

Zionist, U.S. War Criminals Let Off

Blood of Beirut On Their Hands

Imperialist, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

FEBRUARY 20—Zionist rulers hate comparisons with the Nazis, but no comparison is more apt. After their "blitzkrieg" and "purification" campaign in Lebanon, Israeli officials now claim, just like the defendants at Nuremberg, that they "didn't know" what their Maronite Einsatzkommandos had wrought.

The official Kahan commission of inquiry made the obvious point that "no prophetic powers were required" to know what would happen when the fascistic Phalange was sent into the Palestinian camps of Shatila and Sabra. Nevertheless, the commission goes on to whitewash the Begin regime and the Israeli army in general: "Absolutely no direct responsibility devolves upon Israel or upon those who acted in its name." The only member of the Begin government singled out for even "indirect responsibility," Defense Minister

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UPI Rollo/Newsweek Der Spiegel

Avenge the Victims of the Butcher of Lyons!

Klaus Barbie: From Gestapo to CIA

For 40 years they have waited and remembered. The survivors and families of the victims of Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie have been waiting too damn long to get simple justice. For 40 years they've waited to avenge the crimes of the mass murderer and torturer who as head of the Gestapo in Lyons, France between 1942 and 1944 was responsible for murdering more than 4,000 people, shipping 8,000 to the unspeakable horror of Hitler's death

camps and arresting and torturing thousands more: Jews, members of the French Resistance Movement and other enemies of the Third Reich and of its Vichy collaborators.

They've been waiting 40 years to get their hands on the SS *Obersturmbannführer* known as the "Butcher of Lyons," the sadist with the leather whip who conducted the torture sessions so well remembered: blackjack beatings to unconsciousness; revived by dunking in

ice water, beaten again, slashing with razor blades; gasoline poured on wounds causing infection as well as pain, acid injected in the bladder. They remember Resistance fighters dragged behind cars, and death by meat hook. They remember homes burned down with occupants inside. And they remember 6 April 1944 in the village of Izieu, the day Barbie's men, with French assistance, grabbed all 41 children of a

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Damianne
From Swastika to Stars & Stripes: Nazi Barbie in 1943 (above left) later became anti-Soviet hirling of U.S. government.

Death and Taxes

It was a surreal scene on the North Dakota prairie. An armored personnel carrier creeping through the farm fields, with 100 cops cowering behind it, firing tear gas cannisters at an isolated farmhouse. Earlier they had tried to trap their victim with a roadblock on a windswept highway in the middle of nowhere. But he shot his way through the ambush leaving two U.S. marshals dead on the ground. When they couldn't find him on the farm, they set off a manhunt involving virtually all the police power in the Dakotas, including the FBI and the highway patrol. Their target: 63-year-old Gordon Kahl, wanted for tax evasion and still at large.

"One of those income tax fanatics," said U.S. Deputy Marshal Odean Lee of the Fargo office. "They just didn't believe in driver's licenses or anything," he said. Earlier Kahl had done time for income tax evasion in Texas. He was a "hard case" and a member of the neo-fascist fringe group, Posse Comitatus, which does not believe in the government's right to tax, land-use laws or the validity of paper money. Kahl may not have recognized the state, but they sure as hell recognized him. And in the name of the supremacy of the state, they created a crime out of nothing.

The sinister ultra-rightist Posse Comitatus is preparing for an imminent collapse of the U.S. government. Named after an 1878 act of Congress banning enforcement of civil rights laws in the South after Reconstruction, they see themselves as a "backup police force." Their members wear gold lapel pins in the form of a hangman's noose. Posse members have held paramilitary training sessions with the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen. A 1981 police raid on their Wisconsin base reportedly turned up a sizable explosives cache, bunkers and tunnels.

Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comi-

tatus are a threat, all right, but surely not to the federal government. When the fascists put on their white sheets and ride into town with their rifles ready for shooting down blacks, trade unionists and socialists, they don't get roadblocks, they get police winks and even, like in Greensboro, a cop informer right in the lead car with them to make sure the murderous attack comes off okay!

As for Kahl's taxes, big businessmen get away with millions in unpaid taxes all the time. Does anybody roadblock their limousines? Reagan has practically eliminated income taxes for corporations what with all these tax credits—you can even sell your income tax credits to somebody else these days. What the state couldn't tolerate about

In Utah a few years ago, a Mormon fundamentalist set out to build a self-reliant life in the mountains. He pulled his kids out of what he considered "immoral" public schools and taught them himself. The local sheriff, knowing the fiercely independent man packed a pistol, refrained from serving a warrant. Instead, as an ironic *New York Times* editorial entitled "That'll Teach the Singer Children" (21 January 1979) told the story: "But in time, state troopers decided that such continuing disobedience of the law was intolerable. Thursday, after an earlier failure to arrest him, 10 officers surrounded him on snowmobiles. When, reportedly, he pulled out a pistol, they shot and killed him." The mother was thrown in jail overnight. As for the children, we suppose they're now



1776: "No taxation without representation!"

source of social evil. They go for politicians like Ronald Reagan who promise to "get the government off your back." Then they find the government not only on their backs, but all over their paychecks, in their bedrooms, their



1983: Taxation or annihilation.

Gordon Kahl was that he defied its fiat, flaunting his contempt for its divine right to rule. "He didn't believe in nothing, only what he wanted to," complained Sheriff Raymond Weatherby of Crane County, Texas where Kahl was first busted for refusing to file his income tax returns.

in public school learning that America is a free country.

America likes to fancy itself a nation of rugged individualism, the pioneering spirit and all that. This is supposed to be a country where you can basically do whatever you want, as long as you don't hurt anybody else. "Don't Tread on Me" was the slogan of the American Revolution. Well, we believe in "Don't Tread on Me" as much as the next guy, but we think it ought to include blacks, and Latins, the Haitians, the Mexican immigrants, everyone who's managed to make it to this country. And we know this spirit is the polar opposite of the massive and growing official terror of the capitalist state.

America breeds a particular type of right-wing populist who regards "big government" (along with the unions, Jews and blacks) as the consummate

libraries, their cars, and sometimes on their front lawns in tanks.

The development of modern capitalism runs hard and fast against the American grain of "high noon" individualism. What's going on is the inevitable, poisonous result of a century of American imperialism. It's an invidious worldview: after decades of bullying and slaughtering from the Caribbean to the Pacific, from Vietnam to South America, the decadent American ruling class and its special state repressive forces have turned on their "own." It's going to take a socialist revolution to sweep away the corrupt, murderous killer elite of the state and their capitalist masters. Then, and only then, will America be at last and for the first time truly a free country.

By the way, there's no income tax in Russia. ■

Letter

Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

Antigo, Wisconsin

Hello,

At the time the Red Army went into Afghanistan I was a subscriber to the

Workers Vanguard. I wrote a letter to cancel my subscription in outrage over what I thought at the time was an invasion. Due to the subsequent revelations about who the Afghan "freedom fighters" are, mostly rich land owners, and the lack of resistance by the urban proletariat, I have to admit I was wrong.

When Reagan hails the "freedom fighters" and when the CIA funnels weapons to them thru the "democratic" government in Pakistan, it is time for a reassessment of the situation.

For awhile I was enamored with the so-called Marxist-Leninist movement with their constant fawning over Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Then I read "Stalin" by Deutscher and "The Revolution Betrayed" by Trotsky and changed my mind about Stalin being a great socialist.

Also, I have read much about the SL's involvement against the Klan. Your group seems to be the only one who realizes how to handle them.

So after saying all this, I would like to subscribe to the Workers Vanguard.

I've read the Militant but they seem to be a clone of the Daily World, with their constant dwelling on parliamentary action.

So, please send me some info on how to subscribe to Workers Vanguard. This time I won't cancel.

Mike Brandow

The author's earlier letter is printed in WV No. 249, 8 February 1980.

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Spartacist Candidate on the Ballot

Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council!

Martha Phillips will be the Spartacist candidate for council member at large in the Oakland City Council elections scheduled for April 19. A veteran of the antiwar and women's movement, a member of the International Typographical Union and well-known spokesman for the Bay Area Spartacist League, Phillips will appear on the ballot with the designation "Socialist Union Militant." Her 150-word statement (see accompanying box) will be mailed to all Oakland registered voters before the election.

But simply getting on the ballot required a fight with city officials. Eager to censor the views of an outspoken revolutionary socialist when Phillips and her attorney, Valerie C. West, attempted to file her qualifying papers on February 10, Oakland city clerk Arrece Jameson refused to accept the ballot designation "Socialist Union Militant" and threatened massive deletions in the candidate's statement. Under the guise of "non-partisanship," Jameson declared unacceptable such words as "socialist," "Spartacist," "Democrats," "Nazis," "KKK," "Klan" and, last but not least, "Trotskyist." This is only the latest in a series of attempts by California election officials to use the state's "non-partisan" election laws to muzzle the views of class-struggle opponents of the capitalist system and its Democratic and Republican Parties.

Phillips, refusing to alter her statement, demanded a meeting with the City Attorney where, several days later, she and her attorney insisted that her ballot designation and statement be printed without censorship. The City Attorney was faced with last year's precedent, when the San Francisco registrar of



voters had been forced to correct similar attempted censorship against Spartacist candidates Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman. Bradley and Coleman's ballot designation of "Socialist Union Militant" had been deleted and all critical references to "Democrats" excised from the sample ballot and Voter Information Guide. It cost the city of San Francisco in excess of \$40,000 to correct this censorship by a special mailing to all voters and by correcting the ballots on all the city's 4,000-plus voting machines.

In the face of stepped-up Klan and Nazi terror attacks, aided by the racist cops, in nearby Richmond and Contra Costa County, it would have been particularly outrageous to prevent Phillips from even mentioning these race-hate terrorists in Oakland, a majority black city with a sizable Latino population. Phillips was an organizer of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/

Statement Filed by Martha Phillips

Without socialist revolution catastrophe threatens mankind. Reagan, with Democratic support, prepares war against the Soviet Union. The bosses and their government attack workers, minorities, youth, the aged. Feeding on reaction, the KKK/Nazis boldly attempt a campaign of racist terror.

I am a Trotskyist and helped organize the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK's November 27 Washington D.C. march. We need an integrated workers party whose aim is a workers government that will

take the productive wealth of this country, including the idle factories, from the hands of the capitalists and establish a socialist planned economy.

Oppose anti-Soviet war preparations! Military victory to Salvadoran leftists! Israeli/imperialist troops out of Lebanon! No gun control! For labor/black defense against Klan/Nazi terror! For massive public works under union control! Jobs for all, decent housing, free transit, medical, childcare, education, abortion! Stop INS raids—citizenship rights for undocumented workers!

Black Mobilization, which stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. November 27, and stressed her right to oppose the Klan/Nazi thugs here. After several days' deliberations, the City Attorney informed the candidate that, after all, "Socialist Union Militant" and her campaign statement would appear as originally submitted.

This is a victory not only for Martha Phillips but for the entire workers movement and supporters of democratic rights. It is also a victory for the voters of Oakland, a working-class and minority city hard hit by the truly bipartisan cutbacks, layoffs, plant closings and runaway shops. Spartacist organizers are gearing up to take Phillips' class-struggle program to factories and union halls, to the black ghettos of west and east Oakland, where youth unemployment runs in excess of 50 percent, and to the predominantly Latino neighbor-

hoods. Those wishing to assist the campaign and/or make contributions should contact the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee at 408 13th Street, Suite 260, Oakland, California 94612 or call 835-1536. ■

- ☐ Please send further information on the campaign
- ☐ I endorse the campaign of Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council
- ☐ Enclosed is \$_____ contribution to the campaign

Help build the campaign! Call (415) 835-1536.

Name _____
Phone () _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to/mail to:
Spartacist Party Campaign Committee
408 13th St., Suite 260, Oakland, CA 94612

International Women's Day Spartacist Forums

International Women's Day: A Proletarian Holiday

Speaker: Rosalind Garcia,
SL Central Committee

Wednesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.
Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
CAMBRIDGE
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Black Women and the Fight Against Triple Oppression

Speaker: Topaz DuBois,
SYL National Committee

Wednesday, March 9, 12 noon
Merritt College
Student Lounge, R Building
OAKLAND
For more information: (415) 835-1535

Trotskyism: The Revolutionary Answer to the Triple Oppression of Black Women

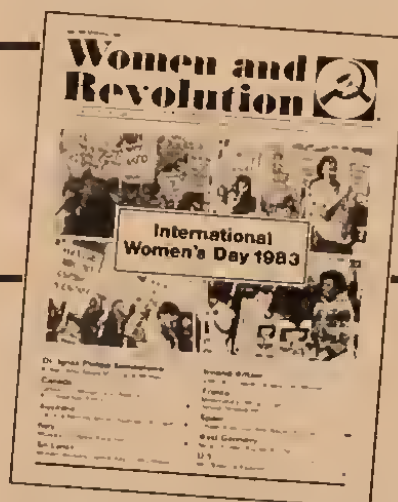
Speaker: Dora Apel, SL

Monday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
Hilberry A
DETROIT
For more information: (313) 961-1680

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speaker: Martha Phillips,
Spartacist candidate for
Oakland City Council

Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
Tilden Room (5th floor)
Student Union
BERKELEY
For more information: (415) 835-1535



International Women's Day Issue \$5.00
Subscription \$2/4 Issues

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

Black Women and the Fight Against Triple Oppression

Speaker: Topaz DuBois,
SYL National Committee

Thursday, March 10, 12 noon
San Francisco State
Student Union, Room B114
SAN FRANCISCO
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Debate

Marxism, Socialism and Feminism—Which Strategy for Women?

Speakers:
Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, 1982
Deldre English, Editor, Mother Jones Magazine

Merle Woo, Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women
Sally Gearhart, Chairperson, Dept. of Speech and Communications, SF State

Wednesday, March 9, 2-4:30 p.m.
San Francisco State
Student Union
Barbary Coast Room

Workshops

Featuring SL/SYL Speakers

History of International Women's Day

Tuesday, March 8, 12:30-1:30 p.m.
SF State Student Union
Conference Room A-E

Women and the Russian Revolution

Friday, March 11, 11 a.m.-12 noon
SF State Student Union
Conference Room A-E

Sponsored by San Francisco State Women's Center

UAW Tops Surrender 3,600 More Jobs

Flint Needs Sitdowns!

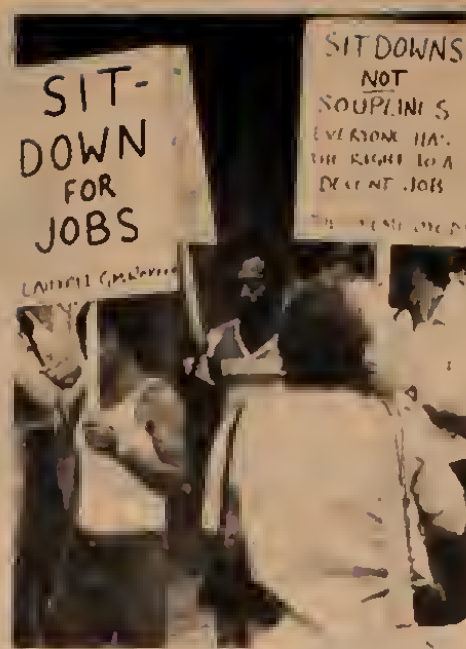
FLINT, Michigan—This General Motors "company town" has become Depression City USA, with the highest unemployment rate—over 25 percent—in the country. Now GM plans to shut down yet another plant, Fisher Body, site of the historic 1937 sit-down strike which sparked over a thousand plant occupations in the Midwest and was key to finally unionizing auto. The Fisher Body closing is part of a GM scheme to consolidate a "Buick City," and it will mean the loss of over 3,600 jobs. Incredibly, GM president F. James McDonald told the working people of Flint that they should "view this as a tremendous vote of confidence by General Motors"! Go to hell, McDonald! Flint auto workers—the 20,000 unemployed linked up with the 57,000 still in the plants—have the power to spark a militant fight against the layoffs

and givebacks that could spread to the heart of auto, Detroit, and bring the companies to their knees.

On Friday, February 11, officials of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 599 at Flint Buick sponsored a "White Shirt Day" to commemorate the 46th anniversary of the 1937 sit-down battle. (This referred to the day the strikers marched triumphantly out of the Fisher Body plant in clean white shirts after having held out for 44 days against the company and the government.) An "unemployed rally" that afternoon drew sparsely from the ranks of Flint GM workers, who knew the bureaucrats only intended to hoist the white flag—again. Plant occupations are ancient history for UAW president Doug Fraser & Co., who have done nothing to prevent layoffs while ramming billion-dollar givebacks down auto workers'

throats. One hundred twenty Buick workers turned out, only to be subjected to a barrage of pro-company protectionism and told by Local 599 president Al Christner that "there's not too much to say these days that's encouraging to the unemployed"!

The bureaucrats' invited speaker was Democratic Congressman Dale Kilbee, who called for protectionist "domestic content" legislation directed against the U.S.' imperialist rivals like Japan, and for a "first-class" military machine aimed at the USSR. Far from an "alternative" to Reagan reaction, the Democratic "guns *plus* butter" program, backed to the hilt by the UAW bureaucracy, is solely designed to line up the working class behind a drive to revive the American profit system through war. We say: the real enemy is at home!



WV Photo
Flint auto workers, employed and unemployed, picket GM headquarters in Detroit last August.

The key task facing union militants and leftists is to break labor's chains to the Democratic Party through a political struggle to oust pro-capitalist misleaders like Fraser. But reformist outfits

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12 Overrule 1,006

CWA Witchhunters Throw Out Recall Petitions

Reprinted below are excerpts from a leaflet circulated by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), continuing Workers Vanguard's coverage of the fight to stop the seven-month-long attempt to purge MAC leader Kathy Ikegami. For more background we refer readers to "CWA Witchhunters Get Burned," in WV No. 322 (28 January).

On Jan. 20th, twelve Election Committee members did the dirty job Imerzel appointed them for: they declared their opinions more important than a thousand members and denied the recall petitions against the Local

who conceal the company's plans to cut our jobs, waste our time and union money on Stalin-style purge trials, and try to pass off McKenna's attendance at a Klan meeting as "civil rights work." So we signed up for a referendum to throw the Imerzel clique out of office, and this arrogant bunch on the Election Committee spat on all of us when they denied us this right. Don't let this outrage go unanswered! The final say in recalling these sellouts belongs to the membership. For a start, call the local hall to protest (777-9410). Then beat them big in the current delegate elections—mail your ballot in today. MAC organized the recall drive—for a decent union that fights to protect our jobs. Vote the MAC Slate for Convention Delegates: Ikegami, Costan, Burnham, Gonzalez, Sonntag!

The Company Voted, Too—For the Officers!

The Election Committee's action is the only good news Imerzel's heard for some time—and we'll bet that the company's cheering, too. Jim only has his ambitions for higher office and the unpleasant prospect of having to go back to work for Ma Bell to worry about. The company, however, has some serious job-cutting it wants to do, and a number of takeaways it wants to get from our contract in August. The last thing PT&T wants to see now is an active militant union leadership, so they tried to kick petitioners out of buildings, breakrooms, and cafeterias. It's so obvious they feel more comfortable with the current local leadership. And Imerzel did his part to help, saying he didn't consider the petitioning "legitimate union activity." The sentiment of the membership to get rid of the Local 9410 misleadership was too strong to stop, and no wonder. While the officers passed on the company's assurances that "no layoffs are projected," the number of departments declaring surpluses and intent to layoff is increasing. In a rare flash of honesty (which he

quickly overcame) Secretary McKenna stumbled and almost said that the temps just axed from Administrative Surpluses were "laid off"—he recovered to say that he wasn't sure of the "proper term." And Reagan tries to say you're not out of a job when your unemployment benefits run out—but you're still hungry. Call it whatever you want, the fact is that phone worker jobs are being eliminated, just like these union officers knew and denied.

Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson know that dirty work is done best in the dark, so they gave NO public notice to the membership of the Election Committee's meeting. Observers were "allowed" only after a vote narrowly passed (6 to 5). We were denied permission to tape the meeting—no surprise, considering what they had to say. All votes were taken by secret ballot—rightly fearful, these 12 people, of recriminations from the 1,006 petition signers. Tom Knipe (Imerzel's prosecutor in the Ikegami trial) ran the whole show—much like the purge trial. Slander and red-baiting were the name of the game. Knipe repeatedly said, "members didn't know what they were signing." He went on and on about

"coercion and intimidation"—yet offered not a shred of evidence.

The most outrageous and vile statements were made by Pete Strain regarding McKenna's attendance at a Klan meeting. He equated the Klan to communists, Jews, Arabs, and "other terrorists," and asked "how can we condemn an organization like the Klan, which recognizes the American flag, when we don't condemn organizations that don't?" (!) The disgusting argument they used was that McKenna could do what he wanted on his own time! (Does this include racist terror?) All charges were voted as "vague and frivolous" by these 12 people.

What Next—Imerzel: "Emperor for Life"?

At the Jan. 18th membership meeting, the top four officers came up with a new "rule"—only *they* can speak. No executive board member can give reports (guess who they want to silence? MAC member Ikegami). No discussion from the floor, only questions. No "good and welfare." Nothing—we're apparently only allowed their opinion. We'd like to see them enforce this in a packed membership meeting!

Just a followup note about the IWP (International Workers Party). At the Nov. Executive Board meeting, a motion was passed supporting the IWP and its supporters in CWA Local 11502. This motion endorsed the hammer-wielding attack on SL members and trade union supporters. Yet when this was brought up at the membership meeting, Malliett refused to talk about it and squashed discussion. Maybe the members wouldn't take too kindly to their endorsement of attempted murder. ■



WV Photo
MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami campaigns for class-struggle program in the CWA.

9410's officers. They had the nerve to call the page-long list of charges the members signed—"vague and frivolous." Over a thousand of us—25 percent of the local's members—said that we'd had enough of union officers

It Takes Money to Stop the Klan!

On 27 November 1982, labor and blacks organized by the Labor/Black Mobilization and the Spartacist League successfully kept the Klan from marching through the streets of Washington, D.C. Instead, the anti-Klan demonstrators took to the streets, following the Klan's planned route. This was an important victory for blacks and working people in this country. But such victories cost a lot of dough! To date over \$20,000 has been raised toward these expenses,

over \$5,000 of which was raised by the German, English, French and Canadian Spartacist groups from supporters of black rights and labor/black solidarity. Most of the people of the world see the United States as one sodden reactionary mass; but this action broke through that limited vision and sparked an impressive outpouring of financial solidarity.

But thousands of dollars are still needed, to pay the bills of that successful mobilization against the KKK race-haters. Send your contributions now to: Labor/Black Mobilization, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Beat Back Bosses' Decertification!

Defend Steelworkers Union at Newport News!

NEWPORT NEWS, Virginia—Four years after a bitter hard-fought strike to bring industrial unionism into the open shop South, battle lines are once again being drawn at the mammoth Newport News shipyard. On one side stands Local 8888 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), veteran of 12 weeks on the picket lines where it endured brutal, Virginia-style "right-to-work" repression administered by state and city police. On the other side is the Houston-based Tenneco conglomerate, owner of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, and its well-financed company union. Ousted by Local 8888 in an NLRB-run representation election in 1978, Tenneco's Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) is attempting to make a comeback. If the PSA can gather the support of at least 30 percent of the shipyard workforce it will be able to force another representation election. Meanwhile Tenneco is preparing to wage knock-down, drag-out class war against the USWA when the union's contract expires next November 1, three months after the contract covering 270,000 Basic Steel workers runs out.

The outcome of this struggle will affect the existence of this key Steelworkers local and the very future of union organizing in the South. As pickets repeated time and again throughout the 1979 strike, the industrial Tidewater region is "labor's gateway to the South." While the rest of the capitalist economy wallows in depression, this area's military-oriented industries are thriving as part of Reagan's drive to unleash nuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union. Turning the heavily black shipyards of southeastern Virginia into a stronghold of industrial unionism would give the labor movement a springboard into North Carolina and beyond. But to succeed, such an organizing drive must confront the racist reaction used by the employers to divide the workers and maintain a "union-free environment." Less than 200 miles southwest of Newport News is Greensboro, North Carolina, where in 1979 the Ku Klux Klan/Nazis massacred five black and white leftists and unionists who were trying to organize the Southern textile mills. The Klan must be stopped—through labor/black struggle, like the November 27 mobili-

zation that prevented a KKK parade in Washington, D.C.

The Spartacist League (SL), initiator of the successful November 27 mobilization, stressed the crucial importance of the 1979 Newport News strike (see "Newport News: Key Battle to Organize the South," *WV* No. 227, 16 March 1979) and noted that only "decisive action to shut the shipyard down" could beat Tenneco, thereby securing the union's existence and opening up the

basis for the current crisis. And central responsibility for that failure falls on the USWA International headed by Lloyd McBride, with its strategy of relying on the bosses' government and so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. McBride placed his hopes in then-lieutenant governor Charles Robb and Jimmy Carter (who had just invoked the "slave labor" Taft-Hartley Act against the militant mine workers strike) to prevent a strike by bringing



Pickets chanted "88! Shut tha Gate!" after USWA president McBride ordered them to let scabs through.

perspective of a labor march into the South:

"Now more than ever the strikers must understand that it is lethal to rely on help from the bosses' courts! While J.P. Stevens is still unorganized after years of impotent consumer boycotts, Newport News is the first important attempt in decades to crack the 'open shop' South through powerful strike action. The entire labor movement and particularly steel workers across the country must back it to the hilt. Victory to the Newport News strike!"

Lessons of the 1979 Strike

The failure to win such a decisive victory over Tenneco in 1979 laid the

Tenneco to the bargaining table.

Faced with the company's intransigence, McBride reluctantly permitted a strike to begin on January 31, but within a couple of weeks he was downplaying its importance by calling it a "blunder" to have boosted the Newport News struggle as "an expansion into the South." Pickets were ordered not to interfere with scabs in accordance with the state's union-busting "right-to-work" laws. The no-win strategy of the International was aptly expressed by USWA organizing director Elmer Chatk: "The sole purpose of the strike was to expedite the legal process!"

The Newport News strikers had other ideas. They thought the strike's purpose was to win union recognition and a good contract. In line with this aim, rank-and-file strikers improvised ways to implement the popular picket line slogan, "88! Shut the Gate!"—such as flying squads to patrol Washington Avenue in front of the yard in order to deal with scabs. But when a federal court in early April backed Tenneco's challenge of the original representation election, McBride hastened to end the strike. On Monday, 16 April 1979, hundreds of militant strikers fought this betrayal and mobilized to keep the strike alive by shutting down the shipbuilding works. They were given a lesson in how the bosses "expedite the legal process" in Virginia: state troopers and city cops in riot gear swept up the avenue, savagely clubbing and turning their dogs on anyone they came across. Then they carried out a storm trooper assault of Local 8888's strike headquarters. Nearly 50 strikers were injured—

some requiring hospitalization—and over 60 were arrested. "Bloody Monday" stands as a symbol of the government's true function: to defend capitalist property and profit.

Aided by the mailed fist of the state, McBride was able to liquidate the 12-week-old strike. Later, in response to a court ruling that denied the company's challenge of the representation election, Tenneco formally recognized the USWA and finally signed a contract with the union in March 1980—more than two years after the shipyard workers voted to be represented by the USWA. Far from a decisive victory over Tenneco, these developments represented a stalemate that left critical issues of union defense unresolved: maintenance of open shop conditions, which the company has used to undermine the USWA's base of support; failure to secure the right to strike over contract violations, giving Tenneco a free hand to virtually dictate shop floor conditions; continued racial and sexual discrimination; fired USWA activists left out on the street, where some of them remain even today. These victimized workers are some of the best fighters for the union. They stood up against the PSA because it provided no recourse for victimized workers, its officials were paid by the company, it helped maintain workforce discipline. While the NLRB and the courts sluggishly decide the fate of these fired militants, it is now that Local 8888 critically needs their experience, energy and authority inside the shipyard.

The current difficulties facing Local 8888 could have been prevented. The key to victory in 1979 was the picket line. The Spartacist League insists that "picket lines mean don't cross" and fights for effective mass picketing instead of depending on phony "friends of labor" in the bosses' Democratic Party. Thus *Workers Vanguard* vigorously defended Keith Anwar, the USWA Local 1010 member who was fired by Inland Steel in 1979 for refusing to cross a picket line. (An NLRB ruling last fall upheld Anwar but is being appealed by the company.) After Bloody Monday we pointed out that, "At times, of course, it is necessary for even the best of the trade-union leaders to carry out tactical retreats," but warned that the McBride leadership would try to prevent a renewed fight even under more favorable circumstances (*WV* No. 230, 27 April 1979):

"It is imperative that militants in the yard reassemble their forces and fight for resumption of the strike.

"As we emphasized from the inception of the Newport News battle, victory could not be attained without class-struggle methods. And central to that was the issue of the picket line. As we said, 'The lessons of labor history are clear: no major strike, particularly against a bitterly anti-union company, has been won by letting scabs in!'"

Both effective mass picketing and the closed shop are essential weapons of working-class defense that are prohibited by "right-to-work" laws in Virginia and other Southern states. "Bloody Monday" showed how brutally the bosses will act to enforce these laws. This means that any serious struggle to organize unions in the South must either become a political class struggle against the bosses' government or go down in defeat. Under such circumstances a militant strike leadership must prepare for the inevitable confrontation with the capitalist state, recognizing that, as in all class struggles, the outcome will be decided by which side mobilizes greater power.

Working-class solidarity is therefore an essential weapon to win such struggles. The Tidewater region is full of union supporters who would willingly aid a USWA strike at Newport News that could bring the "right-to-work" structure crashing to the ground. This includes the mainly black International Longshoremen's Association, which has the power to shut down the Hampton

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Newport News cops errast militants in 1979 shipyard strike.

German Trotskyists Oppose Resurgent Nationalism

West German Elections Cold War Turning Point?

The West German elections scheduled for March 6 are being presented, especially by spokesmen for U.S. imperialism, as a potential watershed in postwar European politics. While the ruling Christian Democrats are being held up as NATO loyalists, the opposition Social Democrats (who are equivocating on planned deployment later this year of American middle-range nuclear missiles in West Germany) are increasingly labeled "neutralist," a gross exaggeration. Running on the slogan, "In German Interests," the Social Democrats have, however, become a vehicle for resurgent German nationalism expressed in anti-American as well as anti-Soviet terms. Underlying the new German nationalism of the left (and also, of course, of the right) are the revanchist ambitions of German imperialism, the strongest power in capitalist Europe, toward the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states.

While the foreign press has naturally focused on the international aspects of the German elections (dubbed "the missile elections"), this parliamentary contest is also taking place amid the worst economic conditions—two-and-a-half million unemployed—since the immediate post-World War II period. When the Christian Democrats maneuvered Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats out of office last fall, the new, more austerity-minded Kohl/Strauss/Lambsdorff government was greeted by the largest, most militant and most political trade-union demonstrations in decades. The *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, intervened in these important working-class actions around the slogans, "You Can't Fight Strauss with Social Democrats!" and "Bring Down the Kohl Government Through Mass Strikes—Break with the Social Democrats!"

The following article is adapted from two articles in the TLD's *Spartakist* addressing the significance of the change in government and the subsequent mass trade-union protests against the Christian Democrats.

ADAPTED FROM SPARTAKIST NO. 45, OCTOBER 1982 AND A DECEMBER 1982 SPARTAKIST SUPPLEMENT

In the context of an anti-Soviet war threat and the international crisis of capitalism, the coalition between the bourgeois liberals of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD) collapsed on 1 October 1982. After 13 years of the SPD's class-collaborationist coalitionism, Helmut Schmidt's "Model Germany" came apart at the seams, and now the Christian Democrats (CDU) are in power. The Social Democrats are divided by disputes over NATO's "two-track" decision (on the stationing of Pershing and cruise missiles). Meanwhile, wage cuts and mass unemployment increasingly destroyed the illusions in the SPD of large sections of the working class. When the FDP departed from the coalition, fleeing into the arms of Helmut Kohl's new "transitional government," West Germans could only observe the change in governments from



the sidelines. And anyone looking at the 200-pound nonentity Kohl sees Franz Josef Strauss looming behind him just waiting for his chance.

Strauss is feared and hated as a warmonger and enemy of the unions, the embodiment of the "strongman" who is now attempting to achieve through parliamentary maneuvering what he couldn't accomplish in the 1980 Bundestag elections. The SPD is making hay of this fear, once again pushing the slogan "Fear Strauss." When the [metal workers union] IG-Metall characterized the way in which the change of power in Bonn had been effected as a "blow against democracy," the CDU ominously labeled this a "left-fascist attack." And now the CDU is pushing laws against the Greens [ecology party] and Alternatives [left social democrats] as "enemies of the constitution." During the vote of confidence debate, Helmut Schmidt [then SPD chancellor] prattled about the spirit of the constitution. But when Schmidt speaks of the constitution, he means the office for the Protection of the Constitution [the *Verfassungsschutz*, West Germany's FBI]. The SPD in power was the party of police terror and terrorist manhunts.

If the Kohl government carries out only the first stages of its program, tens of thousands of workers will lose their unemployment benefits. Every social gain is under attack, right down to sick pay. But the CDU is only taking up where the SPD left off. The Social Democrats, who went into the 1980 elections under the slogan "Enter the '80s securely," left two million unemployed; three to four million are expected next year. The SPD's "Model Germany" meant the deportation of hundreds of thousands of foreign workers to their countries of origin where mass poverty and, as in Turkey, the brutal terror of NATO generals await them. It meant concentration camps for political refugees seeking asylum from the war and terror in Lebanon, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Now, in his first major public statement, Kohl threatened the Turkish ["guest"]



Clockwise from bottom left: Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl (left) takes over chancellorship from Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt (right); Right-wing demagogue Franz Josef Strauss; Social Democratic hopeful Hans-Jochen Vogel. Europaciflist demonstration in Bonn, October 1981: Petty-bourgeois radical fringe of Social Democracy.

workers with intensified efforts to get them out of Germany.

The SPD/FDP coalition was useful to the capitalists until they required a more reliable instrument for their offensives against the working class. And the SPD, while administering the capitalist system, is tied to the interests of its "own" bourgeoisie. Preservation of class peace (in the reformist vocabulary, "social partnership") was rendered significantly easier for the SPD against the powerful pressure from the trade-union rank and file by pointing to its bourgeois coalition partner. But even without a coalition partner, the SPD cannot even claim to defend the interests of the working class. It will continue its openly anti-proletarian policies, as Schmidt admitted without any pretense: "The policies of the federal government would not be an iota different if the SPD were ruling alone" (*Die Tageszeitung*, 11 October 1982). The *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* says: You can't fight Strauss with the SPD!

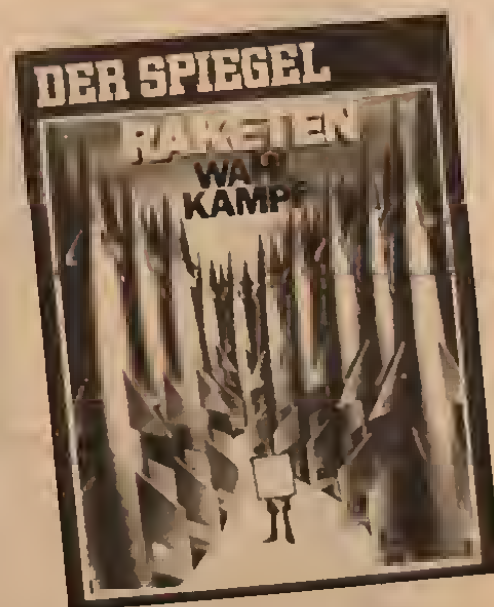
The Politics of Détente and the SPD as a "Party of Peace"

The change of government in Bonn has set off discussions around the globe as to whether the policy of détente and trade with the Soviet bloc, pushed by Schmidt against Reagan's opposition, will be continued by the CDU/FDP coalition or whether the tensions between Bonn and Washington will be dissipated. However, Krupp, Mannesmann, Thyssen [West German steel giants] and above all AEG [German General Electric, the turbine manufacturer], whose very survival hinges on trade with the East bloc, cannot afford to give up the "deal of the century," the Soviet pipeline, for the sake of the crazed first-strike fanatic in the White House. The protectionist measures of American imperialism and the advance of the Japanese competition are heightening the strategically important value of trade with East Europe for the extremely export-dependent West German industry and are strengthening its



Drang nach Osten [drive to the East].

But construction of the pipeline is above all a symbol of the tactics of German imperialism aimed at being able to plunder its old markets in East Europe via economic penetration, credits, trade and joint enterprises. The SPD's *Ostpolitik* [eastern policy] is the expression of the path chosen by the German bourgeoisie to reverse the results of the Second World War: the division of Germany and the creation of the East European deformed workers states by social revolution from above, a course forced on the Soviet bureaucracy by the Cold War drive of American imperialism. The fact that the SPD/FDP coalition's détente politics, the necessary diplomatic counterpart to trade with the East bloc, prevailed over the ossified anti-communism of the CDU of the early '70s was thus not at all a shift to the left. Nor is it a vindication of the Kremlin bureaucracy's criminal policy of "peaceful coexistence." Imperialism will never be reconciled to having been driven from a sixth of the planet by the revolutionary Russian workers and peasants.



"Missile elections" highlight resurgent German nationalism in "left" pacifistic form.

For the last couple of years the SPD was increasingly torn apart by debates about the NATO "two-track" decision. Schmidt even risked his chancellorship to push through the decision on stationing intermediate-range missiles in West Germany. But the demonstrations against the missiles, and Schmidt's threats to resign, reflected differences in emphasis *within* the SPD. Leading left Social Democrats assisted in launching the campaign against the Pershings. And it was Social Democrats who mobilized 400,000 against Ronald Reagan's visit to Bonn last June 10. Today the nationalist, anti-American and anti-Soviet "peace" movement is playing the role of a vanguard for the SPD's imperialist *Ostpolitik*. The SPD is attempting to exploit West Germans' justified fear of the warmonger in Washington, whose former secretary of state Haig wanted to explode an atom "demonstration" bomb over the Baltic, and to steer this fear onto a nationalistic course.

This "pacifist" face of the SPD, which enabled Helmut Schmidt to win as "peace chancellor" over Cold Warrior Strauss in the 1980 Bundestag (parliament) elections, reflects the increased strength and independence of West German as opposed to American imperialism. From the closest anti-Soviet NATO ally of Washington in the '60s, Bonn has become the "reluctant ally." Part of the West German ruling class, with the FDP as its spokesman, opted for the Social Democracy and its détente policies as the best expression of its capitalist interests. The SPD still aims at reconquering East Europe for capitalist exploitation, as it did back in Cold War I when its Ostbüro was a key instrument for CIA penetration of the Soviet bloc. But it does so today as a bourgeois workers party beholden to the *German*, not the American bourgeoisie.

The successor state of the "Third Reich" has never abandoned its counterrevolutionary claims to East Germany and the western regions of Poland. West Berlin, artificially kept alive by massive injections of financial aid as a NATO advance post in the heart of the DDR, is a symbol of these unfulfilled revanchist appetites. But the German bourgeoisie knows that *at present* it can only lose in a military confrontation with the Soviet Union. So it prepares. Under the direction of the SPD/FDP coalition the imperialist Bundeswehr together with the apartheid regime in South Africa and the Argentine junta, has developed its own atomic bomb. And the Social Democracy, agent of imperialism in the ranks of the workers movement, is attempting to capture the proletariat, under the banner of nationalist pacifism, anti-Americanism and anti-Sovietism, for the interests of the steel barons and banks.

It is above all the so-called leftists in the SPD who are the most vehement proponents of a "neutral Germany" and of the nationalist "our Germany is occupied" ideology. The counterrevolutionary echo of "left" nationalism in the Dresden "peace" movement is utilized by the Epplers and Lafontaines to advocate the disarmament of the DDR and Soviet Union that much more energetically. In Poland these Social Democratic revanchists were within striking distance of their goal. The ruinous indebtedness of the Polish economy to the Frankfurt bankers drove the country to the brink of counterrevolution. Membership in the International Monetary Fund, that pitiless enforcer of international high finance, was demanded by Walesa's and Wojtyla's Solidarność. Victory of this company union in the service of NATO and the German bankers would have meant mass unemployment for Polish workers and opened the road to the capitalist reunification of Germany.

When Soviet soldiers raised the red flag on the Berlin Reichstag in April

1945, this could have sparked proletarian revolution throughout Europe. But the Stalinists sold out the future of the European proletariat in order to defend their own parasitic interests and sealed the division of the German working class. Although they suppress the political power of the proletariat in East Germany, every class-conscious worker must defend the conquests of the workers state against the imperialist revanchism of the German bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lackeys, who, in taming the West German working class after the war, ensured that West Germany would become the anti-Communist bulwark of Europe against the DDR and the Soviet Union. For the

behold, when the first demonstration took place, the Christian Democrats were already in power. But the number of workers ready and eager to fight Kohl, Strauss and Lambsdorff [former FDP economics minister] was several times greater than originally expected. In Dortmund and Stuttgart, the most militant workers evoked the worst fears of the reformist trade-union leadership. "Enough is enough! Social peace is over and done with!" The banner of the TLD stood out with its fighting program and perspective, "Bring down the Kohl government through mass strikes! Break with the SPD!"

Meanwhile, unmentioned in the capitalist press and isolated by sabotage

1980 strike. And we saluted the Hamburg harbor workers who put out a fire on a Polish coal freighter on November 10 despite the boycott.

German Workers, Foreign Workers: Same Class, Same Struggle!

In the worst capitalist crisis in 50 years, gigantic enterprises like International Harvester, Chrysler and AEG-Telefunken stand on the brink of collapse. And as in the 1930s, the cutthroat anarchy of the international capitalist market has come down to a struggle between U.S. imperialism, a Europe dominated by Germany, and a

**150,000
German trade
unionists
demonstrate
against
Christian
Democratic
austerity
measures in
Stuttgart, 30
October 1982.
German
Trotskyists say:
"Bring down
the Kohl
government
through mass
strikes! Break
with the SPD!"**



Spartakist Photos



unconditional military defense of the workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution!

German Workers March Against Kohl/Strauss

Demonstrations called by the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB—German Trade Union Confederation) in late October and early November brought over 500,000 people onto the streets in West Germany. The heavy battalions of the working class—steel workers, dock workers, miners and metal workers—formed the backbone of the largest trade-union protests in over 30 years. Tapping workers' rage at the assaults of the CDU/FDP coalition and their fear of Cold Warrior Strauss, the DGB leadership used the mass protests to once again sell the SPD to the workers as the "lesser evil." But they were playing with fire. In Stuttgart, shop stewards from the metal workers union in Köln carried a sign reading: "What is to be done? How about a general strike?" DGB head Ernst Breit wrung his hands: "I fear for the social peace in this country."

Breit has reason to be worried. The DGB leaders were forced to call the mass protests when the SPD was still in power. They postponed them as late as possible into the fall in order to avoid the embarrassing situation of a direct confrontation with Schmidt. Lo and

and the lack of support action from the union leadership, there were daily factory demonstrations, strike actions and even some plant occupations last fall. On October 14 in Kiel 6,000 dock workers marched to the state parliament where the new CDU premier was being sworn in, announcing "Barschel, we're coming!" In a small town like Völklingen in the Saar more than 20,000 steel workers protested in the streets against threatened layoffs. And in early November workers at a subsidiary of the same firm occupied the factory in the face of threats to close it. Workers from the Saar to the Ruhr know that if they don't fight to save their jobs, there is no future for them. And so the labor bureaucracy begins talking hypocritically of "Resistance now."

The DGB bureaucrats organized an "action" following the October demonstrations, but it had absolutely nothing to do with working-class struggle. On November 10 they called for an anti-Communist boycott of Polish products in support of Solidarność. Not so the Trotskyists. Standing in front of the Frankfurt post office, the TLD demanded: "No boycott, no strike for Solidarność—company union in the pay of NATO and the German bankers!" Our slogans fell on receptive ears among postal workers, who remembered only too well that the Solidarność-loving DGB tops sold out their

Japan in the process of rearming. From steel to autos to video recorders, we're seeing a trade war. And trade wars lead to shooting wars. The workers can only lose through the protectionist measures against "economic imperialism from the Far East" called for by the IG-Metall leadership. But they can win through a joint struggle, e.g., the steel workers in the Saarland joining with their class brothers in the French and Belgian steel industries, who are equally threatened with mass firings.

Anti-Sovietism, whether of "leftist" or rightist coloration, protectionism and skyrocketing unemployment, especially among youth, provide fertile soil for racists and fascists. Fifty years after the Nazis came to power, the brown bands, though still small and fragmented, are carrying out almost daily acts of terror. On November 17 a murderous arson attack was perpetrated on ten Turkish families in Thalfingen near Ulm; only five days later a Turkish woman and her three children were burned alive in Wolfenbüttel in Lower Saxony. This bloody terror of the fascist arsonists, along with growing anti-Semitism reminiscent of the "Kristallnacht" pogrom, must be stopped through trade-union-organized self-defense guards of German and foreign workers to smash the Nazi rabble.

Yet the DGB bureaucracy is not lifting a finger for its foreign trade-union members, instead limiting itself to moral appeals against "hostility to foreigners." When at last year's May Day demonstration in Frankfurt Turkish workers were attacked by soccer fans mobilized by the fascists, the DGB tops told German participants in the mass meeting *not* to defend their Turkish colleagues but to let the reactionary scum, who were given a lesson by the foreign workers alone, depart unhindered! The chauvinist trade-union bosses fear common

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For Permanent Revolution in Central America!

Stalinism Under the Gun in El Salvador

The overthrow of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua in July 1979 opened a revolutionary crisis in Central America. Today, as U.S.-instigated military aggression against the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Managua escalates, as Salvadoran leftist guerrillas put the genocidal government troops on the run, civil war is spreading throughout the region. From Washington, the Reagan administration has vowed to "draw the line" against Communism across the isthmus. And as the puppets totter, their imperialist masters grow increasingly desperate, raising the danger of massive direct American intervention. Accordingly, the question of what strategy and program are necessary to defeat such powerful enemies—the most dangerous imperialist power in history and some of the bloodiest landlord-capitalist ruling classes—takes on global importance. A socialist revolution beginning in El Salvador, ironically referred to as the "Tom Thumb of the Americas" by Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral, could arouse the sleeping giant of the Mexican proletariat, send shock waves throughout the continent and shake the North American colossus to its core.



Schaffk Jorge Handal, Salvadoran Stalinist party boss.

This is far from the first time Latin America has been swept by revolutionary ferment. The Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro awakened tremendous hopes among the exploited masses and radicalized youth in the early 1960s. But after several abortive attempts to replicate the "guerrilla road" ended in the tragedy of Che Guevara in the Bolivian jungles, Cuba remained isolated, relying for survival on its Soviet lifeline while diplomatically maneuvering among the bourgeois-nationalist regimes of Latin America. In the early '70s came the doomed attempt at a "peaceful road" to socialism in Allende's Chile. There a class-collaborationist alliance with allegedly "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie and supposedly "constitutional" officers sealed the fate of the Chilean workers and peasants. From the Southern Cone to the Caribbean, the U.S. imperialists naturally mobilize their resources to the hilt

to prop up their tyrants and crush the "communist threat." What's needed to defeat this rapacious enemy is internationalist workers revolution. Yet in every case the chief obstacles to this struggle have been the reformist/nationalist misleaders of the left itself.

A particularly nefarious lot have been the official (pro-Moscow) Communist parties of Latin America. Born for the most part in the period of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, they slavishly carried out Stalin's counterrevolutionary policies of "socialism in one country," "two-stage revolution" and the popular front. During Stalin's World War II "anti-fascist front" and later, Caribbean CPs formed live-and-let-live pacts with their local U.S.-backed dictators (Batista in Cuba, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Somoza in Nicaragua). In El Salvador, following the counsel of American CP leader Browder, they formally dissolved the party for some years. They stopped at nothing in strangling proletarian revolution. Argentine CP leader Coderella did yeoman's service for Stalin, the "great organizer of defeats," in murdering proletarian revolutionists in Spain. The Mexican CP organized an attempt on the life of Leon Trotsky a year before the GPU finally assassinated the co-leader of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International. And the Bolivian CP turned its hack on Guevara as he was being hunted down by the CIA. These Latin American Stalinists are truly hangmen of the workers movement.

But under the impact of the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the civil war raging in El Salvador, a number of Central American and Caribbean CPs have been talking rather differently of late. A recent pamphlet by Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) leader Schaffk Jorge Handal presents a far-reaching self-indictment: "In Latin America, two great true revolutions have taken place, that in Cuba and in Nicaragua, and in neither of these two cases was the Communist Party at the head." In particular, Handal concludes from "the experience of two armed triumphant revolutions and...the defeat of two attempts to triumph by pacific means, in the two most democratic countries of the continent: Chile and Uruguay," that "the idea of a peaceful road to revolution in Latin America is, in my opinion, tied to reformism" (Schaffk Jorge Handal, "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution and the Unity of the Left," reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 15 November 1982). He ought to know: Handal led his party down that road right up to a dead end in 1979.

The Strange Idea of "Two Revolutions"

In his recent "we are not Trotskyists" speech in Chicago, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leader Jack Barnes quoted extensively from this pamphlet, praising Handal and other CPs in the region as "committed revolutionary Marxists." Ever since taking unchallenged control of the SWP several years ago, Barnes has sounded the constant theme that the

Caribbean basin is "the real center of all politics in our epoch" and Havana is the new Third Rome. In 1979 he proclaimed the "Castro leadership team" in Cuba to be "superior to the Bolshevik leadership, once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that." Then came Nicaragua and Grenada, lumped together by the SWP as the three "revolutionary giants of the Caribbean"! Super-fidelista Barnes wants to claim that pro-Castro Stalinists in the region have now rediscovered the path of Lenin. And Handal does make some unaccustomed noises. He writes, "Lenin's theses of April are still the models of how to judge the problem of power." He even locates the source of the CPs' reformism in their fundamental strategy, remarking with feigned naiveté:

"I don't know where this idea came from, but our Party, and it seems to me many other Communist parties of Latin America, have worked for many decades with the idea of two revolutions...."

—Handal, "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution...."

Claiming that CPs throughout the area have become "revolutionized," Barnes points to a conference in Havana last April on "Characteristics of the Revolutionary Processes in Latin America and the Caribbean." He quotes a speech by Cuban Communist Party (PCC) functionary Jesús Montané, who says that "In this continent we are seeing an inseparable combination of democratic tasks linked to socialist tasks..." (*Granma* [daily edition], 29 April 1982). In the same vein, Dominican Communist Party (PCD) political bureau member Carlos Doré y Cabral remarked at the conference, "Thus you cannot establish a forced separation between a so-called democratic and anti-imperialist revolution and another, socialist one..." (*Hablan los Comunistas*, 6-13 May 1982).

But Barnes carefully ignored the *programmatic conclusions* drawn by the Castroite leaders. Thus Montané says that leftists should not "pose socialism as an immediate task" nor "base their platform on the proclamation of this goal." Instead, he claims, "what is on the agenda in this continent is the broadest anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, democratic and popular struggle." And a second PCC spokesman, Manuel Pineiro, summed it up in the telltale formula that "victorious revolutions [can] advance in an *uninterrupted process—albeit in stages—in a single historical process to socialism*" (*Granma*, 28 April 1982 [our emphasis]). This phrase is a classic Stalinist noose to hang the working people of Latin America. In the name of the impermissibility of "skipping stages," the proletariat is restrained from "going too far," and the counter-revolution gains time and political space to organize.

It's noteworthy that in Barnes' speech and a long article on the Handal pamphlet (*Militant*, 24 December 1982), the SWP never once mentions the PCS leader's reference to the fateful "idea" of "two revolutions." Much less do they explain its origins in the Stalinist/Menshevik "stagist" dogma which has

strangled innumerable revolutions, from China in 1927 to Spain, Indonesia, Chile and elsewhere. Naturally not, for to raise this would pose the heretical questions of Trotskyism and the permanent revolution—precisely the "baggage" which Barnes & Co. want to dump in order to ingratiate themselves with the Castroites.

So what, then, is the program of the Salvadoran CP? If there is to be "one revolution," what is its class character? Handal answers:

"If we look into the future, what we have proposed is the democratic anti-imperialist revolution; if we look back after achieving that revolution...the democratic anti-imperialist revolution will not look to us like a separate revolution, but rather like the accomplishment of the tasks of the first phase of the socialist revolution."

So it's sleight-of-hand: promise "anti-imperialism" and deliver "socialism." But how are the masses to understand this? Answer: they're not supposed to. Handal's formula is a recipe not for socialism but *at best* for a Stalinist-run deformed workers state on the Cuban model, ruled not by proletarian democracy but by a bureaucratic elite. Moreover, whether presented in the guises of "phases" or "stages," any talk of an "anti-imperialist revolution" means calling for "democratic" capitalist rule to replace the domination of the oligarchy. As has repeatedly been shown by historical experience, by blocking proletarian revolution this only prepares new bloodbaths.

Based on the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution explained that the bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are so closely tied to imperialism, and so fearful of social revolution, that they are incapable of carrying out even the democratic tasks



Salvadoran Communist Farabundo Martí, martyred leader of heroic 1932 insurrection against blood-drenched oligarchy. Stalin denounced him as "ultra-left."



Leftist guerrillas after taking village in Usulután. Forward to San Salvador!

of the bourgeois revolution. Agrarian revolution, national liberation and political democracy can only be achieved by the working class, standing at the head of the peasantry and the oppressed masses, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrowing capitalist rule. This was the lesson of October 1917. And it is doubly true of El Salvador today, where classes are so polarized that even the bourgeois mini-parties allied with the left-wing guerrillas through the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) are terrified that a rebel military victory could unleash workers revolution.

Stalinists Under the Gun

"The pacific route is not the path of revolution," writes Handal. What a discovery! And why today? Back in 1968, the Salvadoran Communist Party rejected the "armed struggle road"; two years later its general secretary, Salvador Cayetano Carpio, quit the party to found a "politico-military" guerrilla group. As recently as five years ago the PCS was still following the "electoral road," in alliance with the Christian Democrats and social democrats. Yet the army kept stealing elections and the "armed left" kept growing. Following the 1977 vote fraud, popular revolts exploded around the country. The CP was in danger of becoming "marginalized," so in 1979 it finally picked up the gun. What's going on here is that Yankee imperialism is on the anti-Soviet warpath in the Caribbean basin. Uncle Sam has made it clear there is no room in his backyard for even moderately leftist regimes. And with "anti-imperialist" Nicaragua today getting the same treatment as "anti-fascist" Guatemala did during an earlier Cold War, even dyed-in-the-wool reformists are seeing that their "peaceful road" is illusory.

It's not the first time. After the first few months of the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. rapidly escalated its attacks leading to the counterrevolutionary Bay of Pigs invasion. Simply in self-defense, the Castro leadership was forced to go beyond its original bourgeois-democratic goals and expropriate both American and domestic capitalists. The Second Declaration of Havana (1961) announced that "in the present historical conditions of Latin America, the national bourgeoisie cannot head up the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle." Che Guevara proclaimed that "in the Americas the peaceful road is almost liquidated as a possibility," and that it was "very probable" that revolutions here "would give rise to regimes with a socialist structure." Yet all this did not

stop Castro and Guevara from seeking political alliances with bourgeois leaders such as Quadros and Goulart in Brazil, and even opposing guerrilla struggle in the Brazilian Northeast in order to shore up the Goulart regime. Only when the U.S. blockade had thoroughly sealed off the island did Havana embark on its short-lived guerrilla "international," OLAS, abandoned almost as soon as it was founded in 1967.

Or take the case of Mao Tse-tung's China. While Khrushchev & Co. were dreaming of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (Brezhnev's "détente"), having Soviet armed might behind them, Peking was facing a wounded imperialist tiger still smarting over "who lost China" and vowing to crush the Vietnamese revolution on its southern doorstep. So Mao split from Moscow denouncing the idea of a "peaceful transition to socialism." His chief lieutenant, Liu Shao-chi, around that time floated the identical formula the Cubans are pushing today: "uninterrupted revolution," but passing through "stages" (Enrica Collotti Pischel, *La rivoluzione ininterrotta*). In the West there sprang up groups of radicals claiming that Maoism posed a revolutionary alternative to the conservative Kremlin Stalinists. Yet in 1965, the Indonesian Communist Party was destroyed in a monstrous bloodbath that left half a million dead, because they had followed the criminal line of their Maoist mentors in supporting nationalist demagogue Sukarno in the "national-democratic stage" of their brutally "interrupted" revolution. And a few years later Peking entered an anti-Soviet alliance with the U.S.

So when they're really up against the wall, with imperialist hardliners intent on toppling the tamest popular front, some Stalinists have even discovered that the "idea" of "two revolutions" is downright uncommunist. Lenin's *State and Revolution* is dusted off and his "April Theses" are removed from their hiding places, where they have been kept out of fear of confusing new comrades recruited along the peaceful road. The only thing missing from Handal's piece is the "hegemony of the proletariat in the anti-imperialist alliance"—i.e., a popular front with a left face. Whether they talk of stages or a "democratic" and "anti-imperialist" revolution, however, all the Stalinists and nationalist-reformists are clear on one thing: they are *not* calling for proletarian revolution. Yet only the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class can liberate the oppressed masses from the iron heel of the dictators, oligarchs and

populist demagogues who have followed each other in lording it over Latin America since the days of the last Spanish viceroys.

Lessons of the Chilean Popular Front

Basically, it comes down to a balance sheet of Allende's Chile, where the last major revolutionary opportunity in Latin America (prior to the current Central American struggle) was criminally betrayed. Handal is quite clear on the conclusions he draws from the Unidad Popular (UP) disaster. Fundamentally, he shares the Cuban line that all they needed was guns. As Castro put it in a speech shortly after the bloody Pinochet coup, "The Chilean example teaches us the lesson that it is impossible to make the revolution with the people alone—weapons are also necessary!" A little late for that advice. During his three-week tour of Chile in 1972 the Cuban leader made numerous talks on the "revolutionary process," but not

once did he call for arming the masses! Even after the fact Castro made it clear that Havana supported the UP's "attempt to bring about revolution by peaceful means."

Handal writes of a missed opportunity in Chile when there arose "a sector of the Chilean army that clearly understood the necessity of solving the problem of who held power." This turns out to be Allende's defense minister, "constitutionalist" general Carlos Prats. So Handal says on the one hand that "power has to be snatched from the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic military apparatus of the bourgeoisie has to be destroyed," and then turns around and calls for reliance on a sector of the capitalist officer corps. Yet it was precisely from among these "constitutionalist" officers that some of the leading coup plotters came!

Handal says the key opportunity was when "Prats' faction was predominant, after it had put down the 'tancazo' (attempted coup d'état in June 1973)..." This was the time when the Chilean armed forces were using the "arms control law" to carry out raids on factories and leftist party offices. In his diary (*Una vida por la legalidad*) Prats quibbled about how the law was being carried out, while doing absolutely nothing to stop the military's terror raids and insisting "there must be arms control." In August, when the wives of ultra-rightist officers demonstrated outside his home demanding his resignation, Prats complained about "cowards [who] hide behind women's skirts" ...and then resigned. It was, he said, "the supreme service I can render to my institution." But he was only being consistent with the "Statute of Constitutional Guarantees" accepted by Allende three years earlier, which promised to respect "the hierarchical and organic structures of the armed forces."

Handal complains about people who denounced Prats as representing "the presence of the bourgeoisie" in the government. But the UP itself included representatives of the class enemy, as a guarantee that it would not go beyond the bounds of capitalism. The Spartacist League warned from the very beginning

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Sygma



Campregher/Newsweek

From Chile to El Salvador popular frontism leads to bloody counter-revolution. Above: Castro with Pinochet, paving the way to bloody 1973 coup. Below: Current FDR leader Guillermo Ungo (center) in Jimmy Carter's "human rights" Junta, October 1979.

El Salvador...

(continued from page 9)

that this class-collaborationist coalition was paving the way for a reactionary debacle. We wrote: "It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the elections and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970). Tragically we were proven right.

There was, however, a sector of the Chilean armed forces that in July-August 1973 saw the need to resolve the question of power in a revolutionary manner. Sergeant Juan Cárdenas had organized a cell of sailors and petty officers to refuse to obey orders for a coup. Unfortunately they were discovered and arrested by the navy *with the explicit endorsement of Allende*. (In the U.S. and Europe the Spartacists defended Cárdenas while the official pro-UP Chile committees *refused* to touch this case, because it so clearly exposed the treachery of the popular front.) Prats indignantly supported the arrests and told the president, "in the face of an uprising of the fleet involving parties of the UP, I would have had to order the bombing of the ships if the commander-in-chief of the Navy had requested it."

Prats was replaced by another "constitutionalist" officer, the commander of the army, who had stood with the government in the "tancazo." The new defense minister had even visited Cuba, and when Castro came to Chile he was part of the government welcoming committee. (In a picture on the back cover of the CP's *Fidel in Chile* he is barely visible standing just behind the Cuban leader.) His name: Augusto Pinochet. Two weeks after he took office he led the coup that toppled the UP regime. Allende went to his doom with dignity while 30,000 Chilean workers and leftists were murdered, 100,000 were sent into concentration camps and a million fled into exile. These are the bitter fruits of the popular front.

Lessons of El Salvador's "Bloody October"

The Spanish Civil War and Chile 1970-73 are not just "ancient history," whose lessons are applicable only to imperialist and relatively advanced capitalist countries. They have burning importance for Central America today, particularly because the popular front has *already* once derailed workers revolution in El Salvador, in October 1979. The people responsible are today the leaders of the opposition FDR and

the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), among them the Communist Party of Schafik Handal.

Following the July 1979 overthrow of dictator Somoza by the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, there was a rising crescendo of mass struggle in neighboring El Salvador. Strikes against Salvadoran and multinational firms adopted militant tactics such as plant occupations and kidnapping plant managers as insurance against murderous raids by the armed forces. Several different coup plots were hatching in the army, ranging from ultra-rightist to liberal. Jimmy Carter's State Department told Salvadoran president General Romero it was time to pack his bags for a trip to Miami, before things really got out of hand. Everyone was poised for the government to fall, which it did on October 15. The chances for mass insurrection were excellent, yet it did not happen. Why?

The new regime proclaimed that it had taken power "to prevent the country from drowning in chaos... due to constant strikes, left-wing demonstrations," etc. However, it included representatives of the Young Officers movement, who in turn had been negotiating with the liberal opposition grouped in the Popular Forum (including Christian Democrats, social democrats and a PCS front group). And since the self-proclaimed "revolutionary junta" was putting on progressive airs, the left hesitated and *did not oppose it*. Instead of calling the workers into the streets, they adopted a wait-and-see attitude. Yet within hours, the armed forces began an orgy of killing—of workers, peasants, students, leftists—that has continued to this date, taking altogether more than 50,000 lives.

The very next day, October 16, government troops made a sweep of the occupied factories along the strategic Army Boulevard, blasting their way through the front gates with tanks and arresting the strikers. They occupied the workers suburbs of Mejicanos, Cuscatancingo and Soyapango. There was sporadic resistance by one of the left groups (ERP/LP-28), and a week later another group (FAPU/RN) held an anti-junta rally, which was murderously attacked by government troops. In the junta's first two weeks of existence, the "security forces" killed approximately 200 people and "disappeared" another 50 or so. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the PCS, Roberto Castellano, gave a press conference on October 18 (*after* the assaults on the factories), urging the mass organizations to "adopt an understanding attitude and call on the junta to carry out its promises!"

Of all the Salvadoran left, the Communist Party was the most opportunist. In an article published a week after the "human rights coup," Schafik Handal complained that Castellano's press conference made the PCS sound more favorable to the junta than it was.

Heinstead took a highly ambiguous position, saying "it's not a question of supporting the junta or not, but of using the present conjuncture to deepen the struggle" and the like ("El Salvador: El golpe de estado del 15 de octubre de 1979"). He also claims, "It has been said that we are attempting to participate in the government.... This is not true." But it was. On that very same day (22 October) a prominent CP member, Gabriel Gallegos, was appointed minister of labor.

Later, in an interview with the Cuban newspaper *Granma* (1 June 1980), Handal admitted that the CP took part in the first junta government, saying:

"The PCS took part because the Salvadoran revolution also needs the democratic forces. The revolutionary movement alone cannot win.... And since the PCS was the revolutionary organization with the oldest ties to the democratic forces... it had to accompany those forces...."

And who are those "democratic forces" it was necessary to accompany? Junta member Guillermo Ungo, social democrat; junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano, representative of the Juventud Militar; education minister Salvador Samayoa, FPL; presidential minister Rubén Zamora, Christian Democrat. Today Ungo is head of the FDR, Zamora and Samayoa are leading FDR spokesmen, and Majano is their Number One "democratic officer." In calling for a "negotiated settlement" of the Salvadoran civil war, the FDR/FMLN are proposing to repeat the tragic experience of "Bloody October" 1979.

Break with the Popular Front!

Adopting a tone of understatement, Schafik Handal declares in his pamphlet that, "For forty years our party suffered more from the sickness of reformism than from the leftism...." But despite his protestations of having undertaken a "fundamental revolutionary change," the Salvadoran Communist Party leader still defends the Stalinists' general line. "The participation of the PCS in the electoral struggle was right on the mark," he asserts. This refers to the CP's 1972 alliance with Christian Democratic presidential candidate Napoleón Duarte (the future junta butcher) with social democrat Ungo as his running mate, and a similar popular-front combination in 1977. Furthermore, Handal boasts that "we strengthened ourselves in expounding and developing our policy of alliance.... The credit goes to the PCS for having first raised and systematically defended the banner of the unity of the left." And it is true that Handal & Co. played a key role in engineering the FDR popular front.

Concretely this means tying the Salvadoran working class to an explicitly capitalist-reformist program. Handal pointed out in *Granma* that the PCS was the only party that had published a platform calling on the junta to carry out agrarian reform and other structural changes. "And that program, albeit mutilated, is the one the second junta is using to try to stay in power"! Precisely. The FDR platform advocates a land reform giving land to the "great masses of the people who work it," but not affecting "small and medium landowners." In effect, they are calling for completing the land distribution program initiated by the Christian Democratic/military junta! This would mean not an agrarian revolution rooting out the *latifundia* system in the Salvadoran countryside, but a plan to simply expand the class of petty-bourgeois peasant producers and thus create a conservative counterweight against the working class.

In El Salvador, which has suffered for half a century under military dictatorship, the second major task of the bourgeois revolution—political democracy—is inseparable from the question of the army. The FDR calls for a new "people's army" which, however, will include "non-corrupt, patriotic and worthy elements of the present army." Like Colonel Majano, presumably, or his Chilean counterpart, General Prats.

Yet Majano presided over the October 1979 massacre of strikers in San Salvador just as Prats countenanced the disarming of Chile's proletariat and the destruction of those soldiers and sailors who were prepared to fight against the bloody Pinochet coup. Bolsheviks call instead to split the bourgeois army horizontally, mobilizing the worker-peasant ranks against their bourgeois officers.

In the modern epoch there is no fundamental distinction between semi-feudal and capitalist rulers. The landowners, industrialists and bankers of El Salvador are all members of the same families, who are also closely tied to the imperialists. What fundamental social change would be achieved by expropriating the lands of the De Sola clan while leaving them their soap and margarine factories linked to Britain's Unilever trust? How can the death squads be eliminated while leaving intact the bourgeois officer corps which spawns them? The Salvadoran masses suffer from the poverty and repression of backward *capitalism*, and they can only be liberated by a workers and peasants government—a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the landowners, industrialists, bankers and army officers who together form a single ruling class.

In the past, writes Jorge Schafik Handal, "we saw the Cuban experience as a 'peculiar exception':"

"We reacted so much and so many times against the leftist idea of the struggle for direct implantation of socialism with no prologue.... we convinced ourselves that the democratic revolution is not necessarily to be organized and promoted principally by us...."

Today Central American Stalinists (and North American ex-Trotskyists) take Cuba as a model of a "democratic revolution" led by leftist forces. But Cuba is an exception, where petty-bourgeois forces were forced by the pressure of imperialism to go further than they wanted. Nicaragua today is still trying to perform a precarious balancing act between capitalism and socialism, under the watchwords of "pluralism" and a "mixed economy." This is the logic of guerrillaism, which bases itself on the petty-bourgeois peasantry.

But this "middle way" is *impossible*, particularly in El Salvador where class divisions are much sharper than they were in Nicaragua. No substantial section of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie has joined with the guerrilla struggle, only the faint shadows of the bourgeoisie represented by Ungo/Zamora/Samayoa & Co. But this does not diminish the deadly danger of the popular front. As Leon Trotsky wrote of Spain during the Civil War:

"Without any theory of 'permanent revolution,' the Spanish bourgeoisie understood from the outset that the revolutionary mass movement, no matter how it starts, is directed against private ownership of land and the means of production, and that it is utterly impossible to cope with this movement by democratic measures.... "Without in the slightest degree representing the Spanish bourgeoisie, the left republicans still less represented the workers and peasants. They represented no one but themselves. Thanks, however, to their allies—the Socialists, Stalinists, and Anarchists—these political phantoms played the decisive role in the revolution. How? Very simply. By incarnating the principles of the 'democratic revolution,' that is, the inviolability of private property."

—"The Lessons of Spain: The Last Warning" (December 1937)

The Stalinists and social democrats who prated about "democratic revolution" in Spain led to a bloody defeat of the proletariat and almost four decades of Francoist dictatorship. In El Salvador they propose to rob the masses at the bargaining table of the gains won at tremendous cost on the battlefield, calling it a "negotiated settlement." A military victory of the leftist rebels, the destruction of the murderous capitalist state apparatus, is the entrance way to proletarian revolution that must spread throughout the Americas and beyond. ■

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Forums

Forward to San Salvador! Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

Speaker: Tom Janota, Last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador
Member, Spartacist League

Saturday, February 26, 7:30 pm
625 South Lafayette Park Place
For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

Tuesday, March 1, 4 pm
UC Berkeley
100 Wheeler
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BERKELEY

El Salvador Aflame!

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!
Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!
For Workers Revolution,
Not Popular-Front Betrayal!

Sunday, February 27, 7:30 pm
U.C. Extension
Auditorium
55 Laguna

Wednesday, March 2, 12 noon
San Francisco State
Student Union
Room B112
For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker: Jen Norden
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

Saturday, February 26, 7:30 p.m.
310 W. 43rd Street (near 8th Avenue)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Beirut...

(continued from page 1)

Ariel Sharon, was simply switched to minister without portfolio while remaining in the cabinet's defense and Lebanon negotiations committees. "There was a reshuffle of portfolios, and that's the end of the problem," commented this cynical arch-war criminal.

In a sense the biggest cover-up of all is that the U.S. government, which provides the Israeli war machine with billions of dollars of the most up-to-date weaponry, has escaped all blame for the Shatila/Sabra massacre. Yet remember, it was U.S. Marines who (with Arafat's agreement) escorted the PLO commandos out of Beirut, thus leaving the camps defenseless. The Kahan commission report documented that the Phalangists *refused* to enter West Beirut as long as the PLO forces were there.

And in Lebanon, Sharon's "final solution" to the "Palestinian problem" continues. Recently 15 bodies of Palestinians were unearthed near a refugee camp near Sidon. According to a UN agency, "Christian Phalangists have begun using threats, violence and terror tactics against middle-class Palestinians in an effort to drive them from the area" (*New York Times*, 13 February). Needless to say, there has been no outcry against these continuing atrocities from the American admirers of Israeli "democracy."

"We Were Only Giving Orders"

The official Kahan whitewash asserts that the Israelis just wanted to "take advantage of the Phalangists' professional service and their skill in identifying terrorists" (!), and that "in having the Phalangists enter the camps, no intention existed on the part of anyone who acted on behalf of Israel to harm the non-combatant population"!! We are supposed to believe that the Israeli army surrounded the camps, provided flares in the night for the Phalangists' dirty work, but the Israeli officers at the forward command post overlooking Sabra and Shatila neither saw nor heard what was transpiring *for three days*.

But even if unwittingly, the report revealed that the Israeli government did know at every level. Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan said *beforehand* that the Phalange militiamen were "seething with a feeling for revenge" following the assassination of their leader Bashir Gemayel. Yet he then *ordered* them into the Palestinian camps. "We could give them [the Phalange] orders, whereas it was impossible to give the Lebanese Army orders," he told the commission. The relation between the Phalange and Israeli army could not be clearer.

The decision to send the Phalange into the camps apparently came out of a meeting between Sharon and the Gemayel family on September 15, but details of this critical meeting are reportedly locked away in Appendix B of the commission report, a section not published for "security reasons." According to *Time* magazine (21 February):

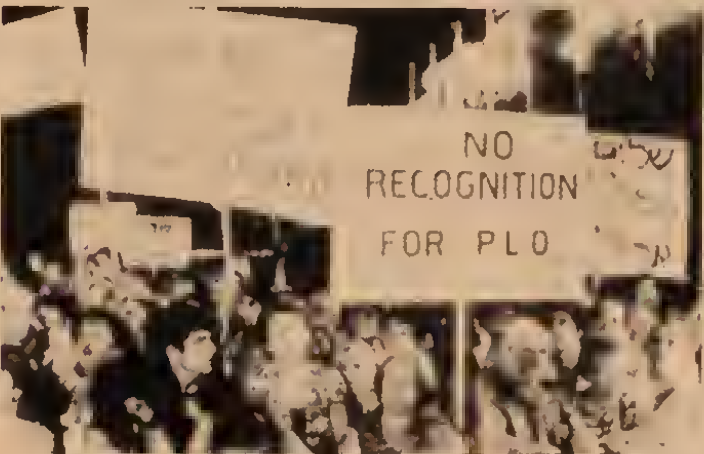
"Sharon reportedly told the Gemayels that the Israeli army would be moving into West Beirut and that he expected the Christian forces to go into the Palestinian refugee camps. Sharon also reportedly discussed with the Gemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir, but the details of the conversation are not known."

Begin was allegedly told for the first time about the Phalange entry into the camps at the cabinet meeting of September 16. "For two days...he showed absolutely no interest in the camps," according to the commission report. Begin, the butcher of Deir Yassin, knew what his subordinates were doing without having to ask. Meanwhile, reports were coming in from every conceivable direction. Still the killing went on into Saturday. Nobody did

anything to stop the massacre since the Begin regime and its imperialist paymaster in Washington were agreed on a murderous goal: root out the Soviet-backed "terrorists," which in Zionist terminology means not only the PLO but *all* the Palestinians, including women and children.

White House Whitewashes Zionist War Criminals

Now American bourgeois politicians and the media are oozing fulsome praise for the Kahan commission cover-up. "A Cry of Conscience," intoned the *New York Times*. "This is heartening evidence that the moral foundations of Israel are strong," declared liberal Democratic Senator Paul Tsongas. In fact, the Kahan commission report is very much what Washington ordered. The U.S. clearly wanted Sharon to take all the heat and also regarded his expansionist policies and mad-dog image as an obstacle to a Pax Americana in the Near East. Shortly after the Shatila/Sabra massacre *New York Times* columnist William Safire, an ardent Zionist and former Nixon speechwriter, addressed a "Letter to Sharon," urging the defense minister to shield Begin by resigning "for the sake of a strong and independent Israel" (*New York Times*, 27 September 1982). There is little doubt that Safire, whose connections with the Reagan administration are excellent, was expressing more than a personal recommendation.



Sharon/Begin's expansionist policies have cut across Washington's grand design for an anti-Soviet alliance embracing *both* Zionist Israel and various reactionary Arab regimes (the so-called "strategic consensus"). Reagan hopes to pacify the Palestinians by setting up a West Bank Palestinian "entity" under the guns of Jordan's King Hussein, the butcher of Black September and Washington's most servile client in the region.

For the likes of Begin/Sharon, the only pacified Palestinian is a dead one. The only Palestinian "entity" they envision are the mass graves of Shatila/Sabra. Openly defying Reagan's admonitions, the Begin regime is stepping up Zionist settlements in the occupied West Bank. These frictions between the Zionist fanatics and their imperialist paymaster, frictions which have existed for a number of years now, have not, of course, obstructed the massive flow of Pentagon arms for the Israeli war machine. The Spartacist League says: Not one U.S. bullet or plane for the butchers of Shatila/Sabra! Israeli and imperialist troops out of Lebanon!

Israel Becomes Unstuck

It is a sign of the increasing fragility of Israeli bourgeois democracy, a racist "democracy" for Jews only, that the Kahan commission report triggered unprecedented violence within the Hebrew community. One liberal Zionist Peace Now demonstrator was killed by a hand grenade right under Begin's window. The victim, Emil Grunzweig, was an emigrant from Czechoslovakia who settled on a kibbutz. Any Soviet-bloc Jews who believe that Israel is "a promised land" would do well to consider the fate of Grunzweig, who doubtless once shared this same illusion.

Israeli society with its high degree of military mobilization motivated by a

fanatical, almost mystical nationalism has always had a strong bonapartist side. And this side is increasingly coming to the fore. When Sharon proposed that the military general staff form a "common front" to resist the Kahan commission's recommendation that he resign, according to one Defense Department source, some officers "smelled a trace of putsch" (*Newsweek*, 21 February).

The violence over the Kahan commission exposed for all to see the seething racial and class antagonisms within the "democratic" Zionist community. The Peace Now protesters are overwhelmingly Ashkenazim (Jews of European extraction) who were the original Zionist colonizers and today form the upper echelons of Israeli society. The Begin/Sharon supporters are based heavily among the Sephardim and other Jews from Arab countries who are concentrated in the lower classes. The polarization between the two groups is intense and growing. "They shouldn't have rescued you from Hitler in 1945!" one Begin supporter shouted at the anti-government demonstrators last week. "These do-gooders, they're educated," another declared in contempt. Outside a hospital emergency room, three Begin supporters attacked a Peace Now demonstrator as a "traitor" and beat him up. In turn, Peace Now leaders like "Labor" party member of parliament Shulamit Aloni responded with racist insults: "The barbarous

York, they see hardline policies and strong-man rule as the only way to preserve their relatively privileged, but precarious position in the Arab East.

This is the path to self-destruction. Unless the Israeli proletariat is broken from Zionism, there is no future for the Hebrew people in the Near East. The Zionist madmen are but a screwdriver's turn away from their own nuclear weapons, and already openly discuss the atomic annihilation of Arab cities. Since they occupy a vital point in U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet axis, their destructive frenzy could unleash a thermonuclear World War III—the ultimate holocaust.

Smash Pax Americana in the Near East!

With Israel's destruction of the Soviet-backed Palestinian forces in Lebanon and its humiliation of Syria, Moscow's principal client state in the region, U.S. imperialism is flaunting its power in the Near East. Reagan as "soft cop" to Begin's "hard cop." A few weeks after the Shatila/Sabra massacre the *New York Times* "national security" expert and former Pentagon spokesman Leslie Gelb wrote in a self-satisfied tone:

"For one reason or another—Israeli dependence on American ties and military aid, the futility of the military option for Arabs now, the fact that only Washington might be able to pry negotiating concessions from Israel—the United States has fallen into and assumed the role of Middle East policeman."

—*New York Times*,
3 October 1982

And indeed PLO chief Yasir Arafat, not so long ago considered the embodiment of "anti-imperialist" Arab nationalism, negotiated sending the U.S. Marine "peacekeepers" to Beirut. Moreover, *all* wings of the PLO, not only the "moderate" Arafat but also the "radicals" George Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh supported the entry of the imperialist forces and so share responsibility for the ensuing and predictable massacre in the Palestinians' camps. And the recent Palestinian National Conference in Algiers gave Arafat the green light to pursue the Reagan plan for a Palestinian "entity" under Hashemite overlordship with only token opposition from Habash.

Having transformed the PLO's Arafat into a humble petitioner and demonstrated the impotence of Syria's Assad, the Reagan gang recently decided to have another go at that "radical" Arab loudmouth, Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, deemed in Washington a Soviet "surrogate." In August 1981 when U.S. Navy jets shot down two Soviet-built Libyan fighters over the Gulf of Sidra, the White House and Pentagon celebrated as if they had just conquered the Crimea. Last week Reagan officials were screaming that the Libyan strongman was about to overthrow the pro-American government in neighboring Sudan. To counter the new "Libyan threat" AWACS planes were sent to Egypt with much fanfare and the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* ordered from the waters off Lebanon to the Egypt-Libya area. When Qaddafi protested his peaceful intentions, Secretary of State George Shultz declared triumphantly, "Qaddafi is back in his box where he belongs."

Pax Americana means continued capitalist enslavement and murderous national oppression for the toiling masses of the Near East. As long as Israeli and imperialist forces remain in Lebanon there will be more Shatilas and Sabras. The liberation of the Palestinians is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and for social revolution throughout the Near East. What is needed is a communist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Husseins, Assads and Qaddafis and open the road to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Miller/Sygma

**Fanatic Zionists
hail Begin/
Sharon's
Holocaust In
Lebanon—
complete with
Nazi-inspired
slogan "One
nation, One
army, One
government."**

tribal forces are here, and they exist in the streets."

The severe economic pressures on the Israeli garrison state and the increasing fragility of its racist "democracy" could lead to a sizable emigration by the Ashkenazi elite. Already there are some hundreds of thousands of Israeli emigrants in the U.S. Zionism has created its own diaspora! And a significant outflow of the Ashkenazi would erode the present vastly superior technical capacity of the Israeli military as against the Arab regimes.

But the Peace Now and "Labor" party opposition offers no alternative to the growing militarization of Israeli society which is inherent in Zionist expansionism. It was under "Labor" (not a reformist workers party but the ruling Israeli bourgeois party for three decades) that the racist state of Israel was created, that the occupied territories were first occupied in the 1967 war. It was under "Labor" that a regime of police-state terror was imposed on the conquered Palestinian populations of the West Bank and Gaza. It was under "Labor" that the Zionist settlements in the West Bank were begun. And it was under "Labor" that Israel's military relationship with the Phalange was cemented during the 1975-76 Lebanese Civil War. Sharon himself was chief military adviser under the last Labor government of Rabin.

The Sephardic and oriental Jews (now a majority of the population) support the right-wing Zionists not only because they were treated with contempt for decades as second-class citizens by the Ashkenazi elite. Labor offered no credible solution to the military and economic problems created by its own expansionist policies. Since the oriental Jews did not have the option of pulling up stakes and moving to New

Barbie...

(continued from page 1)

Jewish orphanage, aged 3 to 13, piled them into trucks and sent them screaming with fear to the crematoria of Auschwitz.

Now at 69, Barbie has been expelled from Bolivia. He arrived in France on February 6 where he was imprisoned at Montluc (his Lyons torture center) to face charges of "crimes against humanity." But why have his victims, and all the enemies of Nazi barbarity, had to wait? Why has Klaus Barbie—the most well-known Nazi war criminal who ever operated in France—lived comfortably since the end of the war continuing his fascistic activities in South America?

It is because Barbie along with thousands of Nazis were enlisted as "freedom fighters" in the U.S. Cold War apparatus. Thus Klaus Barbie is only one—and not even the worst one—of a large number of Nazi beneficiaries of the anti-Soviet crusade which periodically raises the bloodstained banner of "human rights." It is because Klaus Barbie is another "human rights" Nazi that it is such a sticky mess for the imperialist bourgeoisies. It exposes again the CIA's Nazi network, the widespread Nazi collaboration by the French bourgeoisie, and the barbarous purposes of imperialism from Bonn to La Paz.

Who Is Klaus Barbie?

Today, imprisoned, Klaus Barbie compares himself with Napoleon as he appeals to the large numbers of French collaborators and to anti-Semitism everywhere. "What is there to regret?" asked the unrepentant Barbie after he was exposed in Bolivia: "I am a convinced Nazi.... I would be a thousand times what I have been" (*Newsweek*, 21 February). And it was precisely because he was a convinced Nazi and fanatic anti-Communist killer that the U.S. government found Barbie useful after the war for its anti-Soviet espionage activities. Like many hundreds, if not thousands of Nazis, the U.S. rescued Barbie. They set him up with a false identity, paid him handsomely, got him to Bolivia in the early 1950s, and until this month successfully shielded him from prosecution.

Erhard Dabringhaus, a former U.S. military counterintelligence agent, now a teacher at Detroit's Wayne State University, recognized Barbie from TV pictures as the man he had paid and protected in 1948 in occupied Germany. Dabringhaus said he was ordered to maintain Barbie in a safe house in Augsburg near Munich where he paid him \$1,700 a month (a huge sum in post-war Europe). Dabringhaus confirms accusations of Nazi hunters Serge and Beate Klarsfeld who document repeated refusals by the Americans to turn Barbie over for trial. They point to a secret French Army report showing that Barbie was employed by U.S. and West German intelligence in Bolivia (*New York Times*, 16 February).

The Klarsfelds tracked down Barbie in Bolivia and exposed him 11 years ago;

Barbie (see arrow) orders execution of a member of the French Resistance. He was responsible for torturing and murdering 12,000 Resistance fighters and French Jews.



they have been trying to get him prosecuted ever since. Certainly he had little to fear from West Germany, where in 1971 a Munich prosecutor wanted to drop his case for "lack of evidence." The French had known about Klaus Barbie for at least eight years and didn't try to get him expelled. It was the U.S. which arranged to smuggle Barbie and family out of Europe on Red Cross travel documents. And the successive Bolivian juntas which worked closely with him, of course, would not extradite him.

Barbie arrived in Bolivia in the early 1950s where he took the name Klaus Altmann, and developed close ties with the indigenous fascists and junta butchers. Barbie/Altmann was a well-known and influential figure in Bolivia. After 1964 he worked closely with the secret police, the Bolivian government's official instrument of torture against leftists and trade unionists. He had particularly strong ties with the Falange Socialista Boliviana (FSB), and after the coup by Hugo Banzer in 1971, Barbie became adviser to the Minister of Interior. As Barbie said in 1972, Bolivia was a "comforting" place for an old Nazi:

"I am an old National Socialist.... When I arrived in Bolivia in 1951, by chance I had a comforting vision: a parade of the FSB with its uniforms almost identical to ours.... later I had the opportunity of becoming intimate with members of the Party.... I procured aid for these people."

—*El Diario*, 25 May 1972

More recently Barbie was instrumental among the collection of fascist thugs who helped pull off the "cocaine coup" in 1980 in which General Luis García Meza cornered the Bolivian drug traffic. According to the Italian magazine *Panorama* (27 September 1982) Barbie headed up "Nazi Central" in La Paz and worked with the paramilitary groups in the arms and drug traffic. The fascistic mercenaries maintained their own air force with a black eagle emblem, and their own torture prison. Barbie was connected with a special hit squad called the "Novios de la Muerte" (Fiancés of Death), together with Joaquim Fiebelkorn who was accused by Italian judges of involvement in the August 1980 Bologna train station massacre which killed 85 and wounded hundreds.

...And Why Has the U.S. Protected Him?

U.S. protection and counterrevolutionary collaboration with its Nazi

killers is notorious. What is exceptional in the Barbie case is that even after 40 years he got caught. Brooklyn D.A. Elizabeth Holtzman, who pushed for prosecution of Nazi war criminals when she was in the U.S. Congress, noted that "the Barbie allegations are not new in the sense of involvement of the U.S. government with ex-Nazis and war criminals" (*Baltimore Sun*, 19 February).

South America is riddled with Nazis, some of whose war crimes make Barbie's seem small-time by comparison. Josef Mengele, the infamous doctor of death, is thought to be in Paraguay, but extradition has been refused. Walter Rauff, architect of the mobile gas chamber, helped to establish Chile's DINA, Pinochet's secret police: extradition refused.

It is now very much an open secret that the U.S. imported Nazi war criminals as a matter of policy. A 1978 government report by the General Accounting Office lists CIA connections to 22 "ex"-Nazis living in the U.S. The real figure runs into the thousands. The U.S. is a "free world" haven particularly for the mass murderers of the SS *Einsatzkommandos* and their administrative collaborators. Their victims feared these local Eastern European butchers even more than they feared the German Nazis. The *Einsatzkommandos* slaughtered Jews and other "undesirables" by the thousands a day. As we wrote in "U.S. Imports Nazi War Criminals" (*WV* No. 318, 26 November 1982): "Instead of serving the Third Reich they continue their anti-Communist subversion on behalf of a so-called Free World." Thus Hitler's Russian experts became Truman's Russian experts.

The most spectacular U.S./Nazi post-war collaboration was the wholesale recruitment of the Nazis' anti-Soviet spy network through its chief, Wehrmacht General Reinhard Gehlen. Gehlen's entire organization was maintained intact, and its plans didn't have to change much as it shifted from Hitler to the CIA. The Gehlen organization, which was instrumental in the slaughter of more than a million Jews on the Eastern Front, became the key to the CIA's anti-Soviet spy network in Eastern Europe. Without all the Cold War II rhetorical sanctimony of "human rights," Allen Dulles, director of the CIA in the 1950s, explained why the U.S. worked with Gehlen: "He's on our side and that's all that matters. Besides, one needn't ask him to one's club" (John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*). (It is worth noting that it was in the postwar recruitment of ex-Nazis, for anti-Soviet activities, that Henry Kissinger first cut his teeth on covert action [*Atlantic Monthly*, December 1982].)

French Collaboration and the Mystique of the Resistance

For the French, *L'affaire Barbie* raises the uncomfortable history of collaboration with the Nazis. For the bourgeoisie it raises it from the dead where they wish it would stay: "The Devils Exhumed," headlined *Le Figaro*.

The Mitterrand government speaks of a trial to re-establish the historical record of Nazi atrocities. But this

historical re-examination promises to be hypocritical indeed, limited to the refurbishing of the chauvinist popular-front myth of the "Resistance," according to which France was a nation of 30 million Patriots pitted against the German occupation forces and a handful of ignoble Collaborators. Thus the bourgeois press has singlemindedly concentrated on Barbie's murder of Resistance leader Jean Moulin in June 1943. One of Mitterrand's first official acts was to celebrate the memory of Moulin, who, as a "man of the left" chosen by de Gaulle as his emissary to the Resistance forces, incarnates the popular-frontist "national unity" against France's historic imperialist rival.

Today a significant part of French bourgeois public opinion is uneasy about the Barbie affair, recognizing the fragility of the social-patriotic myth of the "Resistance." For outside of Eastern Europe, it was in France that the Nazi regime received its most massive collaboration. This was not the act of a few quislings. The vast majority of the French bourgeoisie, haunted by the mass strikes of 1936 and the specter of the Paris Commune (result of France's last military defeat!), preferred occupation to the threat of workers revolution. Even the Socialist Party had to expel two-thirds of its National Assembly members for collaboration with Pétain's regime.

So Vichy, which had lost its army but not its police, offered itself up as the willing ally of the European "New Order." The end of the war saw the French bourgeoisie discredited. It took the U.S. imperialists, abetted by the reformist workers parties (above all the Stalinists, blocking with and building up the authority of de Gaulle), to restabilize French capitalism. That is why the postwar trials for collaboration were never more than half-measures and why vengeance for war crimes remains such a burning question in France even today.

The question of the extermination of six million Jews is an explosive issue in France. For before the deportations to the Nazi death camps even began, 3,000 Jews were already dead in *Pétain's* concentration camps. In its very first months in power, the Vichy regime enacted a series of anti-Semitic laws in no way dictated by the Nazis. And in August 1942 it was once again Vichy—and not the Nazis—which proposed the deportation of Jewish children to the gas chambers. It is indisputable that without the aid of the French police, the mass roundups could never have taken place. Until late in the occupation, a Jew or a Resistance fighter could be arrested, judged, imprisoned and deported without ever seeing a German soldier or SS man. Things were so dangerous for Jews in Vichy France that many fled to the relative safety of Italian-occupied Nice.

And official terror did not take place only under the Nazis. It continued in "democratic" France often through the same men. Consider the case of Maurice Papon, police prefect at Bordeaux during the war. This same Papon became de Gaulle's police commissioner in Paris and a minister in the Giscard

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regime. What could better illustrate the revolting anti-Semitic role of the French bourgeois state during the "final solution." Papon, who was finally indicted last month for "crimes against humanity," was responsible for rounding up thousands of Jewish children for deportation.

Subsequently, as a "democratic" guardian of capitalist "law and order," Papon was up to his neck in other crimes of the French bourgeoisie which are more taboo—the torture and mass murder of the dirty colonial wars waged by every French government (including all the various postwar popular fronts) from 1945 to 1962. On 17 October 1961 Papon's police viciously repressed a peaceful demonstration by Algerian immigrant workers in Paris for Algerian independence. Some 12,000 Algerians were rounded up and put in make-shift concentration camps. The police opened fire with machine guns, or tortured, then drowned their victims in the Seine. No one really knows how many died, but the total must number in the hundreds.

But "October in Paris" has vanished from France's historical memory as though it had never happened. And this summer Mitterrand (who, as minister of the interior in the first years of the Algerian War, is also guilty) pardoned the last of the generals of the OAS (the terrorist organization of the French army officers and *pieds noirs* in Algeria, which turned against de Gaulle when he negotiated the French withdrawal).

Death Should Have Come to Barbie A Long Time Ago

It is no surprise, then, that Barbie's defense is that the French state has no right to judge him. Perhaps Holland, where Barbie also did his dirty work for the Gestapo, and where in 1942 a general strike was staged against the deportation of the Jews, has a better claim to judge him. In any case, we hope that in his attempt to save his skin, Barbie will implicate as many French officials as possible.

When Klaus Barbie arrived in Lyons, the daughter of a deportee (who herself had been sent to the camp at Drancy—at the age of five) was arrested carrying a loaded rifle. It is deeply unfortunate that she didn't succeed (unlike Solomon Schwartzbard, a Jewish anarchist who in 1926 in Paris executed the Ukrainian Hetman Petlyura, responsible for mass pogroms during the Russian Civil War; Schwartzbard was acquitted in a celebrated trial). For there is no doubt that Barbie deserves to die.

The French right wing, however, is using the Barbie case as the opening wedge of a campaign to restore the death penalty. As communists we oppose the death penalty. But we know there is plenty of justified killing after a bloody war. War criminals like Barbie should have their fate decided by a tribunal of their surviving victims. He should be judged by the Jews of Buchenwald and Auschwitz, the tortured French of Lyons, the German Communists and Socialists he hunted in Holland. But not even this elementary measure of justice will come from the bourgeois state, popular front or no.

Were it not for the U.S. intelligence rescue operation, Barbie would have and should have been killed a long time ago. (The Nazi mass murderers who fell into Soviet hands after the war had all been hanged by 1946.) That is the most important point of the Barbie affair: anti-Communist imperialism needs its Barbies and Menges. The CIA not only recruits the fascists of the past, but of the future. Counterrevolutionary, anti-Soviet imperialism cannot do otherwise.

It is not even a down payment on justice for all his crimes to have the French state now send Barbie to his death or to the French version of Spandau prison. Justice will come when the socialist revolution ends bourgeois rule and at last wipes its fascist terror off the face of the earth forever. ■

Flint...

(continued from page 4)

like the Communist Party (CP) and Workers World Party (WWP) see their role as providing a left cover to the Democratic/labor coalition. Thus at the rally a supporter of the CP's *Daily World* put up a "Jobs or Income Now" resolution calling for passage of the Solidarity House-backed "domestic content" bill. This poisonous protectionism tries to pit American auto workers against Japanese auto workers instead of attacking the corporations who have looted the industry by refusing to invest for years and now are trying to make U.S. workers (and consumers) foot the bill. The CP supporter went on to praise Kilbee and urge the UAW labor-traitors to jump on the Kennedy "nuke freeze" bandwagon, which is aimed at *strengthening* the anti-Soviet war drive by building up the military's conventional weaponry.

A supporter of the WWP took the floor to beg the bureaucrats to back a court suit for cheese and powdered eggs for the unemployed as a diversion from real class struggle. Such reformists "organize" the unemployed only as voting cattle for the Democrats. This soup-line "socialism" and the Democratic Party cheerleading of the rally was challenged by Nowell Davis, a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus in UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge. Davis denounced Fraser's racist protectionist scheme and said:

"I think every laid-off worker and unemployed worker here should be appalled at the Democratic Party sending its slick-haired political pimps into our union hall to try to hustle us for votes when we are faced with rampant unemployment, no jobs. The only thing that Reagan is offering the unemployed is stale moldy cheese, but the fact of the matter is that the Democrats are only offering us more of the same. We should just not be tricked into believing that the only thing that we can do is to write letters to our Congressmen or to vote Democrat. That's not true. What we can do is what was done in 1937 and that's to occupy these plants with militant sit-down strikes—labor action...."

Significantly, while auto workers are taking the brunt of the worst capitalist depression since the 1930s, at this meeting called to commemorate the historic Flint strike only the Rouge Militant Caucus called for sitdowns *today*. Davis went on to pose the need for a workers government, the only answer to the capitalist rot that is so visible in Flint and Detroit.

The decline of auto and other U.S. industries is due not just to foreign competition but rather to the boom-bust system of production for profit. The bosses now speak of a "recovery" which will maintain a mostly black reserve army of some 12 million unemployed workers. The working class must fight for a socialist planned economy... or starve. What's required is militant labor action and a class-struggle fight to get rid of the bosses' "labor lieutenants" and build a workers party to lead the struggle for a workers government that will expropriate GM and all the bosses. *This* is the way, the only way, to secure jobs for all. The Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists such as the Rouge Militant Caucus say: Sitdowns not soup lines! ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 16)

the auto bosses.

If Fremont has proved anything, it is that the worst thing is for workers to go down without a fight, and the best time to fight for jobs is while you still have them. Thrown into a "job market" swelled by dozens of plant and warehouse closings in Alameda County, by December 1982 only 12 percent of the laid-off Fremont workers had found work of any kind—temporary, part-

Report From River Rouge

DETROIT—At the Ford River Rouge complex in Detroit, United Auto Workers (UAW) members in Rouge Steel (the ninth largest steel producer in the U.S.) are under the concessions gun for the third time in as many years. Using the proposed sale of 75 percent of Ford's steel-making operation (constituting almost a third of the Rouge workforce) to Nippon KoKan, Japan's second largest steel producer, and under the threat of shutting down the plant, Ford wants to slash wages and incentive pay to be "competitive." The Japanese and U.S. bosses are pressing this assault simultaneously with the massive givebacks being negotiated by United Steelworkers president Lloyd McBride in Pittsburgh.

Two years ago Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi, Coke Ovens division president Rick Martin and Rolling Mill division president Nick Nestico blackmailed Rouge Steel workers with the lie that "concessions save jobs." Now with Steel and the rest of Rouge operating at less than half of capacity, with 10-to-15 years' seniority workers from almost every unit on

the street, they are proving once again their loyalties to the capitalists, be it Ford or a joint Ford/Nippon KoKan steel mill. The UAW bureaucrats are walking a racist anti-Japanese tightrope—they want Rouge workers to submit to more givebacks while simultaneously pushing the broader aims and military program of U.S. imperialism against its technically superior trading enemies.

Rouge workers are watching GM/Toyota's union busting at Fremont closely. They know that if this "out of town tryout" works, it will soon play in Detroit. The Flatrock and Specialty foundries are closed, Ford plans to close the Dearborn Assembly Plant and the Frame Plant is on the chopping block. Local 600 members must fight to smash the givebacks and defend their jobs. In the face of threats to close Steel, Rouge workers must respond with plant occupations, spreading to the other units and appealing to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed and poor in this city, to wage a class-struggle *political* fight by the largely black proletariat of Detroit.

time, minimum wage or otherwise. The escape clauses in the so-called Guaranteed Income Stream soon shook virtually everyone out from collecting. Even high-seniority workers were cut off when they refused to take jobs "offered" in Oklahoma (!) with no seniority and no security against new layoffs. For most of these unemployed auto workers, the story has been repossessions, evictions, broken families.

But there remains among these workers a strong untapped will to fight. Fremont Local 1364 members reacted angrily to GM/Toyota's union-busting announcement. Dozens began to show up spontaneously at the union hall across from the plant to see what the union would do. One outraged worker with 30 years' seniority declared, "That plant isn't going to open" unless the laid-off workers are recalled. "There would be a lot of hostility—right in the roadway," said a member of the local shop committee. But any hint of class struggle is taboo to UAW bureaucrats like Local 1364 president Willie Mays, who moved quickly to silence the rank-and-file wrath.

But the fight against GM/Toyota's union-busting is not just that of its immediate victims, the laid-off Fremont workers. This is a challenge to the entire labor movement. The fight to prevent Fremont being reopened without recalling the laid-off union brothers and sisters must engage all UAW militants and Bay Area labor activists.

Beware Protectionist Poison

Fraser's protectionist frenzy has the aim of lining auto workers up behind their "own" capitalist bosses, blaming layoffs on Japanese auto workers and relieving the UAW bureaucracy of any responsibility of fighting the auto companies. This anti-Japanese racism is inflamed by the bourgeois media and capitalist politicians, especially "friend of labor" Democrats such as presidential hopeful Walter Mondale. The press has tried to present the Fremont union-busting effort as wholly "made in Japan," as if GM was not a senior partner in the operation. "Toyota 'No' on GM Workers" was the headline in the *San Francisco Examiner* (15 February). And black Democratic-Alameda County supervisor John George termed the GM/Toyota anti-union announcement a "day of infamy," a reference to Pearl Harbor. Pearl Harbor was provoked by American and British economic warfare against Japan, the same kind of trade warfare that union

bureaucrats like Fraser are now pushing. If anti-Semitism is "the socialism of fools," as the old German Marxist August Bebel said, then anti-Japanese protectionism is "the economic planning of fools."

To counter the increasing protectionist climate in the U.S., Toyota, Nissan, Honda, etc. are opening plants in this country. And just like the American auto companies, they prefer to locate these in depressed and rural areas to keep unions out and wages down. Nippon KoKan is currently negotiating to buy the steel plant in the huge Ford River Rouge complex in Dearborn on the condition of getting big contract concessions out of the union (see accompanying box).

In general, Fraser has encouraged Japanese and other foreign producers to demand the *maximum* concessions and more already granted to the Big Three. In trying to sell a sweetheart contract to GM/Toyota at Fremont, the UAW chief assured them that he is "ready to sit down and negotiate an agreement on all issues, including new work methods which we are actually already using at GM and Ford" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 February).

Through plant closings and run-aways, through government bailouts and protectionism, and above all through multibillion dollar contract concessions, the auto bosses have recovered their profits during this depression by gouging it out of the workers. From Framingham to Fremont, and especially in Detroit, auto workers are being reduced to soup lines as a direct result of the betrayals of the UAW bureaucracy which acts as an enforcer of the company takeaways and mass layoffs.

But a seething anger is building up at the base as the Fraser gang sells out every basic union gain won over the course of decades. The bureaucracy's complicity in the flagrant union-busting at Fremont could spark a real explosion. As Fremont UAW Militant Caucus member Karen Allen replied to local president Willie Mays at a membership meeting right before they shut down the plant:

"You're not interested in using the power of the union to increase our benefits or save our jobs, but I say our members are! The unions will fight. There will be strikes and you guys will be swept aside."

Only by building an internationalist, class-struggle leadership can auto workers defeat the bosses—Japanese and American—who are trying to cripple the union. ■

W. Germany...

(continued from page 7)

struggle of foreign and German workers.

Foreign workers constitute approximately a sixth of the industrial proletariat and can play a central role for revolution, not just in West Germany but in all of Europe. It was the Turkish workers who in 1973 during the wildcat strikes in the Ruhr fought most militantly for the organization of work stoppages and picket lines. Foreign workers also know that they can expect nothing of the SPD and its "social state," which under Schmidt armed Turkey's NATO butcher General Evren and supported the Zionist holocaust in Lebanon through "development assistance" to Israel. CDU politicians speak of kicking out another 800,000 foreign workers. But it was the SPD that unloaded the worst results of the 1973-74 capitalist crisis onto the foreign workers, mercilessly sending hundreds of thousands back to the poverty and terror of their homelands. Trotskyists demand: Full citizenship rights for foreign workers and their families now!

No to the Phony "Lesser Evil"!

The demonstrations in the fall marked the beginning of efforts by the DGB bureaucracy to hoist the SPD back into the government saddle again. And the "left" is not far behind. During the coalition years, a considerable left-social-democratic layer arose which sought to pressure the SPD from the outside. Now they too are busily seeking to put together new editions of an SPD-dominated coalition. Support for Schmidt's coalition politics as a "lesser evil" has always served to strengthen illusions in the Social Democracy. Revolutionaries can employ the tactic of critical electoral support to a bourgeois workers party in order to destroy such illusions. But such a tactic is automatically excluded when the SPD comes out openly for a coalition with bourgeois parties such as the FDP.

The appetites of the successors to the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition [West German New Left]—more and more occupied with pasting up election posters for the Greens—are expressed openly by the pseudo-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM,

West German section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat). The GIM is waging a campaign for a "new left majority" composed of "Greens, Rainbows, socialists" organized in a single electoral slate to "put pressure on an SPD government and tolerate it as opposed to a CDU/CSU-led government" (*Was Tun*, 30 September 1982). The GIM's program today simply means calling for a new popular front, in which Count Otto von Lambsdorff and his austerity program will be exchanged for little Lambsdorffs in lavender overalls offering austerity...with trees. The Greens, deeply anti-proletarian prophets of zero growth, who have a genuinely bourgeois component, would probably have won the sympathy of Morgenthau [postwar U.S. Secretary of the Treasury] with his plans to turn Germany into a gigantic potato field after World War II.

The Kommunistischer Bund (KB, Communist League) goes even further in suggesting a "reform bloc" which "can only come into existence when there are massive breaks and splits in the SPD and FDP" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 20 September 1982). A split of the FDP? Since when do communists have a tactic of splitting bourgeois parties? Does the KB really have the perspective of splitting the bankers and businessmen that finance the FDP from their "treacherous" leadership?

In contrast to the various open appendages of the Social Democracy, the Marxistische Gruppe (MG, Marxist Group) was able to create a leftist image with its anti-NATO demonstrations during Brezhnev's and Reagan's visits to Bonn. Their answer to the change in government is "No sympathy for the SPD!" but the contradictory character of the SPD as a bourgeois workers party remains impenetrable to the MG's idealist worldview. Lacking a strategic orientation to winning leadership of the working class, the anti-Marxist Group regarded the October 23 trade-union demonstration as nothing but an electoral mobilization for the SPD. While capitulating to the class collaboration and nationalism of the SPD along with the rest of the "peace" movement, on the other hand it refuses to have anything to do with the Social Democratic workers. With its petty-bourgeois disdain for the conquests of the working class ("Thirty years of the DGB are enough"—a slogan that would meet with approval

from Strauss) the MG has set sail on a dangerously anti-proletarian course.

For a Trotskyist Party!

No variant of the policy of pressuring the SPD will stop the reactionary Strauss. The ostensible leftists, the "peace" movement and the Social Democrats who are now looking around for a new home can bring forth only a nationalist, anti-proletarian and anti-Soviet popular front that will strengthen the hegemony of the SPD over the German proletariat. And this in a world in which the alternatives of revolutionary communism or unbelievable barbarism are being posed ever more sharply.

As workers at giant monopolies such as AEG face mass layoffs and factory shutdowns they must directly challenge capitalist property and the bosses' supposed "right" to throw thousands onto the street. A workers' occupation of a major factory could signal plant takeovers throughout West Germany, igniting mass strikes that would unleash the mighty power of the trade unions in a counteroffensive of the entire working class. To counter the treacherous DGB leadership's fake call for a 35-hour week (in the indefinite future) communist fractions in the trade unions would demand strikes now to fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. For a sliding scale of wages and hours, to divide the available work among all available hands! A fight for this demand would foil the attempts to drive a wedge between workers, German and foreign, male and female, employed and unemployed. Equal pay for equal work! It's the same class, the same struggle, work for all! A program for socially useful public works under trade-union control at union wages must be won. For full COLA and big wage hikes!

Realization of these demands is possible only in the framework of a comprehensive economic plan resting on the expropriation without compensation of the banks, commerce and industry. That requires a workers government—not the SPD in Bonn but a revolutionary workers government resting on the organized might of the proletariat expressed in organs of workers democracy. In West Germany the fight for a workers government—the dictatorship of the proletariat—is inseparable from the task of the revolution-

ary reunification of Germany. The West German proletariat should look to the East German workers as allies in the struggle for socialist revolution in the West and political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy in the East.

Militant class struggle is necessary—not subordination to reformist traitors and bourgeois parliamentarians. Only Trotskyism has a program and a perspective that opens a future for the German proletariat. Only the Trotskyists say the truth about the SPD and refuse support to any form of bourgeois coalition politics. The powerful German working class—with its strategic component of foreign workers—must fight for and win its class independence. It must draw the lessons from the results of the SPD's coalition politics: it must take up the struggle for a Trotskyist workers party capable of splitting the SPD and breaking its stranglehold on the organized workers.

The interimperialist conflict over the pipeline deal is a powerful confirmation of the perspective already pointed to by Leon Trotsky during World War I: the fight for the United Socialist States of Europe. The obvious need for the gas pipeline, even in the face of capitalist irrationality and the mismanagement of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is a foretaste of the possibilities a planned economy would open up: employing all the labor power, technical and natural resources from the Siberian tundra to the Iberian peninsula. But this perspective requires an implacable fight to break the proletariat from the social-imperialist, anti-Soviet nationalism of the SPD.

Twenty million Soviet workers and peasants died in the Second World War beating back the onslaught of German imperialism. The German proletariat has the power to see that they didn't die in vain and ensure that the peoples of East Europe do not have to again fear this rapacious monster. We fight for the *revolutionary* reunification of Germany, proletarian revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie in the West and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East. A workers' Germany, establishing the rule of soviets in the industrial powerhouse of Europe, would be the spark for a revolutionary uprising of the proletariat on the entire continent, opening the possibility of a rational planned economy in a socialist United States of Europe. ■

USWA...

(continued from page 5)

Roads (the waterway separating Newport News from Norfolk). Such workers should be organized to help man mass picket lines, refuse to handle struck products or raw materials, etc. It is necessary to fight for *political independence*: the labor bureaucrats' political ties to the parties of capital—the Democrats and Republicans—are a guarantee of defeat in a strike that must challenge the capitalists' laws in order to win. Break with the Democrats—for a class-struggle workers party!

The task of winning the support of the masses of black workers (who for example now comprise some 70 percent of the Newport News workforce) can be accomplished only by a leadership that mobilizes the union's power to *fight racial oppression* both inside and outside the workplace. The November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization enlisted significant support in the Tidewater labor movement—highlighted by the participation of a union-organized Nat Turner Brigade—testimony to the keen sense of outrage against the Klan provocation felt by black workers in the area. Labor militants must also be prepared to rally all the oppressed to beat back segregationist attacks, like the Norfolk school board's recent moves to end busing.

Such policies are taboo to misleaders like McBride, who would rather organize defeats than wage class struggle. The giveback contract now being prepared by McBride & Co. for the Basic Steel core of the union could be the defeat of the decade! The PSA is making full use of the USWA's loser image, building its (no doubt largely fraudulent) base of support in part by making the equation: USWA=concessions. McBride & Co. say givebacks are necessary due to the weakness of the U.S. steel industry, but it is their own concern for capitalist profit that paves the way for concessions by straitjacketing the USWA membership. With the International laboring mightily to avoid strikes at any cost in both the steel industry and at Newport News, there's no guarantee that the next shipyard contract won't be far worse than the existing one. But this no-strike stranglehold can be broken. What is required is that militants in the steel plants as well as in the shipyard organize a class-struggle fight to oust the pro-company International leadership.

Among the chief apologists for the sellout policies of the USWA tops are the sellout "socialists" of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). SWP supporter and 8888 member Eli Green has run for senator of Virginia but remains virtually silent on Tenneco's campaign against the union. For years the SWP's rag, the *Militant*, sang the praises of Ed Sadowski, the so-called USWA "insurgent"

who is now peddling givebacks for McBride in Chicago. In its coverage of the Newport News struggle, the *Militant* served as a mouthpiece for the International. Thus in the summer of 1979 when many workers began to realize that it was vitally necessary to resume the strike against Newport News Shipbuilding, the *Militant* came out against any action and even praised the USWA leadership for "avoiding a strike that many workers considered ill-timed"! Afterwards the SWP joined the bureaucrats in claiming that the outcome of this no-fight strategy was... "victory"!

The South will never be organized by crying "victory" where the battle has yet to be won. Such dishonesty can only aid the union bureaucrats and, ultimately, the hosses. It is necessary to speak the truth: Local 8888 has a hard fight ahead of it. Even if the current PSA challenge falls through, Tenneco's drive to root out industrial unionism will continue. The company's resistance must be utterly and decisively crushed! Many Newport News workers are seeking a way to get that job done.

But the racist anti-labor drive is being directed straight from the White House. On 19 September 1981 a half-million workers, including many Tidewater unionists, turned out in Washington because they urgently want to stop Reagan reaction. The union misleaders, however, channeled the anti-Reagan sentiment of Solidarity Day into a pep

rally for the Democrats, as if *their* program of austerity, givebacks and anti-Soviet war buildup were any alternative. The Spartacist League says it's necessary to build a workers party that will combine the struggle to unionize the South—as well as uproot Jim Crow racism and stop KKK terror—with the struggle to *bring down* Reagan through labor action. Smash the PSA—Defend Local 8888! For a class-struggle leadership in the USWA! ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri. 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat. 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
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Sat. 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Chicago...

(continued from page 16)

Chicago is certainly *not* the city that works: 35,000 area steel workers are unemployed. A third of the city's blacks subsist below the poverty line, with one out of five on welfare. And the voters of Chicago are faced with a trio of capitalist Democratic Party pols—the Machine's mistress, its kid and its black front man—all of whom want to administer four more years of the same. But Chicago may not be able to take much more.

Cicero Jim Crow

Forty percent of the population of America's "Segregation City" is black, packed into the sprawling South Side and West Side ghettos. They are cordoned off to the north by the Loop business district and to the south and west by a ring of lily-white industrial "suburbs" populated by residents of East European descent. And nowhere is there a more infamous example of a Jim Crow suburb than Cicero, Illinois, nationally notorious for decades as a bastion of racist reaction.

Suddenly last month the Reagan administration, under attack for its racist policies, began a suit against Cicero town officials for systematically violating federal laws against racial discrimination. What hypocrisy! This is the administration which has launched a wholesale attack on every aspect of black people's lives, from jobs and housing to cutbacks of food and school lunches; which has moved against voting rights while refusing to enforce even those token anti-discrimination laws on the books. Now, after five years of bargaining for "voluntary desegregation" with Cicero, the federal government has noticed, in the words of a Justice Department official, "the most egregious aggravated case of racial discrimination."

Cicero is the extreme which proves the pattern. *Not one single black child attends Cicero public schools.* Not one black is employed as a municipal worker. Cicero demands that its municipal workers have lived in Cicero for at least one year, while town officials are accused of physical harassment of blacks trying to live there. Of the 61,232 residents (according to the 1980 census) in this six-square-mile area stretched along Chicago's West Side ghetto, only 74 are black. Almost all of Cicero's black residents are employees of Sportsman's Park Race Track who live in the track's cinderblock huts only during racing season. In 1980, two black families living on the Race Track grounds tried to enroll their children in the Cicero elementary school just three blocks away. A racist mob terrorized the children on the first day of school while the school officials declared that the safety of the children could not be guaranteed. There was no second day of school in Cicero for black schoolchildren.

Chicago blacks know it isn't safe to walk into Cicero. Even those who work there take their lives in their hands as Jim Crow is enforced not only by mobs but by the town cops. A resident of the wealthier part of Cicero told *Time* (7

February) magazine, "Down here anyone who sees a colored person walking along the street without a delivery uniform on calls the police." And what the police are likely to do is illustrated by the recent case of a young black man, Ronnie Stackhouse. When he tried to rent an apartment in Cicero his car was shot; last April it was firebombed as well. When he went to the police to complain, he was slapped into jail on bogus charges of "disorderly conduct" while at the same time his charred automobile was being finished off right in the cops' parking lot.

The Reagan government has picked out Cicero to try to deflect increasing criticism of its racist policies, but Cicero isn't the only example of Chicago's "suburbs' rights" pockets of Jim Crow, just the worst. Three other towns surrounding Chicago's West Side are less than one percent black: Berwyn, Oaklawn and Des Plaines. For years Chicago's Jim Crow suburbs have refused as much as \$26 million in federal housing funds out of fear that the money might come with the strings of integra-



Black Machine Democrat Harold Washington (left) runs against strike-breaker Democrat "Crazy Jane" Byrne (right). No choice for workers, blacks.

tion. And they have done so not only under Reagan racism but also under Democrat Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter.

Down With Chicago's "Voluntary Segregation" Plan! Extend Busing to the Suburbs!

In Chicago itself segregated housing and schools have become official policy upheld by the Democratic Machine and blessed by the courts. One look at metropolitan Chicago's segregated housing pattern shows that busing would be the only way to even begin to integrate the schools. But on January 6 the federal district court approved the so-called "Chicago plan" of "voluntary" school desegregation. As phony compensation, all black schools are supposed to receive extra funding to improve the quality of education. This is of course nothing but the old racist lie of "separate but equal."

Developed under Carter, this "Chicago plan" for segregation has had the active or tacit approval of the Democratic Party for years. By 1978 two-thirds of the city's 512 elementary schools were 90 percent black or 90 percent white (*Chicago Journal*, 26 January). Busing is simply not considered. Harold Washington's campaign for instance *does not call for busing or for open housing*. He doesn't want to openly oppose the NAACP's legalist suit against the "voluntary segregation" plan, and certainly doesn't want to upset the Jim Crow deal struck over busing. So he tries to duck the issue. But when asked pointblank by *WV*, "So he [Washington] doesn't advocate busing in Chicago?" Washington's press representative Chris Chandler replied with a flat "That's right." Despite a lot of rhetoric about being the candidate from the "hoods"—the solidly black South Side and West Side ghettos—Washington is just another Democratic candidate who supports the gentleman's agreement to preserve the racist status quo.

It will take powerful labor/black struggle to break up the racism in

"Segregation City." First and foremost this means a fight against the Democrats and the Democratic-loyal union bureaucrats who will not even lift a finger for busing—the minimal basis for school integration. The Spartacist League (SL) has long pointed out that although busing is woefully inadequate it is a fight against racist separate-but-unequal. We say extend busing to the suburbs where the white population and the decent schools are. The power of labor must be brought to bear against the capitalist state which is busily putting its legal stamp of approval on increasing segregation—encouraging racist mobs who have filled the streets from Boston to Cicero to Los Angeles.

Cicero and the Defeat of the Liberal Civil Rights Movement

It was in Chicago and particularly in Cicero that the liberal-led civil rights movement was overcome by the racists. When Martin Luther King "came North" in 1966 to protest segregated housing, the civil rights movement was



up against the economic conditions underlying racism. It was one thing to march for integrated lunch counters when a section of the bourgeoisie wanted to get rid of anachronistic Jim Crow in the South. But not in the North. The pacifist King signed the Palmer House Agreement and called off a planned march into Cicero in a deal with Boss Daley in which the city offered the empty "promise" to pursue open housing. King called the empty Palmer House Agreement "one of the most significant programs ever conceived" (*Time*, 2 September 1966). But Daley and the black Democratic Machine characterized King as an "outside agitator" and when two years later the ghetto exploded in rage after King's assassination, it was Daley who issued "shoot-to-kill" orders to Chicago's police.

Given the history of racism in Cicero, it should have been obvious that liberal-pacifist appeals to the government would not work. Long famous as Al Capone's hometown and headquarters, Cicero made headlines in 1951 when Harvey Clark, a young black CTA bus driver, moved from the South to what he later ironically described as "Abraham Lincoln's state." The night he tried to move into a Cicero apartment a mob of 5,000 rioted and stormed the building, setting it aflame, throwing furniture (including a piano) out the window and ripping out the plumbing. The cops, who earlier had refused Clark and his family access to the building, looked the other way while the fire department, only two blocks away, refused to come to the scene of the fire. The Clarks moved back to Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1966 a 17-year-old black youth was beaten to death for the "crime" of entering Cicero to look for work. And four months later when whites rioted against a CORE civil rights march, the National Guard was called in.

The fact is that a struggle against segregated housing in Chicago and its Jim Crow suburbs could not have any success unless the powerful integrated Chicago labor movement was mobilized. But the labor bureaucrats, tied to

the Democratic Party, refused to bring the unions into the fight for black rights. Martin Luther King and the liberal Democrats relied on the federal government. It was a strategy for failure and betrayal.

The legacy of the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement has been continued racist reaction. As the segregationist forces grew stronger on the streets, it was fertile ground for the race-terrorist fascists. In 1966 George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazis were whipping up white racism on the South Side. A decade later open housing marches in Chicago's Marquette Park were met with "white power" mobs numbering in the thousands as the KKK/Nazis incited a riot against the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement organization. The cops reacted to the rising fascist terror and gangs of white racist youth by arresting the demonstrators.

Mobilize Labor/Blacks—Finish the Civil War!

The racist terror continues. In January two black Chicago women were chased out of a white enclave on the South Side. Their car was firebombed and they were terrorized by white racist thugs chanting, "Niggers go home." Last summer, a black woman CTA bus driver moved to the suburb of Burnham; her home was pelted with rocks, windows smashed and garage bombed. And on February 3 UAW worker Bennie Leonard, beaten brutally by two Melrose Park cops back in 1977, had his federal jury award of \$360,000 thrown out by the Appeals Court.

The cops have become notorious in their daily terror to keep the ghetto masses in line. Channel 5 television has documented 50 cases of Chicago blacks beaten or murdered by the cops. Harold Washington recently met with victims and the families of murdered victims to build support for his campaign for a whitewashing civilian review board. But his real sentiments on the police were made clear when he pointed out that this was not meant as "an attack on the police department in any way, shape or fashion" (*Chicago Tribune*, 15 February).

The struggle against racist terror must be part of the fight to mobilize the power of labor to fight for the rights of blacks and for the workers revolution which can at last finish the Civil War. That is the program of the Spartacist League (SL). And it works. In 1975 an integrated UAW defense guard from International Harvester protected the home of union brother C.B. Dennis in Broadview when his family was menaced by racists there. This action was initiated by a caucus of militants politically supported by the SL. Last summer the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black-centered action when the Nazis threatened to attack the Gay Pride March in Lincoln Park. And most recently, on November 27 in Washington, D.C. the KKK was stopped from carrying out a provocative march in that overwhelmingly black city by a labor/black mobilization of 5,000.

The black question is central to the class struggle in this race-divided country. While the reformists scurry for the "progressive" Democrat, Harold Washington, life for Chicago's workers and blacks gets worse.

Railroad yards divide Cicero from the West Side ghetto: on both sides of the tracks the capitalist decay exposes the electoral pork-barrelers without pork and ward hustlers without patronage. Just look at Cicero! Look at Cabrini Green! It will take nothing less than socialist revolution to end the racism and poverty which grinds down the working class and cripples its struggle. And the Spartacist League is dedicated to building the Trotskyist party with a strong black leadership component which can break through the divisions that stand in the way of the American revolution. ■

Spartacist League Forum

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats, Black or White!

Labor/Black Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Speaker:
Bernard Vance,
SL Central Committee

Friday, February 25, 7:30 p.m.
Lyford Hall (enter by 74th St. door)
South Shore United Methodist Church
7350 S. Jeffery Blvd.
For more information call: (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Democrat Washington Means More of the Same Chicago: Segregation City

CHICAGO, February 19—On Tuesday the Democratic mayoral primary will decide who will inherit the controls of the Daley political machine. Will it be incumbent "Crazy Jane" Byrne who's busted strikes by teachers, firemen and transit workers? Or Richard "Son of Dick" Daley who hopes to cash in on his father's "Boss" connections? Or will it be black machine Democrat Harold Washington who is being touted falsely and cynically by the reformists, the black liberal establishment and black capitalist hustler Jesse Jackson as the saviour of the city's ghetto poor?

As the campaign entered the home-stretch it was a slugfest in which the key factors were the size of the candidates' war chest (Byrne has collected \$10 million, the largest amount ever spent to contest a city post anywhere in the U.S., compared to Washington's piddling \$500,000), the black vote and the racist backlash. Already the feds have been called in to supervise the voting, but U.S. Attorney Webb was skeptical: "This may be one of the most honest elections Chicago has ever had," he said, but "precinct captains have quotas they have to live up to..."

The fake-left, meanwhile, is pounding the pavement for the black Democrat. The Communist Party's *Daily World*



Chicago cops brutalize unemployed blacks when 40,000 people show up for less than 4,000 temporary city jobs.

has practically become a "Washington for Mayor" house organ. The CP sees his campaign as "part of the fight to run Ronald Reagan out of D.C."—in other words, to elect a Democratic president

in '84. The usual reformist cover for supporting Washington is, to portray him as an anti-Machine candidate: "Harold Washington Takes on Chicago Machine" (*In These Times*); "Black

Takes on Chicago Machine" (*Guardian*); "Black Candidate Challenges Racist Power Structure in Chicago" (*Workers World*). Not at all.

For 15 years a Machine flunky in the Illinois legislature and the inheritor of Ralph Metcalfe's Congressional seat, Harold Washington is not trying to upset the apple cart. As a recent *New York Times* (13 February) article noted, this primary election "will essentially determine not only who runs Chicago for the next four years, but also who will try to run its troubled old machine":

"Without Mayor Daley, the muted divisions between duchies re-emerged. It is no coincidence, for instance, that Mrs. Byrne is North Side Irish. The young Mr. Daley is South Side Irish. And Representative Harold Washington is an independent black trying to tap his community's growing vote, historically obedient to the machine. 'There's a lot more fragmentation now,' said a top Daley campaign aide. 'No one has the megabutton anymore'."

The article quotes one of the few "independent" alderman saying: "The Chicago Democratic machine is not dead and it's not dying. But it is bruised, and it is changing."

Whoever wins, the workers and poor of this most bitterly segregated metropolis in the U.S. will lose. Today,
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Fremont: Recall UAW Workers, No Substandard Contract!

Defeat GM/Toyota Union-Busting!

FREMONT, California—A sharp battle with tremendous consequences for the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the entire American labor movement has been posed here. What's happening in Fremont is a serious and calculated attack on industrial unionism. It is the direct result of the sellout policies of UAW misleader Doug Fraser and the Solidarity House gang who have given up one hard-fought gain after another to the auto bosses while trying to deflect workers' anger into poisonous protectionism and support for the bosses' Democratic Party. Now Solidarity House is reaping its reward—an open union-busting attack—and thousands of auto workers may have to pay the price.

When General Motors and Toyota announced on February 17 they would reopen the plant in late 1984, they added that the "new company" would *not* recognize the recall and seniority rights of the thousands of UAW members laid off last March. This means that many workers with close to 30 years seniority will have their pensions stolen from them. If the UAW gets any kind of representation of the younger workforce the management has in mind, GM/Toyota are insisting on a contract featuring "flexible work rules" (in plain English, unrestrained speed-up). If the auto bosses can get away with this outrage in the Bay Area—stronghold of organized labor on the West

Coast—they will try it everywhere. "Whatever will fly in that [Fremont] plant will be exported to other plants," observed an MIT labor economist (*New York Times*, 22 February).

The United Auto Workers and the Bay Area labor movement must do whatever is necessary to prevent Fremont from operating with any but recalled UAW workers under full contract rights. No substandard contract! No "flexible work rules." Whether it takes mass picketing to seal the plant off or factory occupations—Fremont must not become the spearhead of successful union-busting.

Faced with an auto industry mired in deep depression, the Fraser bureaucracy of the UAW had two answers to "save jobs": givebacks at home and anti-Japanese protectionism abroad. The givebacks did nothing to prevent hundreds of thousands of layoffs over the past few years. Protectionism has now brought Fremont. The new Toyota-GM deal at Fremont is the "success" story of Fraser's protectionist campaign.

Whatever energy the Fraser gang hasn't expended on renegotiating lower wages and benefits for UAW members has been spent lobbying Congress for the so-called "domestic content" bill which would require the Big Three and foreign auto companies to produce in the U.S. 90 percent of the components of cars sold in this country. Anticipating some such protectionist measure, Toyo-

ta (in partnership with GM) decided to produce cars with local content at Fremont. Possibly the Japanese auto producer knew Fraser would be so happy to get this local content that he would be willing to give up recall and seniority rights entirely, make god-knows-what concessions on wages and benefits and throw job classifications and work rules out the window. Many auto workers were taken in by the anti-Japanese protectionist ranting coming out of Solidarity House. Well, look at Fremont and see protectionism at work.

When the newly expanded Fremont

plant shut down last year, the last 2,000 of what had been a 6,800 person workforce were led out the door by local union bureaucrats using the threat that any fight would jeopardize the supposedly life-time benefits for the highest seniority workers. Before the shutdown, a class-struggle opposition with a ten-year history in the local, the UAW Militant Caucus, waged an urgent campaign for a plant sitdown to keep it open and to appeal to auto workers across the country to launch a wave of sit-down strikes to turn the tide of layoffs and squeeze concessions from

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Fremont UAW workers watch last car roll down the line, March 1982. GM/Toyota plans to reopen plant without recalling laid-off union members.

