

Democrats, Republicans Attack Workers, Blacks, Aged

Reagan's America Goes to Hell



Capitalism destroys American Industry: U.S. Steel blast furnaces demolished in Youngstown, Ohio.

UPI

The Great Depression of the 1930s has become the standard of comparison in Reagan's America. Well over 15 million unemployed, the highest since the 1930s; the most business failures, foreclosures and plant closings; the sharpest drop in gross national product; the most homeless and hungry. Half a million workers run out of unemployment benefits each month, while minimal welfare benefits (food stamps, Medicaid) are cut back.

Behind the dry statistics is the spread of truly desperate poverty among large sections of the population. Soup kitchens are once again part of the landscape of urban America, and even the hobo is back again riding the rails in despair from freight yard to freight yard. Ravaged Detroit is layoff city. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young breaks city workers strikes and then calls a "food emergency" charity drive. Outside Houston a tent city,

"Reaganville," has sprung up as entire families live under canvas and Hefty garbage bags. In an act of gratuitous cruelty New York City Democratic mayor Ed Koch tried to make municipal shelters "less attractive" to the poor by cutting back on toilet facilities.

And whatever rotten things happen to the aged, unemployed and youth, they happen worst in the black ghettos. Black youth unemployment is soaring toward

75 percent! Deprived of a job, education and economic skills, young blacks are forced onto the streets to be terrorized by racist cops. Moreover, the depression has hit hardest in those industries, like Midwest auto and steel, where unionized black workers are concentrated. Millions of blacks who have given up hope of ever working again are not even counted in the government's statistics.

"Free market" rhetoric boils down to
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Win the War—For Workers Revolution!

Salvadoran Leftists Put Army on the Run

JANUARY 24—While Washington and San Salvador were focusing on factional maneuvering within El Salvador's military and Reagan's meaningless certification of slaughter, the civil war in this tiny Central American country has entered a potentially decisive phase. The successful October offensive of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) already resulted in sharp losses for the

U.S.-backed government in terms of personnel, military supplies and territory. Now, with a January offensive advancing on several fronts, the FMLN is in a position to take and hold entire provinces and to grind up elite units of the Salvadoran army. A rout of government forces, in turn, could set off a chain reaction, making all talk of negotiations futile. Thus the perspectives of military victory for the

leftist rebels vs. a compromise "political solution" with the military butchers have become *immediately and directly* counterposed.

The splintering of the Salvadoran officer corps, as revealed in the recent week-long rebellion of Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa Pérez, comes from the realization that government forces are losing the war. The last two years have been an uninterrupted series of defeats

for the bloodthirsty protectors of oligarchical domination. The Army, National Guard, Treasury Police and right-wing death squads have managed to kill or "disappear" almost 50,000 Salvadoran civilians since 1979, but despite a half dozen offensives they have been unable to dislodge rebels dug in on Guazapa volcano only 25 miles from the capital. In the face of these defeats, Ochoa represents an ultra-rightist faction (headed by cashiered major Roberto D'Aubuisson) which would eliminate even the pretense of concern for "human rights" and institute a scorched earth policy. Ochoa and his cohorts appear to have come out on top against defense minister General Guillermo Garcia. But whether a bloodier reign of death will save the Salvadoran butchers is another matter altogether.

On January 13, Guillermo Ungo,

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Gun Control

The following letter has been excerpted for reasons of space.

November 11, 1982
Washington, D.C.

Comrades,

On Poland and El Salvador and the Middle East I think that no one has a better handle than the Spartacist League. The same is true for other issues: your analysis of the rising fascist threat and how to fight it is unassailable; and your trenchant defiance of national chauvinism in the unions is admirable. But I cannot say the same for your position on gun control.... The threat of police and right wing violence is serious, and growing. And it may also be true that the government—that "body of armed men"—will administer gun control unfairly, and that many of the plans for gun control bandied about today are inherently biased toward "respectables" owning property.

But you assert much more than this. And your assertions worry me because they indicate considerable ignorance of the raw statistical aspects of this controversy. For example, [SL spokesman] Diana Coleman on handgun control advocacy:

"The smugness of the whole thing is repulsive to the average person who has to live in the grubby real world. So the liberals try to make gun control palatable by appealing to everyone's real fears of being mugged, raped or murdered. There's no solution to crime under capitalism, but self-defense is sure a whole lot easier when you've got a gun. Unlike the feminist alternative of karate lessons, the handgun is rightly seen as the Great Equalizer." [WV No. 309, 9 July 1982]

This is embarrassing. With the exception of "there's no solution to crime under capitalism," it is essentially the same claim made by such groups as the NRA and the Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms (CCRKBR, which lists Jesse Helms and John Ashbrook as "Congressional Advisors"). In fact, even

effective—but neither are handguns.

And what about the "real world"? Just who is being smug? Handguns are involved in the killings of 5,000 black people every year. And "a recent study of the Cleveland area showed the handgun to be the leading instrument of death for Black males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, more lethal than disease, auto accidents, or sickle cell anemia" (Sam Fields, 1978). This seems to represent a greater terror to the black community than even the most racist and brutal police....

Your articles present evidence, much of which is circumstantial or ambiguous, that gun control is merely an issue of bonapartism vs. workers defense. You have also suggested that blacks, as a whole, oppose gun control, when in fact every major civil rights organization in the country supports some form of handgun control. (Of course, that means bourgeois, Democratic-oriented groups like the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which are as far from "militant" as the Democratic Party itself; but these do, nevertheless, represent the public opinion of great numbers of blacks in America.)...

Ultimately, I am torn on the matter of gun control.... Perhaps your basic thesis is true, that gun control is primarily—or even *only*—the repressive scheme of a nervous ruling class. But in your lack of scholarly rigor and your flippant dismissal of a host of unanswered questions, that thesis remains to be proved.

Sincerely,
Matthew Rubenstein

WV replies: It is embarrassing to have to "prove" an elementary truth derived from historical experience, namely, that if you are being attacked by someone, you have a better chance of survival if: a) you have a weapon which is at least equal to, if not superior to, your



WV Photo

with the NRA: they see themselves as an extension of the cops and the army who want to suppress black militants and revolutionists, while we are counterposed to and seek the destruction of the capitalists' murderous state apparatus.) The above letter shows no sense of the political effects of gun control. It is profoundly dangerous to keep the population in a constant state of helpless fear; such desperation spawns fascist mobilizations and racist vigilantes.

While the letter tries to enlist B. Bruce Briggs in support of its arguments, Briggs' article, "The Great American Gun War" (*Public Interest*, Fall 1976), spends a lot of time demolishing Rubenstein's beloved statistics. He notes that "the low quality of data on crime rates and gun ownership makes rigorous examination impossible." More importantly, Briggs shows the deep-going class and racial prejudices involved both in the debate and in the so-called statistics, noting: "There is a remarkable coincidence between gun control agitation and periods of social upheaval."

This is particularly relevant as the letter challenges our assertion that gun control kills blacks. For instance, Rubenstein claims that thousands of blacks are the victims of handgun killings (which is no doubt true) and this represents "a greater terror than even the most racist and brutal police"; that black opinion is not against gun control, and so on. While the writer acknowledges the growth of cop and fascist terror he seems to find it hard to believe that blacks would insist on their right to be armed as a way to defend themselves. But as the *San Francisco Examiner* (20 March 1982) commented about an attempt to pass an anti-handgun law in Chicago, "Much of the opposition to the ordinance came from representatives of Chicago's black community." And Rev. Russell Meek was certainly closer to the opinion of the majority of blacks in this country than Uncle Tom advocates of gun control like Jesse Jackson when Meek said in the *Chicago Defender*:

"We need Gun Control like we need another four years of Jane Byrne. We need Gun Control like we need the Ku Klux Klan. We need Gun Control like we need the Nazi Party...."

Even a cursory examination of the question shows that historically gun control movements in the U.S. have grown out of the racist fears of the ruling class. The earliest laws at the turn of the century were passed in the South to disarm blacks in the face of the KKK. The 1968 Gun Control Act, the first national legislation in 40 years, was passed in the wake of the ghetto uprisings following the assassination of Martin Luther King. That law, like the Kennedy-Rodino Bill in particular, goes after cheap mail order and imported weapons, like the "Saturday Night Special"—the only kind affordable to the ghetto poor. And NYC got one of its toughest gun laws because the bourgeoisie wanted to keep black militant Malcolm X from carrying a carbine for protection.

From the Deacons for Defense in Louisiana to the "Black Panther Party for Self-Defense," the right to arm oneself against racist attacks was key in the formation of every radical black group. They had had enough of Martin Luther King's suicidal "turn the other cheek" pacifism. Today, Reagan in seeking to assert the power of the imperial presidency has given the green light to the cops to gun down black youth and the Klan to parade in the streets. While restraints on the fascists are relaxed, the push is on to disarm the working class and blacks. Gun control kills, and kills blacks in particular in the service of a desperate ruling class which long ago became a barrier to human progress, but which will nevertheless cling to power, using naked state terror if necessary. So we fight against gun control, for the right to bear arms, and for the right of black self-defense. ■



Black students at Cornell University, 1969: Gun control laws aim at disarming black militants.

(moderate) right wingers, like B. Bruce Briggs, whose pamphlet, "The Great American Gun War," is respected by the NRA, know better than to make some of the claims you have made here. Almost every serious authority on the subject, who knows the facts, whatever his position for or against gun control, admits that handguns are no "Great Equalizer," that by and large they are not a useful means of self-defense. In muggings, burglary, rape, and robberies of all kinds, criminals will not usually be deterred by someone with a handgun—whether that person is black or white.... As for women, karate lessons may not be particularly

opponent's, and; b) you know how to use it. Perhaps the writer should review the several-thousand-year history of weaponry, starting with the development of the club.

Rubenstein's letter throws up statistics and charges of a lack of "scholarly rigor" as a smokescreen to cover what is primarily a political difference with us on the issue of gun control. He basically repeats the liberals' argument against handguns, the core of which is the nonsensical and ahistorical proposition that "guns kill people," hence they propose to ban guns. In their class-biased hypocritical way, you notice, they never propose to *disarm the cops*. The bourgeoisie draws a lesson from historical experience, namely that a cop wouldn't last long in a black ghetto if he didn't have the "respect" which comes with his pistol and shotgun, not to mention helicopter gunships and other SWAT specialty items for "civil disturbances." So they arm the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" to the teeth, without waiting for the arrival of the latest scholarly statistical surveys on the efficacy of guns.

The bourgeois order produces the most desperately violent conditions for human life while monopolizing the means of violence in the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. The main reason why most people want guns is a legitimate feeling of powerlessness faced with the felt menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder. Karate to stop a rapist? Don't count on it. As the saying goes, "God created man and woman, and Colonel Colt made 'em equal."

It is in part the felt need for self-defense that gives the right-wing National Rifle Association their enormous popular backing. (Obviously this is where we differ

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RWL Gone With the Wind

—W. E. B. DuBois,
*Black Reconstruction
in America 1860-1880*

What has the RWL spewing this filth is their need to try to discredit the recent victory against Klan terror in Washington, D.C. on November 27—a victory organized and led by the Spartacists. The Klan, which threatened to march for racist terror in the nation's capital, was stopped. They never marched, they never put on their white robes. Thousands of black workers and youth responded to the call of the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK. Massed at the foot of Capitol Hill, they made it clear that the Klan would never move past its starting point. As the cops speedily got the fascists safely out of town, the anti-Klan demonstrators surged out into the streets and marched the route the Klan had said it would take.



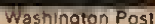
So they call us "carpetbaggers," the term the Southern planters gave to the Northern radical Republicans who stayed in the South after the Civil War. To the Southern racists they were sinister, unscrupulous adventurers who came (with their possessions in carpetbags) to "exploit" the newly freed slave, portrayed as a passive dupe who would presumably otherwise be content to live quietly on the old plantation.

Just as the carpetbaggers were not the fly-by-night con-men of Southern racist demonology, neither were black people their passive dupes. In fact, 200,000 blacks took up arms when they finally

The outrageous racist claim that black people are suckers for anything "flashy" is not new for the RWL. The SL's first successful labor/black mobilization against the Klan was in Detroit's Kennedy Square on 10 November 1979, after the Klan had announced they would celebrate their massacre of five anti-fascist activists in Greensboro, North Carolina by rallying in the Motor City. The RWL peered at the demonstration of 500 black and white auto workers and leftists and pronounced it a "fraud" and its participants "passers-by" attracted by "the general commotion" (RWL leaflet, 14 January 1980). With each successive mobilization—Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago, now Washington—the RWL has become more frustrated and frantic. This latest leaflet shows the RWL will claim anything about these demonstrations: they weren't real; they were real but they didn't stop the fascists; they did stop the fascists, but it was really some "united front" of the RWL and friends that did it; the demonstrations really protected the fascists.

It is the "lot of money" charge that is really loaded. First of all, we wish it were true! But what money we do have, we are proud to spend on actions like November 27 that stop the Klan. If our leaflets are everywhere in sight, our posters "flashy," our sound equipment loud, our medical vans and lawyers on standby in case of trouble, we credit our commitment to anti-fascist struggle and so do the thousands who marched under our leadership. "While other organizations such as the RSL" are presumably building "real" demonstrations, "the SL spends money, and more

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Black demonstrators in Washington, D.C. take up SL slogan, "Finish the Civil War!" RWL says it's "crazy."

After Arafat Abandoned Sabra/Shatila

Revolt in the PLO Camps

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon was a defeat of historic magnitude for the Palestinian people. With the agreement of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leadership, the American, French and Italian imperialist "peacekeepers" took 12,000 Palestinian commandos under guard and deposited them in concentration camps spread across the Arab East. Left defenseless in Lebanon, their families were then butchered in the Shatila/Sabra refugee camps by the Zionist-organized Phalange killers and Israel's puppet Haddad forces.

One PLO official (who asked not to be named) has admitted such a massacre was predictable once the Palestinian military forces were removed:

"...the real importance of our military was to defend our civilians against the sort of thing that happened at Shatila and which has happened before to our people in Lebanon and elsewhere. Everyone is aware that as long as we were in Beirut there was no massacre at Shatila; it only happened after we left."

—Washington Post,
27 December 1982

Now many PLO fighters are asking why they left. There has been a real conspiracy of silence to cover up the mass discontent, anger and outright revolt in the PLO camps against Arafat & Co., whose confidence in his paper agreements with the imperialists led to the slaughter in West Beirut. But the story is slowly leaking out.

After receiving a "heroes' welcome" from their various reactionary Arab hosts, the PLO commandos were disarmed and placed in concentration

camps. A quarter of those who arrived in the Sudan have simply disappeared; many of those in Iraq have been thrown into prison. The lengthy 27 December *Washington Post* article described the situation in a PLO camp in Tunisia 60 miles from Arafat's new seaside resort headquarters:

"Confined to a camp surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by a wary Tunisian Army, they found that even a rare permit to go to town meant a five-mile walk to the nearest coffee shop."

"In September, when news of the massacre in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps reached them, the men revolted. They denounced their leaders, including Arafat, for having assured them that their families would be safe in Beirut after they departed."

"The revolt was put down ruthlessly by Fatah men in the camp loyal to Arafat, according to Tunisian government sources. Ringleaders of the demonstration had their heads shaved and, according to one of these sources, were even imprisoned briefly in makeshift jails within the camp."

Some of these PLO fighters have since escaped and gone underground.

The 13 December 1982 issue of *Time* adds a similar report about conditions in the Sudan:

"In the Sudan, the story is much the same: 518 fighters arrived in August, and only 370 remain today. The Palestinians who live in tents at Mashtal el Bassatin, a Nile village 120 miles north of Khartoum, occasionally call themselves *Polisario* after the desert guerrillas of northwestern Africa.... Discipline at Mashtal el Bassatin has broken down only once: on the day the fighters heard over the radio of the Beirut massacre. Outraged, some of the men set their tents on fire. About 100 of

them had relatives in the two Beirut camps, and only a handful have since received news of their families.... The P.L.O. leadership recognizes the seriousness of the situation at places like



PLO fighters arrive in Tunisia where they are placed in concentration camps.

Mashtal el Bassatin. Says an official in Damascus: "These young men are a volcano waiting to explode."

Yet while the PLO camps are in upheaval, much of the American left

cynically tailed Arafat as he hailed the outcome of the Lebanese war as a great 'moral' or 'political victory' for the Palestinian cause. The trendy Stalinoid *Guardian* (1 September 1982) referred to the "political gains registered in the course of their heroic resistance." The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which vociferously defends the PLO's call for an imperialist "peacekeeping force" as "the only way to insure" against slaughter (!), outdid itself when SWP spokesman Malik Miah declared last August "Yasir Arafat has put the Palestinians in the best possible position"! Try telling that to PLO fighters now locked up in the North African desert, whose families were murdered in Sabra/Shatila! In contrast to these cheerleaders for defeat the Spartacist League warned from the beginning that the introduction of imperialist troops into Lebanon and the withdrawal of the PLO commandos would mean a bloodbath for the Palestinians:

"The remaining Palestinian population in Lebanon—more than half a million—will be left defenseless before the tender mercies of mad bomber Begin and his maniacal war minister Ariel Sharon."

—"Smash Zionist Genocide!"
WV No. 311, 6 August 1982

Palestinian militants rebelling against Arafat's treachery must draw the political lessons of the Lebanese catastrophe culminating in the horror of the Shatila/Sabra massacre. They must break with Arab nationalism which since 1948 has disarmed the Palestinians politically and militarily, in the face of imperialist-backed Zionist genocide and ruthless repression by the Arab bourgeois states. The philosopher George Santayana said that those who do not understand history are condemned to repeat it. It is to contribute to this understanding that we are publishing a series on the Palestinian question entitled, "From 'The Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana." ■

RWL...

(continued from page 3)

money," says the RSL leaflet, which hilariously claims we flew "hundreds" of SL members into Washington. (Of course we brought in busloads from all over the Atlantic seaboard and the Middle West. What really gets them is where did the other 5,000 come from?)

It's true that we spent a lot of money. The dozens of union officials and locals who endorsed the mobilization certainly understood that a socialist group named the Spartacist League was supporting the effort every way we could. They assumed that Spartacist supporters would be on hand to do radio interviews and make banners, that our good credit with printers would stand behind the Labor/Black Mobilization's order for 250,000 leaflets, etc. And they were right. We're hardly going to apologize for that. And we're not surprised that now that we're trying to dig out from under the enormous expense of the successful Washington demonstration, along comes the RWL to denounce us as carpetbaggers loaded with money.

But the real purpose of the charge is to imply that we are paid agents of somebody. "Moscow gold"? The CIA? While the FBI sniffs around looking for sinister communist "conspiracies" behind the Washington demonstration and the bourgeois media pushes scare stories of "violence" in hopes of scapegoating leftists for the mass action which frustrated the government's determination to let the Klan march, the RWL chimes in with slanders that Spartacists "resort to violent attacks on demonstrations." We ask: whose work is the RWL doing?

Cynical APC Diversion

The RWL's aim is to ingratiate itself with the reformist leftists for whom the

anti-fascist struggle is just another vehicle for cuddling up to Democratic Party "progressives" in an "anti-Reagan" popular front. Their activities in Washington on November 27 were directly of service to the liberal establishment. The All-Peoples Congress (APC), led by the Marcyite Workers World Party, had announced an anti-Klan rally for November 27 at noon near the Klan's reported final destination. The action was intended to be one of the usual pro-Democrat talkathons, explicitly disclaiming any intention to "confront" the Klan.

The active entry onto the political scene of the Labor/Black Mobilization forces pushed the APC into the openly diversionary role played at other times by mainstream liberals without "left" cover—e.g., the festival organized by San Francisco mayor Feinstein and conservative Jewish groups to compete with a Spartacist-initiated mobilization against the Nazis in 1980. The APC chose a site two miles from the Klan's assembly point. Callers to the APC phone number were told that the Labor/Black Mobilization would be "violent." The APC relished the role of "respectable" anti-fascist protester; it's exactly the role they wanted. For the APC, "the Klan is not the issue" (as one speaker said explicitly at the APC rally); the issue is "Reagan," i.e., getting the Democrats back in the White House. They appeal to the black masses' passionate and desperate hatred of the Klan in a cynical bid for a base they can trade to the Democrats: let us be your errand boys and apologists, let us clean up your act a little, we too have a "constituency" to peddle to you.

The reformist leftists hid for this role in many ways, not least as the thought-police of the left. They have sought by force and by the use of the cops to purge our communist slogans and contingents from demonstrations. (The larger out-

Anti-Klan Benefit Big Success!

OAKLAND, January 24—Nearly 250 black and white workers and students jammed Eli's Mile High Club—"home of the West Coast blues"—here tonight to attend a special blues benefit for the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27. Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee, the benefit was a rousing success, collecting \$895 at the door and an additional \$660 in advanced ticket sales, many of which were sold to Bay Area trade unionists.

The audience enthusiastically greeted the blues performers Monica

DuPont, Troyce Key and the Eddie Rey Blues Band, as well as applauding Spartacist League spokesmen who described the victory over the Klan in Washington and put forward a revolutionary socialist program. Several hundred leaflets advertising a videotape showing of the anti-Klan demonstration were snapped up, and many gathered around the SL literature table and photo display of the demonstration. Several Club employees said that they had never seen a more successful benefit at the popular Oakland night spot and invited us back for future fundraisers "any time."

fits generally take no notice of the minuscule RWL, but they're more than happy to retail slander stories from the RWL and its similarly sized "third camp" friends about Spartacist "goons," "saboteurs," "sectarians" and "split-off demonstrations" to justify their anti-communist exclusionism.)

On November 27, happily swimming in the rad-lib mainstream, the RWL joined the usual crew of popular-frontists at the APC rally, two miles from the militant mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching. The APC rally was about one-third the size of the Labor/Black Mobilization. But even here at the deliberately anti-militant event, there were many hundreds of black youth who had come out under the misapprehension that the APC wanted to stop the Klan. These black youth should know that the RWL committed the vile act of joining the APC goon squad that linked arms against its own demonstrators in a futile

effort to keep militants from breaking away to go look for the Klan. The APC promised anti-fascist action, delivered only frustration. Busily violence-baiting the Labor/Black Mobilization, the APC actually set up for cop violence the youth who left the APC rally in disgust and became easy targets for rampaging police.

It's truly obscene to find ostensible leftists whistling Dixie as the RWL does in its "Carpetbaggers" leaflet. But this is the logic of anti-Spartacism for the despicable RWL. Their easy slippage into the rhetoric of Southern racism says a lot about their real politics and role. Their unrestrained hatred for the Labor/Black Mobilization of November 27—to our knowledge the largest overtly Trotskyist-led anti-fascist demonstration in this country since the massive 1939 rally at Madison Square Garden in New York—should show any thinking worker that the RWL is no friend of the enemies of the Klan. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist League/Lanka: "Reject Popular Front Politics!"

Oppose Strong-Man Rule in Sri Lanka!

J.R. Jayewardene was returned to office with a bare 52 percent majority in the Sri Lanka presidential elections of 20 October 1982. Seizing the opportunity to consolidate a dictatorial regime, Jayewardene rammed through a plebiscite to extend the life of the present Parliament until 1989 (thus maintaining his 5/6 parliamentary majority). On December 22 J.R. and his ruling United National Party (UNP) received 54 percent of the vote for his IMF-dictated austerity rule. We reprint below a slightly abridged translation of the article published by the Spartacist League/Lanka in Sinhala and Tamil denouncing the plebiscite, as well as excerpts from their articles on the presidential elections.

Significantly, in the Tamil areas of the North and East, where the votes took place in an atmosphere of vicious state repression under the Emergency Regulations and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, up to 92 percent of the registered voters boycotted the presidential election. Those votes that were cast in both the election and the referendum were largely against the UNP. Dozens of militant Tamils in the North, and Catholic and Buddhist clergy, were arrested while opposition newspapers and political groups were banned in the government's terror campaign carried out between the elections and the referendum. Following hunger strikes and protests involving tens of thousands of militants, some of those arrested were freed.

In the October presidential elections, various fake-lefts sought to form a popular frontist, anti-UNP bloc including the virulently Sinhala-chauvinist, bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). When the SLFP decided to run its own candidate against J.R., virtually the entire "left" capitulated to this "alternative" capitalist candidate. While the reformist Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CP) campaigned unabashedly for the SLFP, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which long ago abandoned even pretensions to Trotskyism and had led the drive for a unitary opposition candidate, ran its own Colvin R. de Silva. De Silva made a meager showing, less than one percent of the vote, a sharp drop from previous elections, as former LSSP voters cast their ballots directly for the SLFP, the bourgeois "lesser evil" the LSSP has covered for since the 1950s. The New Samasamaja Party (NSSP), a reformist outfit fraternally linked to the English *Militant* group, ran their own candidate as a fig leaf, but called for a vote to the SLFP in the second round. The ex-Guevarist, now parliamentarist JVP came in third in the elections.

The Spartacist League/Lanka declared: "None of the candidates in the 1982 presidential elections can represent you!" The SL/L also actively defended the right of the militant Tamil groups to organize a boycott in the North against Jayewardene's attempts to smash them by arrest and torture.

The Tamil-majority Northern and

Eastern provinces voted down the anti-democratic move to extend the present Parliament. However, some of the southern areas where Sinhala-chauvinist UNP politicians campaigned under the slogan "Vote for the lamp to suppress the Tigers [Tamil nationalists]" in order to incite communal hostilities, also returned a negative vote. (The "lamp" was the symbol for a "yes" vote on the ballot, while the "pot" was the symbol of a "no" vote.) Most of the fake-left and traditional workers leaders called simply for a "no" vote, including

even the notorious Bala Tampoe, head of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and ex-member of the United Secretariat group. But Mr. S. Thondaman, head of the Ceylon Workers Congress, the company union of the plantation Tamils, allied with the CIA-inspired International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, proved his slavish loyalty to J.R. by bringing in the votes of his membership in the hill country for the ruthless starvation capitalist government.

"Smash Reactionary UNP and SLFP!"

FROM
LANKA SPARTACIST NO. 5 &
ILLANGAI SPARTACIST NO. 2,
NOVEMBER 1982

In the presidential elections of 20 October 1982, J.R. Jayewardene received 3.4 million votes out of 8.1 million registered voters and is again in power in Sri Lanka. After he returned to power, J.R.'s first act was to go after the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the rival capitalist party of his United National Party. The UNP's main pretext for this was that "Naxalites" [an Indian variant of Maoism] had taken control of the SLFP and if, by chance, the SLFP candidate had won the election on 20 October, he and the SLFP planned a coup to seize state power. This is a complete lie, fabricated by J.R. and the UNP.

At a meeting in Anuradhapura before the election, J.R. declared that when he returned to power the electoral map in Lanka would be rolled up for the next ten years. J.R. is now in power. J.R. and the UNP are ready to roll up the electoral map—not for ten years but forever. Instead of holding the [parliamentary] elections that are due in 1983, J.R. and the UNP are now attempting to extend the life of Parliament for six years. Preparations are being made to hold a fake referendum on December 22. Although this hoax, painted in various "democratic" colours, is new to Lanka, every murderous capitalist ruler

in the world has used this trick to "throw sand" in the eyes of the people. After banning all opposition parties in Germany, Hitler too used such fake referendums five times to hide his barbaric deeds.

This referendum should properly be called "an election to end elections." Every worker and oppressed person should seriously consider why the UNP calls for a referendum instead of a general election even after winning 52 percent of 6,522,147 votes cast in the presidential elections on October 20.

In the context of the world capitalist system, Lanka is so bankrupt, so decrepit, that it survives by pawing the suffering masses and workers to the imperialists' financial institutions. Lanka today stands pawned for over 30,000 million rupees [over \$14 million]. Before granting further loans, the world bankers are demanding that the UNP strangle Lanka—slash basic subsidies and raise the prices of essential goods. Today the UNP cannot avoid doing this. Even Reagan, the great saviour, is unable to step forward to aid Lanka. With a record unemployment figure of 13 million and a large balance of payments deficit, the U.S. cannot come to Lanka's rescue. Nor can Helmut Kohl, who has slashed subsidies and welfare in West Germany and is now facing a restive labour movement. In this capitalist world, none of the imperialist countries is immune from this economic crisis, which is the worst

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Army occupies Jaffna, 1981. Down with the anti-Tamil terror!

AP

"Struggle For a Workers and Peasants Government in Lanka!"

We reprint below slogans from Spartacist League/Lanka propaganda around the presidential elections and the parliamentary referendum.

- Smash reactionary UNP and SLFP!
- Reject parliamentarism!
- Reject popular front politics! No new bloc with the capitalist SLFP!
- Reinstate all fired workers [from 1980 strike]!
- Abolish all repressive legislation! Down with the Emergency Law!
- Return state industries handed over

to private capitalists and imperialists!

- Not one inch of Lanka to the imperialists!
- Land to the peasants! Provide low-priced fertilizer, water and other essential supplies for agriculture!
- Support the right of the Tamil people to self-determination (the right to a separate state)!
- Withdraw army and police sent to the North to repress Tamil people!
- Free all imprisoned Tamil liberation fighters immediately, including

Kuttimani and Jeganathan who are sentenced to death!

- Smash deals between the TULF and the UNP butchers!
- Grant immediate citizenship rights to [Tamil] plantation workers!
- Stop the forcible deportation of plantation workers now! Grant the right for deported plantation workers to return to Lanka!
- Equal rights for women! Equal pay for equal work! Abolish night shifts!
- Stop treating women as a commodity!

- Grant the right for women to make all decisions on birth control!
- Don't hand over Trincomalee Harbour to the American imperialists!
- Remove "Voice of America" transmitting stations from Lanka!
- Defense of the Soviet Union/Vietnam/Cuba begins in Trincomalee and Diego Garcia!
- Forge unity of workers, peasants and Tamil people for the victory of socialist revolution in Lanka!
- Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!
- Struggle for a workers and peasants government in Lanka!
- Forward to a United Soviet Federation of South Asia!

1,000 Sign Recall Petition in S.F. Phone CWA Witchhunters Get Burned

SAN FRANCISCO, January 25—The top officials of CWA Local 9410 are in trouble. Last July these officials initiated a purge trial aimed at driving union militant Kathy Ikegami, a 9410 Executive Board member, steward and leader of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC), out of the union. However Ikegami and the MAC have used the trial as a forum to denounce and expose the sellout policies of the officers, especially local president Jim Imerzel. More and more of Ikegami's union brothers and sisters have rallied to her defense. In response the local's executive officers have become ever more frenzied.

Their hysteria reaches truly clinical proportions in a recent McCarthyite smear letter addressed to the 9410 membership by the local president, vice president, secretary and treasurer: Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson. This letter, given to us by angry phone workers, is truly one of the more bizarre documents we have ever come across. We reprint it along with the suitably humorous and derisive reply of the Local 9410 MAC.

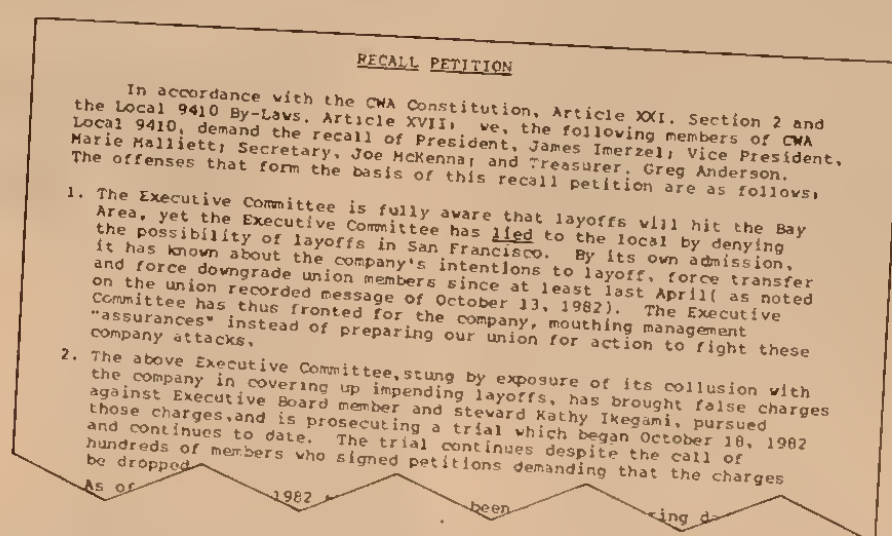
The events leading up to this exchange begin with the trial proceedings initiated by Imerzel last July. These were a response to MAC's exposure of CWA bureaucrats' colluding with the company to cover up impending layoffs. From the beginning of the trial, Imerzel and his cohorts tried to obscure this issue, hoping to try Ikegami for her well-known political support to the Spartacist League (SL). But this hasn't worked.

As the trial progressed it came out

that there was indeed a cover-up of coming layoffs on the part of the local bureaucrats, who had gone so far as to deny the possibility of any job cuts throughout the summer only to have to admit that "force reductions" were in the cards in the fall. Further cross-examination of one of Imerzel's star witnesses, local secretary McKenna, revealed that McKenna had attended a

star-chamber proceeding denying most local members the chance to attend any sessions. According to MAC this move also cost the union thousands of dollars in union activity time, money paid to the trial body, defendant, counsel and witnesses.

At this point MAC initiated a petition to recall the local executive officers. The petition charged the officers with a



One thousand signed the recall petition which has CWA 9410 sellout bureaucrats in a witchhunting frenzy.

Ku Klux Klan gathering in Texas following the 1980 CWA national convention. Subsequent "modifications" of his testimony did little to allay widespread outrage over his atrocious and despicable act.

Because the trial was so damaging to Imerzel and his pals, the Local 9410 bureaucrats moved it to daytime working hours. This effectively turned it into

series of offenses including: lying to the members about impending layoffs; bringing Ikegami to trial for exposing this fronting for Ma Bell; convening a trial body of Imerzel's hand-picked supporters, which was never properly elected; moving the trial to daytime hours, thereby denying members the right to attend the trial; wrongfully spending thousands of dollars of union

monies on the trial; and condoning secretary McKenna's attendance at a KKK gathering.

According to MAC over 1,000 CWA Local 9410 members signed the recall petition. The bureaucrats' letter of 11 January 1983 was their first response to this stunning repudiation of their attempted purge. *Workers Vanguard* has subsequently learned that the Local 9410 election committee, in a meeting presided over by the prosecutor at the Ikegami trial, has denied the recall petition on the grounds that the charges are "vague and frivolous." MAC also reports that the Local 9410 officers imposed a gag rule at the sparsely attended January 18 union meeting. To silence Ikegami, executive board members will no longer be permitted to give reports, no discussion by the members will be allowed—only questions!

This blatant trampling on the elementary democratic rights of Local 9410 members is of a piece with the bureaucrats' letter of January 11. And that letter is itself a sample of the kind of case Imerzel has tried to make against Ikegami during his show trial, a trial he has been obliged to conduct behind the backs of the members because his behavior has been so dirty and shameful.

MAC points out that the November executive board meeting passed a motion, previously passed by L.A. CWA Local 11502, which supports the Morenoite International Workers Party (IWP) and its CWA supporters' lying version of their assault on Spartacist League members and trade-union supporters at an October 2 IWP meeting. When MAC members brought this executive board motion up for discussion at the November general membership meeting the bureaucracy refused to permit it to come to the floor.

During the trial itself it has become clear that the bureaucracy has grabbed any club within reach with which to beat Ikegami. Since Ikegami is a supporter of the Spartacist League, a Trotskyist organization, Imerzel has attempted to borrow from Stalinism's arsenal of anti-Trotsky slander. No doubt with some help from the Malliett family, Imerzel has waxed eloquent on the justice of the Moscow Trials and even managed to dig up a sorry World War II-vintage pamphlet by the Stalinist hack George Morris. But Imerzel does not stop there because the SL in defending the Trot-

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McCarthyite Mud That Didn't Stick

We reprint below the McCarthyite smear letter sent to the members of CWA Local 9410, at union expense, by the "gang of four" bureaucrats, Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson.

Communications Workers of America
Local No. 9410
San Francisco, California

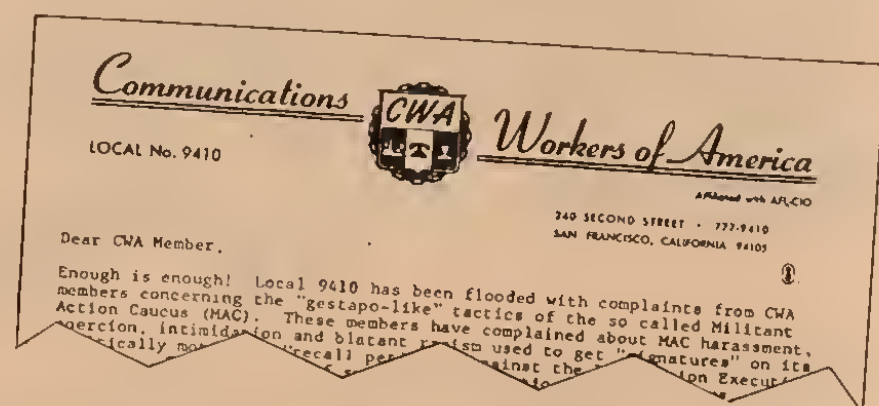
Dear CWA Member,

Enough is enough! Local 9410 has been flooded with complaints from CWA members concerning the "gestapo-like" tactics of the so called Militant Action Caucus (MAC). These members have complained about MAC harassment, coercion, intimidation and blatant racism used to get "signatures" on its politically motivated "recall petition" against the Local Union Executive Officers. The MAC's use of such anti-democratic methods force us, the Executive Officers, to respond "publicly" to this vicious MAC attack. Please take the few minutes necessary to read carefully this letter and the enclosed related leaflet. YOUR knowledge

concerning the Spartacist League and its "caucus" in CWA—MAC—will enable you the member to better understand the motivation for their attacks, and the "real" goal they seek.

Just WHO and WHAT is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). MAC is an affiliate of the Spartacist League (SL), an international Trotskyist-communist political sect. According to the Spartacist League, it for years has planned and accomplished the infiltration of labor unions like CWA through formation of "caucuses" (eg. MAC). These caucuses (MAC) are required to follow absolutely the dictates of the Spartacist League. For example, as the Spartacist League made clear in its "Trade Union Memorandum" of 1972 (printed in *Marxist Bulletin* 9):

"The key organizational form for intervention in the unions is the CAUCUS, the nucleus of an alternative, revolutionary union leadership, uniting members of the vanguard with the union activists who agree with that section of the party programme for the labour movement.... The growth of our nucleus will not be primarily



9410's "gang of four" misuses union funds to send out weird, red-baiting letter.

through the recruitment of politically backward militants [trade union leaders] drawn to us because of our leadership in local struggles [fighting the Employers]. Rather the CAUCUS will grow through political struggle with other left and militant union formations leading the process of splits and fusions." (emphasis added)

In plain language, the Spartacist League has infiltrated our Local Union in the form of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), so called. Through its "caucus"—MAC—the Spartacist League has followed through with its planned "take-over" of your CWA Local Union. The Spartacist League/MAC has actively pursued its political attacks on the Local Union Officers only because we do not "agree" completely with the views of the Spartacist

League. By tearing down and destroying us, and anyone with whom they disagree, the Spartacist League/MAC plans to propel itself into power. The fact that the Spartacist League and MAC "programs" are the same can be seen by reviewing the several Spartacist League newspapers such as the Ikegami interview in *Women and Revolution*, *Spartacist*, *Workers Vanguard*, and *Young Spartacus*. Review for example the May 28, 1982 issue of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*, which states:

"The MAC program shows the way forward for all working people. To bring this program to victory, class-struggle caucuses are needed not just in West Coast phone but in all the key sectors of the industrial proletariat.

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WORKERS VANGUARD



How Weird Can You Get?

Local 9410 Officers Take Fake-Red to Bed

Brothers and Sisters,

Yesterday we got a letter in the mail from Imerzel, Malliett, Anderson and McKenna which was sent to all Local 9410 members. Frankly, this letter is pretty weird. It's supposed to be a lurid exposé proving that the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) "is an affiliate of the Spartacist League (SL), an international Trotskyist-communist political sect". Sounds sinister, doesn't it?

The trouble is, everyone knows that the MAC is an organization of *only* CWA members open to *any* CWA'er who agrees with our views as expressed in our printed program. Also, many MAC'ers, as is their right, are also supporters of the Spartacist League, a socialist political organization which indeed bases itself on the views of Leon Trotsky. (Trotsky was a leader, along with Lenin, of the workers' 1917 October Russian Revolution, who subsequently fought against the rise of the autocratic, nationalist, anti-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. For his working-class revolutionary opposition to Stalin, Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union, and later murdered by Stalin's agents). The trouble again for our junior Joe McCarthy is that this is no "secret". For example, Local 9410 Executive Board member, steward and MAC spokesman, Kathy Ikegami, has never hidden her political views and has, in fact, acknowledged her political support of the views of the Spartacist League in a number of MAC leaflets.

Thus, Imerzel and Co. have spent well over a thousand dollars of our union money to tell (in a false, vicious and self-serving way) a lot of people what MAC has already told them.

Our top officers have gone bonkers. Why? Because on January 7th MAC submitted, in accord with all relevant sections of the CWA Constitution, a petition to recall the Executive Committee of Local 9410. Some 1,006 members signed the petition, well over the 20% required to mandate a recall vote and about *twice* as many members as voted to put Imerzel and his pals in office just a short while ago. Most of you know the basis for this recall. In short, we charge the officers with swinish dishonesty, sniveling pro-company collusion and intolerable toleration of the fascist KKK.

A thousand Local 9410 members want a new election and the chance to pick a new leadership. And our bureau-

crats can't stand it! Brothers and Sisters! Local 9410 stands in absolutely no danger of attack by MAC, whose members are among the best defenders of our union. It's the *company* that is on the rampage against the CWA. But this is of little concern to our sell-out officers. Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe are worried and figure they will have trouble getting re-elected if they are recalled, so they are trying to stir up paranoia and fear among the membership. Also, there's the election to the Special Convention to worry about. After all, CWA National President Glenn Watts told them last July to "get the MAC". So that's why they put out this weird and filthy *campaign* letter at your expense.

Necessity, as is said, is the mother of invention...and politics do make strange bedfellows. But brothers and sisters, look at what Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe have crawled under the covers with... the International Workers Party (IWP). Are our officers IWP members? We don't know, but if they do join they might swell the IWP to 30 members.

The letter refers to the IWP as "another leftist organization". Come now, let's not be coy. The IWP is a self-proclaimed communist organization. It even says it's (shudder) Trotskyist. It calls for "...leaders who are up to the historic task of liberating humanity and burying the greatest oppressor (sic) and enemy mankind has ever known: U.S. imperialism (January '82 *Working Class Opposition*)."

Now isn't this odd? Our officers circulate "communist literature" at union expense in order to do a hatchet job on MAC. Jim, Marie, Greg and Joe really recommend the views of the IWP. But the IWP is simply the American affiliate of an international lash-up run by an Argentine adventurer and fake-Red named Nahuel Moreno. What does Moreno think?

On the U.S.—Moreno is for: "...breaking the nuclear teeth of Yankee imperialism".

On Israel—"Today Arab racism is progressive: it destroys the Zionist State...this destruction necessarily implies the pushing out of its present inhabitants..." In Moreno's view—"non-Zionist Jewish inhabitants...do not exist". (September '82)

On Iran—Under the headline "Khomeini Makes a Pact With the 'Great Satan'", he states, "the taking of the embassy and of the hostages was a

revolutionary act of the Iranian masses. The agreement which released them was quite the opposite". (Feb/Mar '82)

On Socialism—Moreno's view of the socialist future sounds like a page out of Pol Pot's Cambodia, projecting "dictatorships of one party" and calls for a "red terror" that will execute "...family and social groups" that is, representatives of the exploiting classes, even though they haven't done anything".

Latin America as a thief and swindler. So, by all means read the dirty lying leaflet issued by the Los Angeles offshoot of this man's organization that our local officers love. But read, too, the L.A. MAC leaflet signed by CWA brother Ackerson. It tells the truth about the IWP's attempted murder of SL'ers and various of their trade union supporters, including several CWA members. Since there are photos of the

WV Photo



At MAC's Initiative CWA Local 9410 officially participated in mobilization to stop the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, April 1980.

Some of the above sounds very "rrrevolutionary". Most of it is grotesque. All of it is demagoguery and bullshit. Moreno above all is a political chameleon with a long, dirty and bizarre history. Over the years this quick change artist has been pro-Castro, a Maoist, a Peronist, a reformist social-democrat, and a Sandinista. Lately he supported Galtieri, the right-wing dictator in Argentina, during the Falklands war; though, during this same period, Moreno's *own comrades* were jailed, tortured and murdered by the Argentine military. He is also notorious throughout

IWP's hammer-wielding attack, our bureaucrats know what the truth is. But, to borrow a line from Richard Pryor, Imerzel says: "Who are you going to believe, me or your lying eyes?"

So Moreno is a crook, an accusation that perhaps hits too close to home for too much of the American trade union bureaucracy. But, in fact, we don't think our officers are Morenoites. They're just dumb, vicious, frightened bureaucrats desperate to hold onto their low office in our much too weak union. Their letter, like the trial of Kathy Ikegami, shows they will go to any verbal or legal length to do so.

As Kathy's trial grinds on and on, as the union spends thousands of dollars a day on it, Imerzel spends more and more of his time trying to convict not only Ikegami but also Leon Trotsky. Thus Imerzel has come out, can you believe this, for Stalin's infamous Moscow purge trials of the '30's. Similarly, our CIA-loving local president, introduced a Communist Party USA pamphlet from World War II about "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement".

But what Jim doesn't realize is that there's lots more stuff out there. Maybe he needs some help. Why doesn't he, for example, read Stalin's "Mastering Bolshevism", a pamphlet published in Spanish as "Contra el Trotskyismo" (Against Trotskyism)? Then, too, Adolph Hitler said some mean things against Trotsky. Maybe Jim can get

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El Socialista

IWP followers of Argentine political bandit Nahuel Moreno (above), murderously assaulted CWA militant (right) in Los Angeles, 2 October 1982.



WV Photo

War is the mother of revolution. But if a socialist revolution is to rise from the ashes of the genocidal Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the imperialist military occupation of West Beirut and the rise to power of the fascist Christian Maronite Phalange, the plain truth must be stated: the road to this catastrophic defeat for the Palestinian Arab people was paved by the treacherous nationalism of every wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), from Yasir Arafat to George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Arab nationalism preaches that the main agency of imperialism in the Near East is not the Arab ruling classes but the Zionist state of Israel. Yet the Arab rulers have been as ruthless enemies of Palestinian national emancipation and unification as the genocidal Zionists. Palestinian nationalism, even in its most radical variants, has always sought its allies in the Arab rulers as against the Arab toiling masses. And it has always been stabbed in the back. Carrying the logic of nationalism one step further the PLO has now subordinated itself to the very imperialist masters—Britain, France and the U.S.—who imposed their national dismemberment in 1919 and who provide the guns for genocidal terror against them today.

The 1967 War and the Third World Cheerleaders

In June 1967 a series of border clashes and military maneuvers between Israel and adjacent Arab countries flared into general war. Israel, confident of its military superiority, launched a

PART TWO

preemptive attack and in six days devastated the Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian armies. Claiming the fruits of victory, the Zionist rulers seized Sinai and Gaza from Egypt, the West Bank from Jordan and the Golan Heights from Syria, occupied territories totaling three times the size of Israel itself.

Underlying Israel's immediate calculations was the long-term Zionist goal to round out an all-Jewish state in all of Palestine and beyond. The main aim of the Arab states, Nasser's Egypt in particular, was to channel popular discontent into a "holy war" against the Zionist enemy. In the unlikely event that victory had gone to the Arab side, the result would *not* have been Palestinian national liberation but defense of the status quo of a balkanized and dispersed Palestinian population oppressed both by the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors.

The 1967 Arab-Israel war, like that of 1948, was a reactionary war on both sides. We wrote at the time:

"Social revolution is the only route to an anti-imperialist victory in the Near East. This would unfreeze the whole tragic situation and make it possible for



Little/Camera 5

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



UPI

Black September 1970: Palestinians in bloody civil war against Jordan's King Hussein. Today PLO's Arafat embraces Reagan plan to place Palestinians under Hussein's mandate.

the progressive conflict of classes to replace the futile and reactionary conflict of rival nationalisms and their mystical ideologies."

—"Arab-Israeli Conflict—Turn the Guns the Other Way," *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968

At the time of the 1948 war the reformist left (social democrats and Stalinists) were strongly pro-Zionist, while the Trotskyists correctly took a revolutionary defeatist position toward both sides. Twenty years later, however, the pendulum on the left had swung toward Arab or more generally "Third World" nationalism. The Moscow and Peking Stalinists were competitively wooing bourgeois-nationalist bonapartists of the Nasser/Boumediene/Touré stripe. The true enthusiasts for "Third World" nationalism, however, were the New Left radicals who wrote off the working class in North America and West Europe as supposedly hopelessly

corrupted by the fruits of imperialism. Instead they looked toward "the damned of the earth" as the motor force for revolution in our time. The various pseudo-Trotskyist groups (Mandelites, Healyites, American Socialist Workers Party) adapted to the main current of petty-bourgeois radical opinion.

Thus the 1967 war saw much of the left hailing a non-existent "Arab revolution" in which the Arab *bourgeois* states were supposedly combating Western imperialism by fighting its "puppet," Zionist Israel. The prevalent left line was clearly expressed by those quintessential Third Worldist cheerleaders, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party:

"The war in the Middle East is not so much a war of the Arab nations against Israel as it is a struggle of the incipient Arab revolution against U.S., British and French imperialism. Israel's attack on Egypt is not the desperate attempt of a beleaguered people to defend itself, but the first blow of a new imperialist

onslaught against the oppressed Arab masses."

—Workers World, 9 June 1967

Here the Arab rulers—Nasser and even King Hussein—are portrayed as defenders of the oppressed Arab masses.

Certainly U.S. imperialism has used Israel as a regional policeman against various Arab bourgeois-nationalist regimes, especially those allied to the Soviet Union. Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956, the 1958 Iraqi revolution which toppled the Hashemite monarchy, the Algerian war of independence against the French were viewed with alarm by Washington as a threat to imperialist dominance in the Near East. To counter the rise of radical Arab nationalism backed by the Soviet Union, Washington stepped up its support to Israel and also to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Saudi monarchy, the shah of Iran and the like. The Arab nationalist regimes, such as Nasser's Egypt and Ba'athist Syria, responded by escalating their "anti-imperialist" rhetoric.

But the idea that the territorial wars between Israel and the surrounding Arab bourgeois states were essentially a conflict between Western imperialism and some transcendent, trans-class "Arab revolution" is fundamentally false. This is a mystification which impedes the genuine national and social liberation of the toilers of the Arab East. As we wrote after the 1967 war:

"A much more damaging myth is that of 'The Arab Revolution', a presumably tangible factor which must be protected and supported by the working class movement. Unlike the 'Cuban Revolution' which did occur, albeit only in a deformed character, the 'Arab Revolu-



Workers Press



Adams/Time

All wings of PLO paved the way to historic defeat in Lebanon: Moderate Yasir Arafat (left) addresses UN in 1974, "radicals" George Habash (center) and Nayef Hawatmeh.

tion' has not yet occurred. True, many gains have been made which benefit the Arab workers and peasants and which should be defended—for instance, the nationalization of the Suez Canal. However, the class nature of these states remains unchanged.

"Many so-called Marxists believe that the struggle for 'national liberation' of the Arab countries has merged with or even replaced the struggle for socialism in these countries. Accordingly they would replace the working class by petty-bourgeois cliques as the 'revolutionary agent' and view Nasser and other militarists as the liberators of the Arab masses. Such support of classless 'national liberation' prolongs the slavery of the Arab masses to their own ruling class."

—Spartacist No. 11,
March-April 1968

The other side of the fictitious "Arab Revolution" was the notion that Israel was not a real class-differentiated society but an artificially implanted outpost or puppet of U.S. imperialism. It was common in left circles at the time to compare General Dayan's Israel with Marshal Thieu's South Vietnam. In a leaflet written right after the June 1967 war, we tried to set confused New Leftists aright:

"To characterize Israel as a puppet of imperialism is most incorrect. The difference between the most powerful puppet and the weakest ally is that the puppet acts for the interest of others, the ally in conjunction with others for its own interest. To analogize Israel to Taiwan or South Vietnam is absurd...."

—"The Near East: Time to Turn the Guns the Other Way,"
16 June 1967

Today the same pseudo-leftists (e.g., Marcyites and the rad-lib Guardian) who insisted that Israel is nothing but a puppet of U.S. imperialism are calling upon Reagan's Marines to protect the Palestinians in Lebanon from the Zionist forces!

The Road to Black September

Our position that the Arab bourgeois states were no less enemies of Palestinian national liberation than was Zionist Israel was soon borne out by events. Their stunning and unexpected defeat at the hands of the Israelis shook the authority of the Arab regimes, and so for a time allowed the Palestinian nationalist forces a freedom of maneuver they had not had before the war. The period between the June 1967 war and the Black September massacre of 1970 marked the high point of Palestinian guerrilla activity. But the Arab states could not long tolerate an independent armed force operating on their territory. With occasional prodding from the Israeli army, the Arab states suppressed the Palestinian resistance. In the decade after the 1967 war approximately 50,000 Palestinians were killed by Arab forces, principally in the Jordanian civil war of 1970-71 and the Lebanese conflict of 1975-76.

With the Israeli capture of the Sinai and Gaza, Egypt ceased to be a base for the Palestinian guerrillas. At the same time, Nasser—Mr. "Arab Revolution" himself—turned to the U.S. to broker a deal with Israel. The Nixon gang told



Capa/Magnum

Expansionist logic of Zionism: Israeli soldiers conquer East Jerusalem in 1967 war.

the Egyptians that if they wanted the Sinai back, they would have to recognize Israel diplomatically and openly repudiate Palestinian national liberation. Cairo's turn toward Pax Americana after the 1967 war culminated a decade later when Nasser's hand-picked successor, Anwar el-Sadat, flew to Jerusalem to embrace Begin and later signed the Washington-drafted Camp David Accords.

With Nasser's Egypt visibly turning its back on the Palestinian resistance, the PLO's main supporter became Ba'athist Syria. As a price for its "ideological" solidarity, Syria imposed tight control over the PLO forces in its territory. Not only did Damascus curb guerrilla attacks against Israel, but PLO militants were even obstructed from moving into Jordan where they could then operate more freely. The PLO was thus forced to base its guerrilla operations in two Arab countries whose governments were openly hostile to it: Christian Maronite-dominated Lebanon and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Constant clashes between the PLO forces and Lebanese army led in 1969 to the "Cairo agreement" which severely restricted the PLO's freedom of action in Lebanon.

The main base of the PLO was then King Hussein's Jordan, the most reactionary and pro-imperialist of the Arab front-line states. Because a majority of Jordan's population was Palestinian, the PLO had a significant degree of popular support and a large pool of recruitment for the *fedayeen*. By 1970 there were 25,000 Palestinian guerrilla fighters in Jordan, and Amman had become the capital of the Palestinian nationalist movement.

This situation of dual power obviously could not last long. Every week there were bloody clashes between the Palestinian guerrillas and the royalist army. It should be emphasized here that a majority of the Jordanian army

also consisted of Palestinians. Yet the PLO leaders did *not* appeal to these Palestinian soldiers or attempt to undermine the effectiveness and discipline of the royalist army. Instead the PLO strategy aimed to transform the Hashemite Kingdom through peaceful pressure into a reliable ally of the Palestinian cause.

In the name of "anti-Zionist unity" the Palestinian nationalist leaders turned their backs on the one million oppressed Palestinians in Hussein's Jordan. They did not even raise the elementary bourgeois-democratic demand for a republic. No wing of the PLO—including the self-designated "Marxist-Leninist" PFLP of George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP)—sought to or-



Rubinger/Time

U.S. cargo plane resupplies Israeli war machine in 1973 war.

ganize the Palestinian and Jordanian masses against the feudal regime. After Black September the DPFLP wrote truthfully: "Until that moment, the resistance movement was diligently working to avoid the shadow of civil war" (DPFLP, *September Counter-Revolution in Jordan* [November 1970]). Likewise a PFLP spokesman stated that "the aim of the Palestinian resistance was not to overthrow the Jordanian regime, but merely to put pressure on it" ("Interview with Ghassan Kanna-fani, *New Left Review*, May-June 1971).

On September 16 Hussein appointed a new military government and instructed it to restore order. There followed a savage ten-day civil war between the Palestinian guerrillas and royalist army. A Syrian tank column crossed the Jordanian border, but did little fighting and had no effect on the outcome. At the height of the fighting on September 23 the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League took the following position:

"Our line is: (1) military support for a guerrilla-Syrian victory against the royalist forces; (2) not one iota of political support. Defeat of the Hussein regime would sharpen all the class issues, open the road to the counterposition of the bourgeois independence 'solution' (Algeria, Egypt, etc.) vs. the proletarian dictatorship."

While the Palestinian guerrillas fought courageously they were no

match for the Pentagon-equipped and -trained Jordanian army. Hussein's tanks moved into Amman and for eight days bombarded the huge Wahdat refugee camp. A French journalist described the scene, reminiscent of the Shatila/Sabra massacre:

"It was as if Hussein was beating a corpse.... For mile after mile, there were only ruins, mud, craters, twisted metal and screams.... I saw hundreds of bodies, men, women, children—in piles...."

—Mid East, December 1970

In Black September and the following months the PLO forces in Jordan were annihilated. An estimated 25,000 Palestinians were killed.

Yet the Arab nationalist regimes did nothing save voice disapproval. By contrast, both the U.S. and Israel were prepared to intervene militarily on the side of Hussein had things gone badly for him in the civil war. And today Hussein, the butcher of Black September, comes to Washington with Arafat's blessing to negotiate with U.S. imperialist chief Reagan "on behalf of" the Palestinian people. The Reagan plan, which the PLO leader commended for containing "some positive elements," would create a South African-like bantustan for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza in which the Zionist occupation would be replaced by subjugation to the Hashemite Kingdom.

Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism and Indiscriminate Terrorism

The Black September massacre simultaneously wiped out the main base of the PLO's guerrilla operations and imbued the desperate Palestinian fighters with a fierce desire for vengeance against the Zionist and Arab reactionaries with U.S. imperialism standing behind both. Sections of the Palestinian nationalist movement increasingly turned to spectacular acts of terrorism.



Starphot

Marxists condemn indiscriminate terror such as 1972 Lod Airport massacre carried out by supporters of Habash's PFLP.

For Western public opinion, the initials "PLO" evoked images of machine-gunning passengers at Israel's Lod airport, the marksman with the ski mask guarding Israeli athletes kidnapped at the 1972 Munich Olympics, the shootout at Entebbe airport in Idi Amin's Uganda.

Marxists reject individual terrorism. Terrorism, Lenin wrote in his 1902 *What Is To Be Done?* "disorganizes the forces, not of the government, but the revolution." Petty-bourgeois terrorism, Trotsky pointed out, lowers the consciousness and activism of the masses, turning their hopes to some great avenger or emancipator who will eventually release them from the chains of oppression. Leninists make a fundamental distinction between terrorist acts against ruling-class criminals, such as the PLO's assassination of Jordanian premier Wasfi Tal, one of the butchers of Black September, and indiscriminate attacks on people who are only "guilty" of being an Israeli Jew or a passenger on El Al Airlines. Marxists insist that wanton violence against individuals because of their nationality is a crime. Such acts express the ultimately genocidal logic of all nationalism, a logic well-understood by the Zionists—from "Labor" to the Irgun of Begin, the hatcher of Deir Yassin and Sabra/

continued on page 10

Palestinian Question...

(continued from page 9)

Shatila—whose crimes against the Palestinian people can be compared to the Nazi holocaust.

The Palestinian nationalists' recourse to indefensible terrorism was exemplified by the May 1972 attack on Lod airport near Tel Aviv. Three Japanese Red Army members entered the passenger lounge, removed machine guns and grenades from their valises and sprayed bullets and lobbed grenades into the crowd. Twenty-eight people were killed, among them 16 Puerto Rican Baptist pilgrims. The PFLP took "credit" for this action, its spokesman Bassam Zayid declaring: "Our purpose was to kill as many people as possible at the airport, Israelis, of course, but anyone else who was there" (quoted in Lester A. Sobel, ed., *Palestinian Impasse* [1977]).

Needless to say, various Third Worldist nationalist cheerleaders defended even this atrocity. The Marcyites, for example, who today act as policemen for the American liberal establishment, at that time compared the Israeli Jewish population to the U.S. imperialist army in Vietnam: "The fact is that the 25 people killed at Lydda Airport were, like the 50,000 GIs killed in Indochina, victims of a situation created by imperialism" (*Workers World*, 15 June 1972). Certainly the Meirs, Dayans and Begin had no right to condemn Palestinian terrorism. For the PFLP was simply acting upon the basic Zionist doctrine, that all Jews must be soldiers of Israel whether or not in uniform. And, of course, the Zionist terrorists with state power retaliated on the "master-race" principle that one Jew is worth a hundred Arabs.

Lod and similar attacks were not excesses, senseless acts of rage: they were part of a deliberate strategy. Habash, like many other Palestinian nationalists, believed that Zionism could be defeated only through another war with the Arab states. The PFLP's terrorism was intended to provoke Israel into attacking the surrounding Arab states and so trigger a fourth general Arab-Israeli war. In a particularly striking display of the blind destructive logic of nationalism, Habash in a 1970 interview actually stated he would welcome a global holocaust triggered by a Near East war:

"The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionist and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."

—quoted in *Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

Habash got his war in October 1973, but the fruits of Sadat's "victory" would not be to his liking.

The Palestinian Radical Nationalists

The Black September catastrophe, which no Palestinian leader had anticipated, produced an intense debate within the PLO. What went wrong in Jordan? How could future Black Septembers be prevented? Tragically for the Palestinian people, the left pole in this debate never transcended the framework of nationalism and so eventually made its (uneasy) peace with the sheiks and militarists who rule the Arab world. This was to determine their future course, from guerrillaism-terrorism to the Pax Americana.

In the early-mid '70s it was common on the U.S. and European far left to hail the "Marxist-Leninist" PFLP and/or DPFLP as the "vanguard" of the Palestinian resistance, since Arafat's Fatah did not even claim to be socialist. For example, the followers of fake-Trotskyist Ernest Mandel gave political support to Hawatmeh. The political

bandits led by Gerry Healy, before they became messengers for Qaddafi, found the personification of "the Arab revolution" in Habash, leader of the PFLP.

While the factional division within the Palestinian movement was primarily political, it also had a certain communal-sectarian element. The principal leaders of the PLO radical-nationalists—Habash, Wadi Haddad, Hawatmeh—were of Christian (Greek Orthodox) parentage and as such were alienated from the mainstream of social and political life in the Arab East. The PFLP and its offshoot the DPFLP were products of the Levant with its relatively large Christian population and cosmopolitan ways. By contrast, the Fatah leadership (Arafat et al.) consisted of Sunni Moslems who originally were closely associated with the Moslem Brotherhood, the major force for anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism in the region. Thus, unlike the traditionalist Fatah, the PFLP and DPFLP have had a significant number of women cadres.

To call George Habash a "leftist" is a profound distortion. He is a fanatical nationalist impatient with Arafat's endless diplomatic maneuvers. It was the "radical" Habash, far more than the "moderate" Arafat, who pushed the logic of nationalism to its genocidal conclusion in indiscriminate terrorism. Insofar as the Palestinian nationalist movement gave rise to a left wing, it was Hawatmeh's DPFLP in the early 1970s. The DPFLP's criticisms of the PLO's policies leading up to Black September were devastating. The DPFLP attacked the Fatah slogan that the "primary contradiction is with Zionism, the struggle against Arab reaction is secondary." The policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs of other Arab countries," written into the PLO constitution, completely disarmed the resistance movement before "Arab reaction" which regarded the liquidation of the resistance movement as primary and the struggle with Zionism as secondary.

While Hawatmeh now called for a revolution in Jordan, it was not to be a proletarian socialist revolution but a "progressive, democratic" (that is, bourgeois) revolution. Moreover, the DPFLP (like the PFLP) continued to make a fundamental distinction between the "reactionary" feudal Arab regimes (Jordan, Saudi Arabia) and the "progressive" nationalist ones (Syria, Iraq). Yet as the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon would show, the only reason the Syrian Ba'athists did not carry out their own Black September massacre was that they had no need to. Unlike Hussein, the Damascus militarists clamped a tight control on the Palestinian guerrilla movement from the outset. For example, in 1968 they imprisoned Habash, who was released only through a commando raid by his own men.

The DPFLP denounced the principle of "non-interference in other Arab countries" but in practice adhered to it, even in the case of "Arab reaction." Hawatmeh (like Habash) declared war

on the Hashemite throne only after Hussein had obliterated the Palestinian forces in Jordan. And what of Saudi Arabia? The Saudi monarchy is simultaneously the heart and soul of feudalist reaction and the main financial power in the Arab East (as well as a main financial backer of the PLO). Over a hundred thousand Palestinians work as laborers and technicians in the Persian Gulf oilfields. More than 60 percent of the workforce of ARAMCO, the most important oil consortium in the world, consists of Palestinians. Yet no Palestinian nationalist organization has ever attempted to mobilize the strategically placed Palestinian workers against the oil sheiks.

At bottom, for Hawatmeh as a left-nationalist the fundamental conflict in the Near East was one between the entire Arab people, once purged of its reactionary and corrupt leaders, and the intruder Zionist state. As we wrote in 1973 when the DPFLP was at its most left tangent:

"...it is unable to recognize the Israeli working class as a potential ally in the struggle for Palestinian self-determination through socialist revolution, as the 'Trojan horse' within the Israeli state. The DPFLP is incapable of seeing that if the Zionist state is to be smashed—not in a reactionary and genocidal fashion by some revanchist Bonapartist Arab regime, but as a step toward the socialist federation of the Near East—then the burden necessarily falls to the working people of Israel under the leadership of the Arab-Hebrew vanguard party."

—"How Arab Regimes Crushed the Palestinian Resistance," *WW* No. 32, 9 November 1973

Since we wrote this, the DPFLP has moved steadily to the right, reintegrating itself into the PLO establishment.

Because the Palestinian militants around the DPFLP in the early 1970s did not break with nationalism, they supported policies which led to the present catastrophe in Lebanon, a historic defeat, if anything, even greater than Black September. Today after Lebanon, after Shatila/Sabra angry recriminations and intense debate are once again shaking the Palestinian movement. When Arafat showed up in Jordan for friendly discussions with the butcher of Black September, he was greeted with the shout, "You betrayed us in Shatila!" Indeed he did. And most of the reformist left applauded Arafat's betrayal in accepting imperialist intervention. Those who yesterday chanted "Long Live PLO" in the same breath as Che Guevara's slogan, "Two, Three, Many Vietnams," now welcome U.S. troops to Beirut! This ignominious capitulation, with its terrible consequences for the emancipation of Palestinian Arabs, is inscribed in the logic of nationalism.

Palestinian Militants Must Find the Road to Lenin and Trotsky

Arab nationalism is the ideology of an aspiring capitalist class to become the hegemonic ruling class, both economically and politically, of its "own" nation. Nationalism preaches the unity of the downtrodden and exploited toiling masses with their "own" exploiters and would-be exploiters. Lenin distinguished between the nationalism of the oppressed and that of the oppressor, between the nationalism of the colonial masses and the nationalism of their colonial and imperialist masters. But as a proletarian *internationalist* Lenin never supported nationalism even of the most downtrodden and dispossessed, but only the democratic aspect of their national aspirations, i.e., the struggle against national privilege and oppression. Leninists support the struggle for national liberation and the political equality of nations as an inseparable part of the struggle for the political independence and unity of the working class of every nation.

In their struggle for hegemony colonial bourgeois forces may clash with imperialism, which ravages the

resources of its dependencies, retards their economic development and creates innumerable barriers to genuine national independence and unification. But in the epoch of imperialism the colonial bourgeoisie can only exist as an exploitative class as the dependent middleman and broker for imperialism. From the oil sheiks of Riyadh to the colonels of Damascus and the bankers of Beirut, the ruling classes of the Arab East are as dependent on the feudal backwardness and balkanization of their countries as are the imperialists themselves.

The more radical variants of Palestinian nationalism borrow their ideological justifications from the bankrupt Menshevik/Stalinist program of "two-stage revolution." This dogma holds that the struggle for national liberation must bring to power the so-called "national bourgeoisie." It is no accident that the most radical factions of the PLO call themselves "popular fronts," adopting Stalin's name for a class-collaborationist alliance subordinating the interests and independence of the exploited masses not only to the Palestinian bourgeoisie but to their ever shifting patrons among the Arab ruling classes.

But as Trotsky wrote of the Chinese Revolution in 1927:

"Everything that brings the oppressed and exploited masses of the toilers to their feet inevitably pushes the national bourgeoisie into an open bloc with the imperialists. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the masses of workers and peasants is not weakened, but, on the contrary, it is sharpened by imperialist oppression, to the point of bloody civil war at every serious conflict."

—"The Chinese Revolution and the Theses of Comrade Stalin," *Leon Trotsky on China*

Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution hold that to break the yoke of imperialism the toiling masses of the oppressed nation must be mobilized by its proletarian vanguard for the revolutionary overthrow of the national bourgeoisie. Only through the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be a genuine solution to achieving the tasks of democracy and national emancipation. This theory embodying the experience of the Russian Revolution has received time and again its negative confirmation in the Near East, not least in the struggle for Palestinian national liberation.

Those Palestinian militants who now attack Arafat's deals with U.S. imperialism and Hashemite reaction must find their way to Leninism-Trotskyism, to the program of proletarian internationalism, or they will be condemned to repeat the defeats of the past (Black September) and of the present (Shatila/Sabra). The only way out of this cycle of defeats, the only road to Palestinian national liberation is social revolution throughout the region, uniting the Hebrew proletariat of Israel with the Arab toilers in the occupied territories and surrounding Arab states.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 5)

in 30 years. Thus the chief party of the Lankan bourgeoisie, the UNP, is now in a quandary. Like the other capitalist rulers, crazed by the crisis, J.R. and the UNP have forced upon the Lankan workers and oppressed masses the burden of the economic disaster. Now it is necessary for the Lankan capitalist ruling clique to withdraw all subsidies and social welfare, from food stamps to free education.

The UNP rulers are well aware that in the course of fighting to win back the rights won by the blood of the Lankan working-class movement, the workers movement will rise to smash the capitalist government. They also know that they must prepare to face protests by the organised trade unions, left



DR

Right-wing strongman J.R. Jayewardene, dubbed "Yankee Dickie" during the John Foster Dulles era.

organisations and even, at times, by other parties within the capitalist spectrum. The UNP, led by J.R., realises that the best way to confront this threat is by uniting all sectors of the capitalist class into a single party. As a first step, false accusations were levelled against the SLFP in order to destroy it, while J.R. attempted to win over some SLFP leaders to his side to form a "National Government" [one party rule].

On the other hand, the October 20 election results reveal that the opposition would win about 70 out of 168 constituents in parliament in a general election. J.R. understands that substantial opposition in parliament could challenge his executive powers. If the parliamentary opposition represented, even in a deformed way, resistance by the workers and oppressed masses, the UNP knows this would be a challenge to capitalist rule in Lanka. This is the other purpose of the fake referendum.

The capitalist class in Lanka today is compelled to remove the veneer of bourgeois democracy and expose naked dictatorship. To carry out this task, the capitalist class in Lanka and its masters, the world imperialists led by America, have selected Junius Richard Jayewardene and his UNP as their candidate. This situation is not unique to Lanka. All undeveloped capitalist countries, from Asia to Africa to Latin America, compelled to bear the burden of capitalist exploitation, must increasingly face this situation. Clearly, the Lankan capitalist rulers are going down the same path as Pakistan, Singapore, Bangladesh, Philippines and Indonesia, which shed their democratic clothing and established one-party dictatorships. Under the pressure of the economic demands of the World Bank and the

International Monetary Fund, one-party dictatorship is the natural response of the capitalists. Such advice is passed on to J.R. and the other capitalist rulers by Reagan's murderous political advisers like Jeane Kirkpatrick, who often visits Lanka.

The Parliament, including the one Communist Party member, approved the extension of Emergency Law imposed on October 18. The newspaper of the Communist Party, *Aththa*, and [the Tamil paper] *Suthanthiran* published in Jaffna, are already under seal. The Jayewardene government has already begun its task. Under emergency regulations the SLFP secretary has been arrested and other leaders have been arbitrarily locked up. Militants in the North have been severely repressed. In Sri Lanka capitalist law, "baptised" as "supreme" today, is not worth the paper it is written on. Chief Justice Neville Samarakoon, appointed by J.R. himself, publicly alleged that the president's executive power has destroyed the sovereignty of law.

The Spartacist League [Lanka] declares that today's persecution of the capitalist SLFP will be aimed at the left, trade unions and student movement tomorrow.

In the presidential election, J.R. faced humiliating defeat in the Jaffna district where 56 percent of the Tamil-speaking people boycotted the election. These results point to the unbroken determination of the Tamil people to win their fundamental rights. The capitalist system in Lanka is so bankrupt and so reactionary that it is incapable and powerless to provide any fundamental rights to the Tamil people. Therefore it has become its task to drown the liberation struggle of the Northern Tamil-speaking people in rivers of blood. The [plantation Tamil] Indian workers, who for decades have sacrificed themselves to inflate the profits of the Lankan capitalists, do not have the right to vote in Lanka. The Lankan capitalists have no answers for the plantation Tamils other than forcibly deporting them to India. The victory of the UNP led by J.R. in the December 22 fake referendum will no doubt be used to smash the liberation struggle of the Northern Tamil people.

Educated by the advice and experience of other murderous Asian dictators, the UNP rulers are also frightened by the potential threat of the student movement. They know that the official university student unions, which today have been lured away by the petty-bourgeois JVP parliamentarians, may in the future break away from parliamentary politics. Colombo and Jaffna Universities have already shown motion in this direction. It has therefore become necessary for the Lankan capitalist class to smash the student movement. The current campaigns to bestow increased authority in the university Grant Commission [which determines all admissions to the universities] and to allow the police and army to enter university premises betray the capitalists' intentions.

The Spartacist League has always emphasised to the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people of Lanka that the programme of those who represent the ruthless capitalist system, J.R. Jayewardene and his UNP, to

EXCERPTS FROM LANKA SPARTACIST NO. 4 & ILLANGAI SPARTACIST NO. 1, OCTOBER 1982

From "Defend the Right of the Tamil People to Boycott the Elections"

"What is important here is the treacherous way the TULF decided on September 19 to boycott the presidential elections. While on the one hand maintaining ties with the capitalist UNP, the executioners of the Tamil people, on the other hand they pretend to oppose the UNP. In fact the TULF should have campaigned for the September 19 decision among the Tamil people. But after a press statement the TULF leaders ran away from Lanka....

"Because of the pressure of the young liberation fighters in the Northern and Eastern Provinces and the opposition of the Tamil people toward the UNP government, the TULF is compelled to boycott the elections. It is not surprising that JR is repressing the Tamil liberation organizations by isolating them

establish a dictatorship in Lanka cannot be stopped by parliamentary elections nor by referendums nor by simply defeating J.R. The Spartacist League declares that the only way to stop the whole murderous programme of J.R. Jayewardene and his government is to overturn his rule and the Lankan capitalist class by a struggle led by the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people.

Today in Lanka it is only the working class that has the strength to defeat Jayewardene's attempt to establish naked dictatorship. However the LSSP, the CP, the NSSP, Bala Tampoe and Thondaman, having usurped leadership of the workers organisations, strongly oppose utilising the power of the working class. The so-called left parties have already formed a coalition with the capitalist SLFP without a concrete programme. This has proved the readiness of the so-called left leaders to form coalitions regardless of the real needs of the workers and oppressed masses. The call of these left parties that a vote for the "pot" could defeat J.R. is only another reactionary trap for the working class. The Spartacist League/Lanka comrades urge the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people not to fall into these traps.

The call of the SLFP as guardians of democracy, for sovereignty of the people, is really a call for more seats in Parliament. It is for this that the SLFP needs the so-called left parties and organisations. The Spartacist League states emphatically that the coalition of left parties and the capitalist SLFP is not an alliance to fight against J.R.'s plans for dictatorship. Neither the capitalist SLFP nor the fake-left parties have a programme to smash the UNP and J.R.'s moves toward dictatorship, beyond the mark on the ballot. In the electoral sphere, the SLFP is the competitor of the UNP. It is not for J.R.'s personal reasons that it is being suppressed. Capitalist politicians are

because he is aware that the TULF will not move against him."

From "None of the Candidates in the 1982 Presidential Elections Can Represent You"

"The Spartacist League states that there is no candidate running in the presidential elections set for October 20 that you can vote for as your representative. Therefore the Spartacist League comrades and firmly declares to the Lankan workers, peasants and other oppressed people, to the Tamil-speaking people in the Northern and Eastern Provinces that they have no one to vote for in this presidential election....

"However, the reformist, Stalinist leadership resting on top of the trade unions will desperately oppose such struggles just as they have done in the past. The Spartacist League stresses that what is necessary in this situation is to drive out such leaders—who hold back the struggles of workers to defeat the capitalists' schemes—from the workers' own class organizations and to build a revolutionary leadership.... The LSSP, CP and NSSP... politics of class collaboration must be completely defeated."

forced to take such actions to create the environment for dictatorship. If the competitor were some other party, then that party would have been suppressed. The programme for dictatorship is aimed at all parties. The Spartacist League declares that Jayewardene is persecuting the SLFP for this reason and not because the SLFP "stands for democracy."

The American imperialists will be there to help when J.R. and his UNP put their murderous plans into action. On October 29 the *Wall Street Journal*, paper of the American millionaire bankers, wrote in an editorial that it is keeping an eye on Lanka. As the *Saturday Review* disclosed recently, the American gift of modern arms to J.R. Jayewardene will soon arrive. Lanka, while allowing itself to suffer exploitation by the imperialists, is also supposed to march in step with their military appetites. Fulfilling the greedy desires of the imperialists to reconquer the workers states—the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba and Vietnam—for their camp is supposed to be the responsibility of Lanka too. Secret arrangements have been made to take over the militarily important harbour of Trincomalee. UNP rulers have also allowed the infamous "Voice of America" to install modern equipment to collect intelligence on the just struggles of the people of Lanka and South Asia.

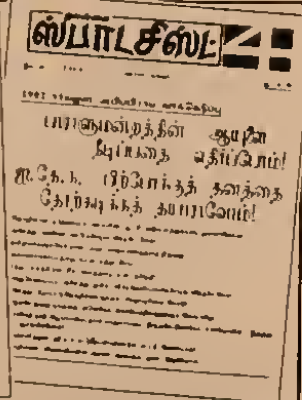
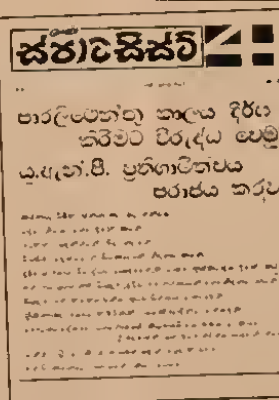
In a frenzy to forestall its death, the Lankan bourgeoisie is burying the vestiges of capitalist democracy. This can be stopped only by a workers and peasants government under the dictatorship of the working class that will overturn the capitalist state. For this a Bolshevik revolutionary party, like the party that was led by Lenin in Russia, is required. The working class of Lanka lacks such a party. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building such a party. We declare that, as a first step in this direction, the vote should be cast for the "pot" in the fake referendum of December 22. The SL declares firmly, however, that the vote for the "pot" will not defeat the ruthless capitalist class.

The Spartacist League comrades appeal to the workers, oppressed masses and Tamil-speaking people to join our struggle in Lanka which, united with Bolsheviks throughout the world, is forging a powerful weapon of the proletariat—the Bolshevik party—which is crucial to successfully meeting the challenge of the barbaric dictatorship in Lanka.

Spartacist League/Lanka
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MAC Leaflet...

(continued from page 7)

his Ku Klux Klan-loving pal, Joe McKKKenna, to do some research in *Mein Kampf*. Along the same lines, since Trotsky was a Jew, maybe Linda Zupan could do a reading for the trial body from an anti-semitic tract such as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

If you think we are parodying the good brother Imerzel, we aren't. Look at the quotes of various Spartacist League documents cited in the officers' January 11, 1983 letter. Notice that the spelling is funny. For example, "program" is spelled "programme" and "labor" is spelled "labour". That's because these quotes are pulled from a pamphlet, introduced at the Ikegami trial, entitled *Spartacist Truth Kit* published by a British group called the Workers Socialist League, a group that labels itself...are you ready?...Trotskyist! What Jim doesn't tell you is that the claim of this peculiar and dishonest pamphlet is that Spartacists are hopeless sectarians, people who "on principle" abstain from any attempt to gain any influence in the labor movement.

By the way, the first quote cited in the letter is not accurate. Further, the phrases in brackets are inserted by our "expert" local officers. We were suspicious, so we checked the second quote on page 2 which we are told is a Spartacist League statement found in the newspaper, *Spartacist*, issue #23. We found the quote alright, on page 23. But it is from a founding document of a group called the Trotskyist Fraction which belonged to a German organization called the Spartacusbund. The document is dated December 14, 1976. According to *Spartacist*, this Trotskyist Fraction was expelled from the Spartacusbund in January, 1977 and in February joined with the Spartacist section in Germany which is called the



WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami endorsed and helped organize the SL-Initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27.

Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands.

We conclude that whoever wrote this letter, citing this quote, is either: 1) an idiot who doesn't know what he's talking about; or 2) a liar; or 3) a paranoid nut who thinks MAC is a plot hatched by some German leftists who six years ago decided to make life miserable for Jim Imerzel when he fulfilled his evidently manifest destiny and became our exalted local president.

Brothers and sisters! Such miserable antics by this "gang of four", only show that these characters are more fit to be inmates of Atascadero [a "maximum security hospital" for "mentally disordered sex offenders"] than union officials.

Our officers' antics deserve to be treated with mockery and derision. But some of their statements and acts are just despicable. MAC is accused of "gestapo tactics", of "coercion, intimidation and blatant racism". The 1,000 Local 9410 members who signed our recall petition are one answer to these blatant lies.

Regarding the IWP we have already dealt with the credibility of that gang. In raising the case of David Howard we would like to say two things. What our bureaucrats killed in committee was two parts of a three-part MAC motion. That motion not only called for a \$500

donation to Brother Howard but also for union/black defense of the brother's home, which was under physical attack by racists. In addition, it called upon the union to publicize an appeal for both funds and union/black defense locally and nationally.

The Executive Committee, in their letter, still can't bring themselves to say the truth. David Howard was shot by a known Klansman. Prior to the shooting a cross was burned on the Howard's lawn. They don't mention the KKK because they want you to forget that Joe McKKKenna admitted attending a gathering of the racist, fascist, anti-union KKK. We have tapes of this admission, made by McKenna during Ikegami's trial.

One final word on this subject. Since Imerzel is operating on the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend", why doesn't he get his triple-K rated friend Joe to call the KKK in Alabama and find out what they think of Kathy Ikegami, the MAC, the Spartacist League and the 5,000 demonstrators, largely blacks and unionists, who organized and stopped the Klan march in Washington D.C. on November 27th?

On the question of Poland and strikes, we want to draw two things to your attention. Ronald Reagan hates unions. He smashed PATCO. How

come he loves Solidarność? Likewise, how is it that our "freedom-loving" bureaucrats are for sitdown strikes in Poland (by Reagan's favorite union) and for letting Ma Bell and Reagan walk all over us here? Here, where a well-run and organized nationwide strike is desperately and ultimately necessary if we are to defend our jobs and working conditions. If you renounce all strikes, you don't have a union.

To conclude, our miserable local officers have a choice. They can accept the will of the members, hold a recall election and let the local decide who they want as their leaders OR they can continue their present anti-democratic antics, attempting to ban political views they oppose and trying to purge this union of its best fighters. Judging by their fruitcake letter, they intend to go down "in flames", sort of like Hitler in his bunker.

For our part, we will continue to patiently explain and win members to an understanding of the necessity to struggle for a strong, militant union to stop the company from "reorganizing" our union out of existence. Our goal, as we state in our program is to: "Build a workers party based on the unions. Throw out the capitalists and set up a workers government to seize Ma Bell and all major industry without compensation to the bosses. Establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit". We aren't ashamed of our views, we're proud of them!

1-14-83

Labor donated

DON'T FORGET TO VOTE FOR SPECIAL CONVENTION DELEGATES: VOTE MAC SLATE: IKEGAMI, COSTAN, BURNHAM, GONZALEZ AND SONNTAG!

P.S.: What scab print shop did Imerzel and his IWP buddies use to print the IWP leaflet? Perhaps they couldn't find a union shop that would print it! ■

McCarthyite...

(continued from page 6)

And above all a revolutionary, Trotskyist vanguard party to lead the struggle for the only program that makes sense today—not nickel-and-dime reforms but socialist revolution. Labor militants must devote themselves to this task...." (emphasis added)

Clearly, the Spartacist League and MAC programs are one and the same. And with good reason, for they are in fact one as well!

You may be asking yourself "Why?" WHY has the Spartacist League/MAC sought to build itself up by "tearing down" militant Local Union Officers? WHY hasn't the Spartacist League/MAC demonstrated their leadership by taking on the responsibility for conducting the day-to-day struggles with the Employers? The answer to this very logical and important question can be found by referring to the Spartacist League statement in its newspaper, *Spartacist*, issue #23:

"We recognize that a currently embryonic party organization must necessarily constitute itself in the form of a 'fighting propaganda group' in order, by destroying ostensibly revolutionary organizations [other left and labor formations], to initiate and/or drive forward a regroupment process [splits and fusions] in order thereby to build up one's own organization [Spartacist League/Mac]. In doing so the character of this work must always be regarded as exemplary, rejecting out of hand any voluntaristic notion of intervening as a propaganda group into all the daily struggles of the working class [fighting the Employers], inasmuch as this would lead to dissipating one's own forces and to liquidating the programme." (emphasis added)

Clearly this position explains why only some of the Spartacist League/MAC members in CWA ever become union stewards, why those that do

become stewards refuse to handle other than their own "politically beneficial" grievances, and why none of them will assume positions of responsibility in the steward structure or serve on the committees in Local 9410. In other words, the Spartacist League/MAC refuse to be "hurdened" with daily representing CWA members, since to do so "would lead to dissipating" their energies and take away time necessary for their Spartacist League/MAC "political activities" such as the continuing attack on the Executive Officers which culminated in the recent "recall" petition.

Imagine the "hate" and contempt they must hold for all "other left and militant union formations" who become the victims of Spartacist League/MAC "political bigotry". Union leaders such as the Executive Officers of Local 9410 are continually and viciously attacked as being "sellouts" only because they do not "agree" with the Spartacist League/MAC program for taking over the unions and the world. In the Spartacist League/MAC's biased bigoted view, the "ends" clearly justify their despicable "means".

And what better "tool" for a bigot—political or otherwise—than their consistent RACISM. For example, in the September 16, 1982 MAC leaflet the Spartacist League/MAC continued to perpetuate its lie about action taken on behalf of a black CWA member in Southern California, Mr. David Howard. The Spartacist League/MAC wrongfully accused the Executive Officers of being "racists" because (according to MAC) we "killed in committee" an Executive Board support motion concerning Brother Howard. Nothing could be farther from the truth! As the Spartacist League/MAC know, not only did the Executive Officers send the \$500.00 provided for in the motion and

pledge complete support to any further efforts by that member's Local Union, the Executive Officers obtained an additional \$500.00 donation from the Northern California-Nevada Council of Local Unions. WHY would anyone lie about something like this? The answer should be abundantly clear to everyone. In their program of destroying non-Spartacist League/MAC union officers, the "truth" obviously is something the Spartacist League/MAC does not see as important in their planned destruction of all Executive Officers in Local 9410 who disagree with their Trotskyist-communist views.

In conclusion, we have attempted to share with you information concerning the Spartacist League/MAC and their members in CWA. Enclosed also is a leaflet from the Internationalist Workers Party (Fourth International), the IWP, another leftist organization. This leaflet should show clearly what the Spartacist League/MAC is all about, and expose it for what it is. The conduct attributed to the Spartacist League/MAC by the IWP leaflet is absolutely consistent with Spartacist League/MAC "misconduct" in our own Local Union membership meetings, at CWA sponsored functions, and at every "non-Spartacist League/MAC" activity attended by them. Do not let the absence of direct reference to MAC in the IWP leaflet mislead you. If any doubt exists as to the MAC role in the October 2, 1982 attack referred to in the IWP leaflet, review the October 29, 1982 issue of the Spartacist League newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. On page 5 is an article concerning the very same confrontation in Los Angeles with the IWP. Contained in the article is a large photograph of Spartacist League/MAC member Larry Ackerson directly involved in a physical confrontation with Latino IWP members. As you may

recall, Larry Ackerson was a Spartacist League/MAC member in this Local Union before his "reassignment" and transfer to Los Angeles. Even the Spartacist League refers in this article to the confrontation as a "Spartacist League" activity.

In closing, YOU the member must decide the course of democracy in our Local Union. The very survival of Local 9410, YOUR jobs and YOUR future welfare, depend upon YOUR involvement in CWA. You need do nothing if you believe as the Spartacist League/MAC does: that the Polish military regime is to be "commended" for smashing and killing Polish workers and their efforts to establish a "free" trade union movement—Solidarity, and that YOU too must become a "sacrificial lamb"—a revolutionary statistic—in the illegal strike planned by the Spartacist League/MAC as a step toward the destruction of our Local Union. But if you believe as we do that citizens in a "free" society must be permitted to hold different political views without fear of coercion, intimidation and physical reprisals, then YOU had better "get involved" before it's too late. As only four (4) Executive Officers in only one (1) of nine-hundred (900) CWA Local Unions, we are unable to withstand alone the very substantial "might" of the International Spartacist League with its several newspapers and other resources. Please do not wait until YOU too become a target for their "gestapo-like" tactics.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Jim Imerzel	Marie Malliett
President	Vice President
Joe McKenna	Greg Anderson
Secretary	Treasurer

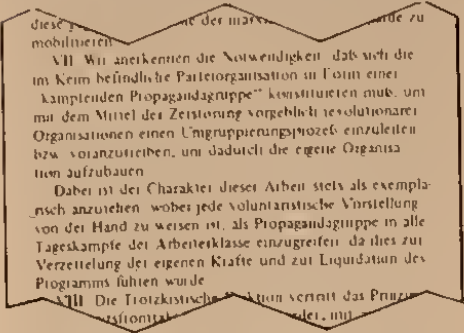
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WORKERS VANGUARD

CWA...

(continued from page 6)

skyist program opposes the burgeoning anti-Reagan popular front organized by the pro-Democratic Party trade-union bureaucrats and the reformists under the banner of anti-Sovietism. We have earned the bitter enmity of the centrist apologists for the Cold War labor bureaucracy. So Imerzel drinks from the greasy cup of the pseudo-Trotskyist SL-haters such as the Morenoite IWP and the Workers Socialist League/Revolutionary Workers League of Alan



The so-called Spartacist League "Diktat" to MAC: Imerzel look it from British witchhunt manual; the 1976 document was published in Berlin by the Trotskyistische Fraktion of the Spartacusbund. Here's the original in German.

Thornett/Peter Sollenberger.

For its part the Morenoite IWP has gladly provided the CWA bureaucracy with anti-SL ammunition. Not to be outdone, the Ann Arbor-based RWL managed to get the WSL's dishonest "Spartacist Truth Kit" to the bureaucracy. It is these documents that the bureaucracy uses in their frenzied attempt to "get" Ikegami for the crime of supporting the political program of the Spartacist League.

This is no accident. The IWP consciously blocs with the CWA bureaucracy. It appears this collaboration has gone so far that the leaflets circulated to over 4,000 CWA Local 9410 members were originals printed by the IWP. More recently a Bay Area IWP supporter told *Workers Vanguard* that the Los Angeles IWP was approached by the CWA Local 11502 bureaucracy, which asked it to testify against Ikegami. According to our informant the IWP agreed, with the proviso that the bureaucracy permit them to sign a statement that the IWP opposes "red-baiting"! The WSL for its part has the "Spartacist Truth Kit" with the call:

"As proven slanderers, scabs, provocateurs and poseurs; as wanton revisionists and chauvinists; as the hyenas of the left whose main task is to latch onto and destroy rival left-wing organisations, the Spartacists should be exposed, hounded, and driven out of each and

every working class arena where they show their heads. The information in this pamphlet will, hopefully, assist those Trotskyists who undertake such a task."

MAC informs us that this quote was read into the trial record as part of the "evidence" against Ikegami. As far as we know, this is the only use made of this document since its publication, but then again that's the main reason why it was published.

Since the witchhunt against Ikegami and the MAC by the pro-company pro-CIA CWA bureaucrats began, to our knowledge not one of these pseudo-Trotskyist tendencies has backed away from this vile and dangerous frame-up. Instead they have fed their lies to the bureaucracy to be used to help purge an effective, militant, honest and conscientious union leader.

Fortunately the members of Local 9410 phone workers know Ikegami and her work. They feel differently and we hope that they will treat these errand boys of Imerzel's with the contempt they so richly deserve.

As for the January 11 letter of the CWA bureaucrats, the last paragraph is both amusing and revealing. Amusing because CWA Local 9410 is by itself a far larger outfit than the international Spartacist tendency. Revealing because the Local 9410 bureaucracy, like their counterparts throughout the U.S. labor



Kalhy Ikegami

WV Photo

movement, can give no good answer to MAC's program of militant class struggle. So instead they try repression, a solution that is backfiring. The bureaucrats tried to sell Jimmy Carter's errand boy, Fritz Mondale, as the answer to Reagan. But more and more workers recognize that it is only a perspective of class struggle which aims at nothing less than replacing the predatory rule of decaying imperialism with a workers government which shows a path forward for the working class, and indeed for all the toiling masses of the planet. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

leader of the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), announced in Managua that the civil war was entering a final phase. A bulletin of the Salvadoran insurgents declared that the current offensive is aimed at escalating to a "strategic defining phase of the war" that would create "conditions for the general insurrection of the masses." Yet the leaders of the FDR/FMLN still reiterate their desire for "dialogue" with the government of puppet president Alvaro Magaña. This attempt to call off the war and strike a deal with the murderous generals is a betrayal of the tens of thousands of Salvadoran workers and peasants who have spilled their blood in the struggle for social justice and liberation. The military-landlord regime, installed on a mountain of corpses 50 years ago, must be *smashed* on the battlefield by a victory of the leftist insurgents. Only thus, by opening the road to socialist revolution throughout Central America, can the cycle of massacres be stopped.

Guerrilla Offensive Advances

The FMLN took advantage of the government crisis over the Ochoa mutiny to put the butchers on the run in two northern provinces. In Morazán the advance has netted four more towns, bringing to 18 the number of liberated towns in that province and adjacent La Unión. Rebels now control more than half of Morazán and are tightening the noose around the provincial capital, San Francisco Gotera. A dispatch from Gotera in the *Washington Post* (20 January) by correspondent Chris Hedges captured the desperation of the government forces in its headline, "Salvadoran Rebels' Control in Morazán Starts on Edge of Town":

"...Army helicopters, fearful of guerrilla fire, no longer fly over the area. The 300 special commandos here, who model themselves after the U.S. Green Berets, regularly put on a show for local residents, most of whom are civilian employees of the Army. They run around the town plaza with dead vultures in their mouths, or tromp through the streets shouting, 'The commando never dies,' but rarely make forays into the surrounding countryside. When they do leave the barracks it is usually to suffer a disastrous defeat by the guerrilla forces, who control much of the surrounding countryside. 'The Army prefers to hold its garrison and the movie theatre and municipal

swimming pool which it expropriated from the town, rather than deploy troops. 'The subversives are trying to draw us out,' said one recruit on guard duty outside the garrison, 'so they can take the town.'"

The government has dispatched some 6,000 troops, including several elite units, to shore up its crumbling position in Morazán. But on January 24, the FMLN took the town of Meanguera, only eight miles from Gotera.

Sixty miles to the west in Chalatenango province another capital is under siege. The rebels control 20 towns in Chalatenango, most of these held since the October offensive. In the recent fighting a key crossroads town, Tejutla, was overwhelmed and a reinforcement column ambushed while en route to bolster its defense. On the same day, FMLN guerrillas attacked every garrison in Chalatenango city (UPI dispatch, 9 January). The fall of Chalatenango would leave the country's major source of electrical power, the Cerrón Grande hydroelectric plant, open to rebel attack.

These victories, along with the FMLN policy of turning prisoners of war over to the International Red Cross, has led to an accelerated rate of surrenders by government soldiers. "The policy of releasing prisoners is having a serious impact in the ranks, and the high command is now sending former prisoners of war back to their families because they are such a bad influence on morale," reported the *Latin American Regional Reports* (19 January). Parents of government soldiers have reportedly taken to listening to the FMLN's Radio Venecrems to learn of the whereabouts of their sons.

Meanwhile, the social and economic situation of the country is deteriorating. Guerrilla bombings of bridges have essentially divided El Salvador in half, and even the makeshift bridges over the Lempa River have been damaged, threatening to cut off cotton and sugar transport during the harvest. In the cities there is increasing labor unrest, including the first strikes in two years, by government employees in San Salvador. On the huge agribusiness estates, disgruntled cane cutters struck back in early January in the traditionally radical stronghold of Aguilar. They set fire to some 5,000 acres of sugar plantations, both private and government-owned, at the height of the harvest. El Salvador is coming apart.

Colonel Ochoa, the gung-ho warlord of Cabañas province, has been relieved

of his command and sent to Washington for further grooming. Defense minister Garcia will reportedly "retire" after a few weeks. In Washington, liberals complain about President Reagan's "hypocrisy" in signing the empty "human rights" certification they introduced as a fig leaf for continuing military aid to the Salvadoran junta. In Honduras, the on-again, off-again joint military exercises with U.S. forces along the Nicaraguan border have been rescheduled for February 1. The Central American pot continues to boil. And in El Salvador, the leftist rebels continue to advance steadily.

Morazán—Dien Bien Phu?

It is the fear of another Vietnam-style debacle for American imperialism which inspires the liberals' call for a negotiated settlement. As U.S. Representative Stephen Solarz told the press while on a "fact-finding" tour of El Salvador, "For us to continue to support a Government that is likely to end up losing unless we send in the Marines is an unproductive strategy" (*New York Times*, 17 January).

But Reagan and his Salvadoran generals want to be hard cops. In response to the FMLN offensive, the government has thrown a quarter of its entire army into Morazán. About half of this counter-attacking force is comprised of the U.S.-trained Atlacatl, Atonal and Ramón Belloso Brigades, who are now bottled up in the pocket around San Francisco Gotera. The rebels have started using 120 mm heavy mortars and have also captured artillery during the recent offensives. With Honduran troops standing by on the border, a major battle is shaping up over Morazán.

It could be a *Dien Bien Phu*: a large part of the government forces, including elite units, trapped in a mountain valley where the guerrillas can easily cut off access or retreat; an army already demoralized by steady defeats. In Vietnam the destruction of the outpost of the French Expeditionary Corps in May 1954 broke their will to fight. But the Stalinist Vietminh, from its inception in 1941, sought a negotiated accommodation with French imperialism and threw away this heroic military victory at the Geneva negotiations under heavy pressure from Moscow and Peking. In El Salvador, a punishing defeat in Morazán could send the army reeling and its officers fleeing as happened with Somoza's National Guard in

Nicaragua.

Yet the FDR/FMLN tops do not want a *Dien Bien Phu*: for them, a negotiated settlement is not a concession but a precondition for their program of democratic reforms of Salvadoran capitalism. If the guerrillas were to march triumphantly into the capital their plans to restructure the existing army, to implement a land reform decreed by the Christian Democratic/military junta, to preserve capitalist rule by purging some of its most anachronistic excrescences, would go up in smoke. So the leaders of the opposition popular front beg for "negotiations," "dialogue," anything.

So far the FMLN commanders and FDR politicians have been able to keep relative harmony among the several "Marxist-Leninist" guerrilla groups and petty-bourgeois and dissident bourgeois liberal parties of their coalition by fighting and offering to negotiate simultaneously. Now with the rebels' gains on the battlefield, this simple trade-off won't work. The FDR/FMLN has said that they are fighting only to force a recalcitrant adversary to the bargaining table. That means that the military action will have to be moderated, to put pressure on the government army but *not* to destroy it. Will this be accepted by the guerrilla fighters in the field?

In Vietnam, even after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu, under heavy pressure from Moscow and especially Peking, the Vietminh delivered up two-thirds of Indochina to the imperialists. It could have been all over in 1954, but because of their treacherous Stalinist policies of "two-stage"/"national-democratic" revolution, it took another 20 years and a million dead before Vietnam was finally freed of imperialist rule. Today the imperialist liberals, Latin American nationalists and pseudo-socialist reformists all say "No more Vietnams." The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League say "two, three, many defeats for imperialism." Morazán should become a Central American Dien Bien Phu, but one that does not lead to a Salvadoran "Geneva Accords" in which military victory is sacrificed on the altar of popular-front treachery. For the courageous military struggle of the Salvadoran insurgents to be translated into political victory for the workers and peasants of Central America requires the building of Trotskyist proletarian parties throughout the region. Military victory to the leftist rebels! For workers revolution in Central America! ■

Reagan's America...

(continued from page 1)

take care of yourself or drop dead. The "surplus population" isn't worth anything to a capitalist class in deep economic crisis. Blacks are targeted by a rise in racist attacks (the Klan, Nazis) which goes along with a program to make working people pay for capitalism's failure.

The aged are particularly targets as an expendable, economically non-productive population. Capitalism must torment its old people before they die. Most live in fear of illness with the knowledge that super-high medical costs can leave them unable to pay for life-or-death care, while wiping out any savings they may have had. Utility shut-offs for old people who cannot pay their heating bills have brought the word "hypothermia"—in plain English, freezing to death—into common usage.

And what of the much vaunted Social Security insurance system set up during the Great Depression, a centerpiece of the liberal New Deal? It too is under attack and from both Democrats and Republicans. This bipartisan unity to gouge the aged and tax the younger worker is a product of the bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war drive with its massive increase in government military spending. At first Reagan claimed that he would finance his first-strike nuclear war machine solely with cuts in poverty programs. But you cannot buy Trident submarines and Pershing missiles with the money saved from paring food stamp recipients and bumping black mothers off the welfare roles. So now Social Security entitlements—once regarded as politically sacrosanct—are feeling the ax.

Social Security "Reform": "Let Them Eat Dog Food"

The Reagan-appointed bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform has predictably come out for increasing taxes and cutting benefits—first of all by postponing for six months the cost-of-living increase scheduled for July 1. Liberal Democrats on the commission like Miami Beach Congressman Claude Pepper argue that the COLA delay is a small sacrifice necessary to achieve agreement with right-wing Republicans on "saving" the system. But for millions of old people living a borderline existence as their heat is turned off and they lose their homes, this cutback in their meager income could spell death.

At the same time, "Mr. Tax Cut" Reagan and his Democratic bipartisans want to accelerate the scheduled increases in payroll taxes (a regressive tax) and tax Social Security benefits (a double tax) for the first time. Indeed, the Reagan years have seen a sweeping rise in all sorts of taxes falling heavily on working people: more taxes on gasoline and cigarettes, on waiters' and waitresses' tips, on unemployment compen-

sation. The Democrats, whose cynical 1982 election slogan was "Save Social Security," have made it clear that they have no alternative to Reaganomics. Likewise, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland served on the "reform" commission and endorsed Reagan's plan.

Those hit hardest by cutbacks in Social Security are, of course, women and blacks, since the benefits are tied to the number of years of employment and to the level of wages received during one's working life. In 1977 the average monthly payments for black women were 30 percent below the pitiful average monthly payment of \$243! The sad case of 86-year-old Arthur Perry and his companion Jean McDonald and her son shows the desperate situation of many old people. They were arrested a few weeks ago in Brockton, Massachusetts on the charge of selling marijuana to supplement their Social Security income. Under the Reagan/O'Neill plan those who can't hustle will simply die. And the Social Security system, which never really provided for security in the "golden years," will degenerate into a cruel joke. As one economic analyst remarked, "For every old person eating dog food today...four will be eating it when we're old" (*Newsweek*, 24 January).

The present so-called "crisis" of Social Security is a fraud based on the criminal "principle" that the system must be "self-financing," that one cannot touch the sacrosanct general government budget. But not the other way around. Until 1975 the Social Security system ran a surplus. These surplus funds were then lent to the Treasury which used the money to buy nuclear warheads, pay the salaries of Congressmen and CIA agents, subsidize farmers not to grow food and the like. The revenues for Social Security have hit a temporary trough because a bulge in the old-age population has run into the current depression, thereby sharply reducing incoming revenue because of the high unemployment. This could be overcome by using general revenue funds, but the American capitalist class for its own destructive purposes rejects that solution.

The existing Social Security system perpetuates the gross inequalities of American capitalism, and benefits are already so low it is impossible to live on them alone. Labor, minorities and the aged must demand that Social Security payments along with unemployment insurance, SUB benefits and welfare be merged with the general federal government budget and equalized at the highest level with full and frequent cost-of-living adjustments. Medical care must be socialized. But even these minimal goals require a working-class struggle against the capitalist system itself.

Anti-Soviet War Drive Hits Old People

American capitalism is in deep crisis and has come up with the traditional capitalist solution: squeeze the working class and prepare for war. While bourgeois opinion-makers like *News-*



Bob McCullough

Treatment of the aged, a measure of social progress and decency.

week complain about having to raise "an unimaginable \$1.5 trillion" to sustain Social Security, they think nothing of raising an equal amount for the Pentagon war machine to obliterate the Soviet Union in a nuclear first strike. As we wrote when it became clear that the ruling class was out to gut Social Security:

"A stagnant economy cannot support productivity-increasing investment and a massive arms buildup while maintaining the present level of social programs. Something has to give. For the ruling class what has to give is the complex of economic reforms won through the mass struggles of the 1930s, the so-called New Deal."

—"Reagan to Aged: Drop Dead!" *WV* No. 297, 22 January 1982

The capitalist message is: if you can't produce profits for us, you're finished. In this sense the Social Security cuts are an attack on the working class as a whole, since many workers will be forced to expend their income supporting their parents or grandparents, and will themselves fear even more losing their job as all the cushions have been reduced or removed.

As oppressive as it was, at least in pre-capitalist societies, older members of society were integrated into and cared for through the extended family. As the nuclear family disintegrates more and more under capitalism, the lot of the aged becomes truly horrific. And nowhere is this more true than in the U.S. Old people are forcibly removed from productive activity at the age of 65, or subjected to sweatshop conditions which kill them on the job. They are cast off, segregated in bleak nursing homes run by money-grubbing shysters or

living alone in bare "single room occupancy" apartments, fearful of being mugged if they step outside, even just to cash the pittance of a social security check, as they wait out their days.

It is part of the cruel logic of capitalism that the survival of old people depends upon the income they were able to earn during their working years. The same "pay as you go" principle is applied to the unemployed, the disabled, the chronically ill. And in periods of economic crisis and stagnation the limited social programs for those without wages and without capital are always slashed. Even before the present attacks on the Social Security system, benefits were totally inadequate.

Significantly, some tens of thousands of Americans who had emigrated from East Europe in their youth went back to Poland or Yugoslavia so they could live half decently on their Social Security checks. Despite the bureaucratic regimes, the Soviet-bloc collectivized economic system does provide security for the aged, especially through socialized medical care. Only under socialism will the aged no longer face the living death of the rest home or the agony of freezing and starving alone. For then society as a collective must replace the family as an economic unit and ensure that old people who can no longer work as before can still live as comfortable, active and fulfilling lives as they are physically and intellectually capable of.

The present bipartisan attack on Social Security is part of the general capitalist onslaught against the working class. To answer it requires a powerful countermobilization of the labor movement. Pressure groups like the Grey Panthers and reformist outfits like the Communist Party appeal to the Democrats. But the Democratic Party's support to Reaganite austerity (a fact highlighted by the Commission on Social Security "Reform") is rooted in its support for capitalism and the anti-Soviet war drive, and no amount of impotent lobbying will change that.

Even the defense of limited gains like Social Security will require a fight within the trade unions to sweep away the sellout bureaucrats like Kirkland and Fraser and replace them with a class-struggle leadership. Against the all-sided attack of the ruling class, there must be an all-sided counterattack by the working class drawing behind it all the oppressed sections of American society—blacks, Hispanics, women, youth and the aged. The crucial intertwining of the struggle for black equality and freedom with the labor struggle points to the strategic role of blacks in the American workers revolution. What is needed is an integrated revolutionary party to lead the working class to power and put an end to the miseries of capitalism once and for all. ■

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Chrysler...

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talking about a UAW "victory" are acting as the auxiliary police. The Spartacist League (SL) calls a *sellout* by its right name! We say: oust the labor fakers so we can get the union off its knees to fight again.

This contract doesn't even begin to close the gap with Ford and GM workers, let alone throw back the givebacks. Even with the measly 75 cent increase Chrysler workers will still be earning \$2.50 less than other auto workers. The \$1.15 Canadian workers got won't come close to keeping pace with inflation which is double the rate in the U.S. White's fake militancy is fueled by the fact that he has to sell a contract to his ranks with a built-in wage disparity, not only with GM and Ford but also with American Chrysler because the devaluation of the Canadian dollar amounts to a 20 percent wage gap! Chrysler workers didn't catch up—Ford and GM workers went backwards. And this contract introduces the ominous and hated "absentee control" provisions which give Chrysler a free hand to whip Chrysler workers into line and fire at will. Of course the layoffs will continue, but the bureaucracy and the socialist fakers have written off the thousands of unemployed auto workers.

To hail the Canadian settlement as a victory is a grotesque whitewash of the UAW tops' sellout of the initial Chrysler workers walkouts. When the contract expired September 15, Chrysler workers hit the bricks all across the country. When U.S. workers voted down the Fraser sellout 2 to 1, White *postponed* the Canadian strike deadline to scuttle the possibility of a company-wide strike. But three Canadian locals walked out anyway. At the beginning of October, Chrysler workers in both the U.S. and Canada were voting down the sellout, and voting with their feet. *That* was the real opportunity to turn things around—and Detroit was key, the linchpin of the whole thing.

Detroit is the center of the auto industry. There will be no major victories against Chrysler unless black Detroit plays a leading and active role. For three weeks this fall critical sectors of the Detroit proletariat were out on the street with massive popular support. Chrysler was out; the teachers were out, Ford announced the closure of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (River Rouge). City workers were fed up with Democratic cutback man Coleman Young. Black youth unemployment had reached an astronomical 70 percent. It could have been the beginning of a real fight to roll back the givebacks. The



Striking Cenedlen Chrysler workers forced to go out on their own in November by UAW sellouts White and Fraser.

Spartacist League (SL) and class-struggle unionists of the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) called for a citywide general strike with the labor movement leading all the oppressed to fight for survival.

The capitalist politicians worked overtime to derail the struggle. But if the auto workers shut down Detroit and mobilized the unemployed they could have won demands that the bosses dismiss as "impossible": a 20 percent wage hike, a massive public works program at union wages, unlimited unemployment benefits, triple the welfare grants. It would have opened up a whole new period of social struggle against this racist capitalist system. In those few crucial weeks in Detroit it was the Spartacist League that fought for this program to win, while the fake-lefts were busy capitulating to Fraser and Young.

The Canadian Chrysler strike grew out of the *defeat* of the earlier walkouts. Fraser and White worked hand in hand to isolate the striking Canadian locals from the potentially explosive black auto workers in Detroit. White is equally responsible for blocking joint strike action. The bureaucrats demoralized and split the workers by making them vote and vote again. The majority of U.S. Chrysler workers, with no hope they could win a strike saddled with the likes of Fraser, eventually voted to extend negotiations until the New Year. Only after this anti-strike referendum did White call out the Canadian locals. Fraser and White successfully isolated the Canadian strike, and the company threw them peanuts. That a lot of self-proclaimed "socialists" hail this agreement and tout White as a militant fighter against concessions shows they basically share the miserable social-democratic program of Fraser and White.

The reformist left has glorified the UAW bureaucracy's record of betrayal because they all have a program to pressure Fraser and *reform* the traitors in Solidarity House. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) jumped on the bailout bandwagon at Chrysler in 1979 with tepid calls for Fraser to push for "public ownership." The SWP never called for a strike at Chrysler this fall—in fact, at the time of Fraser's October 26 referendum they *opposed* a strike. Of course, the *Militant* prefers to put its own cringing reformism in the mouths of the workers:

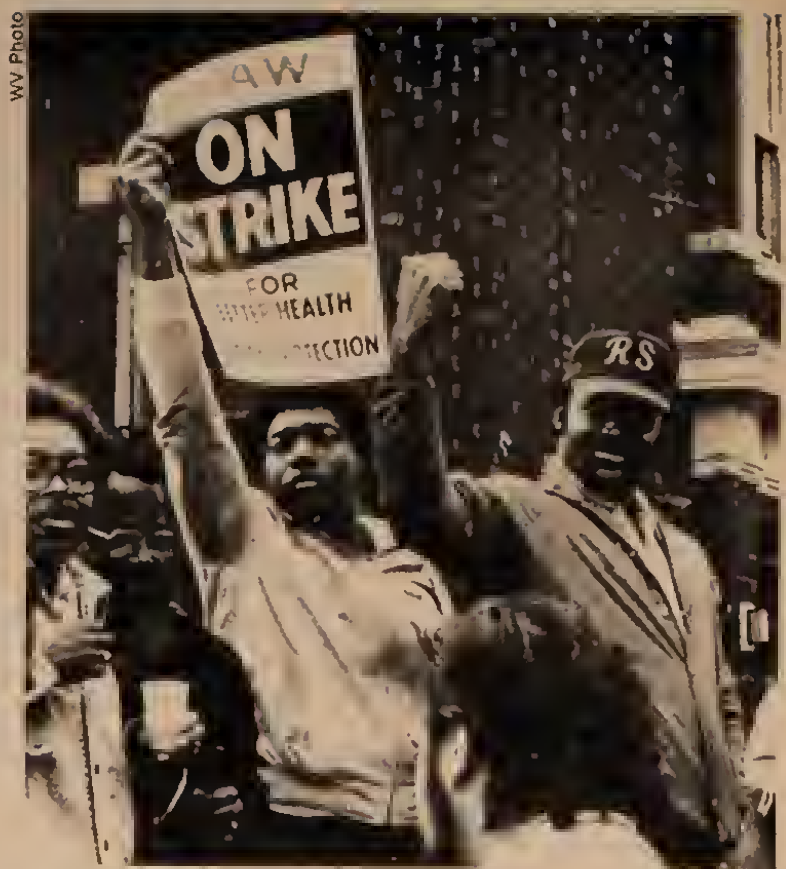
"Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Chrysler workers would rather try to negotiate the contract in January and try to get a better one than strike right now."

—*Militant*, 5 November 1982

Always on the prowl for lesser-evil bureaucrats to support, the SWP proclaimed the Canadian settlement a "victory" and "a step in turning back the tide of concessions" (*Militant*, 24 December) while supporting White against Fraser.

Not to be outdone, the reformist/Stalinist Communist Labor Party (CLP), which inherited modest influence in key Detroit plants from the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, has finally found a UAW traitor to snuggle up to—Robert White! The front-page article of *People's Tribune* (3 January) reads like a Solidarity House press release (complete with PR photo) of this leader "genuinely opposed to concessions" who represents the "opposite tendency from Fraser" and won "the first major confrontation with Chrysler." They claim that Fraser left the Canadian workers to fight alone. But it was their darling White who postponed the strike deadline to *prevent* joint strike action! Fraser and his protégé White come from the same pro-capitalist, social-democratic mold: virulent racist protectionism, support to Reagan's NATO anti-Soviet war drive, massive givebacks (which White sold separately on the other side of the border, whipping up "poor little Canada" nationalism). Like their big brothers of

Walkout at Detroit's Jefferson Avenue Chrysler plant in September: auto workers tell Fraser to shove it.



the Communist Party (CP), these Democratic Party loyalists make polite criticism of Fraser only in order to head off militant class struggle by auto workers who justly hate the *entire* UAW bureaucracy.

Hailing the Chrysler contract as "historic," the CP outdoes even Fraser who complained of sleepless nights, "wondering how the hell we were going to get out of this." In a cynical cover-up for the Solidarity House traitors, the CP hailed the "international solidarity" of the Chrysler strike—even while U.S. Chrysler workers were kept on the job and some forced to perform struck work. Instead of joint strike action, the CP urged U.S. auto workers to pass resolutions and collect food and money for their striking Canadian brothers. But then throughout the walkouts, votes and revotes taken this fall, the CP *never* called for a U.S. Chrysler strike, and stood steadfastly in Fraser's corner. Hoping to climb on the Democratic Party's anti-Reagan bandwagon, these class-collaborationists echo the UAW bureaucracy's racist, pro-war calls for protectionism and urge Detroit workers to take advice from strikebreaker Coleman Young.

Among the chorus of "left" critics trying to pressure Fraser and whitewash the bureaucracy's betrayals are the scabbing centrists of the RWL. The RWL paints a fantasy version of the Canadian strike as so explosive that it threatened to "bust up the Iacocca-Fraser conspiracy":

"A year from now U.S. and Canadian workers may look back with gratitude and say, 'The Canadian Chrysler strike was the turning point'."

To talk about the Canadian strike as a "partial victory" and a great beginning is a criminal cover-up of the UAW bureaucrats' sellout. When the Chrysler workers and teachers were out in Detroit supporters of the RWL in Ford's River Rouge argued *against* a citywide general strike. While they called for a one-day Local 600 strike on paper, their supporters never even raised this at a union meeting. And when class-struggle unionists of the Rouge Militant Caucus were dragged out of a Dearborn Assembly meeting and roughed up by goons, while calling for sit-down strikes to fight the closing of the plant, the friends of the RWL went along with the exclusion. The RWL is best known for its defense of *scabbing*, accepting the bureaucrats' sabotage of the picket line. These centrists throw in the towel before the battle even begins; at bottom they don't believe the workers will ever support a program that can win.

Progressive Labor (PL) recognized the smell of a sellout, but is incapable of leading Chrysler workers or any section of the oppressed to victory. PLers stood

on the sidewalk outside the Jefferson plant hollering "wildcat," while their paper claimed "the UAW and the entire U.S. labor movement is a leading force for fascism in the U.S." (*Challenge*, 24 November 1982)! Thus they refuse to struggle within the unions to *oust* the pro-capitalist labor traitors and they refuse to mobilize the organized workers movement, the social force with the power and class interest to smash the real fascists.

From the beginning of the billion-dollar "bailout" schemes designed to rescue Chrysler bosses through massive givebacks and plant closings, the SL and class-struggle auto unionists called for *plant occupations* and militant labor action to make the capitalists and their government pay for the economic disaster they created. "Whatever Chrysler's worth, give it to the workers," we said while the fake-lefts called for social-democratic "anti-nationalization" schemes. (Today, just the interest on Chrysler's bail-out loans is vastly more than Fraser's 75 cent "victory" for the Chrysler workers still left in the plants.) During the crucial weeks this fall, when workers at Jefferson and other key Chrysler plants were in open rebellion against Fraser and his local henchmen, when the Detroit teachers union was battling Coleman Young's union-busting, the SL-supported Rouge Militant Caucus at Ford's River Rouge plant (UAW Local 600) pointed the way forward with its call for a general strike of auto workers and city workers.

Every section of the proletariat is being ground down and chewed up by Reagan's depression and anti-Soviet war drive. This week Detroit unemployment offices stayed open from 8 a.m. to past midnight to handle the thousands waiting in 6-degree weather. And the Democratic Party/labor bureaucracy's solution? Old-fashioned imperialist trade war. As the Rouge plant, once the UAW's largest local, faces unit after unit on the chopping block, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi is calling for a boycott of everything Japanese. And as Japanese premier Nakasone visited Washington last week, UAW chief Fraser and Ford president Philip Caldwell visited the White House together to "stiffen Reagan's backbone" against Japanese imports. Driving off together in an "American-built" T-bird, the protectionist pair were a graphic demonstration of class collaboration preparing the way for imperialist war.

What Detroit needs are sit-down strikes not soup lines. And the key is a class-struggle leadership, an integrated workers party, that can lead a struggle to rip the plants and factories out of the hands of their greedy owners, for a workers government to reorganize society on the basis of a planned economy. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Police Terrorize Black Ghetto

New Orleans Cop Death Squad

The 1980 New Orleans police execution-style slaying of four blacks in the ghetto of Algiers made headline news recently when cops tried to get the courts to ban the broadcast of an exposé by CBS' "60 Minutes." No one was ever indicted for these killings. But seven New Orleans cops are to be tried February 7 in Dallas, Texas on charges that they "conspired to violate the civil rights" of several black Algiers residents whom they beat and harassed while investigating the slaying of New Orleans policeman Gregory Neupert. While the media focus on legal squabbles as to whether or not facts well-known for

outrage. A *Wall Street Journal* (28 December 1982) article on efforts to "ease racial tension" cited the notorious New Orleans police force whose racist rampages are turning the ghettos into a tinder box: "Their rate of police killings per violent crime is 10 times Newark's, and the city's investigator of police brutality says the situation isn't improving." But New Orleans is not an isolated case. In Baltimore, trials are now going on over undercover cop "death squads" which entrapped black men into staging hold-ups, then shot the "suspects" dead on the spot!

The story of the executions in the

moved in, determined that someone would "pay" for Neupert's death. In simultaneous raids at 2:45 a.m. on November 13, the death squads descended on the black projects of Algiers. James Billy was in bed with his common-law wife, Kim Landry, and his two-month-old son when the cops kicked in the door. They claim Billy "came up smoking" [shooting]. But his wife lived to tell the real story. Billy was grabbed in the bedroom, spread-eagled against the wall and surrounded by five cops. Landry and the baby were escorted to the police car. She heard shots as she got into the car. Billy was hit with seven bullets and two loads of buckshot.

At the same time, the cops broke into the home of Reginald Miles, who was in bed with his wife, Sherry Lynn Singleton. At least three neighbors heard Singleton beg for her life, "Please don't shoot me! Please don't shoot me!" Miles was found dead in the bedroom with nine bullet wounds and two shotgun wounds. Sherry Singleton was found naked in the bathtub, shot once through the eye and blasted twice by a shotgun at close range. After the shootings, "the house lit up like Vietnam." "Like a fourth of July party, the cops congratulating each other on a job well done." A fourth person, Raymond Ferdinand, was killed two days before the raids by a cop investigating the Neupert killing.

The police made sure their massacre was nice and "legal." To get the search warrants, police dragged scores of blacks into police headquarters for questioning, until two of them finally swore they saw Miles and Billy near the killing scene. At headquarters they were beaten, had their hands tied to chairs while plastic bags were put over their heads until they signed the affidavits. One man was driven to an Algiers bridge in the dead of night and "questioned"

with a shotgun to his head.

As the story leaked out, outrage grew, and protest finally forced police superintendent James C. Parsons to resign, largely because black mayor Ernest "Dutch" Morial feared New Orleans was on the verge of an explosion. When a state grand jury investigation refused to return any indictments against the cops, Morial told blacks to wait for the outcome of the federal grand jury. While he appealed to blacks to stay calm, the National Guard was moved to New Orleans for "riot-control training." In May 1981 the federal grand jury ruled "insufficient evidence" to indict in the four killings, although it did charge seven policemen with civil rights violations in the course of their "investigation." Several hundred people marched in protest and later militants sat in at Mayor Morial's office.

Louisiana blacks have experienced the racist frame-up justice of the capitalist courts time and again. They remember Gary Tyler, the victim of a racist attack who was framed up on murder charges, convicted with false evidence by an all-white jury, and sentenced to the electric chair. To this day he is serving out a life sentence at hard labor. The cops make themselves judge, jury and executioner on the streets of the ghetto. Their racist dragnets and wanton brutality often provoke the uprisings which they put down so murderously. The mockery of justice surrounding the Algiers executions underlines a hard truth about racist America, which is universally recognized, but seldom put into print: cops know they can kill black people and get off scot-free. These racist atrocities will only be stamped out under a revolutionary workers government which will destroy the root of race-terror: the capitalist system. Jail the killer cops! ■



New Orleans, May 1981: blacks protest grand jury whitewash of killer cops.

years can be publicized, the chilling reality is that *police death squads are operating in the U.S.*—not just in El Salvador or Argentina—terrorizing black ghettos, looking for victims.

As the capitalist depression deepens, the bourgeoisie is nervous about the possibility of an explosion of black

black enclave of Algiers began when New Orleans cop Gregory Neupert was found bleeding to death there from a gunshot wound in November 1980. For weeks prior to the shooting, cops had been terrorizing black residents in housing projects in the vicinity. Having no suspects, no leads, the cops just

The Chrysler Sellout

DETROIT, January 21—As Chrysler and United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser express satisfaction over the "victory" they rammed down the throats of Chrysler workers, thousands of laid-off, largely black auto workers stand in soup lines and freeze in Detroit this winter. For hundreds of thousands of UAW members who may never see the inside of an auto plant again, who ran out of unemployment and SUB months or years ago, Fraser's UAW means "U Ain't Workin'."

After a five-week strike by Canadian Chrysler workers, UAW members on both sides of the border ratified a contract which leaves intact the massive givebacks of the last three years. The bureaucracy sold this rotten agreement with the pitch "it's a step on the road to parity"—and all the "left" cheerleaders are parroting their line. They are applauding the contract of Fraser and

Canadian UAW director Boh White as everything from an "important victory" (Socialist Workers Party) to "historic" (Communist Party), to a "partial victory" (Communist Labor Party) to a "very small victory" (Revolutionary Workers League).

Victory?! In 1979 the company and UAW tops, working hand-in-glove with

the government of Democrat Jimmy Carter, ganged up on Chrysler workers and after intimidating them with threats of bankruptcy stole \$1 billion in "givebacks." Then they extorted another \$4 billion from Ford and GM workers to put into company profits, setting a trend threatening the very future of organized labor. But the concessions

bought nothing: the Big Three continued to lay off hundreds of thousands of auto workers. And when Chrysler again made a profit last year, UAW president (and company board member) Fraser attacked Chrysler boss Iacocca for encouraging workers to think there was a "pot of gold."

Solidarity House beat down the opposition to their September sellout with votes and revotes, forcing American workers to "extend" negotiations till hell freezes over. Finally, Canadian workers struck for five weeks in total isolation, managing to win a wage "increase" covering only a fraction of the inflation since 1979. And this is supposed to be a "victory"?! When Fraser joined the Chrysler board it was a historic turning point for the UAW bureaucracy. Though on a smaller scale, it can be compared to the German Social Democrats' infamous betrayal, voting for war credits to their "own" capitalist rulers on August 4, 1914. Concessions, layoffs, you name it—the Solidarity House hacks are no longer acting just as sellout union misleaders, but as cops for the company. And the phony socialists

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Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca (left) and board member, UAW president Doug Fraser.

