and torments!" insisted even the Cheka, who ran the prison camps holding counterrevolutionaries, in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. The world socialist revolution led by Trotskyist vanguard parties will carry forward the Bolshevik banner. As we wrote in our article, "State Butchers Gilmore" (*WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977):

"The reinstatement of the death penalty is not just another legal argument lost before an increasingly reactionary Supreme Court. It is one among many proofs of the failure of capitalism in its death agony to fulfill its promise of a decent life.... Only the victorious proletarian revolution that overthrows the bourgeois state will abolish the death penalty for good and smash the prisons, in the course of rooting out the whole vicious cycle of crime, punishment and repression caused by capitalism." ■



Counterrevolutionary and illiterate: SWP calls on U.S. imperialism to buy off revolution in "Nicargagua."

expect some erudite reams from Mandel in defense of "Trotskyism" against the SWP.

Of course the USec has already shown itself equally willing to junk the "Trotskyist" label in pursuit of bigger-time alliances. In 1976 Mandel, envisioning a maneuver with the social-democratic PSU group in France, declared:

"What difference do labels make? If in the political arena we encountered political forces which agreed with our strategic and tactical orientation and which were repulsed only by the historical reference and the name we would get rid of it in 24 hours."

What difference do labels make? Trotsky once replied simply to this question, "In politics, the 'name' is the 'banner'" (*Writings*, 1935-36).

To be sure, the SWP for 20 years has had about as much use for Trotskyism as a blind man for eyeglasses—that is, it can serve some functions, but none involving the purpose for which it was intended: the making of proletarian

revolution. Still, Barnes' explicit disavowal of Trotskyist pretensions signals new heights of instability for Barnes' party. For our part, we welcome Barnes' speech as a step toward clarity on the American left, tending to resolve the competing claims to Trotskyist continuity. And we hope that among the SWP old-timers, degenerated long since into practicing social-democrats, a few may still be found who won't follow Barnes as he spits on the revolutionary activism of their younger days. We urge them to instead make their experiences accessible to the Trotskyists of today (see archival letter in this issue of *WV*).

The international Spartacist tendency was born as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, expelled in 1963 for defending the authentic revolutionary program of Trotskyism. This is our label, and we wear it proudly, confident of its future decisive victory through international proletarian revolution. ■

Healyite Slander...

(continued from page 7)

agent of the GPU/FBI, implicated in the assassination of Leon Trotsky. It has been and continues to be the position of the Spartacist League/iSt that those charges are manifestly groundless. This slander campaign against Joseph Hansen constitutes an attack on the entire SWP leadership around Trotsky and Cannon, posing directly the question of Healyism versus Trotskyism.

The Spartacist League/iSt is publicly on record in vehement opposition to those slanders. James Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League signed a statement circulated by the SWP in 1976, entitled, "A Shameless Frame-Up." Since 1975 the Spartacist League/iSt has held demonstrations against the Workers League/RWP asking, "Who Gave Healy His Security Clearance?" Thus, it is with the utmost concern and outrage that the Spartacist League/iSt views this most recent

addition to the Healyite frame-up campaign, this time invoking the government's courts against the Socialist Workers Party.

While the Spartacist League/iSt takes no position on the question of whether Gelfand's rights as a member of the SWP were violated in the expulsion process, it is clear that asking the courts to make that determination is a violation of workers democracy. This case presents dangerous precedent for all working class organizations.

The Spartacist League/iSt believes that a vigorous, aggressive counter-attack must be made against the Gelfand lawsuit. However, to date, the available information on this case has been in the press of the Workers League. There does not appear to have been any information on or excerpts from this lawsuit in the pages of the *Militant* or *Intercontinental Press*.

The Spartacist League/iSt is necessarily interested in examining the "evidence" submitted by Gelfand in support of his allegations of government domination over the Socialist Workers Party as well as examining the development of the legal defense and counteroffensive taken by the SWP defendants. To the extent the Spartacist League/iSt has concrete information in hand, particularly the court record, then to

that extent it will be able to be more categorical in publicly dealing with the vital issues of workers democracy involved. The deliberate introduction of the bourgeois state into the life of private political organizations does have a history; this has been used in England by racist/fascist organizations during their quarrels and splits. Is it now to be imported into socialist organizations in the United States? This must be fought.

I trust that an expeditious reply will be given to this request (in writing).

Yours truly,
Rachel H. Wolkenstein
cc: Spartacist League/iSt

October 28, 1982
Spartacist League
c/o Rachel Wolkenstein
299 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

This is in response to your letter, postmarked October 21, which has been referred to me for reply.

The Socialist Workers Party will not provide any assistance to the Spartacist League.

Craig Gannon
Socialist Workers Party

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January 22 El Salvador Protests

Anti-Imperialism Abroad, Class Struggle at Home

A joint El Salvador solidarity demonstration is scheduled to take place along the Mexican-American border at Tijuana on January 22, anniversary of the 1932 massacre of 30,000 Salvadoran workers and peasants known as *La Matanza*. The protest, decided upon at the First Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People last October, will also emphasize the plight of Central American refugees. According to the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the orientation is toward "a movement of workers in solidarity with the totality of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement taking place in the region" (*Perspectiva Mundial*, 3 January).

Not so. In the first place, the sponsoring organizations do *not* call for solidarity with revolution in Central America. Rather they seek to pressure their "own" bourgeoisies into adopting "peace-loving" foreign policies. The Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People had previously held an international solidarity forum in Mexico City last March which supported the French-Mexican communiqué calling for a negotiated settlement to the Salvadoran conflict. This attempt of two capitalist governments to *prevent* the revolutionary contagion from spreading beyond El Salvador means calling off the war and leaving the death squads and generals free to kill again. The pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT), another of the participants, explicitly hailed the "progressive role" of the plan of Mexican president López Portillo.

In the U.S., the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) not only hailed the French-Mexican communiqué, it has consistently supported proposals by liberal Democratic Congressmen to cut military (but *not* economic) aid to El Salvador. Yet U.S. economic aid has been crucial in keeping the Salvadoran junta in power. The SWP

went even further in expressing confidence in the imperialist government, calling in 1979 for "Massive U.S. Aid to Nicaragua" (sic). In contrast, the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL/U.S.) call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" The SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent brought out 500 militants supporting this program in Washington, D.C. on 3 May 1981 (see photo below). But the reformists were so frenzied about "reds" scaring

Vázquez, who acts as a watchdog over the workers movement for the ruling PRI. Vázquez & Co. have been instrumental in preventing a general strike against the Mexican government's draconian austerity measures. In the U.S. the SWP et al. look to the reactionary Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy which stands politically to the right of the mainstream Democratic Party. In particular, the AFL-CIO is a principal advocate of the racist anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill

Trotskyists (as occurred last March 27 in the U.S. capital). The SL and our trade-union supporters have been the only ones in the United States to fight for a labor boycott of arms to El Salvador. We have also taken the lead in protesting against the deportation of Salvadoran refugees from the U.S. And when the Reagan administration launched raids against immigrant workers last May, the SL mounted well-publicized emergency protest demonstrations from coast to coast.

Above all the reformists try to duck the Russian question. Reagan declares that Central America is the front line of his war against Communism, and the El Salvador popular frontists go to incredible lengths to eliminate any mention of the Soviet Union from their demonstrations. Pseudo-Trotskyist charlatan Nahuel Moreno goes even further in his Stalinophobia, claiming that the Stalinists are... more counterrevolutionary than the bourgeois nationalists! While denouncing

Washington, D.C., 3 May 1981: SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists while reformists/liberals called for negotiated sellout.



off their liberal Democrat patrons that they organized a goon squad to keep people from attending the SL rally.

Nor do the reformists seek to build a "movement of workers." To the extent they talk at all about labor, which is only recently, they mean forming political blocs with the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats. In Mexico this means appealing to the corrupt "charro" labor fakers headed by Fidel

aimed at victimizing Mexican and Central American workers in the U.S.

Real anti-imperialist solidarity with Central American workers and peasants means militant revolutionary struggle at home, mobilizing the powerful Mexican proletariat against its rulers and above all in the belly of the Yankee imperialist beast. And this enrages the reformists, who even call on the capitalist cops to exclude the

the Stalinists from Havana to Moscow for their policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, and demanding "Leftist rebels need Russian guns!" the Spartacist tendency forthrightly proclaims, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The only genuine solidarity with revolution in Central America is militant anti-imperialism abroad and class struggle at home.

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

along the northern border, a Nicaraguan air force helicopter crashed on December 9 in a zone of counterrevolutionary activity, resulting in the tragic deaths of 75 children passengers. The victims were from the Miskito Indian tribe, several thousand of whom were being evacuated from the border area where they had been subjected to attacks and a blockade by the *contras*. Whether the crash was an accident or the helicopter transporting the children was shot down, in either case responsibility for the slaughter falls on the Somozaists and their paymasters in Washington who have unleashed the very overt "covert" war against Sandinista Nicaragua. In a country where tens of thousands of youths, "los muchachos" (the kids), were murdered fighting Somoza, the deaths caused angry mourning. Twenty-five thousand people marched in Managua chanting, "We're going to the battlefields for the

children!" In contrast, the imperialist press barely mentioned the tragedy. They have to keep up their worldwide slander campaign attempting to pin senseless atrocities against the Miskitos on the FSLN.

The most dangerous front in the war against Somozaist subversion is the internal political front. For the counterrevolutionaries have a powerful pro-capitalist "fifth column" inside Nicaragua. There are the private businessmen, who still control 60 percent of the economy and are opposed to any steps toward socialist revolution. Even within the Sandinista regime there are disguised counterrevolutionaries, as revealed by the defection to the imperialists last year of former "Comandante Zero," Edén Pastora. He was followed by the resignation of the head of the National Bank, and of Nicaraguan ambassador to Washington Arturo Cruz (one of the original members of the Sandinista governing junta). Now Cruz' replacement as ambassador, Francisco Fiallos, has also gone over to Pastora's camp, taking with him almost \$700,000 of Nicaraguan government funds.

Meanwhile, the imperialists are using

the Catholic church hierarchy as a potent force for reaction, as they are doing also in Poland. A billboard campaign announcing "Christ is coming," the apparition of a counterrevolutionary virgin in Cuapa (recalling the 1917 anti-Bolshevik "Lady of Fátima" in Portugal), provoking incidents between church and state such as the arrest last summer of an aide to Archbishop Ovando y Bravo (and the publication of a nude photograph of the cleric). The conflict is aggravated by a split between a grassroots "people's church" favorable to the FSLN and the anti-Sandinista Catholic hierarchy. The impetus for mobilizing the church against the regime has come straight from the Vatican, as the counterrevolutionary Polish pope John Paul Wojtyla ordered all Catholic priests in Nicaragua to leave high government jobs. The several clerical cabinet ministers refused, and now the pope is threatening to boycott Nicaragua on his upcoming Central American tour.

The political strength of the church and Pastora supporters would not be so great but for the fact that the FSLN made a political alliance with the so-called "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie" and

the church the basis of the political revolution that overthrew the "jackal of Managua." The price exacted by the bourgeois forces for this "popular front" was a government program pledged to maintaining the foundations of capitalist rule. However, the main guarantor of that rule, the National Guard, disintegrated even before the Sandinistas entered Managua. Now, under pressure from the Reagan administration which (wrongly) accuses Nicaragua of following the "Cuban path," the class-collaborationist coalition is on the rocks. The result could be to force the Sandinistas to go much further than they planned along the road of social revolution, at most creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state à la Castro's Cuba. But FSLN leaders are certainly right in saying that this has not been their intention or program. Sandinista interior minister Tomás Borge responded to a question from a correspondent of the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* ("Is Reagan perhaps trying to radicalize you?"):

"If so, he has understood nothing about our Revolution. Whatever he does, we will be neither more nor less radical. We don't speak of political pluralism and a

mixed economy to please the Americans. It is our program and we will uphold it whatever Reagan's policies."
—Barricada, 19 December 1982

Today, as the counterrevolutionary threat against Sandinista Nicaragua mounts, what is needed is not conciliation of the capitalists/imperialists but a revolutionary upheaval. The FSLN's main slogan, "No pasarán" (They shall not pass), is borrowed from the Spanish Civil War where the People's Front alliance with the shadow of the bourgeoisie was a barrier to proletarian revolution, and thus allowed the counterrevolutionaries to pass. Mass organizations such as the Sandinista Defense Committees, the unions and the People's Militia must throw off bureaucratic control to become the basis for organs of soviet democracy. Pro-bourgeois traitors must be ruthlessly purged from the Sandinista regime. Rather than reliance on the petty-bourgeois nationalists who conciliate the bourgeois liberals, the future of the revolution depends on the forging of a communist (Trotskyist) workers party. Instead of a narrow nationalist perspective, even offering to help the Yankee imperialists dismantle Salvadoran leftist bases in Nicaragua, such a leadership must become the vanguard of the Central American revolution, fighting for workers and peasants governments throughout the isthmus. Without such a proletarian internationalist program, an isolated Nicaragua will be mortally threatened by U.S.-sponsored counter-revolution, and far more vulnerable than Cuba which at least had 90 miles of ocean between it and the *gusanos* headquartered in Miami.

El Salvador: A New Vietnam?

The FMLN offensive "Heroes and Martyrs of October 1979-80" sent government troops fleeing from a string of garrison towns and villages across the northern tier of El Salvador, establishing for the first time an open liberated zone. The *Washington Post* (28 December 1982) quoted a U.S. official who admitted: "The guerrillas have made real territorial gains. . . . You have to say their offensive has been a success." Beginning on October 10 the leftist insurgents quickly occupied 20 municipalities in the provinces of Chalatenango, Morazán, Usulután and La Unión. Except for a brief, ten-day counteroffensive by the Salvadoran and Honduran armies in late November, the FMLN has remained in control of the hill regions. General García, following U.S. advice, kept his forces on the plains and in the cities, both to prevent disruption of the economy and to head off a possible coup by ultra-rightists in the military. But this has not stopped the army from taking a beating: more than 1,000 soldiers killed, wounded or captured since the beginning of the rebel offensive.

The *pronunciamento* by Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa is a reflection of divisions within the Salvadoran ruling

class. His nemesis, General García, has for the last several years been Washington's man in the army, also linked to the middle-class professionals of the Christian Democrats. Ochoa is associated with D'Aubuisson's "tropical fascist" ARENA party and the professional killers of the jackbooted Treasury Police and National Guard. While ARENA and its allies won a "majority" in the March 1982 sham elections, the American proconsul last fall engineered a split in one of the rightist coalition parties, laying the basis for ousting D'Aubuisson as assembly president. García then began removing ultras from key military commands. But U.S. military intervention and the landed oligarchy in El Salvador naturally tend toward the domination of mass murderers—e.g., General Maximiliano Hernández, who introduced half a century of military rule by massacring the communist-led uprising in 1932. And whoever wins this test of strength, the outcome will make liberal/reformist talk of a "negotiated settlement" to the civil war more of a pipedream than ever.

Yet this dangerous notion of a compromise with the death squads, the generals, the latifundists and the imperialists is the declared aim of the Salvadoran opposition leaders! A statement by the FDR-FMLN mission in Mexico put it succinctly:

"Briefly, the insurgent military offensive, considered the most important since 1981, gives solid backing to the offers of dialogue and peace recently put forward by the top leadership of the FDR-FMLN."

—"Comentario Informativo Semanal," 10 October-9 November 1982

Likewise, FDR leader Guillermo Ungo recently "dismissed the possibility of an outright military victory for the opposition FMLN guerrilla forces as 'wishful thinking'" (*Latin American Weekly Report*, 8 October 1982). In other words, the fighting is a pressure tactic to force negotiations, so that an Ungo or Zamora can sit down and bargain with General García, their old friend from the October 1979 "reform" junta—exchanging hard-won battlefield victories for empty ministerial portfolios. Many of the Salvadoran insurgents fighting in the field are certainly not in favor of this treacherous policy.

And what do the FDR/FMLN proposals call for? The latest (October 5) offer looks to the Catholic church to mediate—in which case it would play no less a counterrevolutionary role than in Nicaragua—and no longer calls even for a purge of genocidal elements of the armed forces or a "democratic" government. No wonder some rebels reportedly criticize this as complete surrender. There are reports that sectors of the guerrilla coalition, specifically Cayetano Carpio's Fuerzas Populares de Liberación Farabundo Martí (FPL), signed the proposals only under duress. But they have no principled objection to a *negotiated sellout*—the FPL has



Spartacist

Smash Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka!

FRANKFURT, West Germany—"Smash Anti-Tamil Terror! Free Kuttimani and Jeganathan Now!" chanted a hundred demonstrators here last month. They were protesting the latest wave of repression against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka and demanding freedom for two young Tamil activists framed up as "terrorists," forced to sign confessions under police torture and sentenced to death. Scores of Tamil militants have been arrested and "disappeared" at the hands of the bloody Sinhala-chauvinist regime of Reagan-backed rightist J.R. Jayewardene under the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act and a permanent state of emergency.

The December 19 protest, organized by Tamil exile groups, was joined by a contingent of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). TLD

placards demanded "Immediate Release of Kuttimani, Jeganathan and Other Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!" "For the Right of Tamil Self-Determination!" and "For a Sinhala/Tamil Workers and Peasants Government!" The Spartacist sign in Tamil (above) reads: "Tamil Workers Key to Indian/Lankan Revolution!" Other TLD slogans included "Political Asylum for Tamils! Stop the Deportations!" "U.S. Imperialism: Hands Off Trincomalee, Diego Garcia! Defend USSR/Vietnam!" and "Workers—Sinhala/Tamil, Men/Women: Build the Bolshevik Party!"

Literature sales were brisk, especially of the first issue of *Elangai Spartacist*, Tamil-language publication of the Spartacist League/Lanka, and *Spartacist* No. 31-32 with the statement of fusion between the Lankan comrades and the iSt.

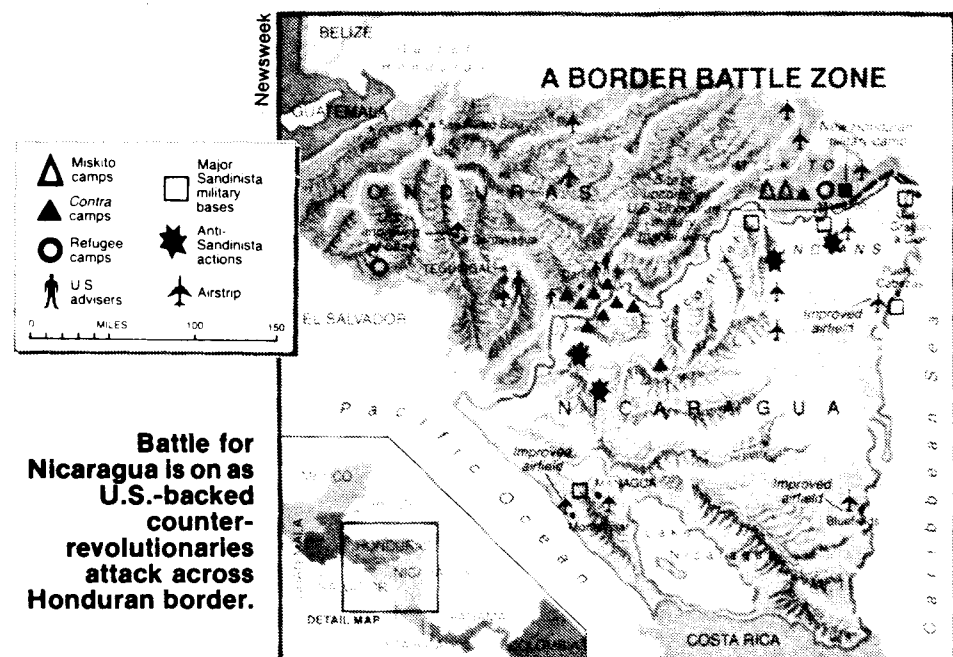
endorsed all the offers to date, and Cayetano went out of his way to stress that their goal was "not for a Socialist government" but rather a "democratic revolutionary government" including everyone from "large businessmen to small farmers and merchants" (*New York Times*, 9 February 1982). The FPL only objects that the deal isn't "sweet" enough.

The revolutionary Trotskyists of the iSt fight for *military victory to leftist insurgents* in El Salvador for the same reason that all the Christian Democrats, social democrats, Stalinists, nationalists and liberals oppose it: smashing the armed forces of the capitalist state opens the door to socialist revolution. What would Nicaragua look like today if Somoza's National Guard had remained in power? The "maximum program" of the reformists is for a "democratic" government, agrarian reform and cleaning out fascists from the army—all changes that can be easily wiped out, as the example of Chile tragically shows. The Trotskyists fight for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the capitalists, for agrarian revolution, for destruction of the bourgeois officer caste and its replacement by a proletarian-led red army.

Because of their fundamental commitment to defending capitalism, Ungo & Co. also do everything possible to keep the Salvadoran civil war within national limits. Reformism is inherently national, socialist revolution international in scope. The FSLN and FDR/FMLN leaders, not to mention Castro's Cuba, oppose "Vietnamization" (regionalization) of the fighting not in

order to save lives—tens of thousands have died, and many more will do so if the capitalist butchers are not crushed—but because it leads to *class* war and an end to their attempts to strike deals with the "patriotic bourgeoisie" and other figments of the reformist imagination. The imperialists and their puppet dictators cooperate militarily through their alliances (CONDECA, Rio Treaty) while the leftist misleaders assiduously "respect" national boundaries. Trotskyists, like Salvadoran Communist leader Farabundo Martí 50 years ago, have no allegiance to the artificial statelets carved out of the isthmus. We fight for a soviet federation of Central America in a Socialist United States of Latin America.

The petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Central American left also leads it to abandon the working class in favor of peasant guerrilla struggle, reflecting different class interests. Ever since the failed general strike of August 1980, all sections of the FMLN have basically turned their backs on the Salvadoran workers. The half-hearted call for insurrection in conjunction with the January 1981 "final" guerrilla offensive was nothing more than an auxiliary action. Even under conditions of extreme repression, a Leninist communist party must necessarily base itself on the urban proletariat. We seek to mobilize the workers not only of San Salvador but of Managua as well, linking up with militant banana and sugar mill workers from Costa Rica to Guatemala and above all with the powerful Mexican working class, key to socialist revolution in the region and the link to the North American proletariat. ■



Battle for Nicaragua is on as U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries attack across Honduran border.

NAMBLA...

(continued from page 6)

New York, NAMBLA spokesmen exposed the phony Etan Patz "look-alike" photograph which they showed was taken from a 1968 calendar. "The model would now be at least in his late twenties," explained NAMBLA spokesman and founding member David Thorstad. "The police knew that there is no connection between Etan Patz's disappearance and NAMBLA. NAMBLA has never been involved in the abduction of anyone," Thorstad said, accusing the cops of "deliberately and cynically covering up this information."

Many in NAMBLA's leadership are well-known in the gay activist milieu and on the left. David Thorstad, for instance, is a former Political Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and founding member of the Gay Activist Alliance. But faced with the wild and grotesque charges, NAMBLA felt obliged to deny everything from being a prostitution and porno ring to kidnapping. Spokesman David Ingalls explained simply, "We support only consensual relationships, and condemn any involving coercion or in which consent is lacking."

After a few days, the cops admitted that the photo was not Etan Patz. But practically speaking, the truth may not help much. Most of the damage has been done as NAMBLA members are set up falsely as a bunch of dirty old men who hide in the shadows of schoolyards waiting to grab little boys in order to abuse them or worse. The witchhunters try to wilfully identify these men, who advocate an unusual mode of consensual sexual expression, with every crazed

cult and sex criminal from Charles Manson to the guy who strewed the cut up bodies of young men along the L.A. freeways. They want to raise the fear of sexual maniacs like John Gacy, who was convicted of 33 murders in Illinois, many of them involving sexual assaults on young men, whom he then buried under his house.

The casualty figures for this witchhunt are already coming in. Not only is the existence of NAMBLA, the livelihoods and perhaps the lives of its members threatened, but democratic rights for all the oppressed, particularly homosexuals, must be an early casualty in the crusade. The defense of embattled NAMBLA is an urgent duty for all those who defend democratic rights. Drop the charges against NAMBLA members! Free Groat and Baker! Stop the witchhunt!

Cops Out of the Bedroom!

Perversion, it has been noted, seems to be not what you like, but what other people do. As we wrote five years ago during the persecution of Polish film director Roman Polanski, who was witchhunted for having an affair with a 13-year-old girl: "As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding principle for sexual relations should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion...the state has no business interfering" ("Stop the Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski!" *WV* No. 192, 10 February 1978). This ought to be the guiding principle not just for Marxists but for any democrat on such social questions. Determining what is

effective consent is always tricky, and particularly with youth there is a grey area. But such a judgment must be case by case, not categorical as it is with the reactionary age-of-consent laws. The act of sex in itself is not *prima facie* evidence of abuse or coercion. And the NAMBLA activists are being witchhunted for things nowhere close to where their real interests and activities lie.

The reformist left including many in the gay milieu have washed their hands of the "taint" of this unpopular group under attack. The dividing line on this issue is the age-of-consent laws. The SWP and the Workers World Party (WWP), for instance, hail the age-of-consent laws as "historic acquisitions" for the working class, comparing these laws to child-labor legislation. Although it may come as a big surprise to members of these tendencies, consensual sex is not labor. Some might even consider it pleasure, and in any case they should not be per se thrown in jail for it.

The fact is that age-of-consent laws (which have their roots in the "bride-price" guarantee of virginity of women in arranged marriages) do not protect children. They are designed to repress the sexuality of youth with the power of the state. They enforce the reactionary morality of the bourgeois nuclear family, an institution at the core of the oppression of women, homosexuals and children. It is within the family that most brutality and rape against children occur.

The SWP isn't the only group hoping to buy bourgeois respectability by supporting age-of-consent laws and avoiding "the taint" of NAMBLA. From gay ghettos like the Castro in San

Francisco and Greenwich Village, many homosexuals have come to believe that votes in the Democratic Clubs make respectability. They fail to see just how vulnerable they are as they busily distinguish themselves from the "child molesters." And Women Against Pornography feminists, who are in the forefront of calling on the state to censor pornography, can have no trouble at all in joining the witchhunt.

NAMBLA is probably the weakest of a weak oppressed group. That is why the left fakers want to abandon it or join the witchhunt against it. It is because of the vulnerability of homosexuals that the Nazis targeted Gay Pride Day in Chicago on June 27, hoping to find the weak link in their chain of terror. It was the Spartacist League which initiated the labor/black mobilization of 3,000 blacks, unionists, Jews, homosexuals, socialists which prevented the Nazis from carrying out their hideous provocation. That action demanded a party with a program to really be a tribune of the people—which can defend the rights of all the oppressed by mobilizing working-class power. It is precisely because the gays have so little clout, and NAMBLA least of all, that defense of them against this witchhunt is the test of political decency. ■

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a contribution to the defense of NAMBLA. *WV* urges its readers to do the same. Make checks payable to: NAMBLA Emergency Defense Fund, Box 174 Midtown Station, New York, New York 10018.

Tukha...

(continued from page 2)

too far in the other direction, seeing an International Red Army as the instrument of world revolution.

To leave unchallenged the charge of anti-Semitism would be to suggest that Stalin shot Tukhachevsky legitimately as a secret anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer. Professor Furr cites the testimony of a French officer interned with Tukhachevsky in a German prison of war camp at Ingolstadt during WWI. At that time a pan-Slavist nationalist and bonapartist, Tukhachevsky may well have said, as Roure asserts, "I detest socialists, Jews and Christians." But like many other young Tsarist officers, under the impact of war and revolution he was won to the Bolshevik cause.

After the 1928 publication of Roure's book, Tukhachevsky himself repudiated his earlier views when a group of French officers offered a toast in memory of their common imprisonment: "I became a Marxist. I never think of my views at Ingolstadt without regretting them, since they could cause doubts about my devotion to the Soviet motherland" (Alexandrov, *The Tukhachevsky Affair*). Among the officers in attendance was Rémy Roure himself.

A most persuasive argument against the imputation of anti-Semitism to Tukhachevsky was his longstanding friendship with the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich, who drew heavily on Jewish musical traditions in his work and sought to make his music a statement against the persecution of the Jews in Europe. According to Solomon Volkov's *Testimony* (1979), an account of Shostakovich's life based on conversations with him, the composer said, "I broke with even good friends if I saw they had any anti-Semitic tendencies." Yet Shostakovich reportedly described his symphonies as tombstones for his murdered friends, among them Mikhail Tukhachevsky.

No, anti-Semitism was Stalin's weapon, used against Trotsky and the communists of the Left Opposition, the Old Bolsheviks, anyone who stood in his way as he consolidated his bureaucratic

stranglehold over the first proletarian state. While never a Trotskyist, Tukhachevsky resisted enormous pressure and refused to publish a single condemnation, or even criticism, of his former commander. As late as 1928 he was still quoting Trotsky as a military authority in his contribution to *Armed Insurrection*, the classic "Third Period" textbook on military tactics by A. Neuberg—actually a pseudonym for a group of Comintern military experts which included Tukhachevsky, Ho Chi Minh, the German Communist (and later Trotskyist) Erich Wollenberg, CI org sec Piatnitsky and Unschlicht (the latter two both Old Bolsheviks executed by Stalin). In his 1970 introduction to the book, Wollenberg points to the origin of the "anti-Semite" slanders:

"The most absurd legends were put about to explain the background to Tukhachevsky's liquidation, and indeed are still believed to this day. 'Diabolical intrigue by SS General Heidrich who smuggled forged documents into the hands of Beneš in order to weaken the Soviet army by having it decapitated of its commanders'; 'Conspiracy between General Fritsch and Tukhachevsky to overthrow Hitler and Stalin'; 'The "anti-semitic" from the Russian élite sympathized with Hitler'; etc., etc. Marshal of the Soviet Union 'Tukha' was liquidated by Stalin as a member of an oppositional group whose best-known members included the Old Bolsheviks Bukharin and Rykov, and in the army the 'Jew' Gamarnik, political commissar, and the 'Jew' and army general Yakir! 'Tukha' was denounced by Radek, who in his own trial hoped to save his skin by mentioning the name of the Marshal of the Soviet Union in connection with the soviet democratic opposition."

In fact, there was a Gestapo plot to frame Tukha by providing falsified documents naming him as a German spy—the convenient pretext Stalin needed to eliminate a potentially dangerous adversary. In his 1939 work *In Stalin's Secret Service*, W.G. Krivitsky, chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe at the time of Tukhachevsky's murder, described the GPU/Gestapo frameup. After piecing together the plot Krivitsky wrote bitterly, "...from my vantage point in the Intelligence Service, I saw Stalin extend the hand of secret friendship to Hitler. I

saw him, while thus paying court to the Nazi leader, execute the great generals of the Red Army, Tukhachevsky, and the other chiefs with whom and under whom I had worked for years in the defense of the Soviet Union and of socialism." In *The Great Game* Soviet master spy Leopold Trepper, a Polish Jew and Communist, wrote:

"The Red Army was the last bastion to be removed; it alone still eluded his control. For the Stalin regime, liquidating the leaders of the army became an urgent objective. Since the leaders in question were old Bolsheviks who had distinguished themselves during the October Revolution, and since an accusation like 'Trotskyite' or 'Zinovievist' against a Tukhachevski would not stick, it was necessary to strike hard and with great strength. Stalin used the complicity of Hitler to murder the army of the Russian people."

Trepper goes on to tell the account, related to him in 1943 by Giering of the Gestapo, of how at Stalin's initiative Nazi Intelligence provided faked documents to prove Tukhachevsky was conspiring with the Wehrmacht. However, these documents were never introduced until after Tukhachevsky had already been shot. His summary execution was ordered on the basis of his activities collaborating with the German military, *carrying out what was from 1922 until 1935 official Soviet policy*.

In fact Tukha and his fellow "co-conspirator," the Jewish Red Army commissar Yan B. Gamarnik, were among the hardest opponents of German Nazism. When Hitler came to power, they had demanded immediate suspension of military relations with the Reichswehr, in opposition to Stalin. Isaac Deutscher, in *Stalin* (1949), describes Tukhachevsky's report to the Central Executive Committee in January 1936: "His speech was remarkable for its shrewd anticipation of Hitler's methods of warfare and for its extraordinary emphasis on the danger from the Third Reich. Tukhachevsky's emphatic warning sharply contrasted with Stalin's ambiguity." Liquidation of the anti-Nazi generals became essential for the consummation of Stalin's policy, the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact. Trepper describes the purge that followed Tukha-

chevsky's execution:

"The blood of Red Army soldiers flowed: 13 out of 19 commanders of army troops, 110 out of 135 commanders of divisions and brigades, half the commanders of regiments and most of the political commissars were executed. The Red Army, bled white, was hardly an army at all now, and it would not be again for years. "The Germans exploited this situation to the full..."

In 1941 Hitler's troops invaded the Soviet Union; to defeat them cost the lives of 20 million Russians.

Trepper captured the bitterness and bewilderment of those who watched Stalin's terror against the heroes of the Revolution and the Civil War. But he also recognized who did not capitulate:

"All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist machine are responsible, collectively responsible. I am no exception to this verdict.

"But who did protest at the time? Who rose up to voice his outrage?"

"The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honor. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did. By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.

"Today, the Trotskyites have a right to accuse those who once howled along with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not 'confess,' for they knew that their confession would serve neither the party nor socialism."

We trust that we have adequately demonstrated that Professor Furr has been misled by his "authorities." If there are those in the Soviet Union today who would honor Marshal Tukhachevsky, and seek to clear away the filthy Stalinist slanders against his memory, this is to be welcomed. We look forward to the day when the Russian working class recovers the banner of the Red Army's founder, Leon Trotsky, and returns it to its rightful place, waving high over Red Square. ■

How We Stopped KKK...

(continued from page 5)

of the unemployed, right?

Kartsen: The question of war, that's very important. Because not only is Ronald Reagan trying to buy MX missiles with food stamps, he's right now in a campaign to go to war with the USSR, to take over the USSR, and make it a bastion for American banks to exploit the hell out of Russian workers.

Caller: Incidentally, it's a terrible slap in the face to the black man in this country, with the situation in Poland, they're willing to speak out against the Russians. But it shocks me they don't do this about southern Africa.

Kartsen: You see, a desperate capitalist system, like you saw in the conditions of Nazi Germany, has world politics that are in correspondence to its own corruption and decline. So the American government has lined up solidly with South Africa and the apartheid system which is notorious for its brutal, savage, racist oppression in that country. At the same time, they flaunt Poland Solidarity for a reason. They flaunt this so-called union, this association of people who are for the West German banks taking over Poland, which is what it really comes down to. It's a question of the capitalist classes in the West using political movements like Solidarity. And what they would like to do also inside Russia, step in with direct imperialist exploitation.

I wanted to say one other thing, having to do with one of the previous callers. And that is that you cannot conceive of the struggle against the Klan without seeing the Klan's role in society in a broader context. Because there's going to be the need for a revolution. People marched by the White House in many thousands, saying "Down with Reagan, Build a Workers Party." That was the first time I've seen that, such a number of people awakening to the need for a political fight for power in this country.

And it has to be understood that Ronald Reagan, the reason he was so vehement behind the destruction of the USSR, was because they had a revolution where they overthrew capitalism. And they annihilated their version of the Ku Klux Klan, people called the Black Hundreds, who used to carry out mass terror against the Jews. So the same kind of revolution is needed here in this country; completion of the Civil War, complete freedom of black people, complete freedom of workers from exploitation. We've got to create a system based on human needs, production for human needs, not profits, opposed to profits. ■

Chicago Elections...

(continued from page 16)

infuriated one section of the city after another. Now influential sections of the city's bourgeoisie want to get rid of "Crazy Jane" and her wacky stunts. Labor remembers her vicious strike-breaking tactics as she knocked off teachers, firemen and the majority-black transit workers one after another in early 1979. The black pols who delivered the "snow vote" to her, taking 14 of the 16 predominantly black wards in '78, were cut out of the patronage they expected by tradition.

For the black masses of Chicago, Mayor Byrne has added racist insult to the deep injuries of economic depression and social decay. Her answer to the horrible conditions of ghetto housing was to move in temporarily at the Cabrini Green housing project. She

came of course with an army of Chicago cops. When she moved out after spending a few nights and making a few token changes in the deterioration, she left the memory of racist cop assaults kicking in the doors of residents. To court white racists when challenged by Daley's kid, Byrne started removing blacks from various housing and education boards.

Since the death of "King" Daley every candidate here has been running as an "independent." This is particularly true of black candidates. But Chicago is one of the few cities in the U.S. which had a well-oiled black machine. South Side alderman William Dawson brought in the black vote for Daley for a quarter of a century. Ralph Metcalfe was Daley/Dawson's kept Congressman, and he groomed Washington—for 15 years a nonentity in the Illinois legislature—as a cog in that machine. When America's ghettos exploded in 1968 following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Boss Daley told his cops to "shoot to kill"; a few months later, state representative Washington voted for Bill 2571, "In Relation to Certain Public Crises," a piece of police-state legislation so draconian that Governor Ogilvie vetoed it. In 1980, Washington inherited Metcalfe's Congressional seat.

Now with Chicago blacks up in arms over Byrne, the black machine politicians saw an opportunity to increase their own influence. They reasoned that if Byrne and Daley Jr. split the "white vote," the 40 percent of Chicago which is black could elect the mayor. This strategy was clear when Jesse Jackson and journalist/flack Lu Palmer pushed last summer's fizzled black boycott of Byrne's "ChicagoFest." Feeding a dangerous racial polarization in the city to gain electoral advantage, the boycott kicked off the Washington campaign. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 313, (17 September 1982):

"Jackson and the black pols saw the boycott as an opening shot in a power play, a chance to direct the pent-up anger of Chicago's black people into an intra-Democratic Party squabble with Byrne. But for blacks, this stunt to test the waters for a black mayoral campaign was a cynical diversion and a potentially dangerous one at that."

After the ChicagoFest boycott, the Washington camp ran a voter registration drive under the slogan, "Come Alive October Five" in which 200,000 more black names were added to the registration lists for the Democrats. The candidate said it should become "unfashionable and uncomfortable for any black person" not to register and vote—for him (Chicago *Sun-Times*, 15 November 1982); Palmer added coyly, "unhealthy." Under Daley and Dawson it was said that white voters got a chicken on election day while blacks got a threat. Things haven't changed that much, it seems.

Reformist Left Tails Black Democrat

It isn't surprising that the reformist left has found another "progressive" Democrat to support. Their problem is to paint up Washington as an anti-machine candidate. The rad-lib *Guardian* (1 December 1982) headlines, "Black Takes on Chicago Machine." *Workers World* (26 November 1982) goes the *Guardian* one better in its headline: "Black Candidate Challenges Racist Power Structure in Chicago." And the Communist Party's *Daily World* (16 December 1982) banner headline hails: "Chi Candidate Builds Racial Unity." Sam Marcy's *Workers World* and its front group the All-Peoples Congress (APC) get mightily upset when we Trotskyists point out that they chase the liberal Democrats. Stung by the mass labor/black mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), which stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, *Workers World* (3 December 1982) squealed that the SL "absurdly slanders" the APC as "being

secretly a tool of 'Kennedy Democrats'."

What's the secret? The *Workers World* article the week before proclaimed, "Clearly Washington's campaign is part of the nationwide struggle by black people for representation and democratic rights." The Marcyites simply neglected to mention that their candidate is a Democrat. For the CP, support for "progressive" Democrats is nothing new—they've been doing it for half a century. They even supported Jane Byrne in 1979! The *Daily World* (16 December 1982) in an article plugging the Washington campaign asked: "What Can a Mayor Really Accomplish?" Their answer: "reduce abuses such as police brutality and filthy housing." A little less abuse and a little less filth, but still plenty to go around—a communist program for Chicago it ain't.

The Washington campaign has also exposed Progressive Labor's crazy-quilt pattern of opportunism and cover-up. Through its front group InCAR (International Committee Against Racism), PL backhandedly backs Washington. At a November 24 Washington campaign meeting at Circle campus, InCAR activists passed out a groveling open letter to the "Honorable Harold Washington" asking him to support their program to fight unemployment. But in *Challenge* (8 December 1982), a "Chicago Reader" column (which has generally expressed the PL party line) denounced Washington not as the Democratic capitalist politician that he is, but as a black nationalist and therefore a "social fascist":

"We should never make the mistake of considering black social fascists like Washington and Palmer any less dangerous than the open white fascists like the KKK and the Nazis."

Is this the same "Chicago Reader" who last summer tried to excuse PL's failure to defend Chicago blacks when the Nazis came to attack Gay Pride Day, with the reactionary line that gays and Nazis are "two sides of the same coin"? Does this mean that InCAR members are asking a KKK equivalent to support their program? To equate black Democrats with the Klan/Nazis is dangerous, stupid and racist.

Class Struggle, Not Black Democratic Mayors

If Harold Washington were elected, his job would be to keep the lid on black and labor struggle in a potentially explosive situation. As the bread lines get longer and cop terror escalates, some in the ruling circles have begun to express open fears about "a Miami" in Chicago. Furthermore, with rumors of a national steel strike next August, the industrialists and financiers who give the orders need a city boss whom they can trust to ruthlessly crush class struggle against the layoffs, plant closings and slashing of the city's social services. The powerful and integrated Chicago labor movement stands as the main obstacle to the bosses' racist austerity plans. They may decide they need a black face for that high place in The Machine to better grind down the population.

Harold Washington has already gained a hearing from a section of Chicago's business elite reflected in a favorable front-page article ("Underrated Washington has skills, organization for tough mayoral fight") in the right-wing *Crain's Chicago Business* (13-19 December 1982). *Crain's* cited Washington's "track record as an effective legislator who reaches out to his constituency," noting that "while the congressman wants to rock the boat in Chicago, he doesn't want to sink it." It quotes him saying, "My liberal background doesn't dictate that I come down heavy on business (for more tax revenues)... business, like other groups, must exist." And it reports that Washington has scheduled meetings with "leaders of Chicago's business community to understand their problems."

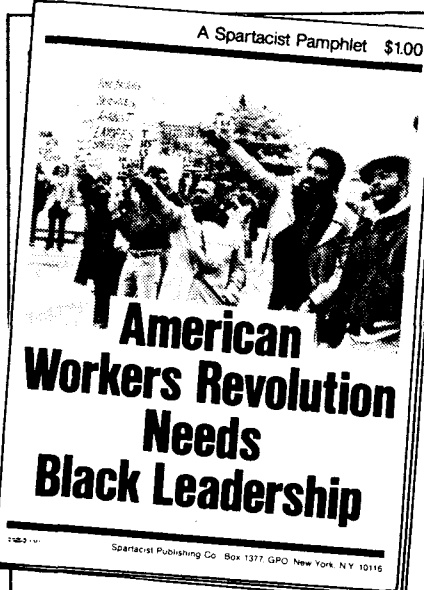
Ever since the late 1960s the

capitalists have had more and more trouble administering the decaying and ghettoized big cities, and have looked to black Democratic mayors to do their dirtiest work. In Cleveland's long hot summer of 1967, the word in the ghetto was, "Cool it for Carl"—Carl Stokes, the first black elected mayor of a major industrial city. A decade later, at least 26 medium and large cities were being run by black Democrats (Chicago *Reader*, 26 November 1982). But things have gotten much worse for the ghetto masses. In Detroit, Coleman Young has presided over layoffs of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. He ruthlessly crushed a strike of mainly black city workers in 1979 so that he could welcome the Republican convention. From ex-cop Thomas Bradley in Los Angeles to ex-SNCC activist Marion Barry in Washington, Democratic black mayors have proved you don't have to be white to administer Reagan's program of racist austerity and strikebreaking.

The architects of today's black Democratic campaign for mayor of Chicago, like Jesse Jackson and Lu Palmer, were yesterday's Martin Luther King liberals who led the civil rights movement to defeat in the North as they ran up against the hard economic realities of black oppression in capitalist America. It was in the white Chicago suburb of Cicero that the racist backlash first mobilized in the streets, and King called off the fight for integrated housing. In 1981, when Lu Palmer was asked to support labor/black action against fascists targeting Chicago minorities, his response was the same: "Aw brother, I can't deal with it." But a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization did deal with it, bringing out more than 3,000 blacks, trade unionists, Jews, gays to stop the Nazi provocation in Lincoln Park last June. And in Washington on November 27, the 5,000-strong SL-organized Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching even before they put on their white robes of racist terror.

This is the class-struggle road to black freedom in America. Not endlessly singing "We Shall Overcome" while voting for the racist capitalist party of Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter/Mondale and KKK dragon Tom Metzger, but black liberation through socialist revolution! Chicago doesn't need machine Democrats in blackface running City Hall for the bosses. It needs militant labor/black struggle in the streets, in the factories—sitdowns, not soup lines! Chicago's working masses need fighting leaders to organize the unemployed and unorganized, to turn the unions into organizations for struggle, not "givebacks." Blacks and workers must break with the Democrats to build a party of their own—a multi-racial, class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

No Choice for Workers, Blacks in Chicago Mayoral Election

Harold Washington: Black Machine Democrat

CHICAGO—Once again, the Democratic primary here February 22 will decide who will run Chicago for the financiers and industrialists. For decades the Machine has been squeezing the life out of Chicago's working people, particularly blacks. With the city in an economic tailspin along with the rest of industrial America, the Democrats have been looking hard for a Big Boss to heal their system of ward heelers and junior political bosses—a system which has remained fractured since the death of "King" Richard Daley in 1976. Sections of the Democratic Party machine are running their own candidates (Republicans don't count here): incumbent Jane Byrne, Daley's son Richard M. and black Democrat Harold Washington.

The Washington campaign is being touted as the great hope for Chicago's blacks who are pounded harder than ever before. Along with the hustler for "black capitalism," Jesse Jackson, the black Democratic pols are trying to sell Washington as the answer to the record unemployment which has put so many black steel workers on the soup lines. Now the reformist left has jumped in to hail the candidacy of this mainline Democrat as an "independent" champion against the Machine. But the Washington campaign is no expression of black outrage. The black Democrats behind this mayoral bid, like campaign manager Al Raby, are among those who put down the ghetto explosions of 1965



Three cogs in the Democratic Machine: Richard M. Daley (left), Harold Washington (center), Richard Newhouse.

and 1968. Far from being an "independent," Washington is part of and supported by the same Democratic machine whose cops murdered Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in their beds.

Over one million black people live here; no mayoral candidate can win without a chunk of the black vote. But publicity hound Byrne's racist antics have outraged Chicago blacks, and the

politicians smell trouble. The Democratic Machine's problem is how to keep the myriad and hostile ethnic groups in line. Roman Pucinski, whose Northwest Side fiefdom has more Poles than anywhere outside of Warsaw, has been making noises about running an ethnic "backlash" campaign if Washington takes the Democratic primary. Meanwhile, times are hard; City Hall doesn't have the cash for Daley-type patronage

anymore. And it's sitting on a powder keg of seething discontent and unemployment.

The City That Doesn't Work

For some time Chicago has been the city that *doesn't* work, especially for blacks. More than a third of black Chicago lives on incomes below the poverty level and 20 percent of the city subsists on welfare. With steel producing at 37 percent capacity nationally, 35,000 Chicago-area steel workers are out of work. Last year International Harvester posted fourth-quarter losses of more than a billion dollars—the largest deficit in U.S. corporate history—and may close its Melrose Park plant permanently. In this most segregated of segregated U.S. cities, life is especially hellish for black people. The rotten schools only prepare ghetto youth for the jobless despair of the streets. And as "white flight" has made the public schools overwhelmingly (83 percent) black and Latin, busing is now officially dead and buried.

It takes a municipal bonaparte to run Chicago for the capitalists, and despite her high-handed ways Jane Byrne hasn't put Daley's kingdom back together. Elected in 1978 after Michael Bilandic let the snow pile up in the streets (particularly in black neighborhoods), Byrne promised to make Chicago once again "the city that works." Instead, she

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Jobless and Black in Reagan's America

This was the scene in Chicago January 6 when over 40,000 people applied for 3,800 temporary city jobs, ten-week maintenance jobs to be financed by the new federal gasoline tax. As soon as Reagan signed the tax bill, Mayor Jane Byrne scurried to get the jobs started in time for the all-important Democratic primary—after which they'll be back on the sidewalks without even unemployment compensation!

Meanwhile, last week the government released December unemployment figures, showing how particularly industrial workers and blacks are victimized in the capitalist economic crisis. The official unemployment rate for blacks rose six-tenths of a percentage point to 20.8 percent. But the Labor Department claims the overall rate merely rose one-tenth of a point, to "only" 10.8 percent. To accomplish this they used their usual sleight-of-hand, eliminating 200,000 people from the workforce, people whose unemployment has run out and are now considered "discouraged workers." Counting all those wiped off the rolls brings the



jobless total not to 12 million people as claimed, but well over 15 million, even more than at the height of the Great Depression in the '30s.

To top matters off, as the crisis

deepens starting next month the government will include U.S. military personnel in employment statistics, so as to artificially lower the unemployment rate. And if the Democrats

and Republicans get their Cold War anti-Soviet war drive going any hotter, maybe they'll find other ways of eliminating people from the workforce....