

U.S. Out of Near East, Central America!

Reagan's Lebanon Mess

"I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."

—Israeli soldier in southern Lebanon

FEBRUARY 12—"We are making progress in Lebanon," proclaimed Ronald Reagan in his State of the Union speech in late January. A week later he baited Congressional Democratic leader Tip O'Neill for proposing to pull the Marines out of Beirut: "He may be ready to surrender, but I'm not." Yet within days the macho man president was forced to eat crow, ordering the besieged Marines evacuated to warships offshore within the next few weeks. And to make it look like he didn't "cut and run," he ordered the Sixth Fleet to open up with the USS *New Jersey's* 16-inch guns, killing who knows how many hundreds or even thousands of Druze villagers.

For domestic consumption the cowboy in the White House declares that "America is standing tall," but when the fighting broke out in West Beirut last weekend the American press reported with relief that the Marines were safely hunkered down at the airport while bullets whizzed around them. Some "peacekeeping" troops! With consummate cynicism Reagan offered naval and air cover to the British, French and Italian contingents of the "multi-

national force" he was leaving in the lurch. The British huffed out the next day, the Italians ordered a "gradual" pullout and the French replied, "thanks, but no thanks." If Mitterrand wants to regain some credibility he might throw

in with the Shi'ites and Druze and start shelling the U.S. fleet.

Also left high and dry by Reagan's announcement were American civilians in Beirut. When U.S. citizens called up to ask about evacuation, embassy officers told them they were on their own or simply hung up. State Department officials were worried about giving the "wrong impression" in Damascus. When the Committee to Re-Elect the President discovered this was creating the wrong impression in Dubuque, Washington suddenly switched gears and started coopting them out by the hundreds. The last thing Reagan needs is hundreds of American "hostages" trapped in Lebanon on November 4. Just ask Jimmy Carter.

As the U.S. Navy was indiscriminately bombarding villages in the Shuf Mountains surrounding Beirut, Druze leader Walid Jumblatt (who named a son after Lamerlane) vowed: "We will not allow our people to be killed without taking revenge." This is no idle threat, as the Maronites or the French Foreign Legion can attest (see box page 9). The Druze have a long memory of the wrongs done them, and a history of doing something about it. Suddenly the *New Jersey* stopped its shelling and Druze militiamen showed up with flowers in their gun barrels at the U.S. Embassy to help in the evacuation. "I am here just to make sure that no one bothers the Americans," said one (New York Times, 11 February). What happened to all those "bloodthirsty

Druze gunmen" the U.S. was vituperating against a few days ago?

Almost all Americans want out of the bloody mess Reagan has gotten himself into in Lebanon, but some right-wingers were shocked that their hero came off looking like a paper tiger in his first serious test. The ultra-hawkish *Wall Street Journal* (8 February) wrote in dismay:

"President Reagan's decision to move U.S. Marines from Beirut to ships off the Lebanese coast is a stunning defeat
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Shi'ite
militiaman
battles
Gemayel's
forces.



YURI VLADIMIROVICH ANDROPOV
1914-1984

He sought to curb the worst excesses of the bureaucracy.

He sought to increase the productivity of the Soviet masses.

He made no overt betrayals on behalf of imperialism.

He was no friend of freedom.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

John Reed Speaks to the Communist International, 1920

Blacks and Reds

SEE PAGE SIX

An Exchange: Yuri Andropov and Soviet Defensism

When the Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan from staging a race-terror provocation in Washington, D.C. on 27 November 1982, we never imagined that one result would be an interesting hot debate with some of our ex-members on the question of Stalinism. But when the charter busload from Norfolk, Virginia took the name "Nat Turner Battalion" and the New York comrades followed suit with the "Yuri Andropov Brigade," the self-

styled "External Tendency" (ET) in Toronto said it was a new low even for us. In our reply to their first letter, we observed that our Stalinophobic critics, who claim that the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" means we have sold out to Stalinism, evidently have no objection to the "Ulysses S. Grant Division," named for a Republican capitalist politician. We publish below the second letter on the subject from the Toronto "External Tendency" along with our reply.

Dissidents Denounce "Andropov Brigade"

ET Letter

Toronto
October 28, 1983

Dear Comrade Robertson:

Thank you for being so good as to send us a copy of your reply to our letter of 13 December, 1982. Please be assured that we have given it our most careful consideration.

Frankly we were a bit disappointed with your letter. You defend so adamantly (but so poorly) what is so clearly a mistake. Perhaps it is a mistake that you feel some personal responsibility for. We sympathize with the inherent difficulties of attempting to develop a coherent defense of the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" within the programmatic framework of Trotskyism, but even so we were disappointed. We had somehow expected more from you.

You quote a line from our letter that "On the most general level Andropov

and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for." We would have thought that this was a fairly unobjectionable statement among Trotskyists. Leon Trotsky throughout his life fought for international proletarian revolution; Stalin was the "gravedigger" of revolutions.

But after quoting the above line you choose not to take it up at all. Instead you attempt to substitute a position which we do not hold which, you assure us, is only a "more poetic version" of the same thing. But it is not. We reject the erroneous position of the Dobbs-Cannon SWP majority in 1952-53 with which you attempt to saddle us ("Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through and to the core"). We reject adulation of Yuri Andropov for the same reason—because it negates the contradictory character of the Stalinist bureaucracy and thus constitutes a

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In Defense of Trotskyism

SL Reply

3 January 1984

Dear Comrades,

Your reply of 28 October 1983 regarding the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" collapses the contradictions inherent in the Soviet bureaucracy and Soviet degenerated workers state, thereby vitiating the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union when that question has become most urgent.

You consider the key point made in your original letter your paraphrase of our slogan "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats" as "You Can't Defend the Soviet Union with Yuri Andropovs." Our slogan is based on the fact that there is no class difference between the twin parties of the American imperialist bourgeoisie. Do you mean to imply that there is no class difference between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy? Then you thereby reject Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet degenerated workers state as well. "Oh, no," you protest. But your all-too-clever and very revealing paraphrase of our slogan is ambiguous at best. Can the Soviet Union be defended with Marshals Ustinov and Ogarkov, who are also part of the bureaucracy and who helped engineer Andropov's rise to power? Is the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan then not to be hailed and the Soviet handling of the KAL 007 provocation to be condemned?

Your position is reminiscent of the statement: "We have never supported the Kremlin's international policy." Before you grow too enamored of that formula let me remind you that its author was Max Shachtman in the 1939-40 fight over the Russian question. About it Trotsky observed:

"In its present foreign as well as domestic policy, the bureaucracy places first and foremost for defense its own parasitic interests. To that extent we wage mortal struggle against it, but in the final analysis, through the interests of the bureaucracy, in a very distorted form the interests of the workers' state are reflected. These interests we defend—with our own methods."

—"From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene." *In Defense of Marxism*, p. 127

Trotskyism provides a coherent worldview in which the contradictory character of the Stalinist bureaucracy is reflected. Your assertion, "On the most general level Andropov and the bureaucrats he represents are counterposed to everything that Trotsky fought for," is both undialectical and very distant from Trotskyism.

Do you not believe that under the gun of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive the Soviet bureaucracy may be compelled to take certain measures, albeit deformed and partial, to defend the state power from which they reap their privileges? It is no accident that in this hour of grave peril the bureaucracy has placed at its head Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov. An interesting account of Andropov's character and rise to power can be found in Zhores Medvedev's recent book *Andropov*. There is no love lost between this Soviet biologist and dissident and the former head of the KGB who incarcerated him in a mental hospital and exiled him. Nevertheless, Medvedev contrasts Andropov to Brezhnev, who "was not a real leader in 1964, but the representative of the bureaucracy which sought a quieter,

safer, more secure, privileged life" (p. 196). Andropov is known as a decisive and efficient administrator who used the KGB not only to persecute dissidents but to fight crime and corruption in the highest levels of the bureaucracy, including Brezhnev's immediate family. Confronted by Reagan's nuclear Armageddon, the bureaucracy evidently felt the need for a leader who would shake out the sloth, corruption and mismanagement of the Brezhnev years.

Of course the bureaucracy cannot reform itself as neo-Bukharinites like the Medvedev brothers believe. It will take the restoration of soviet democracy through proletarian political revolution to unleash the productive resources of the Soviet workers state. And as comrade Robertson wrote you, in our view, that political revolution is inextricably linked to the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against American and other imperialisms.

Your comparison of Andropov with Stalin and Beria, the mass murderers of tens of thousands of Communists and Red Army officers, is an obscene amalgam worthy of the pages of *Commentary*. Andropov's entire political career was shaped by a more tranquil period domestically. To hold him personally responsible for the psychopathological mass crimes of Stalin reflects the methodology that holds the bureaucracy to be a homogenous reactionary mass counterrevolutionary through and through—i.e., a new exploiting class. Given this methodology there is no distinction between a Guevara heroically fighting for social revolution arms in hand and a Corvalán who disarmed the workers in the face of counterrevolution, since they both were Latin American Stalinists. It is worthy of those who make no distinction between a Ramón Mercader and a Leopold Trepper, between a Mark Zborowski and a Kim Philby, since they were all agents of Stalin's murderous secret police. This methodology can never account for, much less attract, an Ignace Reiss. He served as an officer of the GPU at the very height of Stalin's terror, and declared for the Fourth International at the cost of his life precisely because he saw in it the unstained banner of revolutionary Soviet defensism. To paraphrase comrade Robertson's reply to you: sitting at the summit of the Soviet bureaucracy, Andropov is unlikely to follow the path of Ignace Reiss. But it is infinitely easier to see him in that role than (if you will not have Sakharov) the Douglas Frasers of the world who have placed themselves countless times in the direct service of the imperialist secret police.

Truth is concrete; therefore it is hardly surprising that there is not a word in your letters about the concrete conditions in which the Russian question is posed today: the crisis of U.S. and other imperialisms finds no other escape than thermonuclear Armageddon against the Soviet Union, imperiling not only the working-class gains of the Russian October but the very survival of humanity. This is manifestly a period of enhanced dangers for our small revolutionary party. It is as well a time of enhanced opportunities for us, as shown for example by our demonstrated capacity to lead large numbers of blacks and other working people in mass struggles against the fascist race-

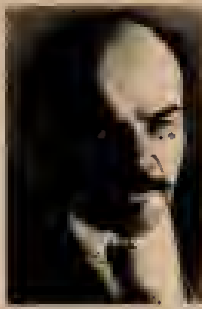
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TROTSKY

Lenin's Last Struggle

On his deathbed in late 1922-early 1923 Lenin fought to prevent the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist Party in power. He therefore proposed to broaden working-class representation on the Central Committee and to remove Stalin from the powerful post of secretary-general. Lenin's testament was subsequently suppressed by Stalin for three decades.



LENIN

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote above about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky it is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

V.I. Lenin

January 4, 1923

—Collected Works, Volume 36 (Moscow, 1966)

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17 February 1984

ET Letter...

(continued from page 2)

departure from Trotskyism. Of course, from your point of view the position has the advantage of being considerably easier to knock down—an attribute it shares with other straw men.

If all you are searching for is a more lyrical rendering of the idea which we were seeking to convey, you might wish to consider the following passage by Trotsky:

"Stalinism originated not as an organic outgrowth of Bolshevism but as a negation of Bolshevism consummated in blood. The process of this negation is mirrored very graphically in the history of the Central Committee. Stalinism had to exterminate first politically and then physically the leading cadres of Bolshevism in order to become what it now is: an apparatus of the privileged, a brake upon historical progress, an agency of world imperialism. Stalinism and Bolshevism are mortal enemies."

("A Graphic History of Bolshevism," 7 June 1939)

Not merely "counterposed," but "mortal enemies!" He puts it so nicely. Of course despite this assessment Trotsky remained, as do we, firmly Soviet defensist. The two positions are mutually exclusive only in the minds of Stalinist sycophants. Surely we could agree that "on the most general level" Glenn Watts and Lane Kirkland are counterposed to class-struggle militants in the unions? Yet is it not easy to imagine situations where we would both find ourselves in a military bloc with these treacherous parasites? Same thing.

Of course the Soviet bureaucracy has a dual nature. But your reply dodges the key point that we made in our original letter: "You can't defend the Soviet Union with Yuri Andropovs." You claim to continue to recognize the "inextricable" connection between military defense and political revolution in the Soviet Union. But, those who adulate Stalin's heirs act to *undermine* the defense of the Soviet Union. Let us refer you once again to comrade Trotsky:

"...I consider the main source of danger to the USSR in the present international situation to be Stalin and the oligarchy headed by him. An open struggle against them, in the view of world public opinion, is inseparably connected for me with the defense of the USSR."

("Stalin After the Finnish Experience," 13 March 1940)

Of course, one cannot rule out *in theory* the possibility which you raise that a Stalin or an Andropov might throw in his lot with the insurgent proletariat in the course of a political revolution. (We imagine that such a

development is somewhat less probable than the prospect of you declaring for the External Tendency.) Obviously, openly pro-imperialist elements, like Sakharov, are even *less* likely to support the workers than Andropov. So what? The necessity for an "open struggle against" the Stalinist oligarchs is in no way obviated by that.

As for the hypothetical glee experienced by blacks in D.C. upon hearing of the advent of the Yuri Andropov Brigade, would they have been any less happy about a John Brown, Frederick Douglass or Leon Trotsky Brigade? As a matter of fact, we have our doubts as to whether any of the "ground-down black people of D.C." actually ever heard of the Yuri Andropov Brigade. How could they—it wasn't among the endorsers of the demonstration. If any of Washington's black population *did* feel gleeful about that name on a bus from New York, imagine their pleasure had the Yuri Andropov Brigade ventured a little further out of the closet and paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House holding aloft pictures of its namesake! But of course to do that, the "semi-facetious" semi-disclaimer would have to be discarded and you would no longer be the leader of a Trotskyist organization.

We can only imagine that the final "illuminating" red herring that you toss our way regarding a united front with the Kremlin for Soviet defensism is intended to distract the attention of the unsophisticated readers of your internal bulletin. (Just to be absolutely clear, let us assure you that we entirely agree with the point which Trotsky makes in the quote you cite.) Or are you perhaps trying to suggest that parading around Washington as the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" would somehow constitute a military bloc with the Kremlin for the defense of the USSR? If that's what you mean why not come out and say so?

Calling yourselves the "Yuri Andropov Brigade" was a mistake. All of your very considerable political experience as well as the talents of the capable and devoted Marxists who produce *WV* can't change that. If we were to offer you some advice it would be this: don't try to defend the indefensible; it can only produce bad results.

For several decades you played a critical role in preserving, defending and even developing the Trotskyist program. But you didn't thereby acquire proprietary rights to it. Adulation of a Stalinist bureaucrat can neither be squared with fidelity to Trotskyism in general nor with Soviet defensism in particular. We doubt that you would even have tried ten years ago.

The fact that you find it so necessary

to cling to this error, indeed the fact that it could occur in the first place, is evidence that the leadership of the SL/US, with you at the apex, is losing its political bearings. This can only be a reflection of the atrophying of confidence in the possibility of building a mass Bolshevik party capable of leading the seizure of power by the working class.

There is a necessary and reciprocal relationship between the loss of communist cutting edge and the destruction of internal democracy in a revolutionary organization. For a Bolshevik tendency, especially a small propaganda group in conditions of bourgeois democracy, a vigorous and democratic internal life is not a desirable option but a *vital necessity* if the organization is to be able to respond effectively to the changing developments of the class struggle. Unfortunately the SL/iSt is no longer an organization which has a healthy internal life—a development for which you more than any other individual must be held accountable.

Bolshevik greetings,

External Tendency of the iSt

SL Reply...

(continued from page 2)

terrorists. A number of our softer and weaker members, intimidated by the dangers (and often equally intimidated by the obligations posed by our new opportunities), have departed the Spartacist tendency, including yourselves. But when the KKK threatened to march on 27 November 1982 the issues posed prompted many ex-members from New York to head for D.C. with us. We were pleased to have so many former members turn out (without of course making any political concessions to them). Fascists are the domestic shock troops for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive; therefore it was entirely appropriate as well as ironic to dub this contingent in the Labor/Black Mobilization the "Yuri Andropov Brigade," which was appreciated by most if not all of its participants. The only protest has come from the "External Tendency," which while capable of traveling all over the country to attend SL functions (and speaking without hindrance) were at this historic victory conspicuous by their absence.

And no one in Washington that day would have mistaken the Yuri Andropov Brigade as a concession to Stalinism. The real Kremlin sycophants and Stalinoids, the Communist Party and its various satellites (Marcyites, Guardianites, Trendites, CLP, CWP, etc.) were busy in the service of the anti-Soviet



Lochon/Gamma-Liaison

In late 1979, when Soviet forces intervened against U.S.-backed Afghan feudallists, Spartacists said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!

popular front building a Democratic Party rally at McPherson Square. Or, not wanting to confront the Democrats in Congress and City Hall, they were, like yourselves, absent.

Finally, we note—and your puerile affectation of supereiliousness does not disguise—that despite yourselves you must pay the Leninist democracy of the Spartacist League its due. For as you attest, this exchange, as with any serious (and even not so serious) criticism or polemic against the SL, will find its place in an internal bulletin or some other suitable format. What other tendency is so solicitous of healthy internal life and education of its membership as to publish a series like *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League*? No, comrades, we esteem that rich party democracy necessary to forging centralized revolutionary clarity and determination in action, that democracy which you voluntarily placed yourselves outside of in this period of urgent revolutionary tasks.

We know what our duty is and we stand at our posts. As Trotsky wrote on the eve of the Second World War:

"The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."

—"Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events," *In Defense of Marxism*, p. 178

Fraternally,
Reuben Samuels

Kangaroo Court Suspends CWA Militant

Fight the Witchhunt of Kathy Ikegami!

SAN FRANCISCO, February 10—A kangaroo court in phone workers union (CWA) Local 9410 has just handed down its frame-up verdict against Kathy Ikegami, a leader of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel's hand-picked trial body, chaired by his girlfriend, pronounced Ikegami guilty after an 18-month inquisition.

According to Imerzel's witch-hunters, Ikegami "brought the union into disrepute" because, as the verdict statement put it, she "divided the leadership of this Union and its Rank-and-File members." In short, she told the CWA membership the truth about Imerzel's prostration before Ma Bell. The CWA bureaucracy has for decades refused to fight the phone company and now wants to blame phone workers' demoralization and

disgust on militants like Kathy Ikegami. Imerzel wants to get rid of Kathy and the MAC because they exposed his collusion in concealing projected layoffs; because they fight to win strikes through mass militant picket lines that nobody dares to cross; because they stand for an end to the union's notorious ties to the CIA and for a workers government to put an end to capitalist oppression.

Most of the trial was spent "proving" the well-known fact that Kathy is a Spartacist supporter, an association she termed "a badge of honor" in her closing trial statement. Ikegami was also declared guilty of "willfully violating" union bylaws because, as an exec board member, she refused to rubberstamp Imerzel's appointments to steward and committee posts. Kathy and the MAC

want a fighting union whose officials should be elected by the membership to represent them, not beholden to patronage from the sellout bureaucrats.

Imerzel's hazy frame-up verdict comes down now when phone workers are still reeling from the debacle of last summer's strike and the continuing victimization of picket line militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Busy witchhunting Ikegami for a year and a half, Imerzel & Co. are protecting some real criminals in the union. The MAC brought out during the trial that Imerzel's buddy, former secretary Joe McKenna, had attended meetings of the Ku Klux Klan. This racist has no place in any labor organization! And the bureaucrats have protected the scabs who crossed CWA picket lines last summer. Imerzel's side is with

open racists, strikebreakers and the company against militant unionists.

Imerzel's trial body has fined Ikegami \$300 and suspended her from the union for six months—an open invitation to the company to fire her. Ikegami now has 30 days to appeal this verdict to the membership—and there is no membership meeting scheduled, of course. During the trial, over a thousand CWA members signed petitions demanding the dropping of the frame-up charges against Ikegami and the recall of the Imerzel clique. Now it's up to Kathy's union brothers and sisters to act again in defense of Kathy Ikegami—the union needs more fighters like her! As Kathy put it in her statement January 16 before walking out of the kangaroo court:

"Purging fighters from the union... [is] a policy of making enemies of those who want to make our union strong. It's the militants who build unions and win strikes. Imerzel is playing right into the hands of Ma Bell."

Smash Imerzel's purge of Kathy Ikegami!

\$\$\$ Urgently Needed to Pay the State's Ransom

Taylor Family Saved from Alabama Legal Lynching

The state of Alabama couldn't get away with its attempted racist legal lynching of the Taylor family, five black working people from the North who faced monstrous frame-up charges in Montgomery. Although the court is demanding ransom in a settlement reached on February 3, the state was not able to send the Taylors to jail where, as black men branded as would-be cop-killers, they would face almost certain death. Under the terms of the settlement reached in Judge Randall Thomas' chambers last Friday, Worrie, Elbert and Willie James Taylor and Larry Hill each pleaded guilty to one count of third-degree assault (a misdemeanor). Although they faced charges which could have put them in jail for 20 years, each received a six-month suspended sentence and a year's probation to be served not in Alabama but in their home states of Ohio and Michigan. Charges against Chris Taylor, who has been fighting extradition to Alabama, were dropped.

Justice in this case would have been to drop the charges against the Taylors, jail the killer cops and give millions to this tormented black family. Instead, the Taylors must pay \$11,000 to the despicable nightriding cops, Ed Spivey and Les Brown. But it was not money the racists were after here in the Deep South. The lynch mob wanted the deaths of the Taylors as an "example" to all black people in Reagan's America who dare to defend themselves against KKK-style attack. Chris Taylor expressed the relief of every supporter of the Taylors when he told *WV*: "This case was a really racist thing and it's unfortunate for us that justice wasn't served.... They [the family] feel it was unfair too, but it was something they had to accept because our lives are so much more valuable than the \$11,000."

Almost a year ago, 30 members of the

Taylor family gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of Annie Bell Taylor. Racist plainclothes cops Brown and Spivey, seeing "shiny new cars with out-of-state plates" outside the dilapidated shack, burst into the Taylor gathering with their .357 magnums

law was primarily the black people of Montgomery who saw the case as their own and came forward in courageous support of the Taylors. Last November a hung jury refused to convict Worrie Taylor, 49, of Warren, Ohio, the first member of the family to stand trial.



The Taylor family.

drawn and shouting racist slurs. The Taylors, thinking they were under Ku Klux Klan attack, disarmed the thugs (one of whom was shot in the process), and called the cops. But the racist thugs were the cops. For the Taylors' elementary act of self-defense they were beaten bloody, official police tapes doctored and the full weight of the state of Alabama was brought against them to finish in the courtroom what failed on Todd Road that night of February 27.

It sticks in the craws of Mayor Folmar and D.A. Evans that the Taylors who whipped the police are alive to tell about it. But the racists couldn't make their frame-up stick. What stayed the hand of Alabama lynch

Three black jurors stood firm for acquittal, able to resist some 20 hours of deliberation and pressure from the judge. These jurors knew that black Montgomery was behind them because each day of the trial they saw 80-100 of the Taylors' supporters from 9 a.m. when the court opened to 10 p.m. each night. The spirit of defiance was particularly loud and clear when District Attorney Evans asked the jury in his summary: "If you break into my home, I'll kill you. Is that the message you want to send out of this community?" An estimated 150 blacks in the courtroom replied, "Yeah."

The trial had touched a nerve among these black people who understood

what was at stake in this case and were not afraid to face down Mayor "Führer" Folmar and his Confederate troopers each day in court. "I wouldn't be satisfied unless the man who shot and assaulted those officers are behind bars.... But this was the best we could do," said Folmar (*Montgomery Advertiser*, 5 February). It was the spectre of further mobilization of blacks around the case which led D.A. Evans to seek a settlement on the eve of Worrie Taylor's scheduled retrial.

While Montgomery's black people were on the front line of the battle to save the Taylors, they had powerful allies from working people in the plants and ghettos in the North. In Pontiac, Michigan the Taylor family's union brothers and sisters in the UAW came out to show support; hundreds came out to black church rallies there and in Warren, Ohio. Early on, the Spartacist League took up the cause, seeking to mobilize labor/black support around the country, publicize and raise funds for the Taylors' defense. With demonstrations at Wayne State University and outside the giant Ford River Rouge complex in Detroit, we sought to enlist the support of black workers and students at these key centers. In the campaign to stop Chris Taylor's extradition from Michigan to face the Alabama legal lynch mob, the Partisan Defense Committee, Labor/Black Struggle League and Rouge Militant Caucus initiated a petition signed by 139 Detroit area unionists, labor and black leaders, including 95 workers in UAW Local 600.

The Taylors have acted courageously from the first moment the cops burst through their door. Their attorney Troy Massey reported that with the plea settlement, the Taylors "still feel that they were morally and legally justified in doing what they did" (*Alabama Journal and Advertiser*, 5 February). It may well give the next set of nightriding cops who plan to attack some black homes something to think about. The Taylors have made their contribution to black Southern self-defense. We must continue to defend the Taylors by helping pay Alabama's racist ransom. The price of black courage in Alabama must not be borne by the Taylors alone—they shouldn't have to pay a dime! *WV* urges its readers to send generous contributions to: Taylor Defense Fund, c/o Central Bank of the South, 150 Dexter Avenue, Montgomery, Alabama 36104. ■



WASHINGTON, D.C.—Over 200 people packed the second floor of the Ithex Club in Washington, D.C. on February 1 for three sets of great jazz from saxophonist Houston Person and his group, featuring vocalist Etta Jones, in a benefit performance for the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The PDC is a nationwide class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The enthusiastic, integrated crowd came to hear the popular jazz artists and to celebrate the victory achieved when the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in the



WV Photos

PDC Jazz Benefit A Big Hit

nation's capital on 27 November 1982.

The PDC has been raising funds to cover the costs of the legal campaign which successfully forced the *Washington Times*, organ of the anti-communist messiah Sun Myung Moon, to retract its deadly libel against the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (see *WV* No. 345, 6 January). The Moonie press had accused us of provoking violence against the cops in the Novem-

ber 27 anti-Klan mobilization. The PDC is also supporting and raising funds for the defense of victimized Bay Area phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Lauren, a former ten-year member of the Black Panther Party, and Ray were fired from their jobs and are facing years in the state penitentiary for defending themselves and their picket line against a violent racist assault by a scab manager during

last summer's nationwide telephone strike.

Houston and Etta gave one of their best performances ever for the benefit/fundraiser for the PDC. The audience, more than three-quarters black, was a congenial mixture of labor militants, jazz buffs and socialists—quite a few were all three at once. Before the second set, the master of ceremonies, Gene Herson, a militant oppositionist in the National Maritime Union, read greetings from Lauren. The audience cheered at Mozee's remark that "Labor/black mobilization stopped the KKK from marching in Washington."

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British Spartacists Slam Sheffield Ban

Martyrs of "Bloody Sunday" Remembered

EXCERPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
NO. 54, FEBRUARY 1984

Bloody Sunday, January 1972: the day 14 civil rights marchers were gunned down in the streets of Derry [Northern Ireland] by British troops. Now the fascist National Front (NF) wanted to make the annual commemoration march, slated for Sheffield 29 January, the scene for another bloody Sunday. When Sheffield's Labour-dominated City Council, headed by Labour "left" rising star David Blunkett, imposed a ban on use of council facilities by march organisers in the wake of the Harrods bombing, the NF saw a green light for race-hate provocation. Emboldened by the Labour bureaucracy's cowardly treachery in the face of the Tory onslaught against the NGA [printers union], feeding off the anti-Soviet war drive, the NF crawled out of the sewers in an attempt to prove itself as the bourgeoisie's shock troops for anti-Irish reaction. What was called for was English and Irish workers and all racial minorities joining together in struggle against a common, deadly enemy: a mass trade-union/minority mobilisation in this solidly trade-union city to demand the imperialist troops get out of Ireland and to inflict a crushing and humiliating blow against the NF race-terrorists. That's what was needed. That's what the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) fought for.

What happened instead was an anti-democratic ban on all marches, initiated by Blunkett and imposed by Tory Home Secretary Leon Brittan, in towns and cities throughout the region. For the first time in 12 years, there was no Bloody Sunday march in England. Instead of being crushed under the heel of Labour and minorities, the fascists got off scot-free with the knowledge that the streets of England were off limits to opponents of British imperialism that day. That this outrage could come to be was bitter testimony to the state of the opportunist left in this period of Cold War.

The Labourite misleaders bent over backwards to prove themselves loyal lackeys to the imperialist ruling class. The Communist Party, with its industrial base in Sheffield, stayed invisible. The fake-Trotskyists, like Socialist Action and Socialist Organiser, erstwhile cheerleaders for Provo-nationalism now ensconced in the Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI), dropped the question like

a hot potato rather than come out against Labour "left" Blunkett. And the nationalists of Sinn Féin and their fake-left press agents at the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), its Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) front group and the centrist Workers Power (WP), who were meant to be mobilising the Bloody Sunday march, did everything to demobilise it. For weeks their only response to Blunkett's ban was an impotent petition campaign, to be followed by an even more impotent call to reselect the Labour councillors. In the

day Brittan announced the ban, we organised a protest picket outside Sheffield Town Hall. Thirty protesters picketed behind banners which pointed the way forward: "Smash Britain's Torture Camps—Troops Out Now!" "Labour Council's Anti-Irish Ban is Green Light for NF—Trade Unions, Minorities, Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" And on the Sunday, while the Republicans and their fake-left friends were nowhere to be seen, we held a well-defended public meeting, "A Commemoration of the Centuries of Celtic



Bloody Sunday, 1972

Spartacist League/Britain protests ban on demonstrations in Sheffield, England, January 27.

Struggle Against English Domination. The Role of Sheffield and its Labour Movement."

When we proposed to the Bloody Sunday "mobilisers" that they join us in the picket of Sheffield Town Hall, a number of their supporters initially agreed. But the leaders moved in to quash any suggestion of joint action, hastily conjuring up a wimpy "alternative"—a "picket" to accompany the submission of their pleading petition, deliberately scheduled to take place an hour and a half before our proposed picket. And when we mobilised our forces to get there at the same time, these hardy souls wrapped up their banners and fled.

As late as the Saturday afternoon edition of the [Sheffield] *Star*, the Bloody Sunday "mobilisers" stuck to their story that coaches would be leaving from Sheffield Poly for a march, destination unstated. But on the Sunday, there were no coaches, mobilisers, no march. Twenty minutes after the buses were meant to depart, two Sinn Féin supporters showed up to announce the cancellation of the march to any who

might have turned out. At that very moment, four coaches filled with skinheads—one emblazoned with the Cross of St. George—were being detained and turned around at the Sheffield spur off the motorway by the cops.

Having seen to it that there would be no Bloody Sunday march, the powers-that-be now tried to make sure that there was no public expression of opposition to British imperialism at all that day. Three hours before our scheduled public meeting, a representative of the Sheffield Poly Student Union Executive notified us that our room booking there had been cancelled because they did not want a public meeting on Ireland. They didn't stop us—our meeting went ahead at an alternative venue. We remembered *Bloody Sunday*!

In the wake of their criminal betrayal, Sinn Féin and its RCP and WP camp followers attempted to cover their tracks. Having abandoned their Bloody Sunday demonstration, they held a meeting subsequently to concoct an after-the-fact "alternative"—to lure people to Wakefield prison where Irish hunger striker Frank Stagg died. To exculpate their consistent refusal to do anything to stop the National Front, they now try to claim there was no NF, dismissing our report of the coaches turned around by the cops as a "slander," claiming they were IFM and not NF supporters. An SI supporter at the meeting made short shrift of this crap by describing the coaches with their skinheads and banner and asked, "That couldn't have been IFM supporters—could it?"

In their thirst to tail after some force or another, these opportunists exposed their hollow pretensions to "anti-imperialism" and "anti-racism." Clinging to the coattails of the Sinn Féin nationalists, their only strategy for fighting the oppression of the Irish Catholic people is to scream about "self-determination for the Irish people as a whole," endorsing the nationalist project of a united Ireland forcibly incorporating the Protestant people. In contrast revolutionaries understand that the fight against the special oppression of Irish Catholics in the North requires the unity of Catholic and Protestant workers in a struggle for their common class interests.

Racist British imperialism will meet its downfall only at the hands of a united working-class assault led by a revolutionary vanguard party which acts as tribune of all the oppressed. Around the events of the Bloody Sunday march, the Labour-loyalists and vicarious nationalists demonstrated where they stood. This year's Bloody Sunday march should have been a victorious rout of the fascist rabble by thousands of militant workers and minorities. That is what we fought to build. To make sure that happens next time, the task facing us today is to build the Spartacist League into the mass revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Excerpts from the Spartacist League/Britain leaflet dated 24 January are reprinted below.

**Labour Council Anti-Irish Ban: Green Light for NF Provocation
Troops Out of Ireland Now! Crush the Fascists Through
Mass Trade-Union/Minority Mobilisation!**

The National Front's threat to stage a race-hate anti-Irish provocation in Sheffield Sunday 29 January must be stopped! That these racist anti-working-class scum dare even to show their faces in this solidly pro-union, working class city is the direct result of the green light given them by the Labour-dominated City Council's anti-Irish ban....

The Harrods [department store] bombing was an indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism. Marxists oppose the strategy of individual terrorism as a futile diversion from the task of mobilising the masses, while defending against state repression the perpetrators of attacks aimed against military targets

and imperialist leaders. But attacks like the Harrods bombing, aimed against a random civilian population, are simply criminal acts. Such nationalist crimes deepen and exacerbate national and racial divisions within the working class. But they pale beside the mass terrorism of the imperialist ruling class. We deplore the Harrods bombing—as we deplore Ulster Protestant terror against Catholics, as we deplore the razing of countless Irish villages over the centuries by English overlords, or Edward I's

use of Yorkshire levies to massacre and raze Berwick. The Celtic nations have suffered the atrocities of English domination for hundreds of years. But the Labour Party leaders of the "Socialist Republic" rant only against those "who advocate, support or are involved in the taking of life of civilians of Great Britain." They amnesty the blood-stained ruling class who invented concentration camps and mass terror bombing of civilian centres, who carried out mass murder in India, blew up the

Belgrano, who "shoot to kill" in the streets of Belfast day in and day out. Scratch the "socialism" of Blunkett and you find a "little England" chauvinist. Thatcher hardly needs the PTA [Prevention of Terrorism Act] when "lefts" like Blunkett are around to do the dirty work. We say: Damn you England—leave the Irish alone! Troops out of Ireland now! Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Trade union blacking ["hot-eargoing"] of military goods to Northern Ireland! Not Green against Orange, but class against class! For anti-sectarian workers militias to combat communal terror and imperialist

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John Reed Speaks to Communist International, 1920

Blacks and Reds

The "Manifesto of the Communist International to the Workers of the World," written by Leon Trotsky and adopted by the Comintern's First Congress (1919), proclaimed: "Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of proletarian dictatorship in Europe will strike for you as the hour of your own emancipation!" The Bolsheviks had led the Russian Revolution to victory by championing and awakening the subjugated nations of the tsarist empire. Now they hammered home the need to unite behind Communist banners the struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism. This was a sharp break from the traditions of social democracy, which gave short shrift to the colonial question and too often echoed the bourgeoisie's racist hypocritical talk of a "civilizing mission." Regarding the U.S., Lenin urged American Communists to reach out to the doubly oppressed black masses with a program of special demands: "The black question has become an integral part of the world revolution," declared the Comintern.

James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism and one of the foremost leaders of the early Communist Party, stated categorically: "Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races—for all the despised and rejected of the earth" (see "The Russian Revolution and the Fight for Black Liberation," *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983). Previously American Socialists had been at best "colorblind," as with Eugene Debs who stated that "we have nothing special to offer the Negro, and we cannot make separate appeals to all the races. The Socialist Party is the party of the whole working class, regardless of color...." At worst, as with Victor Berger's reformist "sewer socialists," they shaded over into open white racism. It was as

Lenin addresses Second Congress of Communist International, 1920.



part of the Bolsheviks' struggle to convince American Communists to recognize the *special oppression* of blacks as a matter of *strategic* importance that John Reed was designated, at Lenin's personal request, to report on the "Negro Question" at the Communist International's Second Congress.

The popular movie *Reds* is a generally faithful account of John Reed's evolution, under the impact of the October Revolution, from America's foremost radical journalist into a committed Communist. But the movie makes a serious omission. It notes Reed's desire to attend the Second Congress in order to get the Comintern mandate for his faction of the American Communist movement and to argue against work within the old AFL craft unions. But *Reds* omits Reed's reports

at commission and congress sessions on the national and colonial questions. In his speech to the congress, reprinted below, Reed powerfully portrayed the Southern lynchings, Jim Crow segregation and the impact of proletarianization and imperialist war on radicalizing blacks. Here he made great strides in transcending the Debsian tradition, declaring that Communists must use the rapidly growing *race consciousness* to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and draw oppressed minorities into the struggle for socialist revolution.

It took a decade before Reed's exhortation to the Communist Party to take the lead in the struggle for black emancipation was translated into action. Although the CPUSA had by then become fully Stalinized, raising its diversionary "Third Period" call for

"Negro self-determination in the Black Belt," its recruitment of thousands of militant blacks reflected the early Comintern's commitment to fight against special oppression. The CP's militant fight for black rights in the early 1930s, particularly around the racist frame-up of the Scottsboro Boys, was subsequently betrayed on the altar of the popular front, of support to Roosevelt and the racist Democratic Party. Only the Trotskyists can rightfully claim the Leninist heritage of revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed. Today, John Reed's stirring speech and the Communist International's clarion call to the black masses are carried forward in the Spartacist League program: Finish the Civil War—Forward to a Workers State! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!

SPEECH BY JOHN REED

In America there live ten million Negroes who are concentrated mainly in the South. In recent years however many thousands of them have moved to



John Reed

the North. The Negroes in the North are employed in industry while in the South the majority are farm labourers or small farmers. The position of the Negroes is terrible, particularly in the Southern states. Paragraph 16 of the Constitution of the United States grants the Negroes full civil rights. Nevertheless most Southern states deny the Negroes these rights. In other states, where by law the Negroes possess the right to vote, they are killed if they dare to exercise this right.

Negroes are not allowed to travel in the same railway carriages as whites, visit the same saloons and restaurants, or live in the same districts. There exist special, and worse, schools for Negroes and similarly special churches. This separation of the Negroes is called the "Jim Crow system," and the clergy in the Southern churches preach about paradise on the "Jim Crow system." Negroes are used as unskilled workers in industry. Until recently they were excluded from most of the unions that belong to the American Federation of Labour.

The IWW of course organized the Negroes, the old Socialist Party however undertook no serious attempt to organize them. In some states the Negroes were not accepted into the party at all, in others they were separated off into special sections, and in general the party statutes banned the

use of Party resources for propaganda among Negroes.

In the South the Negro has no rights at all and does not even enjoy the protection of the law. Usually one can kill Negroes without being punished. One terrible white institution is the lynching of Negroes. This happens in

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Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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the following manner: The Negro is covered with oil and strung up on a telegraph pole. The whole of the town, men, women and children, run up to watch the show and take home a piece of the clothing or the skin of the Negro they have tortured to death "as a souvenir."

I have too little time to explain the historical background to the Negro question in the United States. The descendants of the slave population, who were liberated during the Civil War, when politically and economically they were still completely underdeveloped, were later given full political rights in order to unleash a bitter class struggle in the South which was intended to hold up Southern capitalism until the capitalists in the North were able to bring together all the country's resources into their own possession.

Until recently the Negroes did not show any aggressive class consciousness at all. The first awakening of the Negroes took place after the Spanish-American War, in which the black troops had fought with extraordinary courage and from which they returned with the feeling that as men they were equal to the white troops. Until then the only movement that existed among the Negroes was a semi-philanthropic educational association led by Booker T. Washington and supported by the white capitalists. This movement found its expression in the organization of schools in which the Negroes were brought up to be good servants of industry. As intellectual nourishment they were presented with the good advice to resign themselves to the fate of an oppressed people. During the Spanish War an aggressive reform movement arose among the Negroes which demanded social and political equality with the whites. With the beginning of the European war half a million Negroes who had joined the US Army were sent to France, where they were killed with French troop detachments and suddenly made the discovery that they were treated as equals socially and in every other respect. The American General Staff approached the French High Command and asked them to forbid Negroes to visit places used by whites and to treat them as second-class people. After the war the Negroes, many of whom had received medals for bravery from the English and French governments, returned to their Southern villages where they were subjected to lynch law because they dared to wear their uniforms and their decorations on the street.

At the same time a strong movement arose among the Negroes who had stayed behind. Thousands of them moved to the North, began to work in the war industries and came into contact with the surging current of the labour movement. High as they were, their wage rates trailed behind the incredible increases in the prices of the most important necessities. Moreover the Negroes were outraged by the way all their strength was sucked out and the terrible exertions demanded by the work much more than were the white workers who had grown used to the terrible exploitation in the course of many years.

The Negroes went on strike alongside the white workers and quickly joined the industrial proletariat. They proved very ready to accept revolutionary propaganda. At that time the newspaper *Messenger* was founded, published by a young Negro, the socialist Randolph, and pursuing revolutionary propagandist aims. This paper united socialist propaganda with an appeal to the racial consciousness of the Negroes and with the call to organize self-defence against the brutal attacks of the whites. At the same time the paper insisted on the closest links with the white workers, regardless of the fact that the latter often



Harlem blacks protest racist rampage in East St. Louis, 1917.

Schomburg Library

took part in Negro-baiting, and emphasized that the enmity between the white and black races was supported by the capitalists in their own interests.

The return of the army from the front threw many millions of white workers on to the labour market all at once. The result was unemployment, and the demobilized soldiers' impatience took such threatening proportions that the employers were forced to tell the soldiers that their jobs had been taken by Negroes in order thus to incite the whites to massacre the Negroes. The first of these outbreaks took place in Washington, where civil servants from the administration returning from the war found their jobs occupied by Negroes. The civil servants were in the main Southerners. They organized a night attack on the Negro district in order to terrorize the Negroes into giving up their jobs. To everybody's amazement the Negroes came on to the streets fully armed. A fight developed and the Negroes fought so well that for every dead Negro there were three dead whites. Another revolt which lasted several days and left many dead on both sides broke out a few months later in Chicago. Later still a massacre took place in Omaha. In all these fights the Negroes showed for the first time in history that they are armed and splen-

dorally organized and are not at all afraid of the whites. The results of the Negroes' resistance were first of all a belated intervention by the government and secondly the acceptance of Negroes into the unions of the American Federation of Labour.

Racial consciousness grew among the Negroes themselves. At present there is among the Negroes a section which preaches the armed uprising of the Negroes against the whites. The Negroes who returned home from the war have set up associations everywhere for self-defence and to fight against the white supporters of lynch law. The circulation of the *Messenger* is growing constantly. At present it sells 180,000 copies monthly. At the same time, socialist ideas have taken root and are spreading rapidly among the Negroes employed in industry.

If we consider the Negroes as an enslaved and oppressed people, then they pose us with two tasks: on the one hand a strong racial movement and on the other a strong proletarian workers' movement, whose class consciousness is quickly growing. The Negroes do not pose the demand of national independence. A movement that aims for a separate national existence, like for instance the "back to Africa" movement that could be observed a few years ago,

is never successful among the Negroes. They hold themselves above all to be Americans, they feel at home in the United States. That simplifies the tasks of the communists considerably.

The only correct policy for the American Communists towards the Negroes is to regard them above all as workers. The agricultural workers and the small farmers of the South pose, despite the backwardness of the Negroes, the same tasks as those we have seen respect to the white rural proletariat. Communist propaganda can be carried out among the Negroes who are employed as industrial workers in the North. In both parts of the country we must strive to organize Negroes in the same unions as the whites. This is the best and quickest way to root out racial prejudice and awaken class solidarity.

The Communists must not stand aloof from the Negro movement which demands their social and political equality and at the moment, at a time of the rapid growth of racial consciousness, is spreading rapidly among Negroes. The Communists must use this movement to expose the lie of bourgeois equality and emphasize the necessity of the social revolution which will not only liberate all workers from servitude but is also the only way to free the enslaved Negro people. ■

Black History Month Spartacist Events

Spartacist Forums

Black History and the Class Struggle

Speaker: Michael Haines
Spartacist League

Thursday, February 16, 7:00 p.m.
Harris Hall Auditorium
Virginia State University
PETERSBURG, VA

Friday, February 17, 12:00 noon
McKeldin Student Center Ballroom
Morgan State University
Co-sponsored by the Morgan State
Student Government Association
and Spartacus Youth League

BALTIMORE

For more information: (202) 636-3537

SYL Film Showing & Discussion

"Finally Got the News"

Documentary on the League of Revolutionary
Black Workers and the struggle of black
auto workers in Detroit during the late 60s

Wednesday, February 22, 7:00 p.m.
Wayne State University
SCB, Room 583

DETROIT

For more information: (313) 961-1680

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982: Labor/Black
Mobilization Stops the KKK

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party— Not Front Men for the Racist Democrats

Wednesday, February 15
Noon-3:00 p.m.
(continuous showings)
University of Illinois, Chicago
CCC Room 506

Thursday, February 23, 1:40 p.m.
Truman College, Room 1516

Speaker: Tweet Carter
SL Central Committee

Thursday, March 1, 1:40 p.m.
Truman College, Room 1516

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

CHICAGO

For more information: (312) 427-0003

SYL Video Showing & Discussion

November 27, 1982:
"We Stopped the Klan!"

Black History and the Class Struggle

Thursday, February 23, 7:30 p.m.
Malcolm X Lounge, Hartley Hall
Columbia University

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League
and the Black Students Organization

NEW YORK

For more information: (212) 267-1025

SYL Forum

Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party

Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

Speaker: Bernard Vance
SL Central Committee

Saturday, February 25, 7:30 p.m.
Memorial Union
(see "Today in the Union" for location)

MADISON

For more information: (312) 427-0003

Save Iranian Tudeh Leaders!

Three senior military officers, members of Iran's pro-Moscow Tudeh ("Masses") party, have been sentenced to death by a military tribunal, according to the Iranian news agency (*New York Times*, 5 February). The announcement came on the heels of the sentencing of 87 Tudeh members in the army to prison terms ranging from a year to life on trumped-up charges of espionage and subversion. The fate of jailed Tudeh party leader Nureddin Kianuri and former navy commander Bahram Afzali, also a Tudeh member, has not yet been revealed. But the unleashing of Ayatollah Khomeini's terror against his former Stalinist flunkies, a blow aimed at the Soviet Union, exposes the fundamentally anti-Communist character of the so-called "Islamic revolution."

While Tudeh now tries to explain its declining fortunes by referring to anonymous "right-wing forces" and "enemies of the revolution," the fact is that the five-year-old Khomeini-led "revolution" has all along been a reactionary movement led by fanatic Muslim mullahs who openly proclaimed their goal of taking Iran back to the seventh century. But the Tudeh party, along with the entire so-called "left," turned a blind eye to this in order to curry favor with the ayatollah. So while Khomeini suppressed the Kurds and other nationalities, forced women back into the veil, executed homosexuals and other "deviants," arrested and shot the populist Mujahedin and leftist groups—an estimated 10,000 men and women have been executed thus far—the Tudeh party cheered, with the blessing of the Moscow Stalinist leaders.

Indeed, Kianuri rose to leadership back in 1979 because Moscow considered him to be more conciliatory to Khomeini than was his predecessor. As the sordid border war between Iran and Iraq dragged on, the Tudeh party told its members to report to their mosques (!) for military duty under the *pasdaran*, and the party denounced strikes as "sabotage" of the "anti-imperialist"

struggle. As late as November 1981 Kianuri was proclaiming "total support to the people's anti-imperialist policy of Imam Khomeini," who was then cracking down on the Mujahedin.

Apparently Tudeh hoped that the ayatollah's need for a few 20th century minds to run the government apparatus would bring them some posts and influence, and for a short time that was the case, but this reformist treachery turned on its practitioners. In February 1983 the central party leadership was arrested and charged with "espionage" while 18 Soviet diplomats were suddenly expelled from the country. Party leader Kianuri was paraded on television, where he "confessed" to the charges—many said he appeared drugged and under extreme pressure, though it's possible he was only continuing the Stalinist line of loyalty to the "imam." By December over 10,000 Tudeh members were reported to have been arrested.

The war against "godless" Communism, proclaimed by Khomeini's support to the guerrilla war of Afghan mullahs against the Soviet Red Army, has now been brought home. As we warned back in 1979:

"... détente between Tehran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression. Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?"
—*"Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt,"*
WV No. 231, 11 May 1979

Our slogan then was "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs! For workers revolution!" Now more than ever, the several-million-strong Iranian proletariat, centered on the powerful oil workers, must take action not only to defend itself but also to defend the Soviet Union, the world's first workers state, which shares a 1,500-mile border with Iran. Demand freedom for Tudeh members and all leftist victims of Khomeini's repression!

Tudeh's fatal policy in Iran is in fact a blurred carbon copy of the standard and

disastrous Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution, in which the first stage involves unity with the so-called "progressive" bourgeoisie, such as Chiang Kai-shek in China in the 1920s, in order to make the "democratic" revolution. The result in China was Chiang's bloody massacre of Communists in 1927, and the result in Iran appears headed in the same direction. But in Iran, this Stalinist policy has reached a new low, as it involves unity with the openly reaction-



Sygma

Khomeini's white terror at work.

ary, medievalist mullahs, who are declared enemies of every democratic principle, however minimal.

Meanwhile, the self-proclaimed "Trotskyists" of the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), affiliated to the fake "Fourth International" of Ernest Mandel and Jack Barnes, have tried to outdo the Stalinists in supporting Shi'ite terror. In a mealy-mouthed "defense" of Tudeh victims, the HKE practically excuses the Khomeinist repression: "... the charges against them [Tudeh] seem completely logical and natural to popular opinion and particularly to militant Muslims"! The HKE gently advises the prosecutors that the Tudeh is "like a thorn in the side of the revolution" and "the present course of

policy against the TP [Tudeh party] amounts to going after the revolution with a hammer rather than using tweezers to extract the thorn" ("Iran regime vs. the Tudeh Party," *Intercontinental Press*, 26 December 1983). Such disgusting treachery for the "imam" will not of course save the HKE, just as it failed to save the Tudeh—in fact, HKE leaders Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsali have been in jail for a year and a half, while the HKE's No. 1 spokesman, Babak Zahraie, former editor of their newspaper *Kargar*, has been prohibited from receiving visitors and correspondence for the past year he has been in jail! We demand that even these vile social-chauvinists be freed from the prisons of Islamic reaction.

The "Islamic revolution" was never "anti-imperialist" but Koranic reaction incarnate. If it made trouble for the "Great Satan" (the USA), it was under the flag of Persian chauvinism and religious mysticism. In any case the collection of mullah fanatics and bazaar merchants who run Iran have in common with Western capitalism and the Reaganite terrorists that they all see the "godless" Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Even the U.S. State Department has sensed this, looking the other way as hundreds of millions of dollars in American arms and spare parts have been shipped to Iran via third parties such as Israel and South Korea. Elements of the U.S. ruling class argue that, despite all the "Great Satan" baiting, the mullahs' fundamental hostility to the Soviet Union can overcome their anti-Americanism. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Elaine Sciolino, writing in the prestigious *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1983) points out:

"Over time a gradual return to the historic perception of a serious Soviet threat could incline this regime [in Iran] or its successor to the time-honored strategy of offsetting such a proximate Soviet threat with ties to a distant and friendly supporting power."

The tasks of the Iranian workers revolution are intertwined with defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state. It will take a Trotskyist party to establish proletarian rule in Iran; not "two stages" but permanent revolution—seizure of power by the Iranian working class supported by the peasantry to form a workers and peasants government. ■

PDC Jazz Benefit...

(continued from page 4)

D.C. on November 27th. Labor/black mobilization in Oakland last October 29th saw to it that one of the charges against Ray and me has already been dropped." And they applauded her statement that "Ray and I aren't the criminals. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro police, the Alameda County District Attorney and that

maniac cowhoy in the White House too. Down with South Africa-style justice! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

The emcee introduced Tony Martinez, president of Capital Branch 142 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, who saw to it that flyers for the benefit were distributed throughout the post office by union stewards. Subsequently the union heard PDC representatives at its February 6 local meeting and voted to make a financial contribution to the Partisan Defense Committee. Herson also introduced popular local blues singer Nap Turner, who plugged

the anti-Klan victory benefit over his WPFW (Pacifica) radio show. Another WPFW announcer spoke with SL representatives about the case of his friend, American Indian Loren Thomas, a victim of the recent wave of racist killings by Washington police (see "Jail the Killer Cops! D.C. Cops on Racist Terror Rampage," *WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984).

Terrell Allen, president of the Duke Ellington Society, one of the largest jazz associations in the country, was there with his friends. He helped publicize the benefit throughout D.C. jazz circles. A South African student attending Howard University said he had been listening to Person since he was seven years old over the black South African station "Radio S.R." which opens at 5:00 a.m. every morning with his rendition of "Stormy Weather." Houston adds that South African blacks are among his highest fans.

Twenty-three benefit tickets were sold to Howard students, many of whom helped defend the SYL against Reagan lackey and Howard U. president James Cheek's crackdown on student protest. Cheek had had Spartacist supporters arrested and barred from the campus as "outside agitators," stemming from an SYL protest over Reagan's invasion of Grenada and U.S. intervention in Lebanon. The fundraiser also deepened the SL/SYL's roots in this 70 percent black city. Several people who met and worked with the SL at the November 27 anti-Klan demo called up when they

heard about the benefit and helped make the evening a real success. The PDC took in some \$1,500 from the benefit.

The SL/SYL and PDC extend their most heartfelt gratitude to Houston Person, Etta Jones and the other fine musicians in the group, organist David Braham and drummer Frankie Jones. Thanks to them, to the hard work of the comrades and the enthusiastic response of all those who came out, it was a thoroughly enjoyable evening in the service of labor and black struggle. ■

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Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

for his Lebanon policy and a damning reminder of the Carter administration's failure in Iran.

"...the Reagan administration, for all its tough talk, was unable to succeed in its most visible foreign-policy venture."

While the American ruling class debates "Who Lost Lebanon?" (the Democratic Congress and its War Powers Resolution, replied a *Journal* editorial), the simple fact is there was no Lebanon to lose. All of King Reagan's Marines and all of his battleships and tough talk couldn't put the artificial country back together again. As for Lebanese "president" Gemayel, he has ceased even being "mayor of Beirut."

Ronald Reagan's Lebanon adventure has turned into a first-class debacle. The self-appointed sheriff of world imperialism shot himself in the foot and is hobbling away. But the global repercussions are by no means all to the good. The Reagan gang will want to wipe out their humiliation by launching a bloody adventure somewhere where the odds are more in their favor. Remember how the U.S. raped the tiny black West Indian isle of Grenada in order to divert attention from the devastating truck-horn attack on Marine HQ in Beirut last October. Lebanon was a long-shot gamble in the anti-Soviet war drive, one which the Pentagon always considered a no-win situation. The humiliation in Beirut will intensify the Reagan gang's drive to drown in blood the insurgent masses of Central America.

Unlike the squalid communalist bloodletting in Lebanon—between Christians and Muslims, Shi'ites and Palestinians, Druze and everyone—in Central America a potential social revolution is at stake. Salvadoran workers and peasants are fighting (and beating) a blood-drenched oligarchy and its Yankee protectors. A rout of the puppet dictatorship by leftist guerrillas in El Salvador would pose the threat of direct U.S. military intervention. The CIA's *contras* are now ravaging Nicaragua, while 5,000 U.S. combat troops are poised for attack across the border in Honduras. While the Democrats and reformist leftists see the Marine withdrawal from Lebanon as a retreat from foreign military adventurism, in reality it only makes more urgent the need to organize working-class opposition to the American war drive in Central America—hoyecotting military cargo bound for right-wing regimes, and labor strikes against U.S. intervention.

Lebanon: Not a Country But a Deal

The workers of the world have a side in the revolutionary struggles now engulfing Central America. But they do *not* take sides in the Lebanese blood feuds, the endless succession of communal massacres and retaliations. Lebanon is not a nation nor even a country, but a deal among the imperialists (1919) and between the imperialists and the various Christian and Muslim clan chiefs (1943). One is reminded of the description of Austria between the two world wars as a "situation [that was] fatal but not serious."

The entity known as Lebanon was created by the French, who together with the British carved up the Ottoman empire in the Near East after World War I. They sought to fashion a pro-Western enclave in the Levant by combining the predominantly Christian Mount Lebanon with a subordinate Muslim hinterland, part of it (notably the Bekaa Valley) extracted from the province of Syria. The French colonialist system of Maronite privilege was preserved after Lebanon became independent. Under the so-called National Covenant the president would always be a Maronite Christian, the prime minister a Sunni Muslim, the head of the Chamber of Deputies a Shi'ite Muslim,

and so on. The Christians were allocated a six-to-five majority in parliament, and more importantly the officer caste of the Lebanese army was drawn predominantly from the Maronite elite.

Since the Muslims' birthrate outstripped the Christians' for a couple of generations, the deal that was Lebanon fell apart by the beginning of the 1970s. The mass of impoverished and downtrodden Shi'ites, who had become the largest sectarian/communal grouping, demanded a change in the constitution to redress the balance of political and economic power in their favor. Further, the OPEC oil boom of the early 1970s, which Lebanon shared as the main financial center and entrepôt for the Arab East, widened the disparities between rich and poor in this bankers' republic. Shi'ite peasants from the countryside and migrant workers from Syria streamed into Beirut and other port cities looking for work, producing a class of desperate slum dwellers. American liberal academic Stanley Reed described Maronite-dominated Lebanon on the eve of the 1975-76 civil war:

"The conflict occurred because Lebanon's political and economic structure cheated too many people in too many ways. The Maronite businessmen and bankers who dominated the country refused to part with any of their huge profits derived from handling oil money.... The system that gave the presidency and the command of the army to the Maronites became a symbol of injustice to the have-nots and the leftists, both consisting largely of Moslem city dwellers.... What began as a social revolution has obviously taken on many other meanings. For instance, the leftist militia leaders who set out to topple the old warlords have wound up emulating them."

—*New York Times*, 9 July 1982

In early 1975 Lebanon stood on the brink of a revolutionary upheaval which could have radically altered the political situation in the entire region, most immediately by extending itself to Syria. But a revolutionary outcome was diverted by the traditional Muslim clan chiefs (abetted by the Palestinian nationalist leaders) into a decade-long series of bloody squabbles between the various communal groups. The Levant correspondent for the snide London *Economist* (5 November 1983) neatly captured the essence of Lebanese politics when he wrote of the "national reconciliation" conference in Geneva last fall:

"To compare this week's conference of Lebanese faction bosses in Geneva with a gathering of Mafia godfathers might be unfair to the Mafia, because it has never eliminated several hundred victims in a single day. There can seldom have been so many delegates around a table who were directly and personally responsible for killing the followers of fellow delegates."

All Sides Squalid

Today in Lebanon the Reaganites present the Druze and Shi'ites as nothing but surrogates for the Syrians, who are in turn labeled surrogates for the Soviets, while the Maronite Christian Phalange are supposedly the true defenders of Western-style democracy. The reformist left, on the other hand, presents the squalid communal fighting in Lebanon as a war of national liberation in which the entire people rises up against Yankee invaders. Thus Sam Marcy's Workers World Party wrote:

"Different religions and ethnic groups, different political parties ranging from conservative to revolutionary, have united in their opposition to Gemayel and his U.S., French and other imperialist backers."

—*Workers World*,
17 November 1983

The reality looks considerably different from these fictions. The myriad ethnic/religious/communal groups in Lebanon, far from being united, have every one of them been in treacherous, murderous alliance with and against every other one. Let Lebanon be Lebanon and this is what you get.

Druze vs. French Foreign Legion

We reprint below excerpts from Bennett Doty's *The Legion of the Damned on the battle of Messifre in Syria, 1925*.

At their head rode the Emir on a beautiful blooded stallion. He wore a medieval suit of armor and a helmet with flaps of chain-mail like those in museums, one used hundreds of years ago against the Frankish crusaders.

I was scared witless....

At first I thought I was shooting badly. Then little by little I saw that with several bullets in them, these fanatic Druze tribesmen came on, to die on our barbed wire. And the wounded kept on fighting. Bleeding to death, from behind a stone or even in the open, they kept firing till the last convulsive twitch.

—reprinted in *Soldier of Fortune*,
October 1983

Take supposed Lebanese "progressive" leader Walid Jumblatt, a vice president of the Second International. His "Progressive Socialist Party" is actually a communalist party of the estimated 350,000 Druze (an esoteric sect derived from Shi'a Islam) in Lebanon. In the 1860s some 10,000 Maronite peasants were massacred when they rose up against Druze landlords; and last fall the Druze besieged some 20,000 Christians in the town of Deir al Qamar. In the mid-'70s Walid's father Kamal Jumblatt was head of the largely Muslim National Movement, allied with the Palestinians in the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. With the Israeli invasion in June 1982, however, the younger Jumblatt declared, "The PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] as it used to be in Lebanon is finished," and told PLO fighters to lay down their arms. The Druze chieftain established friendly relations with the Israeli occupying army, and last summer promised to keep Palestinian guerrillas out of his feudal fiefdom in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from the Shuf. Due to Phalangist president Gemayel's refusal to cut a deal, Walid is currently aligned with Syrian president Assad, who, however, was responsible for the assassination of the elder Jumblatt.

The estimated one million Shi'ites are at the bottom of the social scale in Lebanon, but the notion that they are agents of an international Communist conspiracy run from Moscow (or alternatively a patriotic leftist force) is even more absurd. In the '75-'76 fighting the Shi'ite "Movement of the Dispossessed" (which later became the Amal) was loosely associated with the Palestinian-Muslim bloc. Yet on the eve of the June '82 Israeli invasion the Amal was engaged in bloody battles against the PLO and the Lebanese Communist Party. They were pushed into opposition by the Zionist army terrorizing their stronghold in southern Lebanon. Only when Gemayel's army began indiscriminately shelling the Shi'ite suburbs of Beirut at the end of January did they finally "unite" with Jumblatt & Co. Shi'ite militiamen celebrated their "liberation" of West Beirut by smashing all whiskey bottles—shades of Khomeini! Any Soviet KGB agent who fooled around with this gang of reactionary Islamic fundamentalists would probably be skinned alive.

The half million or so Palestinian refugees have been largely out of the current fighting, having been disarmed by the imperialists (at the request of the PLO leadership, which chose to run rather than fight the Israelis inside Beirut). Though PLO chief Arafat has long been a hero of Western leftists, in his shifting alliances the nationalist leader has embraced some of the most reactionary forces in the region; in October 1983 Arafat sided with a local sheik in Tripoli as the latter was massacring Lebanese CPers. Currently lacking any military muscle, Arafat is trying to work out an arrangement with the Israelis together with Egypt's Mubarak and Jordan's Hussein, two of Washington's main Arab clients.

On the other hand, the Christian Maronite Phalange is an openly fascist

force whose militias have nothing to learn from the Salvadoran death squads when it comes to barbarity. Yet the Phalange hardly represents the whole of the Maronite population; former Maronite president Suleiman Franjeh (whose son was murdered by the Phalange) is currently in Damascus with Jumblatt seeking Syrian favor. And the 500,000 Maronites are only a third of Lebanon's Christian population (which includes Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholics, Armenians and other sects). Moreover, before the communal civil war, the Lebanese leftist groups, notably the CP, typically drew much of their cadre from the Christian communities while many downtrodden Shi'ites were recruited into their ranks. While they sided with the Muslim warlords in '75-'76, the result was the destruction of the left as a significant political force as Lebanon was increasingly polarized along communal lines.

As for Syria, far from being a Soviet juggernaut in the Near East, the Assad regime is extremely fragile and plays its own game in regional politics. Based on the Alawite sect (only 10 percent of the population), in 1982 Assad destroyed Syria's fourth-largest city, Hama, killing at least 20,000 of its inhabitants, in order to exterminate the Sunni-based Muslim Brotherhood. Syria first intervened in Lebanon in 1976 on behalf of the Maronite Christians with the support of both Washington and Jerusalem. This shifted the balance of forces, setting up the gruesome massacre of Palestinians at the huge Tel Zaatar camp by the Gemayels' Phalange and other Maronite gangs. And who has the Syrian army in Lebanon been fighting in recent months? U.S. Marines? The French Foreign Legion? The Israel "Defense Force"? No, the Arafat-loyal PLO. In December, Syrian-backed forces laid waste to two Palestinian refugee camps in northern Lebanon, killing an estimated 700 and wounding thousands of defenseless refugees and Lebanese Muslims while the Zionists cheered.

In short, the Lebanese political scene is a swamp. While Reagan wanted to use the U.S. "peacekeeping" troops as a

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CORRECTIONS

Regarding the article "Defend the Seoundrel! *Village Voice's* Cockburn Up a Creek" (*WV* No. 346, 20 January), Alexander Cockburn informs us that Emma Rothschild is not the mother of his child, as we had incorrectly stated. We apologize for the error. And we look forward to being able to read more contributions from Alexander Cockburn on Arab-Israeli matters and Near Eastern issues in general.

The article "Fight Cold War II Witchhunts! Why Reagan Needs 'Terrorism'" (*WV* No. 347, 3 February) unfortunately omitted a concluding sentence: "And for those of you with not much to lose and a lot to win, and with the requisite guts, let's get rid of this whole damn system!"

Lebanon...

(continued from page 9)

springboard to achieve an anti-Soviet Pax Americana in the Near East, he only succeeded in sinking deeper into the quicksand of Lebanese politics. The pseudo-socialists (Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers World, etc.) who pretend that there is an "anti-imperialist struggle" going on in the midst of the communal slaughter in Lebanon are following their usual practice of cheering for the murderous nationalists of "progressive" Third World peoples (here identified with the Muslims, as opposed to the supposedly inherently reactionary Christians). And they are trying to cover their own complicity in calling for or refusing to protest the entry of the imperialist forces in the first place (August-September 1982). As we wrote last fall:

"At bottom the present fighting in Lebanon is a continuation of the centuries-old communal/sectarian conflicts between Muslims and Christians, Sunnis and Shi'ites, Druze and others. A victory of the 'other side' (whoever that is at any given moment) against the U.S. and the Phalange would simply lead to new conflicts and deals among the myriad feudalist warlords of Lebanon, restoring conditions more or less as they existed before the Israeli invasion of June 1982."

—"Rape of Grenada, Bloody Mess in Lebanon," *IT* No. 341, 4 November 1983

Israel Out of Lebanon and the Occupied Territories!

A few months before the present collapse of the Gemayel "government," former Israeli chief of staff Mordechai Gur warned:

"...the U.S. hope for establishing a strong central government in Lebanon is unrealistic. No foreign military intervention can accomplish that—certainly not the U.S. Marines, whose force is so small that nobody takes it seriously."

—*Newsweek*, 19 December 1983

The Israelis should know, since they tried and failed with far greater military forces to impose a Phalange government on Lebanon. They adroitly sucked in the Americans with talk of an easy anti-Soviet victory. And then to minimize their own casualties, they pulled back from the Beirut area last September to a huffer zone south of the Awali River...while Reagan's Marines were left holding the bag. The Israeli generals were no doubt laughing up their sleeves after the Beirut Marine headquarters bombing last October, but now they're getting worried as the U.S. prepares to pull out.

The Israeli army has its hands full with the 700,000 hostile, predominantly Shi'ite Muslim Arabs in southern Lebanon (now called the "North Bank"). The Israelis thought they could treat Lebanese Muslims like they do



Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

U.S. battleship New Jersey opened up massive bombardment of Druze villages to cover Marines' humiliating withdrawal from Beirut.

Palestinians in the occupied West Bank—internal passports, armed searches, wanton brutality against the Arab population. But the Lebanese have not been cowed by almost 20 years of military terror, and they do not live in refugee camps. They own their own land and increasingly they are resisting the Zionist jackboot:

"Many of southern Lebanon's 700,000 Muslims are being radicalized by religious leaders advocating violence, including suicide attacks, as a way of driving out the Israeli occupation force."

—*Los Angeles Times*, 12 December 1983

So what is Shamir going to do? Tap Brooklyn for 5,000 more machine gunners in yarmulkes? Form 9,000 armed Jewish settlements? Meanwhile, Major Haddad's death has left Israel's *Einsatzgruppe* in southern Lebanon without a leader.

Israel is paying a high price—far higher than Sharon and Begin expected—in both money and blood for the Lebanon adventure, and this is polarizing the Hebrew population. The invasion/occupation is sapping the morale of the army, including the officers, who are no longer the cocky world-beaters of yesteryear. *Time* (13 February) recently reported one Israeli soldier in Lebanon crying out: "I don't want to be killed here. It's crazy. They are crazy. We are crazy."

The bloody course of Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction. But with madmen like Begin, Sharon and Shamir sitting on a nuclear arsenal, the working masses of the Near East and the world cannot wait for the eventual disintegration of "Greater Israel." The Hebrew working class must be broken from Zionism before it's too late. For a binational Palestinian workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East!

Near East Flashpoint for World War III

Reaganite demagogues feel betrayed by the Marine pullout from Beirut. For

them it means memories of frantic humiliation—those helicopters whirling out of the U.S. embassy compound in Saigon, with ARVN officers pushing aside women and children to climb aboard. For right-wing commentator Patrick Buchanan, speaking on ABC-TV's *Nightline* (8 February) "cutting bait" in Lebanon represents nothing less than the decline and fall of the West:

"President Gemayel must be reflecting tonight on the great truism from the Vietnam era—although it is often dangerous to be an enemy of the Americans, to be their friend is fatal. The impending Marine withdrawal toward the ships of the Sixth Fleet recalls a similar episode some 700 years ago when the last of the crusaders sailed away, leaving Christians of the homeland to the mercy of the Mamelukes (!). In one lifetime we have witnessed the winding down of the last great Crusade of the West."

But Lebanon is not Vietnam. The Indochinese war was a social revolution; in the Levant the U.S. is hogged down in a quagmire of communal and sectarian warfare. In Vietnam, the class interests of the proletariat were clear, and our side—the heroic workers and peasants who had fought imperialism, colonialism and its local puppets for 30 years—won decisively. That is why Vietnam was a historic defeat for American imperialism, sapping its political, military, moral and economic capital. In fact, the resulting "Vietnam syndrome" has been the most compelling component of the wave of pessimism and defeatism that has become dominant in the U.S. bourgeoisie over Lebanon. They simply believe that no matter what happens, they're likely to lose again.

Reagan wants to bring back the "American Century," the pre-Vietnam military-political arrogance of U.S. imperialism, in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. He wants to regain the nuclear superiority the U.S. held at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and this time he wants to use it. The problem for Reagan is that the Russians aren't going to let the United States achieve that kind of strategic military superiority again, and they have the wherewithal to prevent it. Influential sections of the American ruling class are starting to balk at the trillion-dollar war budgets for weapons that don't work. While Reagan embarks on an escalating campaign of provocation—from KAL Flight 007 to crippling a Russian sub on the high seas—he can't seem to win on the battlefield anywhere except tiny Grenada. But while he can't put Lebanon back together under a U.S. puppet, Reagan can blow up the world.

Reagan is stung by his debacle in Lebanon, and this could make the imperialist heist even more dangerous. Particularly with the death of Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, the demonologists in the White House may imagine that the Kremlin will be paralyzed. U.S. imperialism's truly evil empire, the mass murderers of Hiroshima and My Lai, may strike back anywhere on the globe. It could be Central America. Or, as the heavy guns pound away at Syrian positions, it could just as well be in the Near East, where several thousand Russian advisers are stationed less than 100 miles from the Sixth Fleet. After all,

many of today's Lebanon "doves" are committed Near East hawks. Remember, it was the Democratic Carter administration that proclaimed the U.S. had "strategic interests" in the Persian Gulf equivalent to its control of the Panama Canal.

The Near East could be the flashpoint for World War III. In point of fact, the most massive mobilization of U.S. naval power since World War II (more than 65 ships in the eastern Mediterranean and off the Persian Gulf) remains in place. As Henry Kissinger (along with many others) has pointed out, the endemic and explosive national antagonisms of the region make it resemble the Balkans before World War I. But unlike the inter-imperialist rivalries that engendered that slaughter, there is a *class line* between the two major world powers presently confronting each other: the bloody imperialist United States and the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state. We warn of the danger of a new world war, instigated by the capitalists who live in mortal fear of new social revolutions. Most of all, with their military stretched across the globe and the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression still lingering on, the imperialists fear proletarian class struggle at home which could frustrate their war preparations and bring the whole damn system tumbling down. Defend the Soviet Union! U.S. Out of the Near East! Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off the World! ■

"Bloody Sunday"...

(continued from page 5)

rampage in Northern Ireland! No to forcible reunification! Ireland will only have a future as a workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles!

Make no mistake about it: the "anti-terrorist" hysteria is targetted at every minority, at every militant trade unionist, at every opponent of the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. It is orchestrated by the same people who witchhunt Arthur Scargill for telling the simple truth about warmongers Reagan and Thatcher and for correctly labelling their favourite "trade union," Polish Solidarność, anti-socialist; the same people who denounce NGA strikers and militant miners defending picket lines as "violent lawbreakers"; the same people who hounded the Bradford 12 and stage racist deportations. And taking his cue is lapdog Blunkett. Is it any surprise that six months ago this same "realistic" "socialist" was red-baiting the reformist Revolutionary Communist Party and the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League as "disruptive," throwing "CIA agent" smears at the Soviet-defencist SL....

The NF is looking for another Bloody Sunday—with our blood! Irish, blacks, Asians, an army of Scots storming down across the border like Wallace and the Black Douglas did—all marching behind the power of organised labour—that's what's needed this Sunday. Let's hash the fascists! To hell with Blunkett's ban! What's at stake is the right of opponents of English imperialism, workers and minorities to organise and demonstrate. Remember what Marx said of Ireland and the English working class: "A nation which oppresses another cannot be free." Stop the fascist swine! Drive them into the sewers! The need for the unity of English and Irish workers, all Celtic minorities, blacks, Asians—all those targetted by the fascists—could not be posed more clearly than it is this weekend. Troops out of Ireland now! For a mass trade-union/minority mobilisation on Bloody Sunday to crush the fascist anti-Irish provocation!

Spartacist League/Britain
24 January 1984

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Not Protectionism But Union Organization

Cleveland Steel Referendum

CLEVELAND—For the last couple months, a collection of trade-union bureaucrats, ex-mayor Dennis Kucinich and the Republic Steel Corporation have been waging a protectionist campaign over a proposed new steel mini-mill in the industrial Flats area of Cleveland. Their bid to vote down a federally funded \$7.5 million city council loan to the non-union Tubular Steel Corporation was narrowly defeated in a special referendum February 7. Citing the fact that the projected har mill would use imported steel and get financing in part from Brazilian capital, the trade-union tops went into a chauvinist frenzy, plastering the town with red, white and blue posters complete with the Stars and Stripes and the slogan, "Keep America #1. Save American Jobs." United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 head Frank Valenta ranted that the project "relies heavily on foreign money, foreign interests, foreign investments and a philosophy foreign to American working people" (*Plain Dealer*, 2 January).

Those workers who backed the bureaucrats' and bosses' referendum drive because they thought they were fighting scab shops were being taken for a ride. Right next door to the projected new mill is Republic Steel Corporation, organized by the USWA. Republic has an antiquated bar mill that used to employ 800 workers but has been

indefinitely shut down. If Tubular sets up, it will have state-of-the-art technology. Republic doesn't want the competition, so they quietly backed the labor bureaucrats' campaign. According to the USWA's Valenta, working people ought to side with the "good bosses" who provide union jobs. What union jobs? Last time we looked over half the union steel workers in this country had been thrown out of work by Mr. Valenta's friends in the corporate boardrooms of U.S. Steel, Republic and J&L.

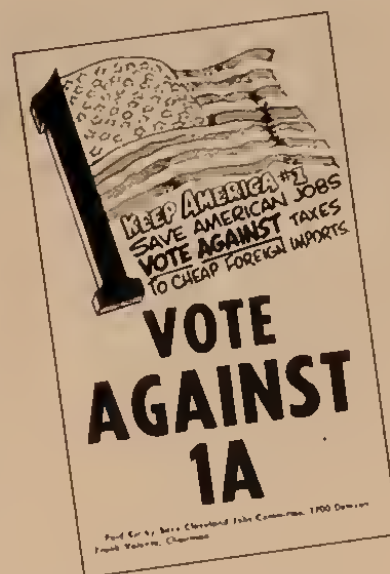
Valenta ought to know. The number of dues-paying USWA members in his district has been reduced from 47,000 to 26,000 through layoffs and plant closings. The American steel bosses are the biggest bunch of job-robbing pirates around, who have bled the mills for everything they're worth and then invested their profits elsewhere. U.S. Steel, for example, just shut its Cuyahoga Works in Cleveland along with several other plants. That was after they raked in their share of \$4 billion in union concessions, supposedly to "save jobs," and after they spent \$6 billion a couple of years ago to buy out Marathon Oil. More mill closings in the Flats are now expected as the result of the Republic-LTV merger. Having run the industry into the ground, the bosses have the gall to blame it all on foreign steel.

The trade-union bureaucrats who

have parroted this company hype are now reaping the fruits of their protectionism. To heat the import restrictions, foreign capital is now investing in this country, the largest instance being the GM-Toyota deal in Fremont, California. The bosses have only one "small" condition: keep the unions out! Now the bureaucrats are whining for the "good old days." In Ohio, they've been joined by the Communist Party (CP), whose spokesman Rick Nagin appeared on the local ABC affiliate to throw his weight behind the bureaucracy's crusade. The accounts in the CP's *Daily World*, which tries to palm itself off as an

advocate of workers' solidarity, simply neglect to mention any of the flag-waving, anti-foreign propaganda that the bureaucrats are peddling all over Cleveland. A letter from "a steelworker" printed in the *Daily World* (2 February) moans, "Although there is no law that says the the steelworkers' union can't go in and organize in the new mills, these companies will spend millions of dollars to keep the union out." There you have it, brothers and sisters: since the bosses don't like unions, there's no sense in fighting!

Naturally, we don't advocate handing out taxpayers' money to the Tubular Steel bosses or any capitalist outfit, whether American or foreign. Since when are there any "good bosses"? We stand for class struggle against both the scab outfits like Tubular, who want to keep the unions out, and against the bosses at Republic, U.S. Steel and J&L, who want to gut the union. Should Tubular follow through and set up operations in Cleveland, it should be met with a full-scale organizing drive. Use the weapons of labor solidarity—mass picket lines, hot-cargoing—to make sure that no steel leaves the Flats unless it's union steel. This should be linked to a fight against layoffs and pay cuts at the organized plants through sit-down strikes and other class-struggle weapons. The fact of the matter is the steel plants are shut down because of an international capitalist economic crisis. We need a workers government that would expropriate all the robber baron steel bosses and establish a planned economy in the interests of working people! ■



PROTECTIONIST POISON: Posters distributed by union bureaucrats whp up hatred against foreign workers.

L.A. Demo...

(continued from page 12)

Metromedia's Channel 11. The 7 February *Los Angeles Times* wrote:

"The release of Armstrong, who served only 8 months in jail, has drawn fire from a group of black organizations, some of which have asked for an investigation of his treatment by the criminal justice system. Earlier on Monday, members of the radical Spartacist group picketed against the release, calling it a racist insult."

Demonstration organizers reported increased police surveillance and harassment, including the cops' demand that the SL stop using a bullhorn.

A Spartacus Youth League spokesman at the demonstration denounced the string of racist killings by the L.A. storm troopers and pointed out the connection between anti-black terror and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. She noted the absence of the reformist left at the demonstration:

"The reason why they're not here today is because demonstrating in L.A. means going against Uncle Tom Bradley and the Democratic Party—their partners in the popular front. These groups call for civilian review boards of cops. Does anyone really think that the LAPD would listen to a civilian review board in Watts or any other community?"

Reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and the NAACP liberals share the illusion that review boards and "community control" schemes can actually "curb" these killers in blue. Last March when racist Orange County cop Sperl kicked in the door and gunned down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, the CP's grotesque response was to call for "state legislation for community control of police" (*People's World*, 19 March 1983). This, in Los Angeles, the capital of cop terror, where critics of police brutality themselves automatically become police targets, not only in the movie *Blue Thunder* but also in reality as in the cases of Compton black activist Mattie Billinger and Michael Zinzun in Pasadena.

Today the LAPD has virtually declared martial law for the Summer Olympics as they squabble with the FBI, claiming they have the only really "tested" paramilitary outfit in the country! While ACLU liberals seek an out-of-court settlement in their suit against the former Intelligence Division, the "red squad" puts on a ski mask to reappear as the "Anti-Terrorist Division." The shoot-first-ask-questions-later LAPD, which treats black ghettos like Watts and the vast Latino barrio from East Los Angeles to Huntington Park as free-fire zones, grows out of L.A.'s history as an "open shop" town. Marxists know that the cops cannot be "reformed" or "controlled"; they are the bourgeoisie's hired thugs and strike-breakers, the pillar of racist capitalist "law and order." To fight the rampaging police brutality which is a daily occurrence here means mobilizing the power of labor at the head of the black and Latin masses. It will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to finally do away with these uniformed hit-men.

The fake-leftists who call for reforming the killer cops virtually ignored the racist torments perpetrated against Delois Young and made at most token protest against the hideous murder of Patrick Mason. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in championing the struggle of all the oppressed, organizing protests against Patrick Mason's racist murder and against the obscene \$35,000 bounty payment to his killer. Last July the SL demonstrated to defend Delois Young's family against the racist cop vendetta. In March 1981 the Los Angeles SL held the first demonstration in this country against the wave of deportations of Salvadorans fleeing the U.S.-backed terror regime.

The February 6 demonstration was addressed by Marie Tolbert, mother of one of the black "Pontiac Brothers," who had led a 1978 prison revolt against inhuman conditions at Pontiac State

Penitentiary in Illinois. She called for unity against "the capitalists and their hired henchmen, the police department ... because when we rebel, we are people that are not the capitalist class... who do they get but their little boys in blue to keep us in place?" Manuel Delgadillo, a telephone worker militant, stated, "It is the duty and obligation of every unionist in this city to come forward and in a loud and angry voice say: No more Delois Youngs! No more Patrick Masons! No more Ron Settles! No more Eulia Loves! No more Pontiac Brothers! No more cop terror!" SL spokesman Don Andrews called for a break with the Democrats:

"Labor is the key to realizing everything that I have just mentioned. Because what we see in this country is the bureaucrats and the black Democrats and white Democrats are trying to pit sections of the working class against each other, to set them at each other's throats. So all these fake-left groups run up behind Jesse Jackson. He is for this racist protectionism, the idea that the Japanese are the enemy because they

sell better cars, better Walkman cassette recorders, Mondale and Jackson and the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy are preaching the same reactionary racist poison targeting foreign-born workers for the crisis of American capitalism. And the Spartacist League maintains that the way to fight massive unemployment, layoffs, the industrial rot which is part and parcel of the dying capitalist system, is to expropriate the capitalists, take away their factories, take it out of the hands of the bosses."

The building of a Trotskyist vanguard party with a heavy black leadership component is key to the fight for labor/black mobilization against racist terror. Such a party will lead the working class and its allies to a victorious socialist revolution, smashing the capitalist system and bringing killer cop Armstrong, chief Darryl "Choke Hold" Gates and the rest of the racist killers to justice before workers tribunals from Harlem to Watts. The heinous crimes against Delois Young must be avenged! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Special Blues Benefit

for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee

Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero!

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LOS ANGELES

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Crime Against Delois Young Must Be Avenged!

L.A. Demo Protests Release of Killer Cop

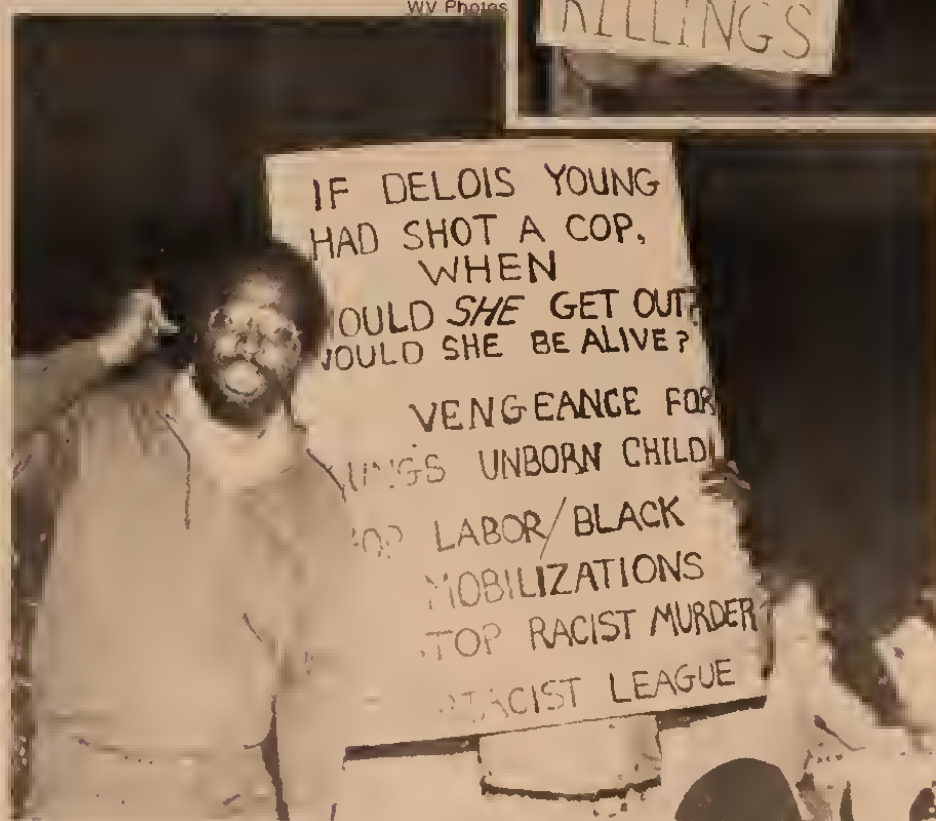
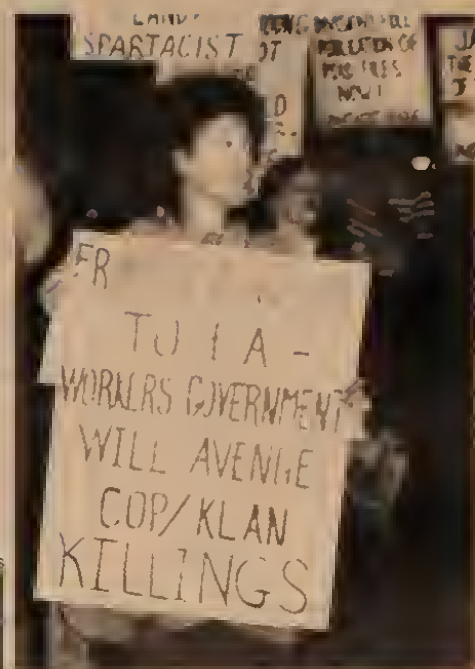
LOS ANGELES—"If Delois Young Had Shot a Cop, When Would *She* Get Out?—Would *She* Be Alive?" demanded the Spartacist League demonstration outside L.A. County Courthouse on Monday, February 6. The emergency demo was called to protest the scheduled release of killer cop Robert Armstrong, the murderer of Delois Young's unborn child. The SL demonstration was the only public protest of the racist atrocity against this young black woman, and it brought out 30 angry and militant protesters, including phone, oil and postal unionists.

Armstrong was released Monday night after serving only *eight months* in a "minimum security" jail. It was L.A. sheriff's deputy Armstrong who in April 1982 staged the phony call to headquarters setting up the late night raid on Delois Young's Duarte apartment on the pretext of a "drug bust." Armstrong and his three other deputies then burst into her home, shooting Delois Young in the stomach at pointblank range. Young's full-term fetus was killed and she will have a .38 slug embedded in her chest for life. The cops have been on a vendetta against Delois Young, once

dragging her out of her home in handcuffs for "missing" a court date for traffic tickets...because she was in the hospital at the time recovering from her bullet wounds! Last July after a jury convicted Armstrong of only second-degree murder, the racist judge reduced even this charge to "involuntary manslaughter" with a one-year sentence. Armstrong and his three accomplices are all walking the streets today.

The SL demonstration demanded "Vengeance for Young's Unborn Child!" and "Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Racist Terror!" Signs at the protest included "Life in San Quentin for Armstrong and Accomplices!" "Free Geronimo Pratt!" "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Fuels Racist Murders!" and "Hands Off Soviet Athletes!" Also "Gun Control Kills Blacks" and "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!" Local black radio stations picked up the demonstration call and the popular KJLH played the announcement throughout the day. Local CBS-TV affiliate KNXT covered the demo on the 6 p.m. and 11 p.m. news as did

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Spartacist League-initiated demonstration outside L.A. County Courthouse, February 6.



Phone militants Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee.

Protest Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

All Out for Lauren and Ray!

OAKLAND—All out on Thursday, March 1! Demonstrate from 8 a.m. to 9 a.m. at the Hayward Hall of Justice (24405 Amador in Hayward, California) and attend the preliminary hearing for victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero set for 9 a.m. At this hearing the district attorney's office, local mouthpiece for the Reaganite racists and labor-haters, is supposed to present evidence to justify the trumped-up charges against the fired CWA (Communications Workers of America) militants. The judge will rule on whether or not to send the case to trial and what charges Lauren and Ray will face. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) is pursuing every avenue of legal defense while placing no confidence in the class "justice" of the capitalist courts. Militant protest and public exposure are key to defeating this vicious frame-up. The PSDC is calling

this demonstration at the courthouse to demand: Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up—Mozee and Palmiero must not go to jail! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!

On picket duty during the national telephone strike last August 10 in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was assaulted by racist seah manager Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch" and struck her in the face. Lauren defended herself, and Ray came to her assistance. For defending themselves and their union picket line against racist attack, Mozee and Palmiero were fired from their jobs, arrested on felony assault charges and denied unemployment benefits. While Lauren and Ray face years in prison, racist seah Hansen got off scot-free!

Lauren and Ray have been targeted by the D.A., phone company and FBI as members of the Militant Action Caucus,

a militant opposition in the CWA, because Lauren was a ten-year member of the Black Panther Party and because they are an interracial couple. The bosses' war on labor that claimed the lives of union pickets Ray Phillips and Greg Goobie is also behind the frame-up of Lauren and Ray. The same system of racist injustice that murdered five-year-old Patrick Mason and Willie Lee Drumgoole in cold blood is trying to railroad Lauren and Ray.

In mobilizing for the widely endorsed labor/black demonstration in Oakland last October 29 we forced the D.A. to drop the most serious felony charge against Lauren and Ray. In every court appearance the courtroom has been packed with supporters of Lauren and Ray. Demonstrate on March 1 to make it clear that the decent working people of the Bay Area will not stand for South Africa-style justice! ■

Demonstrate! 8 a.m., March 1, Hayward Courthouse