

## Black Workers Take the Lead



no credit

# Smash Apartheid Slavery!

We print below a speech by Reuben Shiffman, a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and writer on colonial and national questions, at a Spartacist forum held November 16 in New York City.

For more than a decade there has been a mounting struggle, black struggle centrally, in South Africa against apartheid. This culminated earlier this month in a massive general strike in the industrial heartland of South Africa, which is Transvaal Province, around Johannesburg, involving 40 percent of the black labor force who when they go on strike risk being deported to the

bantustans, and brutality and murder at the hands of the police and now the army. Over 250,000 student youth also participated throughout Transvaal Province in a massive stay-away campaign. This general strike had reverberations not only against the apartheid regime itself, but throughout the famine-scarred and war-torn continent of Africa, and indeed throughout the

world and especially in the United States. And that's mainly what I want to talk about tonight—that is, not only what apartheid is about and the strategy for bringing it down, but the implications of the struggle against this brutal, racist regime in South Africa throughout the African continent and internationally, especially in the United States. The strategic importance of South

Africa has not least to do with the fact that it is the repository of more than 70 percent of the gold in the so-called "free world." And as Karl Marx wrote in *Capital* about gold, it embodied in capitalist society "the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life." It is in the struggle to extract this gold and the diamonds from the South African mines that apartheid was created. But in addition, of course, South Africa has many other even more strategic metals, such as chromium, manganese, platinum, and in Namibia, uranium. It's also very important because the Cape controls the shipping *continued on page 6*

## ILWU Tops Scuttle S.F. "Hot-Cargo" Action

# Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship

SAN FRANCISCO, December 4—For the last ten days the predominantly black longshoremen in San Francisco refused to handle South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*. For more than a week the "Nedlloyd blood ship" just sat there at Pier 80. By "hot-cargoing" those goods these American workers sought to strike a blow against the hated apartheid

regime. They did so in the face of victimization by the bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), outright betrayal by the bureaucrats of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and sabotage by their reformist and pseudo-leftist hangers-on. Last night these forces united to bury the action, as the ILWU Local 10 executive board

called off the boycott in the face of a court injunction ordering the union to work the cargo.

Since late August the South African black masses have been almost continuously in revolt against the white racist terror regime. In early November, a massive two-day "stay-away" strike paralyzed the industrial region around Johannesburg. Seeking to behead the

growing black workers movement, the apartheid regime has arrested the leaders of the stay-away strike. Real, effective international solidarity action is urgently necessary, demanding: Free the black trade-union leaders and all victims of apartheid terror! We salute the longshoremen who refused to move South African goods on the

*continued on page 10*

# British Miners' Strike Draws the Line

We print below remarks by Eibhlin McDonald at the recent plenum of the National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League.

The Red Avengers is kind of a hard act to follow, but let me make one point that one comrade made in the forum in Toronto the other night: the British miners would really love the Red Avengers.

What I want to try to do is give you a flavor of the political situation in Britain, because it really is in marked contrast with Reagan's America right now. But there's something that I would like to underline, which is that the Thatcher government is in the second term of office and went in with a pretty big majority in the election in 1983, not quite as big as Reagan's. The first real opposition they ran into came from the British miners. And it's important to have the understanding and the hope that Reagan will run into the same kind of trouble, because it really does alter the political contours in the country.

The miners have been on strike now for about nine months. The strike has been declared illegal. They've had two people killed on picket lines, others have died on the way to the picket lines, young kids have died trying to get coal from rubbish tips, where there's a kind of a landslide and the stuff falls down on top of them and they get buried alive. The miners have had thousands of people arrested and have really suffered massive repression from the bourgeois state in the course of trying to fight to defend their jobs and their communities. And some of the lessons coming out of that are the things that I mainly want to talk about.



Press Association

**Police charge pickets outside mine near Dover. Coal strike is a fight for all the oppressed.**

You'll have noticed in the press here recently a lot of ballyhoo about a big "back-to-work" movement. And you could very easily be misled, because if you really added up the figures for people that have gone back to work then you probably would get more than is actually in the miners union, in the NUM itself. However, it is true that there has been a certain erosion within the strike recently. (Unlike what the bourgeois press tells you, it's not because of the Qaddafi connection. Miners think that it's really wonderful if they get money from anywhere, and one of them has said recently, in a meeting where someone mentioned the Qaddafi connection, "Well, you know, if we can't get money from Qaddafi, maybe we can

get guns. We can use them." And it's not because of getting money from the Soviet Union—they'd love it.) But as of now, there's not much prospect of industrial struggle alongside the miners, and so they're basically now having to dig in to try and survive through the winter pretty much on their own against all the forces of the capitalist state. And that does have an effect on certain elements in the union.

Now, some of the things that are most striking about the course of the struggle. First of all, the way in which whole sections of the population who are normally deeply divided have rallied behind the miners and have seen in the miners' strike a possible solution to what they suffer under Thatcher. This is particularly true for the racially oppressed minorities. The blacks and Asians in Britain have become some of the most solid supporters of the miners. If you understand that the miners union is predominantly white, and pretty elitist in its political attitudes, for them

to find allies in the black and Asian population is really quite a change in British politics. The reason for the identification is that the kind of treatment that's being dished out to the miners in the course of the strike is something that has been dished out to the black and Asian population in the inner cities in Britain for quite a long time.

And there's also the fact that the racial minorities tend to do the dirtiest, most dangerous and worst paid jobs in Britain. In actual fact British mining almost falls into that category, because you have to understand that miners or craftsmen in the British mines might take home, at the end of having worked 40 hours, less than \$100 a week. And that's someone who's gone through an apprenticeship. And it's really dangerous and there's a lot of accidents. So there's that reason for identification as well.

It's also true of the Irish population. Previously if you had an IRA bombing in the mainland of Britain, regardless of what the target was, it was always followed by a wave of anti-Irish hysteria. You know, a pretty bad period. Whereas recently when the IRA bombed the hotel where a lot of Tories were staying during their conference the response was everybody cheered because one of the people who suffered most was the employment minister, Norman Tebbit. They showed these pictures on television of this guy lying under four or five floors of rubble and then being dragged out by his feet, and everybody cheered and clapped and thought it was wonderful. And someone had the response, whoever did this should be shot—for missing the target. They're really sorry they missed Thatcher.

There's also another example of the way in which the social divisions have broken down. There's an organization in London called Lesbians and Gay

*continued on page 15*



TROTSKY

## Revolutionary Leadership and British Labor

*In 1926, Tory plans to "reorganize" the coal industry by massive wage reductions forced a militant strike by the miners and a nine-day general strike by British labor. Trotsky's writings on the 1926 General Strike are crucial to the class war that rages in Britain today.*



LENIN

It would be inopportune at this moment to make prophecies as to the duration of the fight and its development, to say nothing of its outcome. Everything must be done from the international point of view to help the fighters. We must, however, clearly recognize that success is only possible in accordance with the degree to which the British working class, in the process of the development and intensification of the general strike, realizes the necessity for changing its leaders and succeeds in so doing...

The most important piece of work for the truly revolutionary participants in the general strike will be to fight relentlessly against every trace or act of treachery, and mercilessly expose reformist illusions. In so doing, they will not only help forward the chief and permanent task of developing revolutionary cadres, without which the victory of the British proletariat is altogether impossible, but they will also contribute directly to the success of the present strike by intensifying it, revealing its revolutionary implications, pushing aside the opportunists and strengthening the position of the revolutionaries. The results of the strike—both the immediate results and those further ahead—will be all the more important the more decisively the revolutionary will of the masses breaks down the barriers and obstacles of the counterrevolutionary leadership.

—Leon Trotsky, "Problems of the British Labor Movement" (May 1926)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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No. 368

7 December 1984

## Funds Needed Now for British Miners' Families!

As Britain heads into a hard winter of class war, the striking British miners remain firm in their battle against Thatcher and the National Coal Board. With the onset of cold weather, coal stocks are dropping while management's attempts to create a back-to-work movement with Christmas bribes for scabs has failed. Thatcher's High Court tries to steal National Union of Mineworkers' funds in Luxembourg and Dublin banks, but striking miners are appealing to trade-union organizations internationally to come to their aid. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which has launched a \$25,000 "Aid to Striking British Miners' Families" fund drive among U.S. trade-union locals, urgently appeals to readers of *Workers Vanguard* to assist in this campaign.

A generous donation has already been received from AFSCME Local 2477 in Washington, D.C. The members of this local of government employees participated in the 27 November 1982 demonstration which stopped the Klan in the streets of Washington, D.C. At a public forum of the Trotskyist League of Canada held November 22, over \$350 was collected after comrade Eibhlin McDonald of the Spartacist League of Britain described what is at stake in the miners' heroic fight. In addition we are pleased to print below a letter the PDC has received from a New York City transit worker which underscores the urgency of this effort.

To mobilize for the fund drive in your area, write to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013. Make checks payable to: Aid to Striking British Miners' Families. Contributors will receive numbered receipts; financial records of this fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. ■

Nov. 18, 1984

Partisan Defense Committee:

As a former "liberal" and presently a member of Local 100 of the T.W.U., and also a new subscriber to *Workers Vanguard*, it is refreshing to read a newspaper that is truly pro-working class, after being "brainwashed" for so many years by the anti-labor biases of the N.Y. newspapers (*Times*, *Post*, *News*). I have to be honest and tell you that the strong language used by *Workers Vanguard* scares me a bit, but I do admire your courage to tell it like it is.

Enclosed is a check for the striking British miners. I have never donated to a fund like this before, but I am beginning to see the need for a world wide solidarity of the working class.

Yours truly,  
T.F.

# West German State Targets Spartacists

# Stop Neo-Gestapo Terrorist Smear!

We print below the political declaration by our comrades of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* against the sinister "advertisement" campaign by the West German interior ministry, which smears the Spartacists and other leftists and sets them up for repression.

The anti-Soviet war drive is finding in West Germany also its inevitable domestic expression in the brandishing of police-state measures of intimidation and terrorization. The federal minister of the interior, Friedrich Zimmermann, West German top cop and a favorite speaker at conventions of fascistic "captive nations" refugees, has launched a deadly "anti-extremist" smear campaign of "advertisements" in the bourgeois press prominently featuring our newspaper *Spartakist* and slanderously equating leftists with Nazis and terrorists.

The interior ministry headed by Zimmermann, a protégé of Franz Josef Strauss, published a threatening quarter-page "ad" that appeared in the 24-25 November and 1-2 December weekend editions of more than a dozen regional and national newspapers urging every order-loving federal citizen [*Bundesbürger*] to send in a coupon for the 1983 and even the unpublished 1984 report of the so-called "Office for the Protection of the Constitution" in the Fatherland. Referring to leftists as "enemies of the constitution" who might present an "acute danger to the legal state," it calls for "defense measures by the police." This is a barely veiled threat of repression and illegalization against left organizations.

Under the ominous title "Who Is Behind This?" plastered over a helmet, this "publicity" displayed a collage of newspaper mastheads and symbols of left organizations along with swastikas, fascist slogans ("Germans Awake!" "No More Foreigners!"), Nazi initials and the like. Although it is illegal in West Germany to display the swastika,

Deadly smear "advertisement" by Interior Ministry with ominous headline "Who Is Behind This?" prominently portrays *Spartakist* masthead, newspaper of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. Also portrayed are hammer and sickle of Maoist MLPD and CP paper masthead, along with illegal Nazi swastikas and vile racist slogans. Text asserts that information gathered on "extremists" by the secret police is "indispensable to the democratic stability of the Federal Republic of Germany." Police job, they claim, is to prepare so "steps may be taken by the police to defend" against "enemies of the constitution." Coupon at bottom of ad is provided to send for 1983 and 1984 spy reports. TLD protest campaign and injunction motion demand government cease publication of "advertisement" and retract slander. Stop West German state terror campaign!



symbol of racist terror and genocide, the guardians of "law and order" have no compunctions about breaking their own laws when it comes to smearing leftists, and they liberally sprinkle the Hitler trademark around their filthy "advertisement."

The *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (TLD, West German section of the international Spartacist tendency), publisher of *Spartakist*, denounces this vile hate-and-fear propaganda, the precursor to dreaded "night and fog"

actions which threaten the democratic rights of all. We have brought urgent legal action to stop the federal government's witchhunting "advertisements," and we demand an immediate retraction. But in the tradition of Goebbels' Big Lie campaigns, the interior ministry's slander ad was repeated a week later in the "prestigious" businessman's paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and the right-wing Springer press empire's *Die Welt*. Significantly, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* refused to publish the Zimmermann ad because of the display of the swastika.

The federal government is trying to whip up a "red scare" reviving the old counterrevolutionary *Spartakistenhaß* ("hatred of the Spartacists"). They want to kill that woman, that Polish Jewish Communist, Rosa Luxemburg, all over again! And this sinister business of "advertisements" has a long history. Remember the famous campaign of posters aimed at beheading the German revolutionaries in 1918-19: "The Fatherland is threatened not from without, but from within, by the Spartakus group," they proclaimed, "Strike its leaders dead! Kill Liebknecht!" A few weeks later Luxemburg and Liebknecht were dead. But the Spartacist bogeyman, the spectre of communism, still haunts the German bourgeoisie.

Not only the Trotskyists are targeted by this Christian Democratic witchhunt. Everything to the left of the governing parties falls in Zimmermann's sights. The social-democratic "peace movement" has long been under attack as "puppets of Moscow," the Greens in parliament have been labeled "Communist infiltrators," and now among the examples of "extremism" singled out in the Zimmermann ad is a leaflet by the "Coordinating Committee of the Peace Movement," including the Lutherans' Aktion Sühnezeichen. With Strauss' CDU [Bavarian Christian Democrats] inquisitors on the loose, even Chancellor Kohl's CDU (whose social vision is only slightly more

advanced than the Council of Trent) had better worry.

## "Who Is Behind This?"

Today the "free" bourgeois press shamelessly prints the "advertising" smear campaign the government pays for openly—a transparent bribe to turn the media into a mouthpiece for official propaganda. (Will the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* soon resemble the *Völkische Beobachter* [official organ of the Third Reich]?) But then Zimmermann is well versed in corruption: he received his crumbs from the Flick money, DM25,000 as a "book allowance." (Let's see: how many copies of *Mein Kampf* would that buy?) Bribes and smear campaigns [*Schmiergeld und Schmutzkampagne*]: these are the specialties of this protector of the constitution.

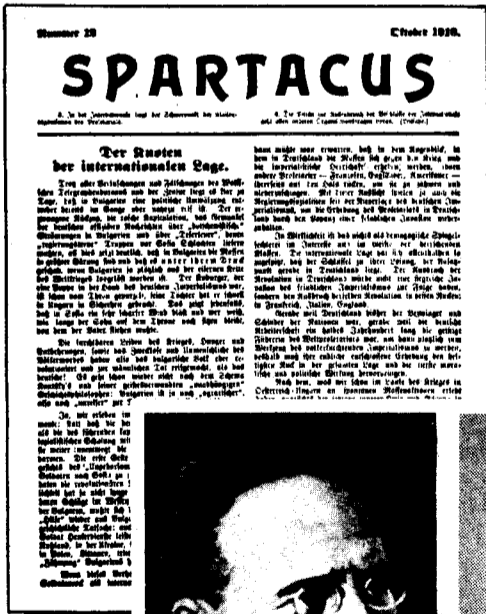
And what else would one expect given the long, venal tradition of the West German state? The main financier behind the Bonn government, Karl Friedrich Flick, inherited a financial empire built from the monstrous profits gained by starving the entire German working class through the astronomical inflation of the '20s. Flick, Sr. was also the main financier of the SS *Freundeskreis* Heinrich Himmler, and his fortune in the Third Reich was built on the superexploitation of hundreds of thousands of forced laborers from the concentration camps.

The regime supported and suborned by the Flick millions today is indeed the "legitimate" successor to the Hitler regime. To keep the wheels of German industry turning it imports millions of "guest workers" crammed into miserable ghettos. It keeps them in line, outlawing Turkish leftist groups while the fascist Grey Wolves stalk their prey with impunity. And when the capitalist economy is in crisis, "no more foreigners" becomes the slogan not only of the neo-Nazis but of the federal ministry of the interior. Making a mockery of the right of asylum written into the constitution, hundreds of Tamils are deported to Sri Lanka to face pogroms and murderous state terror at the hands of West German and American ally J.R. Jayewardene.

Do not forget: it was the Soviet Red Army that smashed the Nazi regime. And the German Trotskyists, who ultimately fell victim to the Nazi plague, fought to prevent Hitler's rise to power, calling for a united front to unite the powerful German working class against fascist barbarism. In 1933, their organ, *Die Permanente Revolution*, was banned by the government as a threat to the state. Four years later came the trial of the Danzig Trotskyists, who published a mimeographed bulletin, *Spartakus*, and called on dock workers to do everything in their power to prevent shipments of war materiel. Today our Australian and American comrades of the international Spartacist tendency are likewise fighting to stop death cargos to El Salvador and South Africa. The heroic Danzig Trotskyists of the Spartakusbund proclaimed, as do we today: "the defense of the USSR remains the unconditional duty of the proletariat."

It is a mockery of the tragic fate of the Jewish people, and of German history, which has amply proved the enormity of the crimes of Hitler fascism—the genocide of 6 million Jews and over 5 million others (other minorities, communists, trade unionists), the annihilation of 20 million Soviet citizens, the suffering of entire nations under the Nazi jackboot—when the militant opponents of

continued on page 4



German communists founded the Spartakusbund and began publishing *Spartakus* (top left) in opposition to the imperialist First World War. Right before the brutal murder of workers' heroes Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (bottom), in the heat of the 1918-19 revolution, counterrevolutionaries put out call (top right): "The Fatherland... is threatened not from without but from within, by the Spartakus group. Strike its leaders dead! Kill Liebknecht!" But Liebknecht's revolutionary slogan "The main enemy is at home!" and the spectre of Spartacism still haunt the German bourgeoisie.

# Neo-Gestapo...

(continued from page 3)

fascism are equated with their Nazi executioners by the arrogant West German state, the "democratic" heir to that unspeakably grotesque and barbaric regime. It is the legacy of Nazism which has left the German nation, and the German proletariat, divided. The Trotskyists of the TLD fight for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, in a socialist United States of Europe. The West German secret police try to silence the Marxists as part of the imperialist drive to overthrow the historic conquests of the DDR [East German] deformed workers state east of the Elbe.

## Who Is Afraid of the Spartacists?

It's downright perverse that the *Verfassungsschutz* [Office for the Protection of the Constitution], the secret police of an imperialist state allied with bloody bonapartist dictatorships from Sri Lanka to Turkey to Chile, should accuse Marxists of "terrorism." In the "Zimmermann ad," Leninist-Trotskyists are accused of putschism as we are thrown together in the smear collage with the Nazi slogan "Smash this state!" In fact the capitalist government is not "smashed," violently or nonviolently. The historical likelihood is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow."

And surely not this government in its present form. The choice posed will most probably be between the workers democracy of soviets versus a tottering bonapartist dictatorship.

The Trotskyists defend the victims of bourgeois state terror, such as the defunct Red Army Faction (RAF—referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof gang"), who in their petty-bourgeois despair strike out at individual representatives of imperialist oppression. We seek instead to educate and mobilize the proletariat around its historic tasks. Nothing is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the open and widest dissemination of its views and aims. Any leftist organization that fits the *Verfassungsschutz* definition of "extremist" would have to be a group of suicidal psychopaths.

And just what are these "protectors of the constitution" protecting? The West German imperialist state which arose after 1948 has adopted the rhetoric of its Allied conquerors. Its constitution even includes a "bill of rights." Twenty articles guarantee legal equality, freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, freedom of travel, freedom of occupation, etc. But in Article 21 the sinister concept of "unconstitutional" [*verfassungswidrig*] parties is introduced. For them all rights can be denied; instead there is *Berufsverbot* [occupa-

tional bans], criminalization, and trial by "advertisement." And it's all enforced, whether Social Democrats or Christian Democrats occupy the ministerial seats, by a federal state police [*Bundesstaatspolizei*] dressed in constitutional grey.

For generations palpably false characterizations have been used as a cover in order to arrest opponents of the government. In the cause of banning the KPD [Communist Party of Germany] in 1956, the threatening concept of "enemies of the constitution" was created. This police-state definition allows the wholesale civil service blacklisting of, for example, supporters and members of the KPD's successor, the DKP. In the yearly spy report, the subject of the Zimmermann ad, virtually all left groups are labeled "enemies of the constitution." References to the TLD repeatedly warn that we are "pro-Soviet."

Our American comrades successfully conducted a legal struggle against an attempt by the California state attorney general to include us on a "terrorist" list with such unsavory elements as the Hell's Angels and the criminally insane Manson and his cult followers. We beat back this attack and obtained a retraction from the State of California. And in the face of the Reagan administration's attempts to proscribe communists as "terrorists," the SL/U.S. has just now successfully settled a legal suit asserting our rights against the American FBI [see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," page 16]. We adamantly defend the right of a workers party to organize.

The TLD is part of a disciplined internationalist communist organization, the international Spartacist tendency. Given this, it is unreasonable to suppose that we would be troublesome in one country and not another—unless one defines "troublesome" to include practices permitted by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. Since the present West German state issued from several years of United States military dictatorship, we would like to think that activities that we undertake which would be privileged under the United States Constitution would also be permitted in the Federal Republic of Germany.

## What Is This State?

On the other hand, we also understand that much of the present practice of this state issues from the practices of the "previous period" (the Third Reich). Nor does the Bonn government overlook this. The federal republic claims legal continuity with the state of the Hitler period. Indeed, the laws on foreigners are actually *worse* than those on the books in the Third Reich. And as Hitler ruled under the Weimar Constitution, the laws of the present state go back to Napoleonic law. This law has its origins in the last century as the Junkers and the King of Prussia unified the Reich *from above*. The revolution failed in 1848. There was no bourgeois revolution in Germany, no successful revolutionary struggle of the masses which would have done away with feudalism to enfranchise the masses and establish democratic rights on a mass

scale as a precondition to developing a modern capitalist industrial economy in Germany.

Thus fundamental rights such as *habeas corpus* (a gain from the 12th century Magna Carta) do not exist in Germany, and prisoners can be held without charge. The anti-abortion law (Paragraph 218) has been on the books for over 100 years, since Wilhelminian Prussia. Separation of church and state, a fundamental bourgeois-democratic legacy of the American revolution, does not exist in the "democratic" federal republic. Indeed, with the Catholic party in power today, the "Moral Majority" is the state.

The threat of illegalization and murderous violence against us is quite explicit in the smear campaign the *Verfassungsschutz* has begun. But not only against us. Any group believed to be "terrorists" or "enemies of the constitution" would be laid open as immediate targets for police and/or right-wing attack in the course of carrying out ordinary propaganda work: a rally, a street sale, a public meeting. If this owes anything to the legal traditions of its American occupiers, it is the legacy of the worst McCarthyite witchhunting period. This state now takes on "terrorists" with its guns drawn. Just recall the illegal Strauss actions, applauded by Zimmermann, in the vicious persecution of *Spiegel* publisher Rudolph Augstein. And today Green parliamentarian Otto Schily, who defended the RAF prisoners, is still denounced as a recipient of "terrorist money" by Strauss (during an official hearing on the DM2.23 million the Bavarian CSU leader received from Flick!).

And if there were any doubts as to the danger of the deadly fascist threat one need only look at the hideous 1980 Oktoberfest massacre, the ever more frequent attacks on Turkish families, on Green and women's organization offices, which go unavenged while Zimmermann calls for unleashing police-state measures against the left.

All of us on the state's hit list had better know what it can mean to be treated as a terrorist and "enemy of the constitution" in West Germany. We are compelled to undertake this battle not only to defend ourselves against the criminalization attempts by the *Verfassungsschutz* and the West German state, but also to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. The revolutionary Marxists are the only consistent defenders of democratic rights, particularly in a period when the anti-Soviet war drive places the defense of all gains by the working class, from the trade unions to the Soviet Union itself, clearly on the agenda: in Lenin's words, the proletariat is the only consistently democratic class.

*We do not intend to be outlawed and blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night.* As the defenders and disseminators of revolutionary Marxism in West Germany today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying racist system through victorious socialist revolution.

—3 December 1984

## Motion for a Temporary Injunction

The following are excerpts from the legal brief of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* for a temporary injunction ordering the West German Ministry of the Interior to stop its campaign of smear "advertisements" prominently featuring the TLD newspaper *Spartakist*.

Hannover  
28 November 1984

To: Hannover State Court

### Motion For a Temporary Injunction

1. The *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, represented by its National Secretary, Fred Zierenberg, Frankfurt am Main
2. Editor-in-Chief Fred Zierenberg, Frankfurt am Main

-Petitioners-

Through their attorneys:  
Dr. Holtfort, Dr. Helms, Dr. Horstmann, Waldruff and Borries, Hannover

- v -

The Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the Minister of the Interior, Bonn

-Respondent-

re: Injunction

Preliminary damages: DM 20,000.00

In the name and on behalf of Petitioners, I hereby move, without a hearing due to the particular urgency of the matter, that the presiding judge of the civil court issue an injunction to prevent Respondent, on pain of damages to be determined by the court for each instance of non-compliance by Respondent, from using the masthead of "Spartakist" in advertisements for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, such as the one which appeared in the *Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung* on 24-25/11/1984, or similar ones, in particular in conjunction with neo-Nazi and terrorist symbols and slogans.

IV. The rights of Petitioner(1) and Petitioner(2) have suffered injury due to the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint....

The day-to-day work of Petitioner(1) was also damaged by the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint.

The use of the logo "Spartakist" in the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint, in conjunction with the other symbols and slogans used there, in particular the frequent use of the "swastika," creates the impression in the casual and even average reader that Petitioner(1) is a neo-Nazi and terrorist association.

In particular: The impression created by the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint is one dominated by symbols and slogans of neo-Nazi organizations. In particular the swastika, a banned image, is used frequently. This makes it a matter of a neo-Nazi organization. In no way is it made clear to the reader that it is not exclusively a matter of neo-fascist organizations. In addition, this is not made clear in the text of the advertisement. For the most part, the advertisement which is the subject of this complaint contains symbols and slogans of organizations which are already banned, or their successor organizations. Petitioner(1) is neither a banned organization nor a successor organization to a banned organization. On the basis of the advertisement an unsuspecting and insufficiently informed reader must conclude that Petitioner(1) is an already banned organization or successor organization, or perhaps an organization which is imminently threatened with being banned. However, this is not the case, as Respondent will also confirm.

It slanders Petitioner(1) for Respondent to equate Marxist and neo-Nazi tendencies and organizations in its advertisement. The results of National Socialism, in particular genocide, should be known to the court and have been sufficiently demonstrated by German history. The flat equation of Petitioner(1) with neo-Nazi groups is therefore unlawful. As is even an approximation.

s/ Borries  
Attorney



Bonn,  
June 1982:  
German  
Spartacists  
march in mass  
protest against  
Reagan's visit.

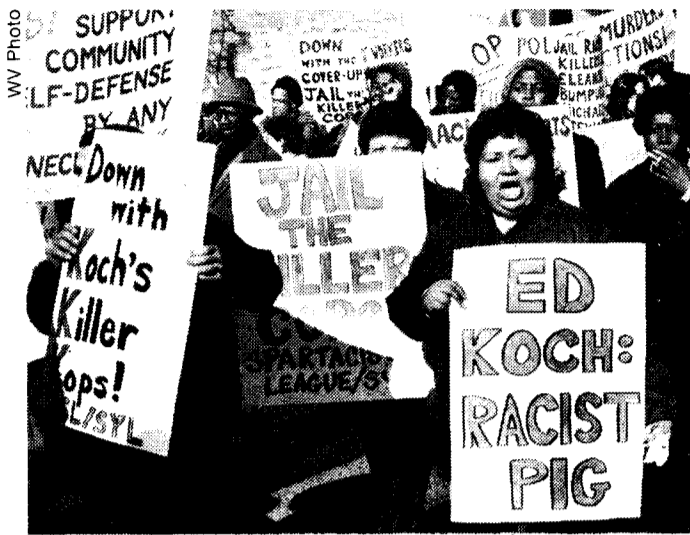
## NYC Rally Protests Police Murder of Eleanor Bumpurs

# Down with Koch's Killer Cops!

Chanting "We want Stephen Sullivan!" more than 200 angry demonstrators marched down the Grand Concourse in the Bronx and converged at the 46th Precinct station house on November 17 to protest the police murder of black, crippled, 67-year-old Eleanor Bumpurs in her own home. Sullivan the Cop was triggerman for the SWAT team, equipped with side arms, mace, bulletproof vests, gas masks, shields and "restraining bars," who kicked in the old woman's door on October 29 and then killed her with a 12-gauge shotgun. She was \$417.10 behind in her rent and the city ordered her out: it was eviction by death.

The cops said Sullivan shot Mrs. Bumpurs only once but the medical examiner's report states that there were two blasts. The first caused "extensive destruction" of the hand which supposedly wielded a knife. Then, when even by official report she was utterly defenseless, Sullivan fired the fatal round to her chest. At that point Eleanor Bumpurs was still alive, but according to Victor Garcia, an eyewitness to the killing (*City Sun*, 21-

200 march  
November 17 in  
protest against  
"eviction by  
death" of Bronx  
grandmother.



27 November), it was more than *half an hour* before the cops brought the dying woman outside, naked. They ignored an ambulance at the scene and put her into a patrol car at about 10:50 a.m. She died at Lincoln Hospital at 11:35.

With NYC under Congressional scrutiny for police brutality, the *New York Times* called on Koch to clean up

the "procedures" for police killings. Meanwhile, the police brass say that the execution was "within department guidelines." Commissioner Benjamin Ward, Koch's black front man, emphasized the point with a ghoulish demonstration at the November 28 meeting of the city council's Committee on Public Safety. An "emotionally disturbed" person with a knife was

approached by a robot which asked, "Would you like a cup of coffee?" When the victim responded "Leave me alone" (reportedly Eleanor Bumpurs' last words), he was then blasted with water which in real life, it was pointed out, would be mace... or bullets. The commissioner reassured the audience: "In some cases, these devices will do some damage, but the person will probably survive death"(!)

Black Democratic Party demagogues like Herbert Daughtry are trying to capitalize on the murder of Eleanor Bumpurs and use the police brutality hearings to launch an anti-Koch candidate in the 1985 mayoral elections. But whether it is racist pig Ed Koch or black ex-cop Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, the Democratic big city mayors "crack down" on the ghetto masses as enforcers of Reagan's racist austerity, part of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. A Spartacist placard in the November 17 march declared: "Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party to Lead the Fight for Black Freedom!" Yet another grand jury or FBI "investigation" will be a cover-up for the legal lynch mobs in blue. We say: "Jail the Killer Cops!" and, as a sign carried by a militant NYC transit worker at the Bronx demo read, "Labor/Black Action to Stop Racist Terror!" Workers and the oppressed must be mobilized in revolutionary struggle to sweep away the death squads of racist American capitalism.

## Running Against the Democrats and Their "Left" Lackeys

# S.F. Spartacist Campaign For Black Freedom

SAN FRANCISCO, November 30—Today, at Pier 80 on the SF docks where militant members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) are fighting for mass pickets to boycott the South Africa-bound ship *Nedlloyd Kimberley*; Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for the SF Board of Supervisors in the recent elections, told the local NBC-TV affiliate KRON (Channel 4):

"You know, the whole question behind Dellums, Conyers, and these other House of Representatives members that are being arrested; it's crazy to meet with this guy [the South African ambassador] because, basically, everybody knows where South Africa stands on the issue. The point is the line right here. What should be done right out here is mass picket lines.... The longshoremen here should not be unloading this ship. There should actually be a mass picket line protesting this racist ship that's docked out here on the pier.... The point is it's embarrassing, especially to blacks... that Local 10 is still dispatching longshoremen out here, and on every day, so the guys go inside... and walk back out. That's not class struggle. Class struggle's about the mass picket lines. There's a lot of talk in the city right now about mass picket lines. And there's a lot of talk in the city right now about a general strike. Let's stop talking about it, let's *have* a general strike against union-busting, against this kind of racist thing like the ship being docked here in the bay."

In the face of the landslide re-election of anti-Soviet nut Reagan, and in this predominantly Democratic city, the Trotskyist program of socialist revolution got nearly 7,000 votes in San

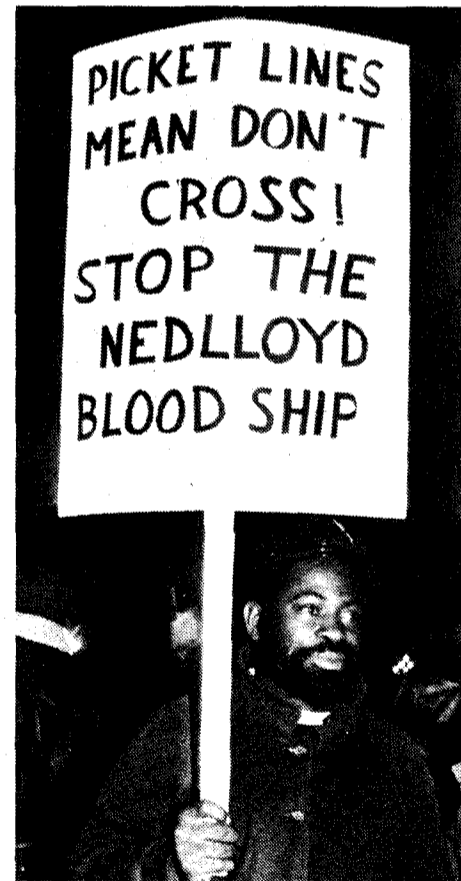
Francisco. The Spartacist campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman sought not only to make broad Marxist propaganda but to translate their program into action. Class-struggle internationalist labor solidarity with anti-imperialist fighters from Soweto to Central America—where Reagan is setting the stage for an invasion of Nicaragua—was central to their campaign, as was their stand for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

In defense of San Francisco's large communities of Hispanic and Asian immigrants, the Spartacist candidates demanded: "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!" The Bradley and Coleman campaign's central slogan was "Finish the Civil War! For Workers Revolution!" This was the popular chant of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League that stopped the racist-terrorist KKK from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982. And this slogan was appropriate to the heroic action of Spartacist candidate Bradley who twice climbed a 50-foot flagpole in SF's Civic Center to tear down the Confederate flag of slavery and racist terror obstinately flown by the Democratic administration of Mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein. Bradley's action was acclaimed by Bay Area blacks and all enemies of racism. But by exposing the party of Cold War loser Mondale as the party of Dixiecrat Jim Crow, it drove into a frenzy those

labor skates, "rainbow" coalitionists and left tailists who were hustling votes for the Democrats.

The Bradley/Coleman campaign took place during the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco general strike that shut down the docks and turned this city into a union town. With the slogan "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball!" the Spartacist candidates called for a revival of the militant class-struggle tactics that built the unions, in order to defend them today against the union-busters. They took that slogan down to pickets of hotel and restaurant workers whose long strike was crippled by the bureaucrats' policy of selective strikes and nominal picket lines. And they went to the Central Labor Council and called for less commemoration of the '34 general strike and more action to do it again. At a mass rally of Local 2 restaurant workers, Bradley called for militant mass picket lines that nobody crosses, backed up by the rest of SF labor. Only now that the strike is up against the wall are the CLC fakers blustering about a general strike against the hotels and restaurants who refuse to take the strikers back.

The SL sought to use this campaign to expose the government's sinister "anti-terrorism" ploy, by which it seeks to equate political opponents, especially Marxists, with "terrorism," thereby outlawing or exterminating political opposition to its deadly anti-Soviet war preparations. From the White House to City Hall, bourgeois authorities combined to bring this "anti-terrorist"



Richard Bradley joins longshore protest against South Africa-bound ship.

government terrorism to the streets of San Francisco, targeting the tame demonstrations scheduled to coincide with the Democratic Party National Convention, targeting the convention proceedings themselves and targeting the Spartacist League, despite our loudly expressed indifference to the proceedings of this bourgeois party. The streets around the convention center were militarized as cops beat up and arrested hundreds of demonstrators.

Having gotten a taste of blood, Feinstein's thugs in blue have been rampaging against immigrants, blacks, gays and antiwar protesters ever since. Despite our fundamental class differences with the Democrats, we offered a

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# Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 1)

lanes over which passes 20 percent of the oil imported to the United States, and more than 50 percent of the oil imported to its NATO allies. South Africa has become the gendarme for imperialism and especially American imperialism in southern Africa, as demonstrated by its role in Angola and also in Mozambique. And it is in the front line of the American anti-Soviet war drive, the drive for confrontation and nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union, that threatens humanity with nuclear holocaust.

## Gold and Apartheid

So, how did apartheid develop and what is it all about? In this brutal regime is seen, especially by the colonial masses throughout the world and by blacks in America, a mirror of their own oppression. A mirror that magnifies, that renders grotesque and exaggerated but nevertheless is a reflection of what the peasants in El Salvador, what the Mexican migrants in the Southwest, what the Turkish worker in Europe, what the untouchable in India, and yes, what a black welfare mother in the Bronx feels in a racist society, in a colonial society, in a society in which there is special oppression. And here the colonial relationships are encapsulated and magnified in one country.

The system of apartheid was developed during the 19th century to extract gold and diamonds which, especially at that time, was a very labor-intensive form of production. Furthermore it was production that was highly volatile and subject to enormous fluctuations in the world market. And unlike mining in certain other countries, such as the Soviet Union, South Africa has continued to develop its mining (which creates 70 percent of its exports), not through capital investment, not through improvement in machines, but through the increasing brutalization and exploitation of black labor.



Reininger/Contact

**Black gold miners have the power to strike at the heart of South African apartheid economy.**

symbol of chattel slavery and racism down, and whites will not be spared the lash by white skin privilege in this industry.

Now just to give you some idea of what I mean by this increasing exploitation in South Africa without capital investment: the rate of profit for gold per metric ton of ore in 1970 was 3.9 Rand (a Rand is worth 50 cents to 60 cents); by 1981, this had increased about 14-fold, the rate of profit, to 53.7 Rand. Some of that reflects inflation, but certainly not a great deal of it. It represents a real increase in the *rate of exploitation*. In South Africa, oppression, as I said, is reflected and made naked. It's bare, it's explicit, it's institutionalized. Let me just give you a statement, for example, that was put out by the prime minister's office in 1924, and I assure you things have not changed very much, especially in the mines. The statement said about their "civilized labour" policy:

"Civilized labour is to be considered as the labour rendered by persons whose standard of living conforms to the standards generally recognized as tolerable from the usual European standpoint. Uncivilized labour is to be regarded as the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the

to protest their plight, they are just shipped back to where they come from, after a period of detention in which they do prison labor, which is a big industry in South Africa.

So what about the other 60 percent [of black mine workers]? Here is the real motor force behind apartheid: to get at that gold, to get at those diamonds, a whole people, a whole nation, or nations, has been uprooted from their homeland, has been stripped of their birthright and declared foreigners in their own country. Something called the Native Land Act of 1913 declared 87 percent of the country a white homeland, even though whites constitute but 16 percent of the population, and the 70 percent of the population that was black was relegated to 13 percent of the land, one or two hundred scattered parcels, which happen to represent the poorest part of the land. The ports, the cities, the industry, the economically viable land is all centered in the white homeland, in the 87 percent that the whites gained under their "self-determination." Blacks, in an obscene mockery of "self-determination," are supposed to realize *their* homeland where there is neither land nor home—in the brush, in the desert of the other 13 percent. The bantustans today generate but 3 percent of the gross national product of South Africa. The other 97 percent is in the white "homeland."

So the real jobs, the cash jobs—and you need cash because you have to pay taxes in South Africa, and to support your family in the bantustans you need cash—are in the white homelands. Where in order to go you have to have a passport, the so-called Pass Laws, and where you can only go if you are "economically necessary"—i.e., if you have a job. You leave your family behind, your wife and children back in the bantustan to scrape out a living out of the brush while you go off—if you're amongst the lucky—to get into the mines, to live in a hostel, or a barracks, 20 to a barracks. The better-equipped ones have one tap of running water and maybe one sink. And they literally are barracks: no privacy, double bunkbeds, and this is where you spend your economically viable life.

The bantustans therefore constitute a reserve, an industrial reserve for the unemployed; for the sick this is your social insurance. If you're sick, you're dismissed from your work and you're sent back to the bantustan. And this is a very dangerous occupation—as late as 1981, 619 workers were killed in the gold mines alone, another 119 in coal mines. Killed! Murdered. Thousands are maimed for life and dumped back on bantustans. It is there the next generation of wage slaves are raised. It is there the husbands return when they are unemployed, when they are sick, when they are maimed and when they are dead to be buried by their widows, whose lives are one unmitigated toil of triple

oppression, as women, as blacks and as domestic servants. So of course the state does not need to provide unemployment compensation and all the other benefits: injury insurance, workmen's comp. This is all taken care of by the women in the bantustan.

The women in the bantustans, however, even though their life is brutalized, are also an enormous reserve of social protest. During the 1950s when the Pass Laws were extended to women, there was a massive mobilization of women—black women, Indians and coloureds and whites—who came from all over South Africa, very often walking for hundreds of miles in a massive pilgrimage. And they gathered 20,000-strong in Johannesburg, and they sang the freedom song whose lyrics will resound soon. They are: "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

## The Black Proletariat: Gravedigger of Apartheid Capitalism

So to create this superexploited pool of migrant labor, to make migrants out of the inhabitants of the land, and to make them subject to superexploitation; to create massive unemployment, a massive reserve army, so that if you don't like this job, there's another hundred back on the bantustans that are crying out for your job, apartheid was created. And all of the institutions of "separate development"—the homelands, the Pass Laws, the Group Areas acts—exist today to create a total regimentation of the labor force for superexploitation. The bantustans, I assure you, are coequal with anything you see today or hear about in the starving Sahara, or starving Ethiopia. The diseases and epidemics that have been wiped out of North America are endemic in the bantustan. Infant mortality for a white in South Africa is 18 per thousand. For a black, it's 110 per thousand. And one out of every five children will never live beyond the age of five.

So in this situation, to go out on strike is very courageous, because one stands up not only against the police and now the army with armored cars and machine guns, but as I said, the threat of being thrown back on the bantustan to starve and to watch your family starve because of your action. But in creating its source of exploitation in the proletariat, capitalism creates its own gravedigger. And just as everything else is more acute, more naked and more brutal in South Africa, so is this very basic fact more true, because South Africa is entirely dependent on black labor. Even more so because it is labor-intensive, because to a certain extent even though it presents the image of being an advanced industrial country, it is in many ways quite backward in terms of its economic development compared to Western Europe, or compared to the United States.

Furthermore, South Africa has ambitions to be an imperialist power in its own right and not merely a supplier of raw materials, of gold and diamonds and coal and various other metals and agricultural produce for the world market. It would like to process its own raw materials and create an industrial infrastructure and a marketplace. But in order to do that, that is to say, create a petrochemical plant, you must therefore create a skilled labor force. But if you have a skilled labor force you cannot simply subject your entire labor force to a migratory condition where they must trek thousands of miles to their place of work every year and then be sent back every year. They must be allowed the accoutrements of culture. They must be allowed to learn how to read and write. So there is a tremendous demand for skilled labor, and a tremendous labor shortage within the skills. Let me just give you a statistic from 1981, which is



John Seymour

**Bantustan hellhole (Illing, South Africa): Apartheid prison house for black masses.**

In fact the mines are run somewhat like the [New York City] subway system is supposed to be run under our new subway czars Kiley and Gunn—that is, they don't want to invest money; they think they're going to use what's called in South Africa the *sjambok*, which is a Boer bullwhip. And it's indicative of how South Africa is a replication of colonial and special oppression everywhere: we have up at the 207th Street shop, sported by one Davis, the proprietor of that plantation, a bullwhip wrapped around an American flag, a fitting symbol of the new era of labor relations in transit. And I'll tell you, this union had better stand up for its rights, like they say in the song, and take that

bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and underdeveloped peoples."

Read "blacks, coloureds [people of mixed race], Indians"—but especially blacks.

Therefore, the whole point is to drive the entire labor force in the mines down to the bare necessities to get through one day and the next, and that is *all*. Now the most stark way of doing this is that the entire black labor force—500,000-strong—in the mines is migrant labor. Forty percent of this migrant labor comes from outside of South Africa: client states like Lesotho, so-called independent states like Mozambique. They have no rights. And if they attempt

the latest one I have: of the 33,300 apprentices in South Africa, less than 500 were black. And this is a country where blacks constitute 70 percent of the population and the overwhelming bulk of the labor force.

### "Adapt or Die"?

The time cannot go on indefinitely where 16 percent of the population lords it over 70 percent. The savage repression of this regime has already resulted in more than 2,000 so-called detentions this year; and as you know from the case of Steve Biko, these are detentions from which many do not return. The savage roundups, the use of 7,000 troops in one township alone, to go house to house and to find people—the only "crimes" they found were people reading pornography. Much like the SF State Women's Center—maybe we could send them to South Africa, they could find employment in the South African army rooting out pornography!

So 7,000 troops were used for this mobilization. This is a panic reaction because this is a regime that's in crisis. And just as the oppressed of the world feel keenly every blow against apartheid, because they see in apartheid a mirror of their own oppression—which is why there is so much solidarity with the military actions of the African National Congress, with the strikes of the black workers, with the militant boycott of the Indian and coloured peoples—so do the oppressors and exploiters, the world capitalists, tremble over what is happening in South Africa. They are very concerned because this regime does not look stable at all.

And so everybody is crying for reform. The regime of Pieter Botha, who just became president through this new constitution—he's supposed to represent the enlightened wing of Afrikaner nationalism, of white privilege, of white capitalism there. And he has a slogan, which was in fact made into a documentary movie, *Adapt or Die*. It's certainly a fitting slogan, "Adapt or die"—that is, there must be reforms made, they feel, to channel, co-opt, dissipate the militancy of this anti-apartheid revolt which has spread across now all sections of the population.

One scheme was to create after Soweto, the [1976] uprising in Soweto, so-called township community control. Councils were set up which were supposed to present an illusion of self-government within the townships, which are deprived of almost every basic social service. In fact the recent revolts in the townships began with an action of the town councillors, who tried to raise the rents of people for whom a rent increase, since they already live at the margin of existence, represents starvation. And not accidentally, when the revolt against the rent increases took place one of the principal targets were

these so-called councillors and mayors, several of whom were hacked to death by angry blacks in the townships. So much for the attempt to channel black militancy and black anger into these councils.

Another attempt, of course, of the government is to channel blacks literally into the bantustans. So that in just the last few years alone, three and a half million blacks out of 22 million in South Africa have been dumped back into the bantustans. Now half of the [black] population is forcibly registered in the bantustans, where they are supposed to get democracy through tribal rule. And what does this tribal rule mean? It means just what it says—there is actually an attempt to re-tribalize, to turn the clock backward in terms of the historical development of the black people of South Africa. At Soweto, part of the rebellion was over teaching of Afrikaans and the tribal languages in the schools rather than English. And on the bantustans there is actually an attempt by white judges—so-called white witch doctors—to establish the old tribal laws, including the bride price for women.

The other attempt at reform at this level is the so-called new constitution, which was going to offer the Indians and coloureds so-called self-government over their own affairs. That is, national affairs, defense, police, everything that has to do with the country as a whole was relegated to the white parliament. But things that concerned the coloureds and the Indians—like education after the whites told them what their budget was, assuming that they spent it on approved things—was going to be by this Indian parliament or the coloured parliament. And the response of Indian and coloureds was to overwhelmingly boycott these elections. Botha hoped to divide the coloureds and the Indians against the blacks and to win them over to support apartheid. Instead what he did was he fused a unity of Indians and coloureds with blacks against apartheid.

But the most important so-called reform has been the attempt of the Botha regime, and the attempt of the white capitalist establishment in South Africa, to introduce some form of organization within the black working class. Because if you want to create a modern, industrial infrastructure, you cannot have grievances simply resolved through sabotage. This is not so dangerous in a mine, but as you can imagine, in a petrochemical plant this creates problems. And so they wanted to channel black grievances into an extremely elaborate arbitration machinery in which so-called unions would be created—very corporatist, very much integrated into this arbitration machinery. This of course was only a recognition that blacks were organizing unions in any case, and that this was inevitable.

So the "AFL-CIA" of Lane Kirkland

sent one of their old-time operatives from the Cold War, one Irving Brown, down to South Africa to see what he could do about cultivating a labor aristocracy, about making the kind of trade unions that the diamond and gold magnates, the Oppenheims, wanted. Ones that would be shackles on black struggle, rather than vehicles of black struggle. He might have taken along [NYC transit union president] John Lawe. Nevertheless the unions have completely broken out of this framework, as demonstrated by the recent National Union of Mineworkers strike in the Transvaal involving tens of thousands of gold miners. The negotiations were even hailed by the *Wall Street Journal*. The union went through the entire arbitration procedure, months and months of negotiating, and yet they couldn't get a contract. Finally they were, even under the onerous conditions set up in South Africa, in a position to have a legal strike. So they had a legal

was formed about 70 years ago over the slogan of "nation-building" in Africa among the tribal chiefs and the more privileged blacks of the time. But especially after World War II, which saw an expansion of a black industrial proletariat and an urbanization of the black population in general, the African National Congress changed its character and became more militant. Leaders from what was called the Youth League—people like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki—took over the ANC. But certain themes have remained constant throughout the ANC's history.

One is their dedication to a multi-racial, democratic republic. Now on one side this is a noble aspiration and it reflects itself in the fact that, when they turned to military actions after the massive suppression of Sharpeville, their military actions have always targeted real targets and real institutions of apartheid repression, and they have



Peter Magubane

South African women's mass protest against the Pass Laws, 1958. As freedom song says, "Now you have touched the woman, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."

walkout: ten workers were murdered, hundreds were savagely beaten. Harry Oppenheimer, the so-called enlightened capitalist, who had encouraged this whole process, of course was the one who called in the police, and behind the police the armed forces.

So the contradictions of apartheid are such that they attempt to make a little reform under the encouragement of, you remember, "human rights/ethnic purity" Carter; or we have now "constructive engagement" on the part of Ronald Reagan. All genuinely encouraging the regime to make certain attempts at reform, cosmetic reforms, because they realize the situation is untenable. They realize that this state represents a weak link in imperialist domination throughout the world, and not an unimportant one. Because they're worried about seeing the apartheid regime go down in flames. But every attempt at reform unleashes greater struggle, greater militancy. And the regime attempts to meet it with savage panicked repression. You must realize that the South African blacks confront the army and the police without arms, with at best sticks and rocks. Throughout the whole period of Soweto in '76, the army was not used once. Only of late has the army been introduced into suppressing strikes and suppressing township rebellions. And yet, as demonstrated by the general strike earlier this month, unlike the repression of Sharpeville in 1960, this repression by the regime has not only not silenced anti-apartheid revolt, it has fueled anti-apartheid revolt.

### Resistance to Apartheid

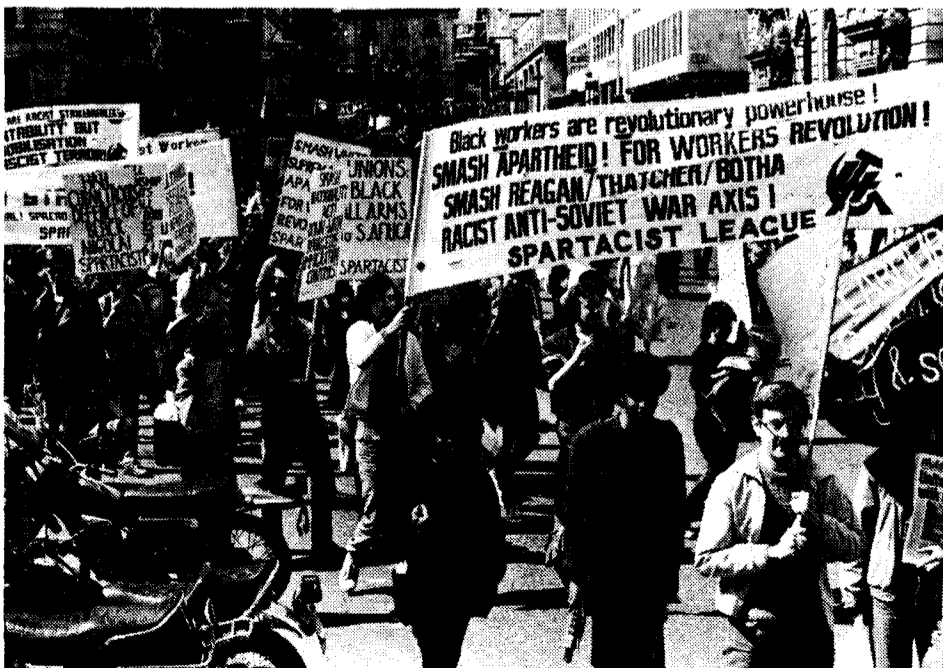
Now at the head of the resistance to apartheid are several organizations or currents. First of all, and most famous, is the African National Congress, which

tried to draw a very strong line between that and indiscriminate violence aimed at whites, or indiscriminate violence aimed at the population in general. Instead they have chosen targets like military facilities, or the famous Sasol coal-to-oil processing plant, which is extremely important for South Africa, which does not have its own petroleum resources.

Behind the slogan of a multi-racial democratic republic is first of all the reality of South Africa and the class-collaborationist strategy of the ANC. Because in South Africa class is race. The ruling class is white. And behind the slogan of multiracialism is a strategy of class collaborationism and appeasement of a white so-called liberal bourgeoisie, represented by the Oppenheims. In terms of this appeasement, the "democratic" in the slogan "multiracial democratic republic" also meant something else. Instead of one man, one vote—they mean by "democracy" equal participation by each of the individual constituencies within South Africa. So that what they envision is a system in which blacks and whites coequally participate in the government, even though blacks constitute 70 percent of the population and whites constitute but 16 percent. Nevertheless they will have an "equal" say and "equal" veto power over each other.

And furthermore, since one happens to be the ruling class and one happens to be the exploited class, in fact such a government is not only utopian and absurd, but even if it would come to be it would not change the basic exploitation of the black workers. Let me give you an example. Let us say tomorrow the ANC forms a multiracial democratic republic, and the black workers demand a shorter workweek—"Give us the eight-hour

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Workers Hammer

London, June 2: Spartacist League/Britain marches in 20,000-strong mass protest against Botha visit with "Iron Lady" Thatcher.

# Smash Apartheid...

(continued from page 7)

day"—because now they work six twelve-hour days in the mines. And the mine owners say "fuck you," and they lock them out. Then what is the government going to do? Is it going to come to the aid of the mine owners, the Oppenheims, the Progressive Federal Party? Or is it going to come to the aid of the black proletariat? You can see such a government would not last very long.

Now in rejection of the ANC strategy is a tradition which also dates back to the ANC Youth League, of "black power," embodied in such organizations as the Pan-Africanist Congress and more recently the Black Consciousness Movement. And they demand majority rule, Africa for Africans. But again, their strategy of how to get to Africa for Africans is at best confused. And at worst envisions a replication of Zimbabwe. A kind of black petty-bourgeois regime. Under the impact of this massive black proletarian uprising in South Africa they too have had to recognize the class struggle. But they of course make it a subordinate part of what they call "black conscientizing," which basically denies the class struggle and sees the primary task of forging a consciousness that is nationalistic and that, ironically, is very much conditioned by the fact that many of the leaders of these movements were educated in Christian mission schools and are imbued with a strong strain of Christianity, the so-called new theology.

The other important development, as I mentioned, is an organized black proletariat, which is now 300,000-strong. Compared to the total industrial workforce, which is six million, about 5 percent of the workforce is organized—that is not much. But it is strategically located and it is an extremely powerful development in South Africa.

## The Road to Black Freedom in South Africa

I'd like to talk a little bit about what is a Trotskyist strategy for freedom and liberation in South Africa. Clearly the tasks that are on the agenda in South Africa reflect the uneven and combined development of this country. On the one hand you have the appearance of this advanced industrial society. You know, you look at Johannesburg, it looks like a modern city. But right next to Johannesburg is a bantustan where nobody has electricity, nobody has running water, there are no roads. There's a condition of primitiveness that predates the development of civilization. And the Zulus were a fairly advanced civilization, so as I said, in terms of subjugating this population it has become necessary to turn the clock of history backwards, to go back to tribal and pre-tribal conditions. And these coexist together.

So many of the tasks today in South Africa are the elementary tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, or even predate the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The tasks that were accomplished by the French Revolution or, more familiarly here at home, the two revolutionary wars of the War of Independence and the Civil War, in which the rights that we cherish are embodied. And the fruits of those wars—such as the right to vote, the franchise, freedom from chattel slavery, the Bill of Rights—the Reagan administration is abolishing, is violating one by one.

And that is the point. In the 18th and



Protest outside trial of ANC freedom fighters. Nelson Mandela (right), imprisoned for more than two decades, personifies resistance to apartheid regime.

19th centuries, with a rising and expanding bourgeoisie in this country, in order to develop industry and in order to develop their own political power certain democratic rights had to be established for the rule of the bourgeoisie in that period. It was necessary to win independence from Britain in order to create a national marketplace and it was necessary to fight the Civil War to consolidate that. It was necessary to abolish chattel slavery for capitalism to develop in this country, in order to create a free labor pool and conquer the South for the Northern marketplace.

But today, in the epoch of imperialism, we look at this ruling class in this country and we can see that every basic democratic right that this country was founded on, embodied in the Bill of Rights, embodied in the gains of the Civil War, is being reversed and undone, because we are dealing with a capitalist class in its decline. Imperialism represents the death agony of capitalism. The productive forces have outstripped the nation-state and private ownership of the means of production. And this reflects itself even more acutely in the colonial and neocolonial countries. Even where they have won nominal independence, like Mozambique, what has happened is that radical black nationalists have displaced the Portuguese as labor marketeers for apartheid slavery in the gold mines. This is what "freedom" for Mozambique means. And because of its economic subjugation, today this country is being strangled to be policemen on behalf of the apartheid regime against South African black freedom fighters. Throughout Africa, nominal independence has produced very often for the masses increased immiseration rather than being the foundation for their emancipation.

Because the bourgeoisie has outlived its historic mission as a class. And nowhere is this truer than in South Africa. In the ascendancy of the American bourgeoisie in the 18th and 19th centuries, it had to abolish chattel slavery to rise to power. To rise to power in South Africa, the white bourgeoisie had to impose a form of chattel slavery in some ways more brutal than anything

experienced on a Southern plantation in the antebellum South. So therefore for there to be emancipation in South Africa, necessarily there must be a civil war, a class upheaval, led by the black proletariat. Because only with the black proletariat in power, through its own class dictatorship, can the rest of the toilers of South Africa—the agrarian workers, the Indians and coloureds, the black women of the bantustans—be mobilized to win their own freedom.

Just take any demand. "One man, one vote!" In South Africa this demand is necessarily revolutionary. "Land to the tiller!" In South Africa this demand is explosive. The demand for trade-union



Camera Press

rights. The demand to regain their birthright, the right to travel where they want to in their own country is revolutionary in South Africa. It cuts against the entire apartheid system which is the very foundation for white capitalist rule.

But what is needed to weld together the struggles in the mines, in the ports, in the plants of the cities, with the agrarian proletariat which constitutes 28 percent of the black working class in South Africa, with the student youth of the townships, with the women of the bantustans, is a party that can be the leadership of the struggle against apartheid, a Leninist party that bases itself upon the lessons of the Russian Revolution, which was the first revolution and the only successful revolution in which the proletariat conquered power. And this revolution will mean not only the liberation of South Africa from the chains of apartheid, but will have an enormous impact for the rest of Africa as well, held in thrall, enchained. The industrial powerhouse of South Africa, instead of being used to subjugate, oppress the newly independent states of the African continent, can place itself in the service of their social emancipation.

## Anti-Apartheid Struggle and World Socialist Revolution

Now as I mentioned earlier, South Africa is a front line in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. This is demonstrated by the fact that with the desperate need for skilled labor in South Africa, the white ruling class has a safety valve in immigration. Now very few people really want to immigrate to South Africa, but they found a constituency: the "freedom-loving" Solidarność militants from Poland, who have found "freedom" in their white skin privilege, in the superexploitation of black labor in South Africa. And it is not accidental that Solidarność is not only Reagan's favorite union, but his *only* favorite union. Today on the battle lines, the very existence of the newly independent Angola is posed as South African imperialism is held at bay by Soviet-backed Cuban troops. It is no accident, wherever the struggle for freedom and exploitation is carried out, the capitalist

class in the United States sees the spectre of Communism. Because the outcome of the struggle, whether it is in Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Philippines or South Africa, was charted by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Today, because of the encirclement of the imperialist powers around the Soviet Union, which was a relatively backward country at the time of the revolution, that revolution has degenerated. A Stalinist bureaucracy usurped power, very much like the trade-union bureaucracy that runs the trade unions today in the United States. The industrial unions were a revolutionary gain of the American working class, and they have to be defended, including very often defended against their so-called leaders. And the same thing exists with the Soviet Union: the social gains of that revolution, the expropriation of the capitalist class and the establishment of a planned economy—where for the first time the working class had an opportunity to determine their economic destiny—those gains still exist. But in order to fully realize the potential of those gains, just like in order to fully realize the potential and power of the trade-union movement in this country, there needs to be within the Soviet Union what we call a proletarian political revolution, where the working class takes back the government, re-establishes soviet, or Leninist, democracy. Just as in the United States there is a necessity to put at the head of the American labor movement a leadership that genuinely represents the interests of those unions and the interests of the working class.

So the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is directly linked to the defense of Angola against apartheid imperialism, and to the revolution within South Africa against apartheid itself.

Now as I said earlier, South Africa is a mirror image of colonial oppression throughout the world. And this is felt clearly in the United States by American blacks, where the struggle against apartheid in South Africa has had enormous impact and influence, such as during the civil rights movement in the '50s, which in many ways modeled itself upon the Defiance Campaign of the ANC in South Africa. And today the struggle against apartheid in South Africa is an inspiration to black people throughout the United States, just as it ought to be an inspiration to all of the working class in the United States. But to translate this racial and class solidarity with South Africa into effective action takes something else—it takes international labor solidarity. Supporters of the Spartacist League have fought in their unions for labor boycotts of all military goods to South Africa, a campaign which is now being carried out in fact by seamen's unions around the world, including in Britain, Australia and Denmark, where there is an absolute boycott on all military and oil goods.

We have fought in the unions to fight against the multinationals, Ford and GM, to force them to grant equal rights to black labor in South Africa, full trade-union rights and conditions of decency at the work place. But ultimately, of course, the principal ally and prop of apartheid in South Africa is American imperialism itself and it is struggle for the party in the belly of the beast that will reckon with U.S. imperialism, that will fight for a Third American Revolution, that will finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War, that will fight for the socialist revolution that is necessary here. Trotsky wrote to his followers in the United States in the '30s, "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class." It is to the struggle for that party that we are dedicated. And if we can build such a party here in the United States, if we can help build such a party in South

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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## Black Democrats "Discover" South Africa

# Free South African Black Militants!

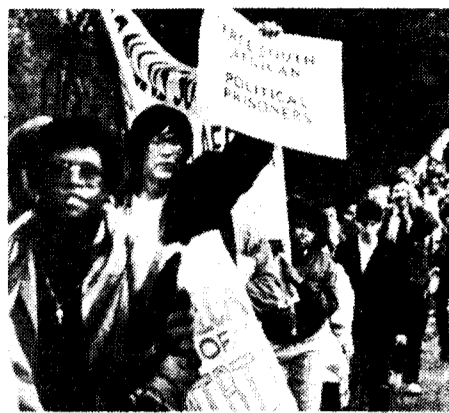
WASHINGTON, D.C., December 2— With more than 170 people killed and over 1,100 arrested by the apartheid regime since the beginning of the year, as black workers and students strike against the hated white supremacist system, the struggle in South Africa has had an electrifying impact on black people and all opponents of racism in the United States. Last year, thousands marched in New York in protest against the brutal hangings of three jailed African National Congress (ANC) martyrs; again today, from black campuses to big city ghettos to union locals there is a felt desire for solidarity action with the courageous anti-apartheid fighters. So strong is this sentiment that even the sellout "BEOs" ("black elected officials") have taken to grandstanding actions outside the South African embassy in D.C. This week the actions will be spread to South African consulates across the country, and even Lane Kirkland says he will bring out "labor" on Tuesday.

It took Ronald Reagan's re-election for these do-nothing black pols to suddenly discover the address of the South African embassy. After their November disaster, when they pulled out all the stops for loser Mondale, the black Democrats feel the need to refurbish their image. So there was Walter Fauntroy actually sitting in and getting himself booked. This was followed by Congressmen Charles Hayes, John Conyers, George Crockett and Ron Dellums. Famous artists and athletes like Harry Belafonte and Arthur Ashe also showed up. Pretty soon everyone who was anyone in the black establishment was making the scene. But while it started out as a small picket line of notables in front of the embassy, by the end of the week there were about 400 people marching outside. And on Saturday, December 1, several hundred rallied at Howard University to hear Fauntroy and former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams, who was arrested (and now faces deportation) after her speech on the first

anniversary of Reagan's invasion of the tiny black Caribbean island.

Powerful solidarity action with the ongoing black revolt against the apartheid police state is urgently needed. In San Francisco the majority black longshoremen are refusing to unload cargo from South Africa aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley*, demanding release of jailed South African black trade unionists. But instead of *international labor action* the black capitalist pols and Rainbow Coalition (pro-Democrat) rad-libs look to pressure their own bloody imperialism. Just like Reagan and Botha, they know it's "adapt or die" for both South African apartheid and American imperialism. They know what a tremendous impact a black-centered revolution in South Africa would have on American blacks, and their job is to head it off. Thus Mary Berry, member of Reagan's U.S. Civil Rights Commission, who sat in with Fauntroy, told the press: "We just want our government to be on the side of freedom, not oppression" (*Washington Post*, 24 November). The atom bombers of Hiroshima and the napalm bombers of Vietnam *cannot* be converted to the cause of black freedom; they must be swept away in revolutionary struggle to open the door to liberation across the globe.

So every day now around 4:15 p.m., a few black liberals get politely arrested just in time for the evening news. The cynicism was captured on Thursday, November 29 when ex-SNCC leader and now mayor of D.C., Marion Barry, rode up to the demonstration in his limousine declaring, "I think it's the best thing that's ever happened." Earlier Barry told the press, the "big difference" between the current embassy protests and the civil rights movement was that now, "we're in charge" (*Washington Post*, 30 November). No sir, the black mayors currently wielding the cutback ax are nothing but overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation. And in a repulsive racist appeal to jingoism, Fauntroy & Co. are trying to set American workers against black South African workers:



Brooks/Washington Post

Washington, D.C., November 26: Protesters outside South African embassy.

"When American corporations can relocate to places where there is cheap labor supply, jobs are lost in America," says Mary Berry.

There is a direct convergence between this poisonous protectionism and the "Divest Now" signs prominently featured in the daily pickets, calling for U.S. companies to divest their South African holdings. These hypocritical schemes demand the "clean, democratic" American capitalists put economic pressure on their "really dirty, really racist" allies in Pretoria. Divestment and protectionism are both policies of imperialist sanctions. And both directly attack the social power of the South African black workers, whose position as the creator of South Africa's wealth gives them the power to bury apartheid and expropriate the racist bosses.

And what about fighting racism at home? South Africa is a long ways away, and when even Ronald Reagan claims he finds apartheid "repugnant," it's cheap for the BEOs to strike a militant posture. The black Dems are nostalgic for the days of "ethnic purity" Carter and his "human rights" flunkey for Africa, Andrew Young, when they could rub shoulders with celebrities at UN parties. But Carter's "human rights" meant the murder of Stephen Biko... and the murder of five anti-racist unionists and communists in Greensbo-

ro, North Carolina. And when the Klan tried to march in the nation's capital on 27 November 1982—the same day South African foreign minister Botha came to town to meet with the Reagan administration—remember that it was Marion Barry who gave the Klan a permit to march and Walter Fauntroy who was scurrying around trying to draw black militants away from the stop-the-Klan action at the capitol by presiding at a free cheese distribution on the other side of town!

Before they could don their hoods and white robes, the KKK lynchers were stopped by the Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated by the Spartacist League, which brought out 5,000 overwhelmingly black workers and youth to block the fascists at First and Constitution. They came out *against* the black officials who skipped town or were blowing clouds of Democratic hot air up at McPherson Square. Fauntroy & Co. have crocodile tears for race-terror in Sharpeville but silence over Greensboro. They have crocodile tears for South African labor leaders, but no tears for American PATCO unionists taken away in chains when they "defied the law" and dared to strike against Reagan. And where were their South Africa protests during the election campaign? That would have broken Mondale's total silence on "free world" South Africa, not to mention Ms. Ferraro, the opponent of school busing. So out of Democratic Party discipline they did nothing (as usual).

When Jesse Jackson pushes anti-Japanese protectionism, he does so while embracing George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. Blacks and other oppressed minorities will be the first victims of the racism this unleashes. The liberal moralist divestors only want to give U.S. imperialism the "democratic" battle cry of "human rights"... in preparation for war on the Soviet Union. Break with the Democrats, the phony "people's party" of racist American capitalism! We need a revolutionary workers party to fight for black freedom! ■

Africa—well, there is a very nice chant that is chanted at freedom meetings, whether they are trade unions or other organizations, in South Africa, by blacks and their allies. It is: "Amandla! (Power!) Awetu! (It is ours!)" And indeed if such parties can be built, it will be theirs, and it will be ours.

**Summary:** The Ku Klux Klan announced they were going to march through the streets of Washington, for the first time in 57 years, on November 27, 1982. So the Spartacist League initiated a Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the Klan. We were able to mobilize 5,000 predominantly black working people and youth and the Klan was indeed stopped. Those people took the streets of Washington and marched over the route the Klan claimed it was going to take. It was a celebration of this victory against race-terror.

Now at that time, in the city of Washington, it wasn't just Reagan who encouraged this Klan march, but there was a big campaign, what you might call an anti-anti-Klan protest, namely those who wanted to oppose stopping the Klan, all the way from Walter Fauntroy and the Black Congressional Caucus to Marion Barry, the ex-SNCCer who's the mayor of Washington, who got out of town that day to go to a mayors' conference in Los Angeles to discuss

Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982, Labor/Black Mobilization runs KKK race-terrorists out of town.



how to administer the Reagan austerity in the big cities. And so basically it was left to our small organization to initiate the mobilization that stopped the Klan.

Likewise if you look around today, there is almost no one protesting the fact that the United States is gearing up for a major military intervention in Central America. Where are the protests? Where are the outcries? Where are the demonstrations on campus? Against apartheid? Against the war against Nicaragua? Against the invasion of Grenada? Who is raising these questions today? Elementary questions of opposition to U.S. imperialism. Who is raising these questions on the campus? Who is raising

these questions in the labor movement?

So this country has become increasingly polarized. Most of the so-called left has gravitated into the Democratic Party, which has moved increasingly to the right. In the middle of the campaign you have this watered-down version of Reaganism, Walter Mondale, come out and endorse the Grenada invasion. You didn't hear the smashing of the PATCO strike mentioned once, because Mondale would have done the same thing if Carter had won the election: they were all geared up to break that strike.

The point is that the basic questions today fall to revolutionary Leninists to solve. The democratic questions raised

by our suit against the FBI; just defending elementary democratic rights to read what you want to read, to get the government out of your bedrooms, separation of church and state. The basic questions of war and peace, whether it is Nicaragua or the question of nuclear war. And there's not a lot of time. I don't believe in hysteria-mongering, but we live in a very dangerous world. We have a ruling class that is only rendered a little reasonable by the fact of Soviet nuclear parity. But its political leaders, this Reagan administration, are not always rational and reasonable people. In fact they reflect a declining, a decaying imperialist system.

November 27, 1982 was not only a blow against race-terror in this country, but it was a blow against race-terror in South Africa as well. When Ritchie Bradley took down the Confederate flag on the West Coast, this was a blow against race-terror in this country, and a blow against mobilization for nuclear terror abroad, in terms of this racist Reagan administration. So the tasks that we face are urgent matters of life and death, of socialism or barbarism, and perhaps even the survival of civilization itself. And there's no higher cause that you could dedicate yourself to than playing a role in solving those questions. ■

# South Africa Ship...

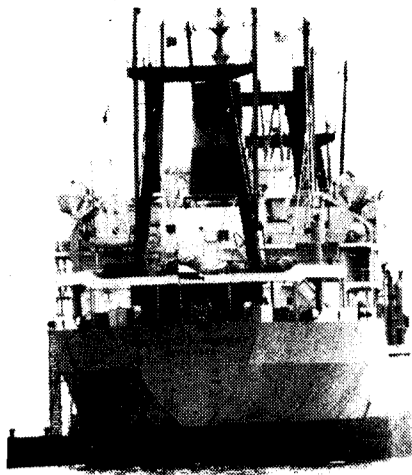
(continued from page 1)

Kimberley, and call for solid union action against the apartheid police state.

But mobilizing the power of the labor movement is hardly what the misleaders of the ILWU action in San Francisco had in mind. From day one they refused to throw up a union picket, instead calling on individual longshoremen to take the rap. And when the predictable response by the state came, they positively rushed to call the whole thing off. The Local 10 exec board scuttled the boycott in a matter of hours. For good measure, they also disbanded the local's South African Liberation Support Committee which had been running it. No doubt they were hoping to escape penalties and fines which, according to press reports, could run to \$70,000 or more. But, as always, by capitulating they have encouraged management and state attacks. They have set up the union just as they earlier set up the members. They refuse to learn that even in such a symbolic protest, playing by the bosses' rules is a losing game—you've gotta play hardball to win!

## Rats on the Waterfront

On October 18, the majority black ILWU Local 10 voted to refuse to handle South African cargo aboard the next Nedlloyd lines ship to hit port. This proposal to work the ship but not the specific cargo was a watered-down



WV Photos  
"Nedlloyd Blood Ship—Too Hot to Handle!" (left). ILWU militants picket the *Kimberley*, Saturday evening, November 24.

action was supportable despite its minimal and token character.

Robinson's chief flunkey in all this is aspiring bureaucrat Howard Keylor, a prominent supporter of the so-called External Tendency (ET), a coterie of embittered white ex-members of the Spartacist League, quitters and renegades from Trotskyism in the Reagan years. And when it came time to act, Robinson/Keylor sabotaged their own minimal action and set up individual longshoremen for victimization. First the Nedlloyd ship *Kyoto*, carrying South African cargo, was diverted to a non-ILWU terminal in Richmond, which however uses ILWU linesmen. Scandalously, Local 10 linesmen did tie



solid union stand into a matter of "personal conscience." In contrast the Militant Caucus called for an official union mass picket line and to stop dispatching. What happened at Pier 80 that morning and evening is vividly described by the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, November 30, published by the ILWU Militant Caucus:

"The pressure from below was so great last Saturday morning that the officers were forced to declare that the ship was not to be worked. That night Keylor and Robinson were down there in person explaining how the morning policy was a 'mistake' and the ship should now be worked. Most of the men didn't like this one damn bit. Some said to Stan Gow and others, 'Set up a picket line and we won't cross it.' So Stan and other Local 10 and Local 6 members set up a picket line, and Keylor, Robinson and their assembled 'community' demonstrators went completely apeshit! 'You guys are trying to wreck a legitimate union action!' they screamed. Stan Gow was called a 'racist' by one of Robinson's friends. After Keylor and Robinson worked them over for a half-hour, the men were reluctantly persuaded it was for the good of the union to cross the picket line....

"It is Keylor and Robinson, acting for the officers, that have been 'wrecking a legitimate union action'."

By Sunday, all the non-South African cargo had been removed. For the next week crews were regularly dispatched to the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* where they refused to handle its South African cargo and were then fired from the job. They also face possible suspension ("beaching") and fines without union protection. Many longshoremen, angered at this policy which set them up for victimization, were refusing to take the dispatch to the *Kimberley*. The bureaucracy's position is that what was happening aboard the *Kimberley* was not a union action but a matter of individual moral protest. Local 10 Secretary-Treasurer Tom Luper told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (29 November): "He said the action was not officially sanctioned by the union membership, but was an action of protest by individuals." Leo Robinson interviewed on KTVU, Channel 2 news, said, "This is an act of conscience on the part of individual longshoremen and it will remain as such." The "Longshore Militant" newsletter denounced this treacherous policy:

"This policy is and has been intended to kill this union action by running it into the ground.... Furthermore, the union's position in the arbitration hearing on Wednesday is that PMA should penalize and fine individual members, not the union. Maybe we're not real smart. We thought it was the job of the union to protect its members, not the members' job to protect [ILWU International president] Herman's cozy relationship with PMA. "PMA means to break this action and they are getting help from the union officers and their stooges. These stalling tactics are not going to work.... It is necessary to act! We need a leadership capable of leading action. Picket the Nedlloyd Kimberley! Tell PMA to shove it! Shut down the port against any penalties!"

More than anything else the ILWU bureaucrats and aspiring bureaucrats

wanted to avoid endangering the weekly pay guarantee (PGP). But the officers' cowardly "individual decision" subterfuge, organized and enforced by Keylor and Robinson, did nothing to "fool" the PMA. On Wednesday, a second-level arbitrator ruled that the union had forfeited the previous week's PGP through the work action, and yesterday the employers' association announced it was refusing to pay this week's PGP as well.

When the injunction came down, the executive board was ready to capitulate. They administered the *coup de grace* with a 12-to-4 vote. Robinson agreed with the officers to abandon the action; he even initiated the exec board's decision to dissolve the local's South Africa committee, which he has headed for years. Keylor called for continuing the charade which had landed the union in this pickle. Both Robinson and Keylor refused to support Stan Gow's motion—ruled out of order by Local 10 president Larry Wing—to stop dispatching to the ship, to instead set up an official union picket line, and to shut down the entire port in response to any attempts by the employers to penalize the union or its members.

## Stab in the Back

The CP and Keylor have been busily covering Jimmy Herman's ass. Keylor's November 27 Judas leaflet lauded the fact that "the arbitrator ruled against the men" instead of finding the union guilty of an illegal work stoppage. The ET's increasingly nutty scumbag Bob Mandel, who when he was in the ILWU had bypassed the union hiring hall to get jobs on the sly, praised Herman & Co.'s "smart" tactics toward the PMA: "You know that it is perfectly principled to use whatever Aesopian language is appropriate." There's nothing Aesopian about the ET's policy of acting as lawyers for pro-Democratic Party union bureaucrats who have stabbed this struggle in the back.

Robinson & Co. are past masters of gutting the class-struggle content from labor action against apartheid. In 1977 Robinson and Jimmy Herman, then president of ILWU clerks Local 34, joined hands to betray the Local 10 membership motion to support the week-long international labor boycott of South African shipping called for by the International Confederation of Trade Unions. Keylor, then a supporter of the Militant Caucus, along with Gow denounced Robinson and Herman's call for the longshoremen to work the non-South African cargo on the *Kimberley*. Keylor, gone cynical and sour, jumped ship and today acts as Robinson's flunkey. And the Stalinist hacks may have exceeded the desires of their party.

The popular-frontists take their cues from the liberal imperialists. Just like the flock of black Democratic politicians now getting themselves arrested at the South African embassy in Washington, D.C., they seek to refurbish their "anti-racist" credentials after months of



WV Photo

Leo Robinson (right), Howard Keylor (second from right) and black Democrat Julianne Malveaux conspire to get unwilling longshoremen to work the *Kimberley*.

alternative to a proposal put forward by Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow, a spokesman for the Militant Caucus in the ILWU and well-known Spartacist supporter. Gow proposed to boycott all shipping to and from South Africa in solidarity with the current black revolt against the apartheid police state. The bureaucrats kept Gow's position from coming to a vote and instead got passed the motion made by Leo Robinson, a long-time supporter of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP) in the union. However, the Local 10 ranks voted for the Robinson motion because they wanted union action against South Africa. For that reason the proposed

up the *Kyoto* and 1,500 tons of pig iron from South Africa were offloaded. Keylor is a linesman, but he didn't blow the whistle on this sabotage of the official union policy.

When the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* docked at SF's Pier 80 on Saturday morning, November 24, longshore gang 35 dispatched to unload the ship refused to touch it. This was not in the bureaucrats' plans. Anxious not to jeopardize the contract in the face of the PMA's hard line against any political job actions, Leo Robinson, Howard Keylor & Co. have been setting up the individual longshoremen dispatched to the pier by making what should be a

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stumping for Cold Warrior and big-time loser Mondale by making token gestures of opposition to the widely hated apartheid regime. Like the Democratic liberals, the Stalinists and Keylor motivate protest against South Africa in part by appealing to flag-waving chauvinism and economic protectionism.

In San Francisco, the CP made a major push for Proposition J (now passed), that the city divest itself of securities of corporations with operations in South Africa. The main slogan of the Prop J campaign was "Invest in the U.S.A. Not in Apartheid." In defending the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* action, Leo Robinson told a columnist for the *Oakland Tribune* (30 November), "Also, these are goods American workers could be manufacturing. We have 250,000 American steel workers out of work, and we are importing steel from South Africa." In other words, boycott South Africa in order to take the jobs of black South African workers!

For his part, Keylor appeals to the social-patriotic CP tradition of support to U.S. imperialism in World War II, a long-standing position of his. Addressing the ILWU's Southern African Liberation Support Committee on November 13, Keylor spoke of hot-cargoing South Africa as "part of the tradition of the union. The high point was in 1939 when Bay Area longshoremen boycotted scrap iron to Japan." In fact, this was part and parcel of U.S. imperialism's war drive, in particular Roosevelt's campaign of economic sanctions to force Japan to go to war, beginning with a boycott of strategic metals and finally an oil boycott. We might add that Keylor's former comrades and present bloc partners of the Stalinist CP also supported Roosevelt's internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and hailed the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

### Fight Apartheid Through Class Struggle!

For our part we seek to fight apartheid in ways that strengthen the class struggle against racist capitalism in both South Africa and the United States. Our attitude toward GM and Ford in Port Elizabeth is the same as in Detroit: intransigent class struggle leading to expropriation through socialist revolution. To this end, unions in North America and West Europe must use their muscle in *political* strike action to force multinational outfits like GM and Ford to recognize black unions and abolish all forms of apartheid in their South African operations.

International working-class solidarity with South Africa's embattled black toilers can have a powerful impact. The racist criminals who run South Africa don't give a damn about moral protests, UN resolutions, divestment schemes, etc., so favored by liberals and reformists. They do, however, care about anything that hurts their bank accounts, and their army. Imperialist sanctions on delivery of oil are empty hypocrisy. But labor action against the delivery of military weapons or a limited hot-cargoing of South Africa's key exports (gold, diamonds, other strategic minerals) connected with concrete demands, such as freeing the black trade-union leaders and all victims of apartheid terror, could have a powerful impact.

The Militant Caucus has been

fighting for class-struggle international union solidarity since its inception. In 1977 the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" called for a coastwide boycott of the very same *Nedlloyd Kimberley* to implement a week-long worldwide anti-apartheid labor protest. The next year they made real the ILWU's paper position of boycotting arms to Pinochet's Chile by identifying and preventing the shipment of a load of bomb assemblies. Last year, Stan Gow and other ILWU militants threw up a picket line against the *Kimberley* after being brought up on charges for similarly picketing a ship bound for El Salvador. The union bureaucracy charged, tried and convicted Gow for "conduct unbecoming a union member," but when it was brought before the membership, nearly 500 Local 10 members showed up to vote down this witchhunt by a ten-to-one margin.

Under the leadership of a communist vanguard party, South Africa's black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism, giving rise to a black-centered workers and peasants government. Committed to this perspective, we do not want to cut South Africa off from the rest of the world, but to forge a fighting labor movement internationally with the will to use its power to strike a blow on behalf of the anti-apartheid fighters.

Unlike the Democratic Party liberals and their reformist tails, who are happy to starve hundreds of thousands of South African blacks with their boy-



WV Photo  
Stan Gow (left) during port shutdown in Richmond, June 1983. Action paralyzed all shipping in SF Bay Area—ILWU tops called it off after ten hours.

cotts of everything South African, we stand for the hot-cargoing of *military* goods in order to weaken the white police state apparatus. And at this crucial moment, when the bloody apartheid regime is unleashing state terror against the massive rebellion of the black toilers and youth, we have called for concrete labor solidarity protests, in the form of hot-cargoing transport to and from South Africa, around the demand: Freedom for the anti-apartheid militants and black union leaders!

It is no accident that the likes of Robinson and Keylor want to drape protests against South Africa in red, white and blue. What's behind the liberals' and reformists' divestment/boycott South Africa campaigns is an effort to pressure the American ruling class into living up to its "democratic" pretensions. They thus prettify U.S. imperialism of which South Africa is but a *junior* partner. Is Reagan's America a *lesser* enemy of humanity than Botha's South Africa? No! The masters of Wall Street and the Pentagon are the architects of counterrevolutionary terror from Central America to Indochina. They have the blood of millions upon millions of workers and peasants throughout the world on their hands.

The main enemy is at home! Now is the time for labor to act in defense of the embattled black toilers of South Africa! ■

## SF Election...

(continued from page 5)

contingent of our union supporters to defend the democratic rights of this bourgeois party to assemble and called on the organized labor movement to do the same. During the election campaign Bradley and Coleman held a press conference to denounce Feinstein's plans to close down gay bathhouses—"Government out of the bedrooms!" The defense of these broad democratic rights is inextricably linked to the rights of a workers party to organize.

Even more so than in prior Spartacist election campaigns, this year we ran head-on against the popular front of local politicians, labor bureaucrats and fake-leftists hustling for the Democratic Party. The threat of a Reagan landslide strengthened "lesser evil" illusions especially in a Democratic stronghold like San Francisco. In previous election campaigns, Spartacist candidates were mainly treated by the labor officialdom as some sort of harmless eccentrics, to be disparaged of course but generally politely. This year the bureaucrats' hostility was right out in the open. Votes for Bradley and Coleman were not "protest votes" as there was a wide gamut of "independents" and "leftists" to choose from. The 6,898 votes for Bradley and 6,410 for Coleman (3 percent of the total cast) represented a genuine *hard core* of support for the Spartacist program of revolutionary opposition to imperialism and to the bosses' Democratic and Republican parties. The Spartacist campaign received somewhat less votes than it did in 1980 and 1982 and as it did then, it did best in black and Hispanic working-class neighborhoods, like black Bayview/Hunters Point and largely Hispanic Mission District and integrated Visitacion Valley.

This was in marked contrast to those fake "independents" and "leftists" who ran *with* the Democratic stream. Thus, the citywide vote for the anti-Soviet, pro-Solidarność Socialist Action campaign of Sylvia Weinstein was 10,659. No doubt this was partly the payoff from a layer of labor bureaucrats for Socialist Action's donkey work in gooning for them to suppress labor militancy in San Francisco, especially during the bitter Greyhound strike. Weinstein certainly did well among petty-bourgeois no-nukers and feminists who feel kinship with the milk-and-cookies social-pacifism ("bake sales for the Navy") of Socialist Action. Weinstein, along with Communist Party-endorsed Jesse Jackson Democrat Julianne Malveaux, did particularly well in petty-bourgeois Haight-Ashbury where the Spartacist candidates got a low number of votes. Likewise, Weinstein nearly doubled the Spartacists'

total in rich Nob Hill/Russian and Pacific Heights. But in Bayview/Hunters Point the averaged Bradley/Coleman vote was 5.5 percent to Weinstein's 2.9 percent.

The Spartacists campaigned for concrete labor *action* in solidarity with embattled South African freedom fighters. This was a fight against the reformists who lined up behind the protectionist "Prop J" "divestment" scheme sponsored by Malveaux, and supported by the D.A. who (unsuccessfully) tried to prosecute Bradley for tearing down the Confederate flag! Against the Democratic Party stream in the Bay Area a modest but significant number of predominantly black trade unionists and students came forward as fighters for the Spartacist campaign. Key to the campaign was the active support of a number of militants who were won to the Labor Black League for Social Defense in previous LBL work: actions to defend phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist and anti-labor frame-up, to demand vengeance for the police murder of five-year-old black child Patrick Mason, to demonstrate solidarity with victims of apartheid terror in South Africa.

At SF State the Bradley/Coleman campaign generated a backlash of beansprout totalitarianism aimed at banning us and our Marxist literature by the lady doberman running dogs (led by Ms. Malveaux) of Feinstein and Mondale. Willfully mocking them, the Spartacus Youth League responded with undergroundism beansprout-style, as the Red Avengers of the Underground SYL staged guerrilla theater actions on campus, repeatedly outfoxing the dobermans.

On election night, Spartacist and Labor Black League activists joined unionists and students met during the campaign for a good party at the Club Long Island in the black Bayview area. Referring to a bottle of Mumm's cognac presented to him by the comrades, Bradley said:

"The working class has good taste. This just goes to show you what we need is a workers party to fight for a workers government. I want to thank all of the people who put a lot of hard work into this campaign. You know during the civil rights movement Jesse Jackson once was a bitter foe of George Wallace. But today he went South and hugged George Wallace. Well, Wallace hasn't changed. He's the same bigot that barred the doors of the University of Alabama to black students. But Jesse Jackson is hustling black votes for the Democrats and spreading the illusion that at the end of this rainbow is a pot of gold. Well, we know for blacks and workers it's only a pot of shit at the end. All we have is our program and that's what we must fight for. The Spartacist League is the party that fights for workers revolution. We need you to be a part in this fight. It's the SL that has a program to change society and bring about a workers revolution." ■

### CORRECTIONS

We have received a note from Stan Gow, spokesman for the Militant Caucus and executive board member of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, correcting some inaccuracies in *WV* No. 365 (26 October). Referring to the article "Longshoremen: 'Hot-Cargo' South African Apartheid Butchers!" Brother Gow writes: "You incorrectly state that the local is 'two-thirds blacks.' A survey taken by order of the local executive board within the last three years found the percentage of active black members of the local to be 55 percent." Also: "In the article on the Bradley/Coleman campaign for Supervisor in SF you state: 'Last year hundreds of angry ranks routed the ILWU tops when these piccards brought Gow up on charges for picketing ships bound for El Salvador with military cargo.' Actually the charge brought against me was for picketing one particular

ship, the *Lafayette*. Further, our picketing of this ship was not contingent on it carrying military cargo. We were trying to stop this Salvador-bound ship no matter what it had on it." *WV* assures Brother Gow that in the future our reporters will be sure to double-check such matters of fact regarding the Militant Caucus in the ILWU.

In "Protest Reagan's Rape of Grenada!" (*WV* No. 366, 9 November), we reported on the Reagan administration's arrest of former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams immediately following her public speech at Howard University October 25. A protest demonstration against this racist outrage took place the following day outside Immigration Service headquarters, not on the Howard U. campus, as we erroneously stated.

### Spartacist Forum

#### Bury Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Don Alexander  
SL Central Committee

Friday, December 14, 7:30 p.m.  
YWCA, 15th and Webster

For more information: (415) 835-1535

**OAKLAND**

# Marxists Not Terrorists...

(continued from page 16)

General have conceded the central aim of our legal challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism.

The FBI and Attorney General have agreed to change their former definition of the Spartacist League, which read in part that "the SPL [FBI acronym for the Spartacist League] does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time..." [our emphasis]. The former definition maliciously attempted to attribute to us conspiratorial putschism (e.g., if not "openly," then secretly) wholly at variance with our Marxist principles, aims and 20-year history of political activity in the U.S. The new definition describes the Spartacist League as what the SL is: a Marxist political organization. It concludes by stating that "The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution."

The agreement we have obtained, the first successful legal challenge to the new FBI Guidelines, is a modest but genuine blow to the new McCarthyism. We do not pretend to know what importance or interpretation the FBI attaches to its agreement. We have no illusions that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration and disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. We do know that the secret police have not changed since Karl Marx was harassed by secret agents of Prussia, that as long as the capitalists hold state



WV Photo

**The whole of the working-class movement has a stake in the fight against the new McCarthyism. A workers party has the right to organize!**

power, their police agents will continue their dirty work against any real or perceived challenges to their class rule. Our suit certainly has not changed, nor could it, this fact of life in American capitalist society.

Nonetheless, the FBI's agreement to change its definition of our organizations implicitly but clearly spikes the government's deadly syllogism—that all political opponents are terrorists, you are a political opponent, therefore the secret police is mandated to harass, spy, slander, prosecute, set up and get you with drawn guns. The government's intrusive surveillance/disruption would now be discretionary rather than mandatory, and victimization therefore a little harder.

Moreover, the change of definition undermines the FBI's premise that

Marxist political organizations are equated with violence, which has been the pretext for over 60 years of surveillance, harassment and repression of the American left and workers movement. Nothing in fact is less conspiratorial than a Marxist working-class organization, whose success is entirely dependent on the most open and widest dissemination of its views. When in the course of defending their rights, labor and the oppressed—e.g., strikers repulsing company/cop thuggery against striking workers—necessarily run up against bourgeois legality, it won't be a secret to anyone. The FBI does not need informers to tell them what we do. When Ritchie Bradley tore down the Confederate flag in San Francisco, the SL mobilized the broadest publicity for his heroic and widely supported act, and Bradley sought a jury trial in order to politically indict Mayor Dianne Feinstein's administration for having displayed the hated banner of chattel slavery and racist terror.

For 60-plus years, the Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance; the Socialist Workers Party for 40-plus years; and the SL for 20 years. There have never been any prosecutions of the CP, SWP or SL, or any members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism—a rather remarkable record considering the history of government provocations toward these organizations. The only successful prosecutions of these organizations have been for so-called "thought crimes"—60-plus years and the only thing they can get us for is reading Lenin!

From the Espionage Act prosecution of Eugene Debs through the Smith Act prosecutions of the Trotskyists in the 1940s and the Communist Party in the 1950s, the drive for imperialist war has always required a war at home against all opposition. Every witchhunt has its own particular dimension, and today, Cold War II needs a new kind of McCarthyism—one which incorporates the direct-hit military methods of the infamous COINTELPRO ("Counter-Intelligence Program") along with the ideological criteria of the last Cold War. Under the guise of combatting "terrorism," the FBI guidelines, presidential directives, Supreme Court rulings and congressional measures have granted sweeping powers to military and secret police agencies for actual state-supported terrorism against the American people. Vital labor rights are targeted as strikes are declared "criminal enterprises" and picket lines are called extortion. And as the shots that rang out over Greensboro demonstrated, this right-wing political climate feeds the growth of fascist terrorists, emboldened by official racism, anti-immigrants hysteria and the present anti-Soviet war drive.

In the campaign for regimentation of the populace through fear, lawful dissent is now presumably limited to

college professors writing letters to the *New York Times* delicately questioning the latest U.S. validation of El Salvador's human rights record. All other political opposition is smeared as "terrorist," thus effectively outlawing it and making any protest, no matter how tame, open season for state repression. Ask Black Panther survivors of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation of frame-up and murder against their organization what it means to be labeled "terrorist" by the state. Abroad, "terrorist" has become the official designation for Salvadoran peasants struggling against the death-squad regime, black South Africans fighting apartheid, and the women and children of Palestinian refugee camps.

In defense of our organizations, our supporters and the existing rights of the entire working-class movement, we have launched a number of impressive legal challenges to the Cold War II witchhunt. In June of 1980, a militant unionist and well-known supporter of the Spartacist League, Jane Margolis, received an apology and \$3,500 from the Secret Service for stigmatizing her as a terrorist. In 1979, she had been dragged off the floor of the Communications Workers of America national convention to which she was an elected delegate, handcuffed and detained to prevent her from criticizing then-president Jimmy Carter. Soon thereafter, the Spartacist League sued then-attorney general of California George Deukmejian for including the SL in the

## Stipulation and Order of Settlement and Dismissal

UNITED STATES  
DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT  
OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE,  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,  
JAMES M. ROBERTSON and  
SUSAN ADAMS,

Plaintiffs,

- v -

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED STATES, DIRECTOR  
OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION and THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED  
AND AGREED by the attorneys for the  
respective parties as follows:

1. Defendants represent that plaintiffs have not been at any time since 1977, nor are they currently the subjects of a domestic security/terrorism investigation.\*

2. The Federal Bureau of Investigation will henceforth use the following characterization of the Spartacist League:

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immedi-

ate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

3. Plaintiffs hereby release and forever discharge...

4. The complaint is hereby dismissed with prejudice, each side to bear their own costs and attorney's fees.

5. Nothing herein shall constitute an admission of liability by the defendants.

6. Nothing herein shall constitute an admission by plaintiffs that the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security Terrorism Investigations, dated March 7, 1983, are lawful or constitutional or that any investigation or inquiries conducted by the FBI, past or present, of plaintiffs were lawful or constitutional.

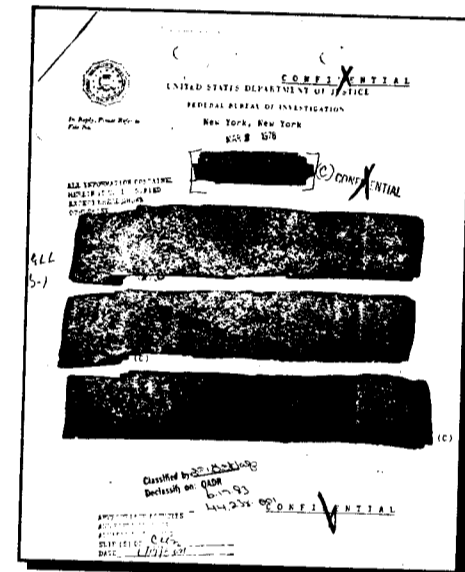
Dated: New York, New York  
November 30, 1984

s/ RACHEL WOLKENSTEIN  
Attorney for Plaintiffs  
299 Broadway  
New York, New York 10007  
RUDOLPH W. GIULIANI  
United States Attorney for the  
Southern District of New York  
Attorney for Defendants

By: s/ GERALD T. FORD  
Assistant United States Attorney  
One St. Andrew's Plaza  
New York, New York 10007

SO ORDERED:  
s/ JOHN E. SPRIZZO  
U.S.D.J.  
11-30-84

\* Domestic security/terrorism investigations are presently governed by the Attorney General's Guidelines on General Crimes, Racketeering Enterprise and Domestic Security Terrorism Investigations, dated March 7, 1983. Between April 1976 and March 6, 1983, domestic security investigations were conducted pursuant to the Attorney General Guidelines on Domestic Security Investigations, dated April 5, 1976.



"Freedom of Information," FBI-style.

"Terrorism: Left-wing" section of the 1979 Report on Organized Crime. In settlement of that suit, Deukmejian's office issued a correction and sent a statement to law enforcement agencies throughout the country notifying them that the inclusion of the SL in the terrorist list was in error. Most recently, the *Washington Times*—publication of sinister Sun Myung Moon's outfit—falsely accused the SL/SYL of provoking violence against the police at the

### VICTORIES COST MONEY!

The successful conclusion of the SL/SYL suit against the FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines is a victory for Marxists and all perceived political opposition to the government. This victory strengthens every one of us by striking a modest but genuine blow to the government's deadly equation of political opposition with criminal conspiracy/terrorism. The Partisan Defense Committee undertook to support this case financially. We faced the vast resources of the United States government, and have incurred substantial debts. We need your help! Please support the fight against the new McCarthyism by sending a generous donation to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

# We Beat Back "Terrorist" Smears Fight the New McCarthyism!

The SL has a proud record of fighting this dangerous new red-hunt. In self-defense we have battled the attempt to falsely brand us as terrorists, outlaws to be shot first and questioned later. Under the banner: "A Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" we have been in the forefront against the Cold War witchhunt. Our suit against the sinister FBI Guidelines was part of our continuing battle to defend ourselves and all those targeted by the new McCarthyism.



WV Photo

## Letters

### The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, the Washington Times ran a story on the Labor-Black Mobilization march in regard to the demonstration. We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

On Nov. 27, 1982, the Washington Times published a story on the Labor-Black Mobilization march. The article stated that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day. This is a complete fabrication. The march was a peaceful demonstration, and the violence was the result of the actions of a small group of individuals who were not affiliated with the SL or SYL.

operators were directed by our monitors to the center of Lafayette Park. A brief rally was held to assert the absence of the Klan. After this rally the monitors successfully peacefully, and in an orderly manner, the demonstrators away from the police and tear gas. Many hundreds of protesters attended a victory party at the Silver Hotel in the Capitol area. What happened on Nov. 27 was that the Klan did not march. The media—with the notable exception of the black press—portrayed the anti-Klan demonstration as widespread violence and looting. But it was only the Washington Times that named the SL and the SYL as perpetrators of violence against life. We believe that through the misrepresentation of the Labor-Black Mobilization the Klan was stopped. Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

## Moonies Retract Libel That Kills

James M. Robertson, National Chairman of the Spartacist League, and Emily Turnbull, National Secretary of the Spartacus Youth League, are seen in a photograph. They are both dressed in formal attire and appear to be in a professional setting.

November 27, 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization initiated by the SL, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. In response to a libel lawsuit, the Washington Times retracted its charges.

We have won these victories despite the unfavorable relation of our forces vis-à-vis our opponents in each case because: 1. Our heritage includes a Marxist understanding of the state which rejects both conspiratorial putschism and reformist legalism; 2. We are forthright in our political stands, not least in our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; 3. We are manifestly not terrorist, criminal or violent, as implicitly admitted by the FBI in its own claim to have forgone investigation after over a decade of "surveillance" against us. We struggle to politically organize the American work-

ing class to bring workers to the understanding that they need their own class party, a workers party, to fight for their immediate and ultimate interests; 4. We are tenacious defenders of our legality and of those democratic rights which were won by the blood of two bourgeois-revolutionary wars in this country—the War of Independence and the Civil War—and encoded in its laws. In this regard, we seek to model ourselves on V.I. Lenin's conception of the party as "tribune of the people." Thus, when the right of the Democratic National Convention to assemble and select their presidential candidate in San Francisco was threatened with government violence, we offered—despite our deep class hostility to the Democrats—to provide a defense contingent of union supporters and called upon the labor movement to do the same. In contrast,

## Deukmejian Retracts "Terrorist" Smear



WV Photo



State of California  
Department of Justice  
George Deukmejian  
(PRONOUNCED DEE-MAH-JEEN)  
Attorney General

December 14, 1981

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Pennsylvania Avenue between 9th & 10th Sts  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Subject: Correction of Department of Justice's Publication

Dear Sir or Madam:

This is to inform you that the inclusion of the Spartacist League and of the Spartacus Youth League on page 11 of the Department of Justice's publication, "Organized Crime in California . . . 1979, Annual Report to the California Legislature, Part 2 Terrorism," was in error.

Very truly yours,  
Charles E. Casey  
Chief, Bureau of Organized Crime  
and Criminal Intelligence



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20223

Ms. Jane Margolis  
475 Alvarado Street, #3  
San Francisco, California 94114

Re: Alleged False Arrest/Jane Margolis/CWA Convention  
Detroit, Michigan; July 16, 1979

Dear Ms. Margolis:

Please be advised that in response to the above referenced matter the Secret Service Office of Inspections was directed to look into this claim to determine, as accurately as possible, what did in fact occur at the time of the original incident. Based upon this inquiry it is the opinion of this Service that a misunderstanding between a Secret Service agent and a Detroit police officer resulted in your being removed from the convention floor.

The Secret Service, of course, regrets that this incident occurred. Obviously, due to the extreme complexity of supplying protection to the President and others, and the sensitive and sometimes conflicting interests that come into play, the Secret Service cannot be absolutely certain that other misunderstandings will never occur. You can be assured, however, that every effort will continue to be made to assure that errors of this nature are kept to a minimum.

Again, the Secret Service regrets that this misunderstanding has caused you distress.

Sincerely yours,

Myroslaw I. Weinstein  
Deputy Director

## Secret Service Apologizes to Jane Margolis



Jon P. Fishback

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ U.S. 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

**Atlanta**  
Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302

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

**Chicago**  
Box 6441, Main P.O.  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**  
Box 91037  
Cleveland, OH 44101  
(216) 621-5138

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

**Los Angeles**  
Box 29574  
Los Feliz Station  
Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(213) 384-9716

**Madison**  
c/o SYL  
Box 2074  
Madison, WI 53701  
(608) 257-8625

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

**Norfolk**  
Box 1972, Main P.O.  
Norfolk, VA 23501

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

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

**Washington, D.C.**  
P.O. Box 75073  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(202) 636-3537

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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

## Rachel Wolkenstein, SL general counsel, and Jonathan Lubell, noted libel attorney, celebrate victory over the Moonies' Washington Times.

WV Photo



the current bourgeois authorities in power openly attack established bourgeois-democratic legal norms—such as the separation of church and state, the Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure, rights to free speech and assembly.

Still, this government claims that it is democratic, that the people are permitted such social and religious views as they see fit. So the FBI and its fellow secret police agencies are required to provide a modicum of "legal" cover, a fig leaf, for their spying, penetration, set-ups, frame-ups and harassment and repression of the left. With this legal case, we have been able to punch a hole in their current cover, the false equation of Marxism with "terrorism." Given that a bourgeois government holds state power and especially in light of the right-wing political climate marked by Reagan's re-election, the stipulated agreement we have won is the most we could reasonably expect.

In the aftermath of every witchhunt, to be sure, the liberals denounce the "excesses" (i.e., their toes getting stepped on) and assure everyone this will never happen again. When the COINTELPRO disclosures revealed that FBI "dirty tricks" had extended to

"respectable" citizens who had their mail opened, their phones tapped, their medical records and sex lives investigated, a hue and cry ensued resulting in guidelines supposedly meant to curb the FBI's abuse of "legitimate authority." Civil libertarian and reformist organizations wrongly believed they could exploit these "reforms" to gain permanent injunctive relief from FBI spying and harassment, or in the case of the Socialist Workers Party's eight-year-old and still undecided suit, a court-enforced "right to revolution."

As Marxist revolutionists, we reject such notions of "reform" of the capitalist state. The truth of our understanding is evident in the current legitimization of all supposedly previously discredited "abuses"—from the Smith Act to COINTELPRO. We will continue to use all the legal and political means at our disposal to fight the new McCarthyism. As we announced at the outset of our suit against the FBI:

"We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution." ■

# Excerpts From SL Legal Complaint

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE; SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE; JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, on behalf of themselves and all others similarly situated,

Plaintiffs,

-against-

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES; DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION; and THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs, by their attorneys, complaining of the defendants, allege as follows:

1. This action for declaratory and injunctive relief concerns political intelligence investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, Marxist political organizations, and the impact of the Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations upon such investigations.

2. The Attorney General's Guidelines on Domestic Security/Terrorist Investigations recast the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws on the basis of their exercise of constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. These Guidelines, promulgated without lawful authority, provide a pretext for continued and intensive government political intelligence investigations against the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, the criminalization of political opposition and the targeting of these Marxist political organizations for government surveillance, disruption, harassment, suppression, infiltration, prosecution and physical attack.

3. Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE [hereinafter also referred to as the "SL"], a Marxist political organization, is an unincorporated association with members and supporters throughout the United States. The national office of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE is in the City, County and State of New York. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. [hereinafter also referred to as the "CP"] and the Socialist Workers Party [hereinafter also referred to as the "SWP"]. The immediate precursor of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE was the Revolutionary Tendency [hereinafter also referred to as the "RT"] of the Socialist Workers Party. For twenty years the SPARTACIST LEAGUE has engaged in lawful political, educational and organizing activity. Members and supporters of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE have sought state and local elective offices. The SPARTACIST LEAGUE sues on behalf of itself and its members.

5. Plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON is a member and National Chairman of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE. JAMES M. ROBERTSON joined the Communist Party in December 1946 and thereafter was a member of the Workers Party (later known as the Independent Socialist League), the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Plaintiff ROBERTSON was a member of the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party and a founding member of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

6. Plaintiff SUSAN ADAMS, formerly National Secretary of the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, is a member of the international Spartacist tendency, the parent organization of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE. Plaintiff ADAMS is Chairman of the Trotskyist League of France and a member of the International Executive Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

12. Throughout their entire existence in the United States, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and the plaintiffs SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE have been targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation [hereinafter referred to as the "FBI"] as subversive organizations, subject to continual, intensive governmental political intelligence operations including, but not limited to, surveillance, warrantless electronic surveillance, mail openings, infiltrations by govern-

ment agents and informants, burglaries, harassment and counterintelligence operations. The aforementioned Marxist organizations, members and sympathizers have been and continue to be the primary intelligence targets.

13. The FBI's justification for this massive political intelligence investigation is the premise that Marxist political organizations are a threat to the national security; dangerous because of a purported strategic commitment to violence; an alleged adherence to the violent overthrow of the government and use of violence to achieve political goals.

14. The entire history of the aforesaid Marxist organizations in the United States is absent of any criminal activity. The Communist Party has been subjected to intensive, continual government surveillance for over sixty years, the Socialist Workers Party for over forty years and the SPARTACIST LEAGUE for twenty years. There have been no prosecutions of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party or the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, or members thereof, for violent crime or terrorism despite over six decades of intensive government investigation, a rather remarkable record considering the duration and scope of such investigation. Thus, the continuing investigation of these Marxist organizations is based not on conduct, but ideology.

16. From the formation of the Revolutionary Tendency in 1963, through the founding conference of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents agreed and conspired, together with other public officers and their agents, unlawfully, intentionally and knowingly, pursuant to a common plan, to cause agents of the United States to engage in political intelligence operations including a systematic pattern and practice of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, infiltration by government agents and informants, COINTELPRO activities, unauthorized interrogation, and other harassment against the SL and the SYL, their members and supporters.

21. During or about the year 1963, and continuing thereafter, the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, the immediate predecessor of the SL, and plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON were subjected to extensive surveillance and COINTELPRO disruption activities, intended to create division between the RT and the SWP.

22. The purpose and effect of the foregoing actions by the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents was to induce the SWP to expel the RT in order to disrupt, neutralize and destroy both organizations.

23. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have conducted surveillance of and harassment of the SL and the SYL by causing secret government agents and informants to join or otherwise associate with the SL and the SYL; to report upon attendance, presentations, discussions and activities at classes, conferences, meetings and demonstrations; to disrupt trade-union support work, political demonstrations, legal defense activities, electoral campaigns and distribution of SL and SYL publications; to record the names and addresses of members and contributors; to record the election of national and local officers and central committee members; to purloin and surreptitiously copy documents, reports, pamphlets and memoranda available only to members; and, at the direction of the defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents, to influence SL and SYL policies and programs, secure positions of authority, provoke or exacerbate dissension within and without the organizations, and otherwise to interfere with and disrupt their activities.

37. The defendant public officers and their predecessors and agents have included the plaintiff organizations, SL and SYL national officers and members, solely because of their political affiliation, on a series of published lists, including the Security Index, the Communist Index, the Administrative Index, and the Agitator Index, used by federal, state and local law enforcement agencies for intensive surveillance and harassment of the plaintiffs, targeting them as dangerous to the national security, inciting public animus against them and exposing them to government surveillance, harassment, prosecution and physical attack.

39. As a result of inclusion on the Administrative

Index, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and other SL and SYL national officers and members have been targeted for summary detention and indefinite internment during times of national emergency solely because of their association with the SL and the SYL.

40. In or about February 1965 and every year thereafter, agents of the defendant FBI DIRECTOR and his predecessors and agents sent a report of the whereabouts and status of plaintiff JAMES M. ROBERTSON to the Secret Service falsely describing him as a person dangerous to the life of the President of the United States.

48. From the formation of the RT in 1963 through the founding of the SL in 1966, and continuing until the present, the defendant public officers have premised their political intelligence operations and harassment of the SL and the SYL, and plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, upon the alleged commitment of the plaintiff organizations to the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States as well as their alleged conduct which might involve violation of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Voorhis Act.

68. Organizations previously designated as politically subversive are improperly and impermissibly recast by the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines as violent criminal enterprises and terrorist outlaws. Marxist political organizations are now categorized as criminal enterprises as a pretext for justifying increased scope and intrusiveness of FBI investigative techniques, and facilitating prosecution of Marxist political organizations as criminal racketeering enterprises.

71. FBI determination to target an individual or organization for a domestic security/terrorism investigation is made on the basis of speech, political belief and ideology, and not acts of force or violence.

85. The defendant public officers, their predecessors and agents have equated the Marxist ideology of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE with advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States government. The false premise of advocacy of criminal or violent conduct is the pretext for initiating, and continuing indefinitely, a domestic security/terrorism intelligence investigation of the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

87. The defendant public officers and their agents have applied and continue to apply the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS in bad faith, knowing or having reason to know that the SL and the SYL are neither terrorist nor criminal organizations, and that JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS are not terrorists or outlaws....

88. As applied to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, JAMES M. ROBERTSON, SUSAN ADAMS and SL and SYL members and supporters, the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines infringe rights secured by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines transform the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE from lawful political organizations into violent criminal enterprises on the basis of their constitutionally protected speech and advocacy. Thus, the Guidelines target the plaintiff organizations, their members and supporters, as well as plaintiffs JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as terrorists and outlaws existing without the protection of the laws of the United States. The Smith Guidelines codify, make public and direct the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to ignore legal distinctions between political opponents of the government and organized criminals. The Smith Guidelines expose the plaintiff organizations and their members and supporters and plaintiffs ROBERTSON and ADAMS to surveillance, infiltration, disruption, harassment, prosecution and violence on the part of law enforcement authorities and political extremists of the right.

89. By promulgating the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines and applying them to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE, the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE, their members and supporters, and JAMES M. ROBERTSON and SUSAN ADAMS, as a pretext for stigmatizing the plaintiffs as terrorists solely as a result of their Marxist ideology and beliefs, the acts of the defendant public officers, and their predecessors and agents, violate the First, Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Dated: New York, New York  
October 19, 1983

Katz & Weinstein, P.C.  
and  
Rachel H. Wolkenstein  
Attorneys for Plaintiffs

## Sunday Observer

BY RUSSELL BAKER

# The Comic-Book Caper



PATRICK McDONNELL

*News item: The C.I.A. has published a comic book showing Nicaraguans how to make trouble for their Marxist government by using various sabotage techniques, including stopping up toilets with sponges.*

**O**DD HOW QUICKLY A man's reputation could go to seed. Look at old Double-O Seven. For months all the new Yumsies (young upwardly mobile spies) had been saying, "The old boy's too long in the tooth and too thick in the pot to handle the big girls any more."

M apparently thought the same. Three times in the past year world survival had been threatened by three different gangs of large, gorgeous, killer girls who were flooding the free world with dangerous comic books from their fantastically beautiful hideouts in the Caribbean. And three times M had sent, not old 007, but young 0084-B(2), to suppress those copious beauties.

In fact, it had been nearly two years now since M had asked Double-O Seven to do anything at all, except to "nip down to the corner newsstand like a good chap and buy me the new issue of 'Private

Eye.'"

It had been the arm-wrestling with President Reagan that had undone 007. M never mentioned it, of course, but N did the night he invited 007 to go eavesdropping with him in the clubs in St. James.

"Damned poor show letting Reagan trap you into an arm-wrestling photo opportunity and then letting the old geezer whip you in less than two seconds," said N. "I suppose you've heard that Mrs. Thatcher now wants to arm-wrestle you, too, to show she's just as good as Reagan at pushing around third-rate powers."

Since 007's lumbago was killing him, he resisted the urge to toss the sneering N over his shoulder and hurl him into a club infested with Tories. He was prepared to act, though, when summoned next day to M's office.

"If you want me to arm-wrestle Mrs. Thatcher and throw the match to make England look good, you may have my resignation immediately," he said.

"The old boy's going fast," thought M, handing 007 a comic book. "What do you make of this?" he asked.

"It's a comic book," said 007. "Written in abominable Spanish. Obviously Soviet sabotage instructions for malcontents in some miserable tropical dictatorship. The vicious author, I should guess, is size 42-24-36 and must be dealt with very firmly."

"Nonsense," said M. "It's from the C.I.A.'s comic-book division."

"Impossible. Look. This chap in the drawing is dropping sponges into a toilet. Do you know what sponges do to a toilet, M?"

M declined the invitation to dilate on toilet backup and overflow and went immediately to the point. "What I know beyond all doubt," he said, "is that plumbing — beautiful, glistening, splendidly functioning plumbing — is the worldwide symbol of American excellence. Damage that symbol and you strike a deadly blow against freedom."

"Precisely why these big, zaftig K.G.B. wenches are flooding the world with this comic book," said 007. "They intend to destroy democracy by discrediting American plumbing. It's diabolical, M. I'll leave for Jamaica as soon

as my tuxedo and girdle come back from the cleaner."

M wanted to ask 007 to shut up and listen for a change, so he said, "Hold your horses, old-timer. I'm not spoofing you when I say this assault on the supreme symbol of American majesty originates with the C.I.A."

"The dickens you say!" cried 007. "Then we have a mole in the C.I.A. comic-book division. I trust, M, that she is a large, juicy knockout of a mole who spends a lot of time snorkeling in Barbados. I assume you want me to make sure we don't see the man from Krypton turning up with the hammer and sickle emblazoned on his Superman suit."

"The poor sap," thought M. "A sensible man of his age would settle down in the Cotswolds and be a grandfather." What he said was, "You will proceed to Washington and contact Casey...."

"Can you describe Casey's bosom so I'll recognize her?"

"Casey is a man. He runs the C.I.A.," said M. "In your encounter you will use all the eloquence at your command to explain the importance to the entire free world of smoothly functioning American plumbing. On behalf of Her Majesty's Government, you will urge Casey to cease this thoughtless sabotage of respect for American know-how that has taken years to..."

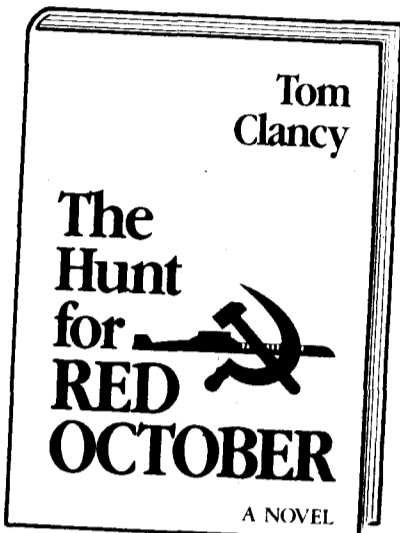
"I daresay there will be a magnificently busted beauty or two along the way who will do anything to stop me from carrying my message to Casey."

M paused, then said, "They might even resort to arm-wrestling," then paused again. "Tell you what, James," he said. "Why don't I just send Casey a letter while you nip down to the newsstand like a good chap and buy me the new issue of 'Private Eye.'"



no credit

Sean MacGregor\* Connery (\*no relation to the traitor Ian, head of the British Coal Board).



Published by Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland.



Ira Wyman

Russell Baker

## Miners...

(continued from page 2)

Men Support the Miners, and they have regular weekly meetings. Miners come along and address their meetings and express their solidarity with them, and they collect money and they give it to the miners. This is previously inconceivable in Britain.

And this seems true in other unions. There's a lot of workers in other unions who really desperately want to strike alongside the miners and to support them, but their leadership really doesn't want to take on that question.

The other thing that's really striking is on the Russian question. I think everybody probably knows that the head of the miners union in Britain is known for, and has been witchhunted for, saying that Polish Solidarność was anti-socialist. And Polish Solidarność is the cutting edge of the Russian question in Britain. So Solidarność came out in its true colors and sent a message of solidarity to the scabs. And as of now Polish Solidarność is a really hated phenomenon in Britain, because everyone associates it with the scabs. Furthermore, the Russian government has actually supported the miners' strike in a number of fairly minimal ways, but the impact has been really impressive. The bourgeois press tried to scandalize the

miners saying, "Everyone says these miners are starving. Well, they're not really starving, because here's the proof of it: they're all having these wonderful holidays on the Black Sea in Russia." And they interviewed one of the miners on this TV news program and he said, "Well, it's really fine here in Russia, you know, there's good food, it's a nice place to live, and it really is much better than Britain." So they had to take this one off the television network.

And in fact, given that recently there has been a large donation of money from the Soviet Union to the British miners, it's really clear that the miners' strike has done more to thwart Thatcher's war plans against the Soviet Union than all the peace demonstrations—and there have been a lot of them in Britain. You know, there's a big CND organization, you've had Greenham Common women, and so forth. And I tell you, the Greenham Common women have become really insignificant by comparison with the miners' wives, who are out there organizing and fighting for support of the strike. And in more ways than one they really are the backbone of the strike.

The third thing is that, given that so much depends on the outcome of this strike, unless you're prepared to address the question of power, then you cannot even bring this strike to the conclusion that is possible. What I mean is that this

strike could have been won several months ago. You had the dockers out on strike twice, and Britain is an island economy so the docks are pretty important. The dockers are a militant union. And you have this situation where the leadership of the trade-union movement and of the Labour Party itself are actually divided. The right wing of both the Labour Party and the trade-union bureaucracy—they're openly anti-Russian, anti-Communist; they were the people who really witch-hunted [NUM leader] Arthur Scargill when he denounced Polish Solidarność. And it's really clear today, they just tell their members to cross miners' picket lines, ignore the strike and don't give them any money.

On the other hand you've got the left wing of the trade-union bureaucracy and of the Labour Party that are not openly anti-Russian. But they simply will not call their members out on strike action. So you have a situation like when the dockers were out on strike, or the railwaymen. Several hundred members of the railway unions have been victimized, locked out and sent home, for refusing to handle scab coal on the trains. And their union is doing absolutely nothing to defend them, having originally instructed them to not handle the scab coal.

Now, the Labour Party. I believe that never before in its history has the

Labour Party been more discredited. And this was as a result of the miners' strike. There's this character Denis Healey in the British Labour Party who's well known to have connections with the CIA and there's a clot of people around him, and we raised the slogan that this guy should be driven out of the Labour Party because the sort of dislocation that it would cause would be really interesting and would break the mold of British social democracy. And Tony Benn came here to New York and various other places and argued that well, of course, the last thing in the world the miners want is to see the Labour Party splitting right now. Well, I'll tell you this is a lie. Most of the miners could see these guys in hell, never mind driven out of the Labour Party. The general secretary of the TUC appeared in a meeting recently and the miners hung up a noose for him in the back of the room. Because you know, they have declared their open animosity to the miners' strike.

We're going to do this fund drive in the U.S. And there's a lot of miners that are really keen to come and meet the Spartacist League and the SYL in the U.S. They're really excited to come here and they desperately need the money. So I think that this will be really important for the international tendency. And it'll be important for the miners. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Spartacist League Suit Against FBI "Terrorism" Guidelines Settled

# FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists

Today, November 30, in settlement of a lawsuit against the FBI and Attorney General, the first legal victory was won against the 1983 Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations. The successful plaintiffs called this "an important victory for everyone who fights to defend democratic rights."

"This victory strengthens every one of us," declared Spartacist League general counsel Rachel Wolkenstein: "Under Reagan and the 1983 FBI Guidelines the government has tried to equate political opposition with criminal conspiracy/terrorism, thus mandating the secret police to get you. But we have no illusion that the government's secret police have stopped or will stop their harassment, infiltration or disruption of Marxist political organizations and other perceived political opponents of the government. This settlement strikes a modest but genuine blow against that deadly equation."

The agreement, filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York (83 Civ. 7680), settled the lawsuit begun one year ago by the Spartacist League, which challenged the FBI Guidelines on the grounds that they falsely recast the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League as terrorist outlaws. The FBI's former definition of the SL falsely attributed to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. In today's settlement, the FBI and the United States Attorney General agreed to change their definition of the Spartacist League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization.

"In agreeing to change its definition of the Spartacist League," Wolkenstein stated, "the FBI conceded the central claim of our lawsuit—that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise. This undermines the FBI's pretext for over 60 years of harassment, surveillance, disruption and persecution of Marxist political organizations in the United States."

### Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Statement on Settlement of Lawsuit Against FBI and Attorney General

The Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have successfully concluded a lawsuit against the Federal Bureau of Investigation in which we charged that the 1983 U.S. Attorney General's Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investi-

gations falsely and dangerously target our organizations as "criminal enterprises" and "terrorist." In the court-endorsed settlement, filed in the Federal District Court in New York on November 30, the FBI and the Attorney

*continued on page 12*

5-635/2

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

SPARTACIST LEAGUE,  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,  
JAMES M. ROBERTSON and  
SUSAN ADAMS,

Plaintiffs,

- v -

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE  
UNITED STATES, DIRECTOR  
OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF  
INVESTIGATION and THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendants.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT  
FILED  
NOV 30 1984  
S. D. OF N. Y.

STIPULATION AND ORDER  
OF SETTLEMENT AND DISMISSAL

83 Civ. 7680 (JES)

IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED by the attorneys for

Federal  
Courthouse,  
New York City,  
November 30:  
SL, SYL, PDC  
spokesmen  
announce  
settlement  
of lawsuit  
against  
the FBI.



## FBI Retracts Its "Definition" Slander

The Spartacist League (SPL), founded in 1965 by former members of another Trotskyist-communist organization, advocates the destruction of the capitalist system and the creation of a workers class system and a workers class society. The SPL national headquarters is located in New York City. While the SPL does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time, or violations of other Federal or state laws, the SPL does believe that eventual violent revolution to overthrow the present capitalist system of government in the U.S. is inevitable. The objective of the SPL is to organize a membership to take action to precipitate such a revolution when conditions are ripe and to direct and seize control of the revolution when it occurs.

This is the former FBI definition of the Spartacist League used for 20 years, which used classic witchhunt language, claiming that the SL "does not openly advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time" [emphasis added], falsely attributing to the organization a conspiratorial commitment to the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

The Spartacist League (SPL), a Marxist political organization, was founded in 1966. The historical and theoretical roots of the SPL derive from the early Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party. The immediate precursor of the SPL was the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. The SPL has an official youth section named the Spartacus Youth League.

The SPL was once the subject of an FBI domestic security investigation. The investigation was closed in 1977, however, and it did not result in any criminal prosecution.

In settlement of the Spartacist League's lawsuit, the FBI agrees to change its definition of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to exactly what the SL is—a Marxist political organization. Thereby the FBI concedes the central claim of the SL's lawsuit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise.