

Ficara/Newsweek

Begin Howls for More Blood

Center photo: In devastated Sidon, Israeli soldiers terrorize Palestinians. Karlinsky/Time

Reagan Stabs Palestinians

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Hailing Israel's genocide in Lebanon as "a rare opportunity for peace," Reagan went on TV September 1 to propose a "fresh start" in the continued national oppression of the Palestinian people. While Israel initiated "phase two" of its bloody Lebanon invasion by attempting to provoke a major military confrontation with Syria, the U.S. commander in chief initiated a diplomatic confrontation with Israeli Prime Minister Begin. Reagan called for a halt in new Zionist settlements in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and the introduction over five years of an "autonomous" authority in these territories culminating in "association" with Jordan. This would create a South Africa-like "bantustan" for Palestinians in which Zionist occupation would be replaced by subjugation to Jordan's King Hussein. Like blacks under apartheid, Palestinians would have an economically unviable "homeland" while remaining stateless, an economic colony of Israel and a dispossessed people without rights anywhere in the Arab world.

Begin invaded Lebanon with obvious U.S. approval. But the U.S. is also

acutely aware of the fragility and explosiveness of the Near East countries. Reagan & Co. fear Begin's hard line on the "Palestinian problem" threatens any prospect for stabilization of the Near East as a bulwark against "Soviet influence." But the denial of Palestinian national rights and continuing genocidal expansionism are fundamental to the Zionist state. And U.S. imperialism is stuck with Israel as its closest and most stable ally in the region.

Israel is not U.S. imperialism's only ally in the Near East, as fake-leftists and Arab nationalists would have us believe. Reagan has tried to pull together an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" from Khartoum to Jerusalem to Riyadh (not without difficulty, as the AWACS affair shows) to which Zionist expansionism and the Palestinian question have become obstacles. It is to remove these obstacles that Reagan has proposed a Palestinian "homeland" dominated by Jordan. To bring Lebanon into this "consensus" Reagan backed the presidential "election" at gunpoint of Phalange fascist Bashir Gemayel, who calls for the expulsion of all Palestinians from Lebanon. An anti-Soviet "Pax Americana" in the Near East necessarily means continued capitalist enslavement and national oppression for the Arab peoples of the Near East.

Reagan timed his announcement to intersect the Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco. Normally this gang of military despots and medieval sheiks are at each other's throats when they are not

busy massacring Palestinians and their own masses. But feasting under opulent tents, amidst undulating dancers and galloping Berber horsemen, as if celebrating the Israeli devastation of Lebanon, they unanimously endorsed Reagan's proposal. Participating in the festivities was Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat. Having surrendered the courageous PLO fighters to the U.S. Marines and French Foreign Legion in war-ravaged Beirut, Arafat joined the Arab potentates in saying the Reagan plan "could form the basis for a negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict" (*New York Daily News*, 9 September). Reagan's plan refuses to recognize the PLO at all (much less as "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people"), rejects Palestinian statehood and supports a reunified Jerusalem (which in the present context endorses Begin's annexation of predominantly Arab east Jerusalem).

The Palestinian nation was dismembered by imperialism, as part of its "divide and rule" conquest of the Arab East, through the instrumentality of both Zionist Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Israel's successful seizure of the present Occupied Territories in the 1967 war was a redivision of the Palestinian lands previously grabbed up in 1948 by the Arab regimes: the Jordanian-occupied West Bank and Egyptian-occupied Gaza. The Arab rulers—like King Hussein who in "Black September" (1970) massacred 10,000 Palestinians in Jordan—are as

implacably the enemies of Palestinian national rights as the Israeli butchers.

Reagan/Begin's "Holy War" Against Soviet Influence

Capitalist Europe put aside its anger over Reagan's heavy-handed anti-Soviet pipeline sanctions to hail his Near East "initiative," which it perceives as keeping the Arab pipelines flowing. "Socialist" president Mitterrand of France, a former imperialist overlord of the Levant, hailed the Reagan plan as "going in the direction of what we had defined" while the Tory government of the region's other former imperialist master, Thatcher's Britain, termed the scheme "a constructive and imaginative step." The French eagerly threw their professional colonial butchers, the Foreign Legion, in with the U.S. Marines to disarm the PLO in Beirut.

But Menachem Begin responded hysterically to the proposition that Israel give up the West Bank, which he calls by the Old Testament names of Judea and Samaria to emphasize that Jehovah gave them to Abraham. The Israeli Knesset (parliament) voted 50 to 36 to back Begin's hard line. Begin, former leader of the fascistic Irgun Zionist gang, includes in his Cabinet elements to his right, who demand immediate annexation and massive Zionist settlement of the West Bank. These fanatical Orthodox rabbis and Zionist terrorists with state power responded to Reagan's appeal for a settlement freeze with an \$18.5 million

continued on page 11

Labor, Blacks: Roll Back the Givebacks!

Shut Down Detroit!

City Workers: Strike for a 20% Pay Hike!

DETROIT, September 14—The long-awaited class battle to begin to turn things around can start right here. Right now in this embattled labor/black city the necessity of a city-wide general strike is posed. The fight against rollbacks is already on; the point is to *win* it:

- More than 11,000 teachers are on strike and the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) is walking picket lines against the Coleman Young administration's provocative, union-busting demand for an 8 percent giveback.

- At midnight tonight the Chrysler contract runs out and the company wants even more concessions. Tens of thousands of Chrysler workers in and around Detroit are fed up with givebacks. They are no longer buying the scam that givebacks mean jobs. All around this city, workers see the results of lost jobs after the billion-dollar givebacks. The shells and empty lots remain: Dodge Main, Lynch Road, Mack Avenue Stamping. Workers at Dodge Truck are talking wildcat, and they say the only way they'll go in tomorrow is if they're ordered in by the union.

- The flying squadron picket formation has appeared for the first time in years as UAW Local 1200 prepares to meet General Dynamics' threat to lock out the union and break a strike with scabs. The General Dynamics contract also expires tonight.

- Ford has announced it will permanently shut down the Dearborn Assembly plant, the heart of the giant River Rouge complex, where 17,000 are employed, and where along with Flint the militant traditions of the UAW were born.

- Coleman Young—Democratic cut-back man for Detroit—has torn the city to shreds. Slashing essential social services and the unions which provide those services hits black people on all sides. City workers remember that it was Young who busted the 1980 city workers strike to make Detroit "safe" for the

Republican convention which nominated Ronald Reagan. With his close ties to the big auto makers, Young administers a town with black youth unemployment running up to 70 percent as the inner city comes to resemble an industrial junkyard. Cross-burnings and KKK terror are on the rise. The black population is seething with bitter resentment and desperation. The city stands on the brink of an explosion.

Strike! We should have struck before, while the 200,000 auto workers now on layoff still had their jobs and some economic leverage. But it's not too late! What is Detroit but auto workers, city workers, blacks locked into intolerable ghetto conditions? If the unions got up off their knees and started acting like unions, this city would come to a grinding halt until their demands were met. Teachers: call out your class brothers and sisters! All city workers must join with the teachers to fight for the lives and livelihoods of all Detroit! All auto workers must support the union brothers and sisters at Chrysler! Auto and city workers on strike means a general strike against the givebacks, the layoffs and shutdowns, the cutbacks. And the demands of the strike must go beyond "no concessions." Fight for a 20 percent pay increase across the board for all city workers! Break the back of Coleman Young's rollback drive!

Detroit labor—powerful and integrated—can lead all the oppressed of this city in a fight for survival. Here is the chance to unite the factory and the masses of unemployed in a struggle against the closing of hospitals, schools, housing. The unemployed youth and all of Reagan's "expendables" can be linked to the source of potential power in America—the factories and the integrated proletariat. Ford, Iacocca and Coleman Young can be beaten! An immediate goal must be to keep working people—laid-off UAW members, pensioners, single women with children—off the welfare lines by winning union-



WV Photo

Hit by 25% unemployment, auto workers from Flint, Michigan march to demand jobs in front of General Motors headquarters in Detroit.

level wages in the form of unconditional, unlimited unemployment compensation with full cost-of-living protection, paid by the federal government—Reagan's anti-Soviet war budget be damned!

A city-wide general strike in Detroit would overwhelm Coleman Young's cops and scabherding plans. And labor/black defense guards, necessary to protect the picket lines, would also be the beginning of the end of the genocidal racist terror that threatens the homes and families of black workers.

The 1982 Detroit General Strike can begin the powerful labor offensive needed to bust the union-busting giveback drive. It can lead to sit-ins throughout southern Michigan—the center of auto production—and spark labor action to bring down Reagan.

Oust the Sellout Bureaucrats!

Auto workers have to fight. But they should have no illusions that they will be fighting only the auto bosses. They will be up against Coleman Young—and the Fraser gang in Solidarity House as well. Chrysler management knows that Fraser will put their profits ahead of his members' needs—that's why they put

him on their board of directors after he pushed through a billion dollars in givebacks in 1979. "Giveback" Fraser sold this as a necessary means to "save jobs." Since then, 40,000 jobs have been lost at Chrysler.

At that time, the Spartacist League was unique in warning that a government bailout of Chrysler would mean both the gutting of union benefits and massive layoffs. We demanded that the workers seize the plants, auction off the assets and distribute the proceeds: "Whatever Chrysler's worth, give it to the workers!"

Fraser has made it very clear that the givebacks are no short-term measure. On July 20 he said, "Now is the time for Chrysler workers to begin the long, long road back to wage equity and parity with Ford and GM." A week later he added, "Make that three 'longs'." With Fraser talking like this, no wonder Chrysler, which made a little money this year, is demanding still *more* givebacks. Less than 48 hours before the deadline, Chrysler offered a cost-of-living formula tied to the corporation's profitability—kind of like hiking boots embedded in concrete—in exchange for additional concessions in health care and other benefits. The company is also demanding a cutback in shop-floor union representation and a free hand to cut down on absenteeism.

This was just too much for the ranks, so Fraser has to make a show of resistance. But in place of a company-wide strike, much less an industry-wide strike, he's "threatening" a series of one-day strikes in this or that plant which would dissipate union militancy without hurting the company's profits. In place of a fight for jobs and higher wages, the UAW president is asking for *more* union seats on the Chrysler board!

The UAW bureaucracy is tied to the auto bosses not only via membership on the Chrysler board of directors but also and more importantly through its role in the Democratic Party of Fritz Mondale, Teddy Kennedy and Coleman Young. When Young was elected Detroit mayor nearly a decade ago he was considered the very model of a "fighting liberal," a true "friend" of labor and blacks. Since then the only fighting Young has done is

continued on page 12



WV Photo

Detroit Labor Day: UAW Local 1200 marches in "flying squadron" formation symbolizing labor's militant traditions. But appeal to patriotism disarms workers for battle with companies and government.

Spartacist Candidates at S.F. Central Labor Council

"You Don't Get Anything Unless You Struggle!"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 8—The remarks of Spartacist Party candidates Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley at the San Francisco Central Labor Council (CLC) Candidates' Night this year (reprinted below) were received with grumbles, growls and undisguised hostility. This is hardly surprising. Yet when Diana Coleman addressed the same body during the 1980 election campaign, she got a bemused, even benign reception from the local AFL-CIO tops. Back then they regarded her candidacy for SF Board of Supervisors as a harmless, utopian curiosity, perhaps a reminder of labor socialists of the distant past, "like Eugene Debs," said one. What happened in two years?

In a word, PATCO happened. Reagan destroyed the striking air controllers union and has gone right on kicking labor in the teeth. This naturally spotlights the role of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which is busily tying the hands of union members behind their backs. The ranks are so restive that the labor bureaucrats fear to have more than a few of them gathered in the same place at the same time. The SF CLC canceled a planned Labor Day march this year, remembering the 500,000 angry unionists who inundated Washington, D.C. last September 19 and the AFL-CIO rally here the same day, when Democratic mayor Feinstein was booed and Fritz Mondale was drowned out with chants of "PATCO! PATCO! PATCO!"

So, to the gentlemen of the CLC, a pair of socialist union militants running on a program to bring Reagan down through militant labor action is no joke this year. They were also stung by a Labor Day article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (5 September), "SF Labor Council Has Lost its Clout," which they denied repeatedly throughout the meeting; the "clout" they're worried about losing is not clout against the bosses—it's clout within the Democratic Party.

The CLC officials knew the Spartacist League this year; they knew they hated it; and they let the social-democrats among them lead the charge.

Charles Lamb, Local 2 president who sabotaged the 1980 hotel workers strike, and who ascended to office in the union with support from the entire reformist left in the union, was present along with

his chum Roger Dillon of the SEIU (see exchange below). Dillon and the local IAM president J.B. Martin were outraged at Spartacist criticism of "Wimpy" Winpisinger and the Democratic Socialist Alliance (see coverage of the Spartacist picket of DSA referred



Richard Bradley

to: "Jay Lovestone's Bastard Grandchildren," *WV* No. 312, 3 September). Swearing loyalty to Reagan's bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, one speaker was moved to declare unanimous CLC support for the counterrevolutionary Polish "union" for the CIA and Western bankers, *Solidarność*.

Democratic Party supervisor Nancy Walker rose to the defense of Winpisinger: "I sit on the SANE Board of Directors with him," she said. She stated the case for the whole Central Labor Council when she declared, "Well, if he's out of step [with the rank and file], so am I."

* * * * *

Excerpts (edited) from Candidates' Night at San Francisco Central Labor Council, September 8:

Bradley: I'm Richard Bradley, supporter of the Spartacist League, auto worker for ten years. I fought against the closing of Mahwah [Ford] in New Jersey.

As you look around the country today, you see what Reaganism means. You can't fight Reagan with Democrats! The Democratic Party wrote the Taft-Hartley Act. It's the party of Tom Metzger, Klansman from San Diego. It's the party of Dianne Feinstein, who calls for gun control. Gun control kills blacks. Just take a trip to the suburbs of northern California right here. Or try to go to the South, and I'm not referring to Mississippi back in the '60s.

Over the past few years the Spartacist League has initiated several demonstrations against the Klan. In November of 1979, when the Klan and Nazis wanted to celebrate their "Greensboro massacre" in Detroit, a labor/black town, we said the Klan and Nazis should not be permitted to raise their heads in Detroit. And the same thing happened right here in San Francisco April 19, 1980: the Spartacist League initiated another

demonstration to stop the Nazis and the Klan. It was a mass demonstration of labor and blacks and Jews and gays in this city.

Today Ronald Reagan says the Soviet Union is the main enemy. Well, let's just take a look at this country. The unemployment rate according to the government is 9.8 percent and we all know it's much higher. Just look what's happening to the labor movement! Is the Soviet Union really the enemy of the American working class—or is it Ronald Reagan?

The capitalists in this country would like to open up the borders of the Soviet Union and other [non-capitalist] countries to exploitation. The Spartacist League calls for the defense of the Soviet Union and all these countries—and for proletarian political revolution against the bureaucracies of those countries.

And those who don't believe in opposing the anti-Soviet war drive don't believe in struggling here at home. I've been a member of the UAW for ten years. Doug Fraser, the president of that union, sits on the board [of directors] of Chrysler. Now what does he do on the board of Chrysler? He helps management lay off [workers], helps Chrysler survive—survive at the expense of the workers' interests. What the working class needs is leadership that is going to fight for a workers party based on the interests of the workers, not on the interests of the capitalists in this country. And that's why I'm running for the Board of Supervisors.

Roger Dillon, SEIU official: Approximately a week or two ago, the Democratic Socialists of America sponsored a conference and one of the major speakers was Bill Winpisinger from the Machinists union. There were people in your group carrying posters saying



Diana Coleman

"labor bureaucrats," etc., etc. Do you have any comment about that or do you yourself regularly use the phrase "labor bureaucrat"?

Bradley: All the time.

Dillon: In relation to whom? Referring to Bill Winpisinger? I'm an elected union official in this city. Am I a labor bureaucrat?

Bradley: Referring to the union leadership which has refused to fight for the interests of the workers. Example: layoffs, cutbacks. The labor leadership which wants to direct the working class into the Democratic Party and the Republican Party and not into a party

that's going to fight for the interests of the working class.

J.B. Martin, IAM official: I don't know if I misunderstood some of your presentation. Were you suggesting that handgun legislation is anti-black?

Bradley: First of all, I believe in the right of armed self-defense. Gun control does kill blacks. It's an attack on blacks because today and if you look back into history, blacks have been attacked by vigilante squads, the Klan, Nazis. Blacks need protection. For instance, my parents live in the suburbs. My parents would like to protect their home, to stop these nightriders from riding up on their front lawn.

Coleman: My name is Diana Coleman. I was a member of the Communications Workers of America for six years and I am presently a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers and a supporter of the Spartacist League.

This is the time when labor should make its voice heard. Reagan is conducting a war on labor and minorities in this country, from Reagan's smashing of the PATCO union to the killer budget cuts that we see in the Congress. But as Ritchie said here, you can't fight Reagan with Democrats. What we're interested in is a program of independent class struggle to turn labor around and stop the cycles of defeats.

Too long COPE has endorsed Democrats in this country and I've seen that in my own union. Because if Reagan is waging war on labor then the field marshals of that war have been the big-city Democratic Party mayors. And I mean people like Detroit's Coleman Young, Koch in New York, in Chicago Jane Byrne, in San Francisco Feinstein—all Democratic Party union-busters, all enemies of blacks. The Democratic mayors were all there



WV Photo

before Reagan with the budget ax, with the strikebreaking which we've seen in our own city with Feinstein, with the killer cops.

And that's right, I am definitely against gun control. I went to the Board of Supervisors and spoke against it and said: if guns are banned only the cops and the Klan will have guns. And believe me, in this country black people know that many of the people who wear the white hoods at night are running around wearing blue uniforms during the day.

The money that's being taken from the working people and black people in

continued on page 14

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Stop L.A. Courts/Cops Witchhunt!

The Legal Lynching of PL

LOS ANGELES, September 8—An outrageous and ominous two-month witchhunting trial ended here August 19 as Progressive Labor Party (PL) members and the organization itself were hit with a judgment of more than \$300,000 for civil "conspiracy to commit assault and battery" on the Los Angeles cops. The money is to go to nine of the LAPD cops who set up and attacked a PL demonstration protesting INS deportations, held in the garment center in the summer of 1977. This organization-breaking legal robbery includes \$90,000 in "punitive damages" assessed against PL as an organization, making it possible for the government to grab PL financial assets anywhere in the U.S. This menacing court decision climaxes a five-year LAPD vendetta against PL and threatens any group on the state's enemies list.

At the start, the 1977 demonstration seemed like the cops' usual M.O. for disruption of the left. The protest was broken up with the use of cop agents provocateurs. Demonstrators were beaten by the cops, arrested and charged with assault. As described by the *Los Angeles Daily (law) Journal* (29 July), the 18 June 1977 cop attack began when the LAPD went after "a man carrying a bullhorn." When other demonstrators protested, "undercover agents among the demonstrators joined the struggle, and a fight resulted." When it was over a few cops and a PL supporter were hospitalized. The cops arrested 29, charging eight with "assault with a deadly weapon" (picket signs). So far, this is the all too familiar story of the criminal state prosecuting its victims.

But the cops and DA couldn't make the criminal charges stick! They had also arrested their own agent, Constance Milazzo Dial, along with the rest, no doubt to preserve her cover for disrupting PL from within. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Dial had infiltrated PL in the mid-1970s. This cop

plant then took part in a meeting between the PL defendants and their lawyer. When this was uncovered, the criminal charges were thrown out of court.

Then the LAPD, the DA's office and

other left groups. The legal definition of conspiracy is used to include anyone with even tacit agreement in an action deemed unlawful. It can include members of an organization which plans a demonstration who do not themselves

ordered by the court to name names of PL members. When she refused the judge threw her into maximum security isolation for 11 days for contempt. There she was given the standard maximum harassment treatment to make her talk, including keeping her handcuffed in the showers. When she asked for her medicine, she was tossed into the infirmary where she was kept on a liquid diet for four days.

Perhaps most important was that the judge did not allow Hertz to testify for the defense—her own defense and that of her comrades—because she had earlier refused to name names as a witness for the plaintiffs. Like the postwar Foley Square trials against the Communist Party, the government has found a legal device which demands the defendants either squeal or lose the right to defend themselves. In another instance a witness for the PL defendants testified about a PL class she attended. She was asked by the cops' lawyers to name the owner of the house, which had nothing to do with her testimony. When she refused her entire testimony was stricken by the judge. So no matter what the verdict in this and future "conspiracy" cases, the method is a McCarthyite dream—providing punishment and the threat of punishment while denying democratic rights to anyone decent enough to refuse to help the witchhunters spin their web.

For the government the very existence of a left group is evidence of some kind of conspiracy (usually to "overthrow the government with force and violence"). While the judge allowed the LAPD to name the PL organization as part of the "conspiracy" and probe its membership lists, PL was not allowed to include the LAPD in its countersuit. Thus while all the "evidence" about PL was admissible, indeed demanded, PL was barred from presenting the very real evidence of the cop conspiracy against

continued on page 12



Sharkey/LA Times

LAPD SWAT team at work.

the courts got together like a legal lynch mob to destroy PL in round two: the civil suit for "conspiracy." This attempt to destroy a left organization by bankrupting it through individual cops' suits for civil liability places a sinister new weapon in the witchhunters' legal arsenal. But the danger of this case lies not only in the verdict but in the McCarthyite process of the trial itself.

When Superior Court judge Nancy Watson ordered PL to pay \$500 a week for "jury expenses," it was only the beginning. To the end this trial resembled nothing so much as the postwar anti-Communist trials. The cops and their lawyers used the loose net of the "conspiracy" charge to persecute PL and lay the legal basis to do the same to

attend it, as well as anyone who may happen by. In the PL case two PL leaders, Milt Rosen and Mort Scheer, were named as "conspirators" although they were not even there (the case against them wasn't dropped until midway in the trial).

Under the "conspiracy" noose the cops' lawyers demanded lists of names of members of the "conspiratorial" organization—PL leaders, policies, internal structure and so on. When, to their credit, two PL defendants refused to name names, the judge slapped them into jail for contempt of court. Contempt means no appeal; the victims can be held until they talk or the case is over.

PL local organizer Barbara Hertz was called as part of the cops' case and

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Jackson's ChicagoFest Boycott Flops

Labor/Black Struggle, Not Black Democrats!

CHICAGO—This city in August is a hot, seething, racist hellhole. But for Mayor Byrne it was ChicagoFest—a 12-day lakefront extravaganza celebrating the “good life” in Chicago. This is not just one of the many fetes which bear her majesty's name to show that all good things in Chicago emanate directly from Jane Byrne (Mayor Byrne's Kool JazzFest, GospelFest, OctoberFest). This is *the* showpiece event of the year. Ordinarily the mayor would open the festivities with a rousing speech at the front gate. But this year she slipped in the back way by boat to avoid black picketers carrying signs, “Give Jane cardiac arrest—Boycott the Fest,” and chanting, “One, two, three, four; we don't need Jane Byrne no more!”

Rev. Jesse Jackson and black Democratic Party politicians on the outs with Byrne called for a black boycott of ChicagoFest to protest her recent appointment of three whites to the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) board, creating a white majority on the board which runs the mostly black projects. The boycott flopped; a few hundred at most picketed the front gates of an event that blacks do not attend in great numbers in any case. But it captured the attention of all of Chicago as the media went wild with speculation: Would Kool & the Gang play? Would Aretha Franklin stand in for Stevie Wonder? Would Leon's Ribs sell there? The racists were delighted with the prospect of no blacks at ChicagoFest. Some even sported T-shirts reading “HonkyFest” and “Thank You, Jesse.”

Jackson and the black pols saw the boycott as an opening shot in a power play, a chance to direct the pent-up anger of Chicago's black people into an intra-Democratic Party squabble with Byrne. But for blacks, this stunt to test the waters for a black mayoral campaign was a cynical diversion and a potentially dangerous one at that. In this city where black bus drivers have to rescue black children from racist mobs in Marquette Park, where a black man was nearly beaten to death for stopping for a pack of cigarettes in Boss Daley's old Bridgeport neighborhood, an ugly black/white confrontation at the gates of ChicagoFest could have triggered the

eruption of bloody racist violence all over town.

Chicago, with its mean racist suburbs, massive layoffs and unemployment and its grinding Democratic Party machine, is on the brink of explosion. Huge cutbacks in social services, vicious slashes in welfare and unemployment, evictions/foreclosures and police violence are pounding the desperate black population harder than ever. Professional hustlers like Jackson seek to manipulate the just anger of Chicago blacks to get a few more black elected

in Brooklyn. They cynically used blacks from the Marlboro Housing projects to stage a march through the racists' stronghold in Gravesend demanding more police protection. These actions were a display of weakness and isolation. The nationalist demagogues trekked out to Brooklyn, shot their mouths off, and then went home, leaving the black project residents to face the frenzied racist thugs and cops.

What was needed instead was the mobilization of integrated union power. Militants in the largely black NYC



Dean Paul/NFI

June 27: Jane Byrne's cops protect Nazis from mass labor/black-centered mobilization organized by the SL.

officials (BEOs), their “fair share” of city government appointments, a bigger slice of the patronage pie. The black politicians are willing to deliberately inflame racial tensions and court a large-scale racial blowup which would pit blacks against the majority white ethnic population and the infamously racist Chicago cops.

Jackson's boycott stunt was comparable to the Brooklyn demonstrations led by the Black United Front's Herbert Daughtry and CORE's Roy Innis following the racist murder of a black transit worker this summer. Though Jackson is more closely tied in with the “black establishment” than Daughtry/Innis, his ChicagoFest power play wasn't very different from what they did

transit union called for such union action: “Our union has the power to put a stop to this crap. We could dispatch squads of flatbed trucks with thousands of TWU brothers and sisters prepared to defend our members and smash these updated versions of the Ku Klux Klan southern lynch mobs.”

The Daughtrys and Jacksons are trying to make themselves brokers for the Democratic Party. They fan the flames of racial polarization, then run to city hall to offer themselves up as mediators to keep the lid on. Their implicit message is: “Give me a piece of the action in the Democratic Party, or there'll be a riot.” But they're playing with fire. The urban centers are seething with race hatred, goaded by economic contraction. Something could blow. In any large-scale racial confrontation, blacks will be the losers.

Blacks Don't Need Democratic Party in Blackface

It was the black vote that elected Byrne, but she has contemptuously refused the payoff for services rendered by the black pols. Once in office, Byrne deliberately and savagely cut ties to her black backers. She's making a strong pitch for the white ethnic vote, to undercut her rival, Richard Daley. Instead of “black faces in high places,” Byrne has bypassed blacks particularly on the school board and the CHA, choosing whites (including staunch segregationists) to run the largely black school system and the 85 percent black projects. While the black population is insulted and angered by Byrne's haughty racism, the black pols' main beef is that the door to city hall has been slammed in their face. So now Jackson and the BEOs, who supported Byrne when she ran for mayor, are threatening

to strike out on their own.

But no one wants to toss his hat in the ring just yet. After all, you pay a price when you buck the machine—political firings, loss of patronage. The victory of black alderman Alan Streeter, who broke with Byrne over her school board appointments and was elected over her opposition, gave the black pols a glimmer of hope. But winning a ward is one thing; electing a black mayor in a city as racially polarized as Chicago is another matter altogether.

Harold Washington, the Democratic congressman from the 1st District, is currently the frontrunner, but he has yet to officially declare his candidacy. Part of the problem for any black mayoral candidate is that the machine has its loyal black captains. In 1977, when Washington ran against Bilandic right after Daley's death, he got a pitiful 11 percent of the vote, including only 30 percent of the black vote! Ground down by poverty and misery, many of Chicago's blacks rightly see that the ballot box is no way out. While the city population is 40 percent black, there are well over 300,000 blacks who don't even bother to register. So Washington's holding out until there's a massive drive to register blacks to vote. Meanwhile, for all the

hoopla, all the BEOs have right now is a bunch of “mayoral maybes.”

Of course Jackson's keeping all options open. Certainly he would prefer a black mayor. But he's even made noises about supporting Boss Daley's kid against Byrne. Jackson used to talk about Massa Daley and how he ordered blacks around. No more. Turns out Jesse thinks Chicago's blacks had it better under Daley: he was “stable and predictable.” “I found,” said Jackson, *continued on page 15*



Gunn/Chicago Defender

Demagogue Jesse Jackson hopes Chicago's blacks will forget he supported Jane Byrne for mayor, 1979.

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French Trotskyists Oppose Mitterrand's Foreign Legion

Israeli/Imperialist Troops Out of Lebanon!

PARIS, September 12—"Washington, capital of the Arab world." So one French journalist summed up the counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet consensus being forged in the Middle East. But this "Pax Americana" is just as much a Pax Gallicana. The popular-front government of social-democrat François Mitterrand has worked hand in glove with Reagan to impose this new anti-Soviet lineup. Not only was Mitterrand's Foreign Legion first into Beirut to oversee the expulsion and dismantling of the PLO, but Mitterrand could justly say, "The proposition of Ronald Reagan seems to be going in the direction we had indicated"—the destruction of the Soviet-backed "rejection front" in favor of "Arab unity" around "implicit or explicit recognition" of the Zionist state and a "solution" of the Palestinian question via some sort of West Bank bantustan under the thumb of Jordan's King Hussein.

While the American left called on Reagan to take "effective action" against the Zionist Blitzkrieg, the French left and "far left" not only demanded similar measures from Mitterrand but either openly supported the sending of French troops to France's former protectorate or maintained a complicit silence. For if the American fake-left ended up capitulating to Reagan's Cold War by its search for a class-collaborationist bloc with the no less anti-Soviet Democrats, in France a classic class-collaborationist bloc—a popular front—is in power.

Mitterrand, who visited Israel even as Begin annexed the Golan, took office widely viewed as a "friend of Israel." The French social-democracy has a justly deserved reputation as pro-Zionist—unlike the Gaullists—dating from 1956 when "Socialist" Guy Mollet invaded Egypt in alliance with the British and the Israelis. And of course Mitterrand and the Israeli Labor Party cohabit the yellow Second International.

The French Communist Party (PCF), which sold itself to the Cold War "Socialist" Mitterrand for four minor cabinet posts (continuing more than 45 years of reformist betrayal), organized demonstrations in support of the government's Middle East policy. And the



Paris Match

In Lebanon Zionist mass murderer Ariel Sharon welcomes French Foreign Legion killer elite, a well-known haven for Nazi war criminals.

Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of Krivine and Mandel, fake-Trotskyist sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, called on Mitterrand to "really" pressure Begin (maintaining silence on the question of the troops for two months). The PCF and LCR were simply capitulating to their own bourgeoisie in the form of the popular front.

The Recolonization of Lebanon

Israel is not U.S. imperialism's sole client in the Near East. One key element is the conversion of Lebanon from a bastion of "Soviet-backed terrorism" to a state defending "Western Christian values." The creation of such a Lebanese "strong state" lies of course through the uncontested rule of the Maronite clerical-fascist bands. Here the role of the imperialist intervention team was not only to oversee the expulsion of the PLO, but to back up the Phalangists and get in on the ground floor of the reconstruction of the Lebanese state.

Lebanon's former French colonialist overlords have a vital role to play in this respect. When Bashir Gemayel, the Maronite warlord, was elected president in a barracks ringed by Zionist troops, French "observers" were there, in the corridors, giving journalists the low-down on the behind-the-scenes maneuvering. Meanwhile 1,500 lieutenants from the Lebanese army are to receive training in France (*Le Monde*, 9

September).

Mitterrand quickly sent a telegram of hearty congratulations to Gemayel, the ruthless butcher who not only has slaughtered thousands of Palestinians and Muslims, but climbed his way to power over the corpses of the entire families of his Maronite rivals, down to the last little girl. To make French imperialism's support to Begin's candidate perfectly clear Jacques Huntziger, Mitterrand's man in the Second International (fresh from a visit to Lebanon with none other than Mario Soares!), stated, "Bashir Gemayel is a young man, normally elected [!] in the framework of constitutional guidelines. We must give him a chance. He has very clearly expressed his intention of restoring a strong, sovereign and independent Lebanon" (*Le Monde*, 3 September).

What is the Foreign Legion?

"Left" hedging on the nature of the French intervention in Lebanon is simply cynical. The paratroopers of the Foreign Legion make up one half of this "peace-keeping" force. This gang of sadistic killers has been in the forefront of every dirty colonial war waged by France since Napoleon III invaded Mexico, not to mention the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune.

What is the Foreign Legion? In June of this year workmen in the Algerian town of Khenchela (which from 1955 to 1962 was a fortress town garrisoned by the Legion and the site of a concentration camp for "suspect" Algerians) accidentally uncovered the mass grave of more than 1,200 men, women and children. Their mutilated skeletons bore the traces of monstrous scenes of torture rivaling the most revolting crimes of the Gestapo: crushed skulls, scissors or steel wedges driven into the kneecaps, corpses literally chopped in half or impaled on a gigantic corkscrew. Accompanying this grisly relic of French imperialism's "civilizing mission" was the button from the uniform of a legionnaire.

The chauvinists of the PCF often pretend that the atrocities of the French army, from Indochina to Algeria to the Congo, are to be blamed on ex-Nazis, who indeed found refuge in the Legion. But the "gangrene" of torture and mass murder infected the entire army. No imperialist army has ever conducted colonial war in any other way.

As for the LCR, which cut its teeth in protest against the Algerian War, they have come a long way. After months of silence, they could barely bring themselves to oppose the troops—and one of the main axes of their argument was that Mitterrand was undermining a law requiring the consent of parliament to send draftees overseas (the other half of the French contingent were drafted marines)! In any case, this opposition remained in the pages of *Rouge*—no demand concerning the troops has ever appeared on a banner, picket sign or national leaflet.

The bottom line of the LCR argument is that this "government of the left" lacks only the political will to turn itself into something other than the social-democratic guarantor of French imperialism's interests and that, in any case, any overt opposition to this "government of the left" will aid the right wing and the fascists. We wonder what they would have done in 1956 when a very similar popular front headed by Mollet was building concentration camps in Algeria and invading Egypt. In fact it was the popular front which opened the door to the victory of reaction, in this case de Gaulle's unopposed seizure of power in 1958.

Cold War Popular Front

French policy in the Middle East presents many parallels with its line on Central America: it was necessary to avoid the final Israeli assault on Beirut which would risk "terrorism in all directions, the destabilization of the entire region, and a deterioration of the system which would ultimately benefit the Soviet Union," as *Libération* (3 September) put it. As with the Franco-Mexican declaration on El Salvador, France found itself a local partner—Egypt—but there was never any real difference over the basic goal of the Zionist invasion—restore a "sovereign" (Maronite) Lebanon and bring the Soviet-backed Syrians to their knees. If the fanatic Begin's insistence on keeping "Judea" and "Samaria" is an obstacle to a wider imperialist project for the region, this time Mitterrand's got Reagan on his side.

There could be no better illustration of the anti-Soviet consensus of the American, French and Israeli bourgeoisies en bloc than the Conference for Soviet Jewry projected to be held in Paris in late October: announced participants are Mitterrand, Teddy Kennedy, George Bush and Begin!

The Ligue Trotskyiste de France was the only group to raise the call "No imperialist troops to Lebanon!" and oppose Mitterrand's Cold War collaboration with Reagan and Begin—just as we were the only group that refused to vote for this Cold War "Socialist." For the fake-lefts, wedded to the popular front, the main enemy is anywhere but at home; our irreconcilable opposition to all forms of class collaboration is inseparable from our championing the slogan of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht: the main enemy is at home!

* * *

On the facing page is a slightly abridged translation of the leaflet issued by the Ligue Trotskyiste de France on 24 August.



Le Bolchevik

Reagan's European tour in July sparked massive anti-missiles marches. Photo shows LTF contingent's banners in Paris protest.

Ligue Trotskyste de France Leaflet:

"Israelis, French Paratroopers, U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon!"

Mitterrand's paratroopers have landed in Lebanon, back in France's former protectorate to oversee the PLO's liquidation. The imperialist troops lend the Begin and Sharons a hand in the expulsion of the Palestinian fighters, handing them over to the Assads, Husseins, etc., Arab hangmen of the Palestinian people. Mitterrand, in sending this so-called "peace-keeping" force—which is pledged in advance not to hamper Israeli action against "insubordinate" Fedayeen—adds Lebanon to Suez and Algeria in the long list of imperialist crimes perpetrated by French social-democracy with PCF [Communist Party of France] backing.

Ravaged Lebanon will not find peace in this imperialist "solution." Just the opposite. For the Zionist terrorists, willing to level whole cities to achieve their goal of exterminating the Palestinian people, smashing the PLO is only the beginning. The Palestinians remaining in Lebanon will be delivered defenseless to reactionary Maronite killers taking their orders from the Zionist occupiers. The French troops didn't go to Beirut to direct traffic in rue Général de Gaulle, like the UN troops at the start of the Israeli invasion (witness the famous photo of a French lieutenant in the dust of the Israeli tanks he is watching pass by). This time, along with French military transports will come the old diplomats, those old specialists in the byzantine machinations utilized for decades to "divide and conquer."

Their experience can be an important support for the American artillery and French paratroopers because once these latter finish their work on General Sharon's behalf with the Palestinians, the question for Israel and the American imperialists would be how to prop up this extremely diversified, explosive region so as to be able to contain Soviet influence. The Zionists' next goal is precisely Syria and ultimately rooting out—in league with the imperialist anti-Soviet warmongers—all Soviet influence in the Middle East. The landing of the marines and paratroopers in Beirut, where a few miles east they will confront Syrian troops armed by the Soviet degenerated workers state, could make the Middle East a bridgehead for the anti-Soviet war campaign led by Reagan and supported by Mitterrand. Everyone who calls himself a socialist or opponent of genocide must demand not only that Israel withdraw immediately from Lebanon but also "Imperialist troops out of Lebanon!"

No, Anti-Zionism Is Not Anti-Semitism

But while negotiations trailed on and Beirut's inhabitants awaited the final assault, the monstrous rue des Rosiers attack [the August 9 bombing of a Jewish restaurant in Paris which killed six] by killers in the service of persons unknown swells the putrid effluences of

anti-Semitism so deeply rooted in French society. This coldly calculated butchery targeting the Jewish community shows once more just how much Zionism feeds anti-Semitism. With the genocide being carried out in Lebanon by the terrorist Begin, one of those responsible for the massacre at Deir Yassin in 1948, every anti-Semite now has his excuse.

Using "anti-Zionism" as a pretext, Direct Action [which was not involved in the rue des Rosiers massacre] is on a terrorist campaign targeting Jewish hardware and department stores, mimicking the Nazis' 1934 *Kristallnacht*. We savagely denounce these actions and the use of terms belonging to the workers movement—i.e., anti-Zionism—to perpetrate acts that can only be racist and anti-Semitic and that strike a deep responsive chord in this country. In the petty bourgeoisie, in the peasantry, even in the workers movement (one of many examples of the results of Stalinism), anti-Semitism is widespread. The same thread runs through, from Barre's slip after the rue Copernic attack when he deplored how innocent French citizens had been made victims, to Defferre's complaint after rue des Rosiers about innocent citizens dying for foreign causes, to Mitterrand's insistence upon denying that it was really an anti-Semitic attack: Jews are not like "us," the "real Frenchmen." And this in a country that during the war delivered its Jews voluntarily and from the zone unoccupied by the Nazis to the ovens and gas chambers. The working class should have exploded with rage at the atrocity in the rue des Rosiers.

Although Israel is a by-product of the most barbarous excesses of capitalism in its agony—the Nazi "final solution" and the closing of the "democratic" imperialist countries' borders—the Zionist state could only be carved out of the living body of the Palestinian people with Hitlerite methods: mass terror and forced transfers of entire populations. Zionism is a capitalist genocidal "solution" for the problem of the existence of two peoples—the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples—interpen-

trated on the same territory. While anti-Semitism has fed Zionism for years and continues to do so, inversely and quite inherently, Zionism lends justification to anti-Semitism. Particularly in Stalinist propaganda can be found this rotten impulse to want to put forward perfectly

**Bombed-out
Paris
synagogue.
Recent anti-
Semitic attacks
underscore
French
revolutionaries'
duty to combat
anti-Semitism
masquerading
as "anti-
Zionism."**



anti-Semitic politics in the name of so-called anti-Zionism.

The only way out of this trap is united struggle by the Hebrew proletariat with its Arab class brothers against their Zionist masters. The truly democratic answer to the problem of national oppression in the Near East (and not a completely phony solution, like the proposal for a Palestinian "bantustan" in the West Bank)—self-determination for the Palestinians (which should involve also the territory of Jordan) and for the Hebrew-speaking people—can be brought about only in the context of socialist revolution throughout the region and a socialist federation of the Middle East.

Popular Front Clears the Way for Reaction

A beneficiary of the outrage in the rue des Rosiers is the right and the fascists, who are hollering for reinforcing the police apparatus. Mitterrand didn't need their encouragement—he banned Direct Action. This 1936 law against "armed leagues," a product of the first popular front, in fact targets any working-class self-defense action and should be condemned.

Not only Jews are victims of the racist attacks; murderous violence is also aimed more and more frequently at immigrant workers. The economic crisis, the unemployment throwing ever-broader sectors of the population into

despair create a real danger that fascist bands will find a growing echo in the enraged petty bourgeoisie as it is touched by the crisis and will swell their ranks by suggesting attacks on everything un-"French."

Rooting out racism and struggling against the fascist bands is a life-or-death question for the working class. And for this it must place no confidence in Mitterrand's bourgeois government that sends cops against workers in struggle, nor in the workers movement bureaucrats who try their best to keep the working class passive in the face of government attacks. It must count only on its own strength organized in picket lines and self-defense militias to prevent any of its oppressed brothers from being threatened by this scum.

Today it is the popular front that is paving the way for reaction by disarming the working class. But the PCF, responsible for the repulsive Vitry incident [where a PCF mayor ordered bulldozers in to break down the doors of

immigrant workers' housing in an attempt to drive them out of town], is no alternative for those who want to combat racism and fascist terror.

The organizers of Vitry have once again dug into the garbage cans of chauvinism. Responding to a Zionist spokesman who said, "France did even worse things in Algeria," *l'Humanité* (9 August) declares: "No French government laid siege to Tunis and massacred its inhabitants!" These remarks simply reflect the PCF's refusal at the time to struggle for independence in Algeria, where the paratroopers who today are in Lebanon were laying siege to Algiers.

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire is also crawling on its belly to Mitterrand. And this even though its 18 August demonstration was banned. The LCR said it was "astonished" at this decision, as the slogans "were not hostile to the French government" (*Libération*, 19 August). For weeks the LCR hasn't breathed a word about the sending of paratroopers to Lebanon, these killers they demonstrated against in 1978 during the Kolwezi [Zaire] intervention. Repeated appeals for sanctions against Israel, a strategy of "solidarity" with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples that amounts to pressure on Begin, make it quite unlikely the LCR will take a position against French troops to Lebanon. If the LCR is today on the verge of frankly supporting a military

continued on page 12



Mitterrand with French troops in Algeria. At Khenchela, site of former French Foreign Legion detention camp in Algeria, 1,200 gruesomely tortured corpses were discovered this year.

If they set foot on American soil, they could be arrested and sentenced to as much as five years in prison. The malefactors: the top executives of West Europe's leading engineering firms. Their "crime": selling equipment to the Soviet Union to construct a 3,500-mile natural gas pipeline between Siberia and West Europe.

Venting his frustration at the failure of Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, on June 18 Reagan struck back ... against his European capitalist allies. He ordered all foreign firms using technology acquired through American licenses to rip up their Siberian pipeline contracts or face the full rigor of U.S. legal sanctions. In addition to possible criminal penalties, this could mean fines of up to five times the value of the components shipped and a ban on the future acquisition of products made in the U.S.A.

The European reaction was swift and defiant. West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in one of the milder responses, told CBS News: "The pipeline will be built, and the British, the French, the Germans and other Europeans will stick to the agreement which their firms have been making with the Soviets." Every West European government involved has conspicuously ordered the firms to meet their contractual obligations. The French minister of industry, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, declared that Dresser France, a U.S. subsidiary, was "a French company subject to French law," threatening to "requisition" its facilities if it did not deliver pipeline compressors as scheduled. The private reaction among West European ruling circles was commensurate. According to a top U.S. trade negotiator:

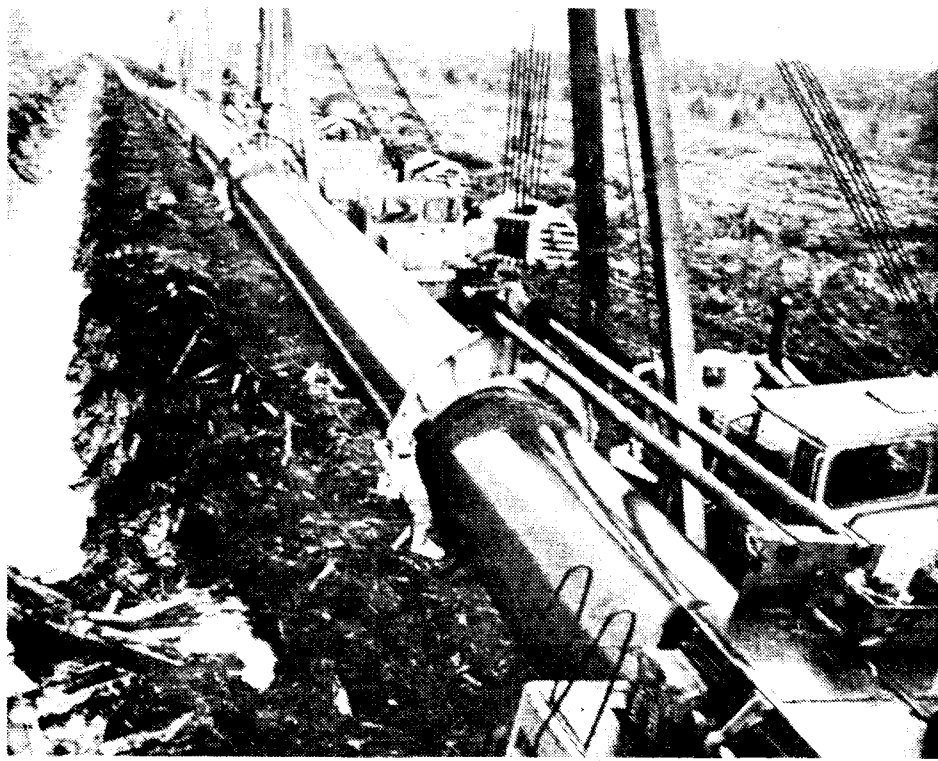
"All they wanted to do was talk about the pipeline. You read a lot about European resentment of the pipeline decision, but you have to see it to appreciate it."

—Wall Street Journal, 15 July

One does not have to see it in the flesh to appreciate the depth of the European bourgeoisies' resentment. The \$10 billion pipeline project—Brezhnev calls it "the deal of the century"—is big business, and very welcome business amid the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930s. When completed it will supply much of West Europe's gas at prices well below those charged by North African and Near Eastern producers. And whatever Reagan may think, European capitalists know that the Soviet Stalinist regime is a far more reliable supplier than the Bedouin chieftains, Shi'ite ayatollahs and Ba'athist colonels on whom they now depend for energy resources.

For many of the firms involved the multi-million-dollar pipeline contracts are a matter of financial survival. AEG-Kanis in West Germany, for example, is one of the few profit-making operations of the about-to-go-bankrupt AEG-Telefunken empire. The pipeline contract accounts for fully 70 percent of the Italian Nuovo Pignone's backlog of orders.

Over and above these considerations of marks, francs and lire—and they are not to be sneezed at—Reagan has affronted the most sacred cow in the bourgeois ideological pantheon, that of national sovereignty. The European Common Market formally protested Reagan's "attempts to exercise extraterritorial legal powers." The influential *Frankfurter Rundschau* was less diplomatic: "This is not what partnership among democratic countries should be. This is sheer imperialism" (*Washington Post*, 25 June). Since some of the firms involved, such as France's Alsthom-Atlantique and Italy's Nuovo Pignone, are nationalized, Reagan is in effect claiming sovereignty over European governments as well. For an American president to lay down the law to a nationalized French firm is one thing certain to unite all Frenchmen from the most decadent royalist count to the most primitive Stalinist hack. Even



Sovfoto

Behind Reagan's Pipeline Fiasco



Economist

Even decrepit British imperialism defied Reagan's pipedreams.

Britain's Margaret Thatcher, for all her fervent anti-Sovietism, told Reagan he was way out of line on this one. The sanctity of contracts and all that, you know.

One can say of Reagan's pipeline sanctions what Theodore Draper said of John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs adventure: it is that rare example of a perfect political failure. It has infuriated all his European allies, heartened the Russians—and failed to delay the construction of the pipeline. The failure is so striking—"the Russians couldn't

have planned it any better," commented one European diplomat—that the Reagan administration is already backing off. Last week treasury secretary Donald Regan announced that the original sanctions "were a little too sweeping" and that violators will be barred only from U.S.-made oil and gas equipment.

The Lone Ranger Shoots Himself in the Foot

What caused Reagan to do something so stupid? Part of the answer is that he

actually believes his own anti-Communist propaganda that the Soviet economy is on the verge of collapse à la Poland. When last June he called upon the British parliament to join him in a new "crusade" to overthrow Communism, he assured them that:

"We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are colliding directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union."

Ten days later Reagan decided to give this imagined "final crisis of Marxism-Leninism" a little push by trying to sabotage the Siberian pipeline, asserting that "the Soviet Union is very hard-pressed financially and economically today. They have put their people literally on a starvation diet" (*New York Times*, 1 July). Every Western diplomat, journalist and even tourist in Moscow or Leningrad can see that the Russian people are not starving. In fact, the Soviet standard of living has visibly improved in the past decade or so despite the burdensome military expenditure necessary to counter the imperialist arms buildup. Reagan's wild statements about the Soviet Union are not just Cold War rhetoric but the more or less seriously held views of a man who can blow up the world at will.

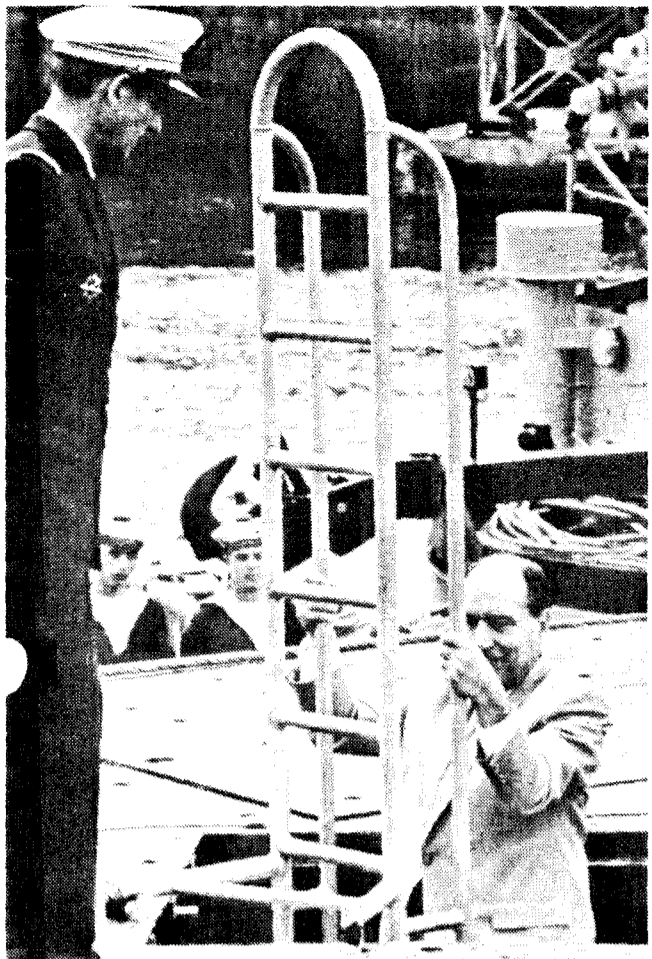
If Reagan sees the Soviet Union about to collapse, he sees in his European NATO allies a fatal weakness of a different kind. The former Hollywood actor turned president is evidently playing Cold War II according to the scenario of the 1950s Gary Cooper film *High Noon*. The townsmen (West European allies) are too cowardly to fight the bad guys (Russian Communists) so the lone marshal (American commander in chief) has to do it himself. The Reaganites thought they could whip their supposedly weak-willed European allies into line by a show of forcefulness. Hence the pipeline sanctions.

In and around the Reagan regime there is a strong current of disdain for the West European bourgeois democracies, seen as semi-pacifistic and "soft" on Communism, and a feeling that America's really tough, reliable allies are the likes of Begin's Israel, Botha's South Africa, Major Blowtorch d'Aubuisson's El Salvador, South Korea et al. Thus, Moral Majority senator Jesse Helms conspicuously voted not to support Britain in the Falklands/Malvinas war, while the UN's leading aficionada of "authoritarian" regimes, Jeane Kirkpatrick, publicly tilted toward the Argentine junta.

It's noteworthy here that a week after the pipeline sanctions were announced the most pro-European member of the Reagan team, former NATO commander Alexander Haig, was forced out. Haig, who warned the sanctions would backfire, apparently tried to convince his boss that the West European allies were not a bunch of mushyheaded pinkos but a group of important capitalist states with their own national interests and national pride. He suffered the usual fate of counselors who inform their monarch of unpleasant realities.

California Gaullism at Work

The pipeline dispute is not an incidental quarrel in a basically harmonious marriage. The financial press routinely writes of U.S./European economic relations in the language of armed conflict—the interest rate war, the developing trade wars over steel and agricultural products. The highly nationalistic policies of the Reagan administration (dubbed "California Gaullism" by the liberal French *Le Monde*) have been deeply injurious to its main capitalist rivals. Months before the pipeline sanctions a senior West German official complained to the *New York Times* (13 February): "We have simply never before seen a United States



Keystone

Hawk in "socialist" feathers François Mitterrand inspects French nuclear submarine. His massive anti-Soviet rearmament drive contributed to largest budget deficit in postwar French history.

Administration that displayed this degree of indifference to the effects of its action on its allies."

And it's especially significant that Mitterrand's France has reverted to the old Gaullist role of the most vocal spokesman for European independence vis-à-vis the United States. Until fairly recently Mitterrand had been the continent's main spokesman for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Late last year *Time* magazine (9 November 1981) titled an article on the new French president, "Hawk in Socialist Feathers: Mitterrand backs a strong military in tandem with U.S. policy." At the June economic summit in Versailles Mitterrand embraced Reagan as "mon cher Ron" and made a show of Paris-Washington amity. Yet within a month French foreign minister Claude Cheysson was speaking of "the progressive divorce" between the United States and Europe.

A recent article in *Business Week* (2 August) laments the unraveling of the Paris-Washington Cold War II axis:

"A year ago, French President François Mitterrand, despite his avowed socialism, looked like the firmest foreign-policy ally the Reagan Administration had on the Continent. Mitterrand had sent the Reagan Administration signals he would be tough with the Russians. But the disastrous economic summit in Versailles in June and the events that have followed have completely changed the picture, opening serious disagreements on East-West trade policy, which the Reagan hardliners see as a touchstone of alliance loyalty."

Among capitalist states, anti-Communist ideological unity is all well and good, but not at the sacrifice of vital national economic interests. (Even Begin's Israel is supplying some pumps

for the Siberian pipeline!) This is, of course, no less true of Reagan than of his European imperialist counterparts. Reagan infuriated the European bourgeoisies when one month after ordering them to tear up their Siberian pipeline contracts, he announced the U.S. was extending its multi-billion-dollar grain trade agreement with the Soviet Union. In his heart of hearts Reagan would like to cut off grain shipments to the USSR, indeed to starve the Russians if he could. But alas for Reagan, he operates within the framework of bourgeois parliamentarism, and the Republicans badly need the farm vote come November. Farmers too are suffering from this most unusual recession which combines record-high interest rates with slumping agricultural prices.

Reagan was elected president two years ago promising to restore military "superiority" (first-strike nuclear capability) over the Soviet Union while cutting everyone's taxes by a third. This was to be the "supply-side" economic miracle based on the crackpot theory of a clique of right-wing economists. Cut taxes enough, they prophesied, and this would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and capital investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more.

To restrain the inflationary impact of the huge federal budget deficits in the meantime, the supply of money and credit was squeezed hard. The predictable result was that real interest rates (subtracting the inflation rate) went through the ceiling. Historically in the U.S. real interest rates have been in the 2-3 percent range; under Reagan they've been running at 8-10 percent. The effect

has been a massive rechanneling of money capital from corporate investment and mortgage and auto loans into the Pentagon budget. Despite the arms boom, corporate investment is projected to fall 5 percent this year. In July new orders for machine tools—the core of any industrial construction program—were almost 50 percent below last year.

Reagan's unorthodox method of financing his preparations for World War III has not only crippled American industry but has sucked in footloose money capital from the world's financial markets. Why should the sheiks of OPEC keep their funds in London, Paris or Frankfurt if the return is so much higher in New York? Reaganomics thus has produced an excruciating dilemma for the West European governments. If they do not raise interest rates to more or less New York levels, they will suffer massive capital flight, enormous balance-of-payments deficits and a rapidly depreciating currency which will generate domestic inflation. If they do raise interest rates sufficiently, they will choke off any recovery in capital spending.

A few months after Reagan was elected president, Helmut Schmidt decried "the highest interest rates in Germany since the birth of Christ, as far as real interest rates are concerned." The one-sided interest rate war quite dominated the July 1981 economic summit in Ottawa, Canada, where Reagan in effect told the European leaders to shut up and eat it. As West Europe slid deeper into depression, the complaints against the international effects of Reaganomics became shriller. Earlier this year French finance minister Jacques Delors denounced high U.S. interest rates as "the principal obstacle" to European economic recovery and asked rhetorically: "How can we defend our alliance with the United States when critics say American policy is making us bankrupt?" (*New York Times*, 13 February).

While the U.S. Treasury was sucking in money capital from Europe, U.S. industrialists were moving to keep European exports out. Last January Pittsburgh once again declared war on the Ruhr, Lorraine and South Wales. U.S. Steel and its lesser brethren filed a petition with the Commerce Department charging the European Common Market with subsidizing steel production and dumping it on the American market. After efforts at a negotiated solution failed, in June the Commerce Department announced stiff penalty duties—up to 40 percent—on steel imports from the Common Market countries. On June 12 *New York Times* financial correspondent Clyde Farnsworth commented:

"The penalty would amount to the severest trade restriction that the United States has set in years. The Europeans said that much of their steel would be priced out of the American market and threatened retaliation against American exports."

One week after dealing this body blow to the depressed European steel industry, the Reagan administration struck again with the pipeline sanctions. No wonder the European bourgeoisie has been howling in rage ever since.

The "François and Mon Cher Ron Show" Folds

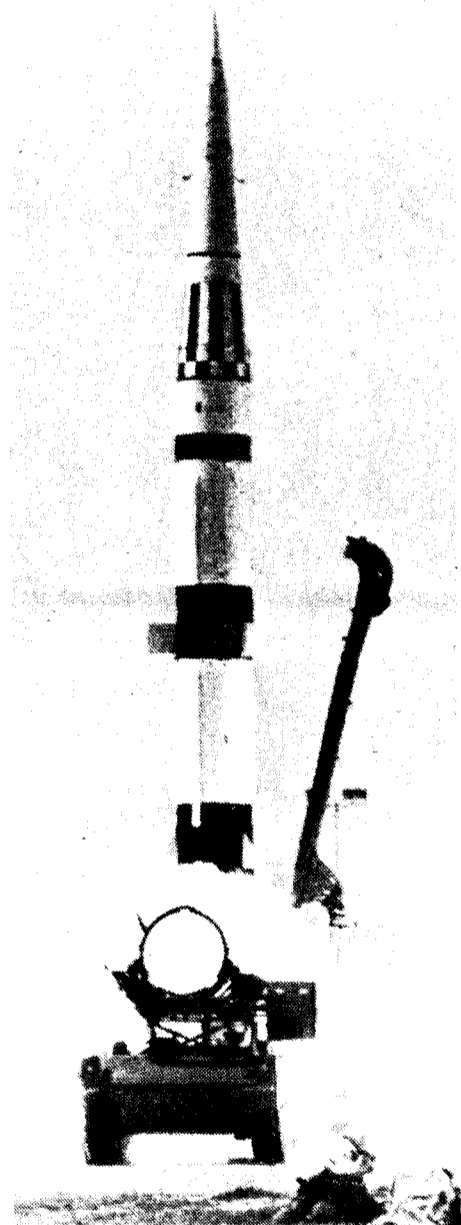
While the policies of the California Gaullists have hurt all of West Europe's economies, none is quite so vulnerable as Mitterrand's France. At a time when other capitalist governments were preaching the virtues of austerity, the French popular front came to office in the spring of 1981 promising prosperity, full employment and sweeping social reforms. At the same time Mitterrand aligned himself closely with Reagan's anti-Soviet bellicosity. The right-wing London *Economist* (12 December 1981) commended him for "a more anti-Russian policy than any previous president of the Fifth Republic."

Mitterrand's strident anti-Sovietism

came from his social-democratic heart, but he probably also thought it entitled him to Washington's economic largesse. If Reagan showers dollars on the Salvadoran junta, he may have reasoned, why not on France, a far more important ally.

And Mitterrand needed Reagan's aid for his own economic gamble. Reagan won the U.S. presidency promising a "supply-side" economic miracle; Mitterrand won the French presidency promising a Keynesian/social-democratic economic miracle. If elected, he told the French working class, he would create 200,000 new public-sector jobs, reduce the workweek from 40 to 35 hours, increase state pensions and family allowances by 50 percent, raise the minimum wage 25 percent and institute an additional fifth week of annual summer vacation. Add to this an ambitious nationalization program with generous compensation and a major rearmament drive.

Where, pray tell, would the billions of francs needed to pay for all this come from? From the printing press, said the smart money. The day after Mitter-

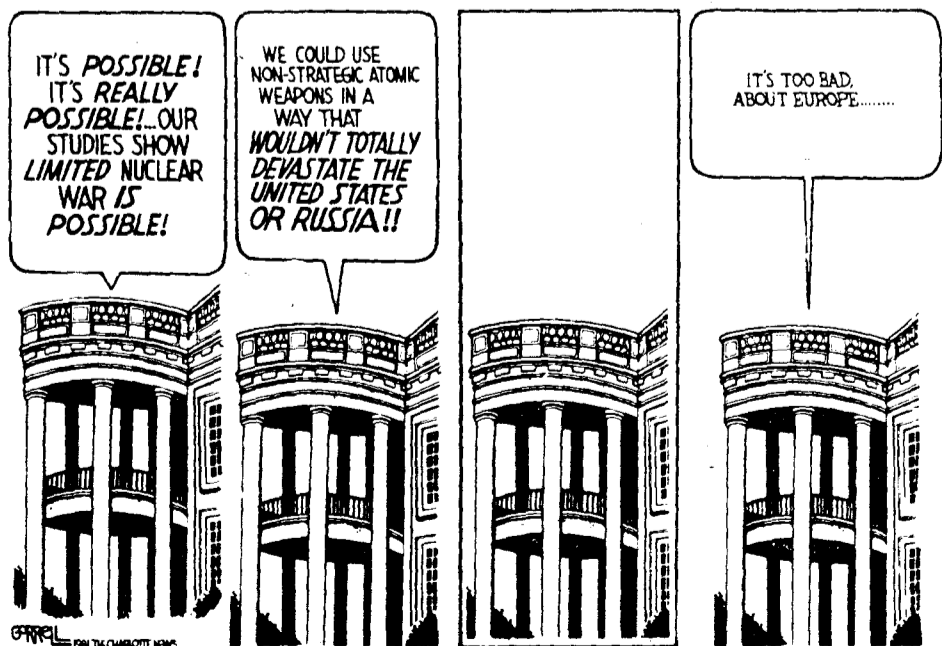


Der Spiegel
Reagan wants Pershing 2's in Europe to launch first strike against the USSR.

rand's unexpected victory in May 1981 both the Paris Bourse (stock market) and franc went into a tailspin. Within two weeks of the election France lost \$7 billion of its \$27 billion in foreign-exchange reserves. The run on the franc was halted for the moment only by jacking up interest rates to levels even higher than in Reagan's America. This definitely put the kibosh on any prospect for a recovery of capital investment. In fact, since Mitterrand's election French capital has been on a slow-down strike. Outside the nationalized sector, industrial investment fell 10 percent last year and worse is expected this year.

With the French rate of inflation more than twice that of its main trading partner, West Germany, the devaluation of the franc was inevitable. The inevitable came the first time in October 1981 as the franc was devalued 10 percent against the Deutschmark. To

continued on page 10



Pipeline...

(continued from page 9)

curb inflationary pressures (fueled in part by the currency depreciation itself), the Mitterrand government reimposed wage/price controls which had been lifted by the conservative Giscard/Barre regime three years earlier. This provoked a strike wave, concentrated in the nationalized industries, which marked the beginning of working-class disillusionment with the new popular-front government (see "Strikes End 'Socialist' Honeymoon in France," *WV* No. 293, 20 November 1981).

Despite these attempts at holding down wages, the Mitterrand regime was faced with the impossibility of what the snotty *Economist* termed "Keynesianism in one country." The French budget deficit for 1982 is expected to be the highest deficit in postwar French history. To finance this huge deficit the Mitterrand regime was running the printing presses at a time when inflation in the rest of the advanced capitalist world was being damped down by the impact of tight money, slashes in social programs and an ever-growing reserve army of the unemployed. With the franc still way overvalued, French exporters could not sell profitably in world markets. Renault and Peugeot, for example, were forced to sell cars at cost in West Germany, otherwise they couldn't sell them at all. To bridge the widening balance-of-trade deficit, France was borrowing heavily in the international money markets. In the first seven months of this year alone France increased its foreign indebtedness by a third. Mitterrand's France was on its way to becoming the Poland or Mexico of West Europe.

To get out of these financial straits Mitterrand, who doesn't lack chutzpah, has tried to induce other governments, above all Reagan's America, to subsidize France in the name of a "new international economic order." As host of the June Versailles summit he proposed a series of grandiose schemes for restructuring world capitalism. All these schemes had one thing in common: they would channel other people's money, mainly denominated in dollars and deutschmarks, into the coffers of the Banque de France. In particular the French made a big push for international currency stabilization, a scheme to have the U.S. Federal Reserve take over the hopeless task of propping up the faltering franc.

No way, said Wall Street, was it going to subsidize the French social democrats no matter how loudly they denounce the Soviet SS-20 missiles or whoop it up for the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. The *Wall Street Journal* (9 June) commented acidly:

"The French, it appears, have been intervening so merrily in the foreign-exchange markets they are about to run out of money. How nice it would be for them if Messrs. Reagan and Volcker could be induced to take over the job of

spending good dollars to mop up excess francs.

"That would, in effect, amount to hitching the dollar to the spending schemes of France's Socialist government, and mercifully the Reagan team managed to slip out of Versailles without promising anything more than a study of the whole idea of currency intervention."

A week after Reagan dumped cold water on them at Versailles, the French devalued the franc once again. More significantly, the Mitterrand government imposed a four-month wage freeze on all French workers. Not even the haughty bourgeois Giscard had dared to risk a total wage freeze as an "anti-inflation" measure. The economics correspondent for the right-wing *Le Figaro*, Yves Guihanec, wrote in a wet-told-you-so vein:

"The French government—suddenly waking to the harshness of the real world after its second currency devaluation in nine months—is totally reversing its economic policies. The fight against inflation becomes again, as it was under former conservative Prime Minister Raymond Barre, the No. 1 priority."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 30 June

Since June the economic pronouncements of the Mitterrand regime are virtually indistinguishable from those of Reagan or Thatcher. The language of *solidarité* has been replaced with that of *rigueur*. Social security taxes on workers have been raised, for example, while benefits are cut. A Communist Party functionary exclaimed to a British journalist friend: "It's got through my thick skull at last: we're landed with another government of the Right" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 June). This "revelation" has not prevented the Stalinist ministers from loyally serving in Mitterrand's "another government of the Right."

From the outset the Mitterrand regime—here enthusiastically backed by the Stalinists—has been highly economically nationalistic. The main slogan used in pushing through the nationalizations was to "reconquer the domestic market," in other words, trade protectionism. Now that the reformist pretensions of the popular-front government have been totally exploded and it is calling for austerity and nothing but austerity, the appeals to French chauvinism are likely to become more strident yet. That is all the reformists have to fall back on. The social-democrats and Stalinists will undoubtedly blame all of France's economic ills on the "multinationals" and Wall Street and seek to channel the mounting proletarian anger against French imperialism's German, American and Japanese rivals.

Depression, Trade War, Imperialist War

The snide Tories of the London *Economist* remarked that the "fiasco about a pipeline from Siberia... must be amusing the ghosts of both Groucho and Karl Marx." Certainly the pipeline brouhaha has all the elements of first-class political farce. And as communists we particularly appreciate that the world's number one imperialist warmonger, Ronald Reagan, comes out of it with much egg on his face.

But the pipeline dispute should not be treated simply as a subject for derisive laughter. At bottom it represents the intersection of the two main forces driving us toward World War III: the appetite of capitalist imperialism—openly and loudly voiced by Reagan—to overthrow the Soviet Union, which despite Stalinist degeneration still embodies the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the intensifying inter-imperialist economic conflicts.

Increasingly the capitalist world of the 1980s resembles that of the 1930s. It is not just the 30 million unemployed in West Europe and North America. It is not just that firms which have been household names for decades—Chrysler, International Harvester, AEG-Telefunken—are on the verge of bankruptcy or can be saved from

bankruptcy only by government bail-outs. It is not just that every week sees another international financial crisis as Mexico, Argentina or some country cannot meet their billions of dollars in debt payments. It is that the bourgeois and reformist parties can offer no credible way out of the prolonged economic slump. They offer only more austerity. Each in its own way, the spectacular failures of Reagan's "supply-side" economics and Mitterrand's neo-Keynesianism demonstrate the impotence of bourgeois governments before the anarchy of the world capitalist system.

Influential sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie are fed up with Reagan's crackpot economic schemes and true-believer political gambits. But no section of the ruling class can find a way out of the underlying problem: the



Der Spiegel

U.S. soldiers prepare for chemical warfare.

decline of capitalism and its long-term and increasing unproductiveness. The U.S. Democratic Party's railing against "Reaganomics" is intended to help the gullible forget Carter's record of double-digit inflation and "austerity" policies. It was under the Democrats that Cold War II was begun, paving the way for Reagan's more ideologically rarefied style. All wings of the bourgeoisie are committed to the anti-Soviet military buildup, necessarily a multi-billion-dollar drain on a contracting capitalist economy.

And the depressed economic conditions intensify all the destructive irrationality of the capitalist order. It is no accident that a fanatical warmonger like Reagan became U.S. president at a time when the American ruling class keenly felt the loss of its former economic and military superiority. A true reactionary, Reagan dreams of restoring the short-lived "American century" of the 1950s. This "American century" was achieved by defeating in war America's two principal imperialist rivals—Germany and Japan. Now once again we find American imperialism pitted against a German-dominated Europe and a resurgent and rearming Japan.

It is very timely to point out that Japan, in particular, was driven into the Second World War by a decade of trade protectionism and economic sanctions directed against it. With the onset of the Great Depression, tariff barriers were erected everywhere against the Japanese "trade menace" as it was then called. Most damaging to Japan was trade protectionism in the Asian colonies of the other imperialist powers (e.g., British India, French Indochina). Japan was thus pushed into creating its own Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

To counter Japanese expansionism American and British imperialism resorted first to economic warfare. In July 1941 (five months before Pearl Harbor) the U.S., British and Dutch embargoed Japan's oil supplies without which it could not survive. The eminent British military historian B.H. Liddell Hart has written:

"Although Japan had stayed out of the

war hitherto, the steps which Roosevelt and Churchill took in July to cut off her economic resources were bound to make her strike back in the only way possible for her—by force of arms."

—*History of the Second World War* (1970)

As the capitalist world once again slides into depression, once again we hear the cries in West Europe and the U.S. of the Japanese "trade menace." When a Japanese trade delegation visited the Common Market countries last October, they were shocked by the sudden upsurge in anti-Japanese sentiment. French trade minister Michel Jobert (a loud-mouthed old Gaullist) told them bluntly "there's nothing we really need" to import from Japan.

However, anti-Japanese feeling in Europe is not nearly as strong as in the U.S. There is now a bill in Congress requiring that 90 percent of the content of Japanese autos sold here be manufactured in this country. And the shock troops in the anti-Japanese trade war are the same labor bureaucrats, centrally the Fraser gang in the Auto Workers, who are also leading the givebacks campaign and are staunch supporters of the anti-Soviet war drive as well. It is the liberal Democrats, the so-called "friends of labor," who are most vocal in whipping up "yellow peril" chauvinism. At a closed Congressional caucus Michigan Democrat John Dingell reportedly called the Japanese "little yellow people." Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill is calling for a total ban on Japanese auto imports and speaking in Detroit last March boasted, "If I were President... I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed." Considering that his fellow Democrat Harry Truman dropped two A-bombs on the Japanese, that is one hell of a threat.

Small wonder that the head of Japan's ruling bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party, Susumu Nikaido, recently told a U.S. trade negotiator: "Opinions expressed about Japan in the United States are anti-Japanese. They give us the impression of the prewar days" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March). Perhaps Nikaido was justifying Japan's rearmament program. The conventional picture of Japan as an economic giant but a military midget is no longer accurate. The Japanese military budget is the sixth largest in the world and is growing faster than that of any West European country. Japan's rulers know better than most that world trade wars can easily escalate into world wars of a far more destructive kind.

The outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown capitalist property relations and the nation-state system, and so required the international socialist reconstruction of society as the only alternative to destruction. As the warring European capitalist "fatherlands" sent a generation of youth to the slaughter, the great Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky raised the call for a Socialist United States of Europe. The continuing power of that program is proven, for example, in the demonstrated need for a Siberian gas pipeline, even in the face of capitalist irrationality and Stalinist mismanagement. Imagine the possibilities opened up by a planned, integrated economy fully and rationally utilizing the labor power, technical knowledge and natural resources from the Siberian tundra to the Iberian peninsula.

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was the first step toward a socialist world order. But the failure to extend the proletarian revolution, centrally to Europe, in the early 1920s led to the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, the victory of fascism in Germany and the second imperialist world war. Now that the preparations for a nuclear World War III are well under way, the time is short to resolve the historic choice facing mankind: socialism or barbarism. ■

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Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

plan to launch ten new settlements in the heart of the West Bank. This is in addition to the already existing 115 settlements with a population of close to 30,000 which the Reagan plan has no intention of dismantling.

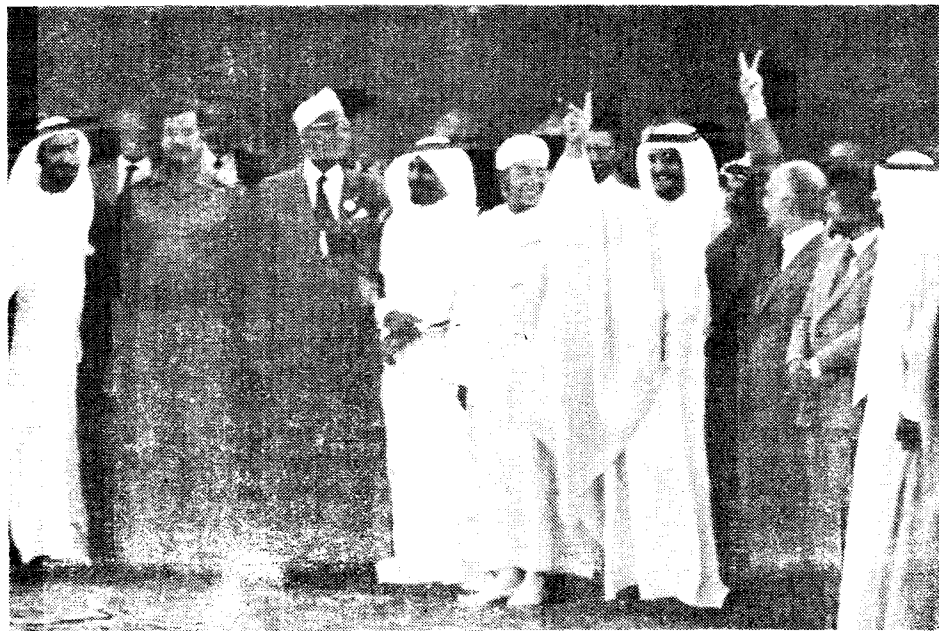
Opposition to Begin in the Knesset was led by the Israeli "Labor" Party. Although affiliated to the pro-imperialist "Socialist" International of Mitterrand and Helmut Schmidt, the Israeli "Labor" Party is not even a bourgeois workers party like the European social-democrats or Labour in Britain. It is the main party of the Zionist bourgeois establishment which founded and ruled the racist state of Israel for 30 years. The Reagan plan is an adaptation of the "Labor" Party's own program for the territories it conquered in 1967 and colonized for a decade.

The Kremlin bureaucracy absurdly denied there was any rift at all between Reagan and Begin. But its mouthpiece, *Pravda* (6 September), spoke the truth when it charged the Reagan proposals "program a further exacerbation of relations between peoples, new bloody conflicts." Indeed Cold Warrior Reagan, whatever his gripes over cease-fire violations in Beirut or West Bank settlements, fully endorsed mad bomber Begin's crushing of "Soviet influence" in Lebanon through smashing the PLO's armed forces and wiping out Soviet-supplied Syrian MIGs and anti-aircraft batteries. "Pax Americana" in the Near East means Reagan has added Lebanon to his El Salvador-to-Angola list of America's "vital interests." The U.S. Marines have been withdrawn from Beirut but are still assigned to the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. Further, U.S. troops and bases in Sinai, the fruit of the Camp David accords, are part of Reagan's anti-Soviet Rapid Deployment Force as well as border guards for Israel. Begin plans to heal the U.S.-Israeli rift on the battlefield of Reagan's global anti-Soviet war drive—e.g., by attempting to provoke full-scale war with Russia's major military client in the region, the Syrian Ba'athists.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

When the "Labor" government seized the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, it set up military facilities to police the Palestinian inhabitants and refugees and encouraged settlements in a perimeter around the territory. "Labor" verbally opposed the attempts of ultra-rightist religious forces to settle throughout the West Bank because of the difficulty of incorporating 1.2 million more Arabs into the already rigidly stratified racist Israeli social structure, which in-

cludes a quarter of a million Israeli Arabs at the bottom. As with the present Reagan plan, "Labor" wanted to impose fake "autonomy" on the more populous regions of the West Bank and Gaza in "association" with Jordan. But Israel would be the effective state power, controlling all aspects of "security" through the Zionist settlements and military stations that would ring these regions. The Zionists would also dominate economically through an "open border policy," encouraging Israeli



Campion/Gamma-Liaison

Arab summit at Fez: a rare occasion when these medieval sheiks and military despots are not busy killing one another and massacring their own people.

investment in the recruitment of cheap labor from the Occupied Territories.

West Bank and Gaza residents work as gang laborers in Israel and are not even allowed to stay overnight. They receive only 40 percent of the average Israeli wage, have no trade-union rights and increasingly function as a reserve army of labor. In this regard Israel is beginning to acquire the social structure of South Africa. Begin has established settlements throughout the West Bank in preparation for annexation and Sharon wants to fill the area with a million Jews. Begin/Sharon intend to expel the million Arabs there through the triple terror of the Israeli army, fanatical Orthodox Jewish fascist gangs and recently recruited right-wing Palestinian thugs, the Village Leagues.

No to Anti Soviet "Pax Americana"!

Arab nationalists see Israel as no more than a U.S. puppet and garrison state. They believe there can be no real conflict between the U.S. and its Zionist fortress and no polarization within Israeli society because Israeli workers are unbreakably wedded to the Zionist rulers. Fake-leftists now enthuse over the mass antiwar protests in Tel Aviv, but their whole nationalist perspective is

predicated on the denial that such events could possibly take place.

Despairing of revolutionary class struggle, the reformists and nationalists follow the Arab League despots in calling on U.S. imperialism to rein in its Zionist puppet and impose a mini-state Palestinian "homeland."

An example of the American fake-lefts who look to pressure imperialism to play a "progressive" role in the colonial world is the Marcyite Workers World Party. Immediately after the

Lebanon invasion the Marcyites called a demonstration to demand "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal" at a time when this could only have meant U.S. Marines to Lebanon—exactly what Begin was demanding! Then the Marcyites, joined by their fellow reformists of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, called a march on Washington for September 11 for "No U.S. Troops to Lebanon"—after they had already been withdrawn! This was not merely lousy timing (reflected in the dismal turnout of less than 3,000 for the march) but flowed from their popular-frontist line of seeking to "reform" imperialism through blocs with liberal capitalist politicians.

Over the Near East as everywhere else, the reformist groups duck the "Russian question" to keep their demonstrations "ready for Teddy" Kennedy. But U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet strategy is key to its Near East policy. It's no accident that the American labor bureaucracy—which was in the vanguard of the Cold War when Reagan was still making "Bedtime for Bonzo" movies—is also the ardent champion of the Zionist state. (Likewise it's no accident that the American Zionists are a pillar of the Cold War establishment.) As Israel rained down phosphorus and cluster bombs on workers and refugees in Beirut, the AFL-CIO took out an ad in the *New York Times* proclaiming: "American Labor Is Not Neutral. We Support Israel."

Taking polite exception was an "Ad Hoc Committee of Trade Unionists Opposed to the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," supported by the same reformist groups, who placed their own ad in the *Times*. The ad made no mention of the imperialist troops sent to

Lebanon, pleading with Reagan to redirect budget funds from military aid to Israel to social services in the U.S. But the real reason for U.S. imperialism's massive buildup of its own war machine and that of its allies—the anti-Soviet war drive that unites the AFL-CIO tops, the Zionists and Reagan—cannot be addressed by cowards who run away from defense of the USSR against imperialism. Now Reagan has declared Lebanon a "vital interest." And if Israel's efforts to provoke war with Syria should drag in their respective military backers, defense of the Soviet Union will be directly and centrally posed.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Trotsky called Zionism a "deathtrap" for the Jews in the Near East. Years of national subjugation, expansionism and genocide have militarized Israeli society and pushed forward clerical, racist and fascist elements, the so-called right-wing "fringe" of the Zionist movement. The country and its armed forces are run by the Begins, Shamirs, Sharons and even the Meir Kahanes who 20 years ago were kept in the shadows of the Zionist establishment, a public embarrassment if a private necessity for the Zionist state. But the demonstrations against the Lebanon invasion as well as recent polls show that a majority of the population is becoming weary of eternal guard duty over a rebellious Palestinian population on behalf of Begin's expansionist dream of an "Eretz Israel" from the Euphrates to the Nile. If the Hebrew nation is to have a future it will not be as oppressors of the Arab people. Three million Israeli Jews cannot forever declare war on the close to 150 million Arabs of the Near East. Israeli working people, especially the relatively oppressed Sephardic Jewish Arabs who constitute Begin's base because of disenchantment with the traditional "Labor" Zionist establishment, must be broken from Zionism.

The Palestinian people have an unconditional right to self-determination, including real, independent statehood. But their nation was dismembered to the profit of both the Zionist state and the Jordanian monarchy, with the concurrence of the rest of the Arab regimes. Their national rights will be realized only through the revolutionary proletarian overthrow of the Israeli and Arab ruling classes.

Palestinian self-determination means it is the Palestinians, not psychopathic terrorists from Brooklyn like Kahane or anti-Communist Jews from Russia, who have a "right of return" to a Palestinian homeland which includes Haifa and Jaffa as well as Hebron and Ramallah. The genuinely democratic resolution of the Palestine national question requires a binational framework, conceivable only through socialist revolution against the Zionist state and the Arab rulers, both subservient to imperialism. This revolution must be led by an internationalist workers party which breaks Hebrew-speaking workers from genocidal Zionist racialism and the oppressed Palestinian masses from the dead end of PLO nationalism. The imperialist balkanization of the Near East will be overcome through proletarian revolution to create a Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

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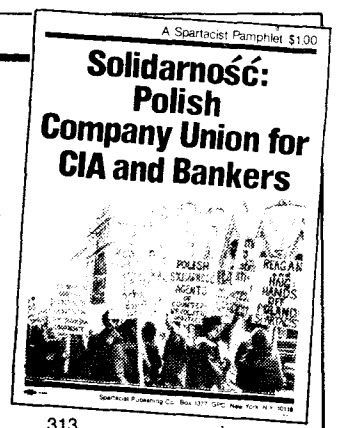
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PL...

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them. This means that all the LAPD's provocations—its years of infiltration and disruption, its racist rampages, its attacks on leftist demonstrators, its set-up of the Black Panthers, the notorious activities of the Red Squad, and even the conspiracy to disrupt and destroy PL in which this trial was a principal instrument—all this was disallowed.

Finally, in Judge Watson's instructions to the jury she declared one of the defendants guilty because he didn't show up at the trial. She did not bother to tell the jury that the reason was that sometime after the 1977 demonstration against INS deportations, he was deported!

No wonder the witchhunters are ecstatic with the results of this new legal device. "I hope this will encourage more police officers to sue when they are wronged," said the cops' lawyer triumphantly.

Defend PL... Somehow

It is precisely because of the precedent-setting character of this ominous case that PL's failure to publicize it and defend itself politically is a real crime. PL has not only left its individual members in the lurch; it has

endangered everyone at whom this witchhunting strategy is aimed.

When the case began to heat up, we noted in *WV* No. 197 (17 March 1978):

"Should the cop suit succeed, it bodes great dangers for the left and labor movement—providing an additional lucrative incentive for brutal cop attacks. All class-conscious militants must demand that the suit be thrown out of court and all charges against demonstrators dropped!"

But PL doesn't make defense very easy.

PL countersued the LAPD and got \$1,500, which they can presumably deduct from the \$334,000 they have been ordered to pay the cops. But only recently has it dawned on these hapless victims that the trial was political. With its comrades in jail for contempt, the 4 August *Challenge* admits with its usual brainlessness dished out as candor: "At first we did not see the need to turn it into a mainly political trial"! Now, like the blind man clubbed over the head, they are beginning to see the light. But PL remains opposed in principle to putting up a class-struggle defense.

PL spits on the communist tradition of united-front defense, adopting a sectarian macho stance against the repressive forces of the state. They called the cop attack and subsequent cop suit "stepping stones to revolution," bragging in bold type: "WE ARE GROWING FROM THIS ATTACK." At the time we warned that "attempts to

singlehandedly take on the LAPD—notorious for the jackboot methods of its SWAT teams, its use of attack helicopters and massive firepower as in the massacre of the 'Symbionese Liberation Army'—are more likely to lead to prison, hospitalization or worse."

PL's discovery, five years late, that they are the victims of a McCarthyite witchhunt, doesn't seem to have changed anything. They posture that they have the "puny" cops and courts on the run. *Challenge* proclaims: "On July '66, we held a press conference and picketed the courthouse, scaring the cops' lawyers and judge." This mouse-that-roared style is not only stupid and sectarian, but dangerously self-isolating as well.

A recent *Challenge* (8 September) denounced any idea of setting up a "left-wing" defense committee, holding rallies to 'save' PLP or various members." Perish the thought. For PL, it's the business of frenzy as usual, no stopping to wage a political campaign around the trial by seeking to enlist working-class and left-wing support in a fight against the witchhunt. Instead they operate in the framework of the worst traditions of Stalinist defense work.

PL's excuse for its lack of defense against the state's attack is that it doesn't want to mimic the losing, no-struggle "defense" response of the CP during the postwar witchhunts. Imagining that

only a *liberal* political defense is possible, PL falsely counterposes political defense to general "fighting back." Exactly the opposite is the case: political defense is part of the class struggle and must be conducted according to proletarian methods.

The case is now on appeal, but PL doesn't even make it possible to contribute to their legal defense, insisting that the money be sent to PL directly and they will use it for any purpose they see fit. At bottom this despairing disorientation is not much different from the attitude which sends PLers with more guts than brains into pointless, losing battles with the cops from Connecticut to L.A. in the name of "fighting fascism." PL knows a lot about macho grandstanding but nothing about how to fight to win—against McCarthyite witchhunts, against fascist attacks, against racial oppression, to put the working class on the road to socialist revolution which alone will finally settle accounts with capitalism's brutal racist thugs in blue.

The LAPD vendetta against PL must be stopped! It directly threatens leftist militants, black organizations, strikers on picket lines, anyone who is a target for cop victimization. All the intended victims of repression in Reagan's America have a stake in this case. For united-front defense to stop the cop vendetta against PL! ■



WV Photo

1981: UAW members from Chrysler Tank Plant (now owned by General Dynamics) march against concessions in Warren, Michigan.

Shut Down Detroit...

(continued from page 2)

against the city's workers and ghetto poor.

The attack on the teachers, who are largely black, is just the latest in Young's efforts to grind down the city employees unions, highlighted by the breaking of the sanitation and transit workers strike two years ago. In fact, Young & Co. justify their present union-busting by their past union-busting. "We are not asking our teachers to do anything more than some of our other employees who have already given us concessions," declares Board of Education head George Bell. What they are "asking" is a salary cut of 8 percent, which given the inflation will mean a cut in real income of 15 percent or more a year.

In striking against Young, the teachers are setting a fighting example for all of Detroit's workers. They have said they expect a long strike, and if the city gets an injunction against them, they will defy it. If all Detroit labor went out in support of the teachers, it would be a real short strike! All out behind the

teachers! Bust union-buster Coleman Young!

Conditions in Detroit are a more powerful argument for socialism than a thousand pamphlets. While mass layoffs and plant shutdowns threaten the organized existence of the black proletariat, increased racist attacks and fire-bombings have maimed black people and driven them from their homes. A fighting labor movement must oppose the deadly growth of KKK/Nazi terrorism not only with labor/black defense mobilizations but by showing that there is a class-struggle answer to the depression conditions that the race-haters feed off.

Givebacks, layoffs and Klan terror are part of U.S. imperialism's massive anti-Soviet arms buildup and war drive. You can't fight the givebacks without fighting Reagan and the anti-Soviet war drive. And you can't fight by replacing Reagan with Democrats like Coleman Young. *There is no way out within the capitalist system.* What is needed is a workers party to fight for a workers government which will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the hands of the capitalist class. That struggle must begin now with a general strike in Detroit against Coleman Young and the auto bosses! ■

LTF Lebanon Leaflet...

(continued from page 7)

operation of its own imperialism, it prepared the way by its support to this austerity/Cold War popular front. Last December 13 the LCR was the "left" component of the holy alliance extending from the fascists to the far left in support of Solidarność, company union for the CIA and Western bankers.

For Permanent Revolution in the Middle East

While Begin's invasion of Lebanon exposed the genocidal logic of Zionism, it also exposed the bourgeois Arab regimes, "radical" as well as "moderate," as its indispensable collaborators. The Palestinian and Arab left militants must draw the lesson: the need for working-class struggle. It's in the name of nationalism that the PLO hailed as their allies these same Arab governments who today stab them in the back. The slogan of "struggling against Zionism" in the mouths of Arab leaders is a way to *detour* the class struggle in their countries, while these same leaders betrayed the Palestinian cause in a thousand ways, from "Black September" to Camp David to Tel el Zaatar. The main enemy is at home!

The liberation of the Palestinians cannot be won by a purely national struggle or some utopian rapprochement between Zionist "doves" and PLO "moderates." The Zionist state and the bourgeois Arab states surrounding it must be exploded from inside by proletarian revolutionary struggle. The massive antiwar protests in Israel, even though today they don't transcend "left" Zionism, smash to bits the idea that the whole Hebrew-speaking population of Israel is one homogeneous reactionary mass. A real solution to the right of self-determination for the Palestinians is possible only through the destruction of the Hashemite monarchy and the clerical Zionist state. These two states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people.

The Israeli workers must break with Zionism, and the Palestinian workers must break with the PLO, which could easily become their bourgeois oppressor. There is already an important Palestinian *proletariat* in Jordan and in

the occupied territories as well as in Israel. But through the nationalist dogma of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of the Arab regimes, the PLO prevented the Palestinian proletariat from undertaking *class* struggles (even in Jordan, where Palestinians are the majority) against the Hashemite monarchy with its extremely narrow social base. Instead the PLO's nationalism channels the rebellions that could have taken a *revolutionary direction*—Jordan 1970, Lebanon 1975-76—into self-isolated and easily decapitated movements, contributing to the subsequent bloody communalism in Lebanon. Only a party with a proletarian internationalist vision based on the program of Trotsky's permanent revolution can mobilize the Jewish and Palestinian workers for desperately necessary struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East.

- Defend the Palestinians! No to Begin's "final solution"! Israel out of Lebanon! French troops out of Lebanon! No to the imperialist "peace-keepers"!
- Not Jew against Arab but class against class!
- For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Ligue Trotskyiste de France,
24 August 1982

SL/SYL Forum

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership!
For Labor/Black Action to Smash Racist Terror!

You Can't Fight Reagan With Democrats!
Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Speakers: George Crawford, SL Central Committee; Myra Owens, SYL National Committee

Guest Speaker: Ed Kartsen, NYC transit worker, chairman of the June 27 Chicago mass rally to stop the Nazis

Friday, 7:30 p.m. Machinists' Hall
September 17 7 E. 15th Street

For more information, call 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Militant Exposes Job Cutting, Gains Wide Support Against

Bureaucrats' Purge Trial in S.F. Phone Union

SAN FRANCISCO—Attempts by Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel to purge Kathy Ikegami, a well-known CWA militant and 9410 executive board member, are meeting wide opposition within the local. Ikegami is a leader of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle oppositional grouping of CWA members opposed to the pro-company, pro-Democratic Party policies of the CWA leadership. According to a 12 July *Militant Action*, Ikegami is being charged with "willfully violating her duties as an executive board member and bringing the union into disrepute." The charges are a cover for an attempted political purge of Ikegami. The 12 June MAC leaflet noted that "What gored his [Imerzel's] ox was MAC's exposé of some of the union bureaucrats' attempted cover-up of PT&T's job-slashing attack on our members."

MAC has denounced Imerzel's charges as "damned self-serving lies and a dirty business." According to MAC a lot of 9410 members agree—over 400 have signed a petition demanding the charges be dropped immediately. A MAC spokesman said that a broad spectrum of opinion in the local is disgusted by Imerzel's high-handed connivings to ax a political opponent. Local 9410 members know Kathy Ikegami as a good steward, a fighter for the union. They understand that if Imerzel and his cronies succeed in this witchhunt, no one who stands up to the company will be safe.

The charges filed against Ikegami were presented to her at the July CWA convention held in Detroit, which she attended as an elected Local 9410 delegate. There, Ikegami sharply criticized CWA president Glenn Watts and the union leadership for refusing to mobilize the union to fight the massive job-cutting offensive.

At the convention, Ikegami denounced the Watts bureaucracy for once again turning the convention into a pep rally for the capitalist Democratic Party. She urged labor to break with the Democrats and forge a class-struggle workers party. She called for international working-class solidarity, condemning the CWA tops' support for the anti-Soviet war preparations of U.S. imperialism. MAC also warned of the

dangerous growth of the Klan and Nazis and called for mass labor/black mobilizations to smash fascist terror. Ikegami especially condemned the CWA bureaucracy for allowing the sale of Confederate flag badges—the banner of slavery—to raise money for COPE.

This year, feeling the heat from an angry membership fearful of losing their jobs, the union tops hit back. Watts closed the convention with a speech denouncing MAC: "...we have been put down in royal order by a group called the Militant Action." Warning to his subject he denounced "anarchists... who would say 'never settle; always strike'—always have so much disagreement and violence going on that orderly society breaks down and then somebody can grab it and take it over." Watts ended with a green light for Imerzel's purge: "I would like not to be the only one that is putting them down by answering them."

The word went out from the CWA National—Get MAC! This was confirmed when the *Local 9410 Communicator* (August/September) reprinted Watts' speech under the headline "Watts Warns of Destructive Attackers." Local 9410 bureaucrat Linda Zupan added her comments: "The convention delegates made their position clear that these outside groups, like the Militant Action Caucus, are not friends of the CWA. While their rights, as much as anyone's of freedom of speech must be preserved, their actions and their agenda are no: in step with those of the UNION MEMBERS..."

The words "freedom of speech" coming from Miss Zupan have about as much credibility as a denunciation of anti-Semitism from the mouth of Hitler's mistress, Eva Braun. Watts, Imerzel and their mouthpiece, Miss Zupan, are telling CWA members certain opinions are outlawed. You are not permitted to vote into office someone who says the union should fight the company and fight to defend itself. You can have only a leadership that says: never strike; always settle... on the company's terms.

According to a *Militant Action* dated 29 July, "Imerzel has brought charges against Ikegami because: (1) she proposed the necessary union action to stop the company's job-slashing offensive and exposed the attempt by some union

bureaucrats to keep the company plan secret; (2) she won't rubber stamp his anti-democratic appointments of stewards and committee members...; (3) she's a member of the Militant Action Caucus..." The same leaflet reproduces a letter from another 9410 executive board member, Rich Contreas, to Imerzel, which states:

"After having served three years on the Executive Bd. of Local 9410, I find the charges you have filed against Kathy Ikegami, as being discriminatory as well as politically self-motivated. Mr. Imerzel, I never voted for any of the appointees that the chief steward recommended, and no charges were

vice president Marie Malliet for her seeming sympathies to the political positions of her husband Leonard Malliet, a member of ILWU Local 10 and a well-known supporter of the views of the Communist Party. Likewise we would oppose attempts to expel Imerzel from office because of his affiliation with the Bay Area Trade Unionists in Solidarity with Chile, a coalition which includes a number of Communist Party supporters based on the same Stalinist/social-democratic program of class collaboration which led to the bloody defeat of the Chilean workers. All the bureaucrats' flak about "outside



Delegate Kathy Ikegami speaking at CWA convention.

WV Photo

brought against me. I would be willing to testify to that fact. So I urge you to drop all charges against Kathy Ikegami. So we can get on with the business of fighting the Co., instead of ourselves."

MAC's leaflet goes on to denounce as "crude and despicable McCarthyism" the allegation that MAC is "a self-proclaimed left-wing extremist political group of Trotskyist 'communists' affiliated with the Spartacist League." This charge is as bizarre as it is untrue—and sounds like the sort of thing that might be cooked up by some hypothetical feeble-minded law school dropout working for the FBI, in collaboration with a not too bright sympathizer of the Stalinist Communist Party.

Imerzel and Co. want to put Kathy Ikegami on trial because she is a well-known supporter of the Spartacist League. The 12 July *Militant Action* noted:

"Regarding the Spartacist League, a socialist political organization, if some of our union members support some or all of the positions of that organization, that is their choice and their right to do so. In fact, in April of 1980 the Executive Board of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) and Local 9415 (Oakland) endorsed an April 19 demonstration in San Francisco initiated by the Spartacist League which aimed to prevent the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday at the San Francisco Civic Center. Our union marched in that demonstration along with 1200 unionists, blacks, latinos, socialists, Jews, and gays. The union-busting, race-hating Nazis have not showed their faces in San Francisco since then, and we think the town is a cleaner, more decent place to live because of this."

MAC is to be congratulated on its forthright position. Workers democracy is vital if the unions are to decide how best to defend their members and advance the interests of labor. Thus it would be a crime for anyone to, for example, attempt to purge Local 9410

groups" is hypocritical and simply an attempt to distract the membership's attention from the real issue—jobs.

The outrageous attempt to purge Ikegami and get MAC are a sign that the CWA bureaucracy sits atop a political volcano. For years the company and the union tops alike sold the proposition that wages and working conditions at Ma Bell were bad but at least there was job security. Nobody believes this anymore. When, in late July, word leaked to the California press that PT&T was to cut 16,000 workers from its payroll, both the company and the union rushed to deny the report.

But just six weeks later CWA VP Malliet reported that Pacific Telephone would surplus 1,745 employees in California and Nevada in distribution services alone. This should be contrasted with Imerzel's statement on April 25 in reply to a MAC leaflet outlining job-cutting schemes. Imerzel blandly claimed: "no layoffs are projected. PT&T assured CWA that the normal attrition of 200 employees would overcome any job displacement." Watts and Imerzel want to throw Kathy Ikegami out of the CWA for the crime of telling the truth about Ma Bell's job-slashing plans! MAC must defeat their shameful purge attempt and use the opportunity to politically educate the CWA membership about the real political nature of the sellout union leaders—whose no-fight policies truly "bring the union into disrepute" and breed demoralization and cynicism. A 10 August *Militant Action* squarely posed the situation:

"The unions have two choices: they can either serve the bosses and companies by administering givebacks, takeaways and layoffs OR they can lead the fight to replace this lousy system with one that eliminates war, unemployment and racism, and serves the workers, minorities and poor." ■

MILITANT ACTION

PUBLISHED BY THE MILITANT ACTION CAUCUS THE CLASS STRUGGLE OPPOSITION IN THE CWA

P.O. BOX 6571 SAN FRANCISCO, CA. 94101

!! NEWS BULLETIN !!

SECRET COMPANY/UNION MEETING:

MASSIVE LAYOFFS SLATED 1/83

Stocks
down
11%

San Francisco Examiner

Wednesday, July 28, 1982

25c

Streets edition
\$2.00

hat PT&T had
once plans
re invited

CWA tops want
to get MAC
leader for telling
the truth about
phone layoffs.

Phone company cuts jobs

Labor Day: Bureaucrats & Democrats

The union bureaucrats' 1982 Labor Day parade in New York City, intended to demonstrate support for the Democratic "alternative" to Reaganomics, was a dismal flop. Fewer than 50,000 unionists—a third as many as last year—made their way up Fifth Avenue past the reviewing stand at the Public Library, which was packed with bureaucrats and Democrats like would-be governor Mario Cuomo, Koch-backer Carol Bellamy and right-wing senator Daniel Moynihan. One transit worker looked at the smiling politicians and remarked, "They'd all like to cut our throats." At Labor Day rallies across the country, the message from the union tops was the same: vote Democrat. But a lot of workers were less than enthusiastic about bringing back the strikebreaking party of Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter. The fact that over 2,000 New York unionists bought *WV* with the headline, "Labor: Don't Crawl for the Democrats" shows that bureaucratic betrayal hasn't destroyed the workers' appetite to fight back.

Last year's New York parade featured a militant 3,000-strong air controllers (PATCO) contingent chanting, "Strike!" And on September 19, "Solidarity Day" 1981, half a million workers, including at least 100,000 blacks, went to Washington angered at Reagan's racism and union-busting. But they wanted more than a weekend parade; there was sentiment to "shut down Washington" on a weekday. Similarly in San Francisco, "Solidarity Day" demonstrators drowned out Democrat Walter Mondale with cries of "PATCO! PATCO!"

"Last year we marched, this year we vote," Massachusetts AFL-CIO leader Arthur Osborn told the union crowd in Boston Common last month. The bureaucrats all but silenced any hint of working-class struggle this year. There was an exception: in Detroit, 70 uniformed auto workers marched in a disciplined "flying squadron" chanting military cadences. Formed by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1200, the squadron is in training for picket duty against General Dynamics. The corporation, which recently bought its Warren, Michigan tank plant from Chrysler, is planning to run the plant with scabs in the event of a Local 1200 strike when the contract expires September 14. But while the flying squadron unionists marched in preparation for a class battle against the scabherding military contractor, their signs proclaimed, "We Are Defense Workers." The UAW misleaders want to tie these workers to the war policies of Reagan and the Democrats.

NYC labor tops push "lesser evil" Mario Cuomo...



WV Photos



...and attack workers in other countries.

Enlisting in Cold War II is a class betrayal and a recipe for defeat: the same government—under Republican or Democratic custodianship—that seeks to reconquer the USSR for capitalism is prepared to send out cops and even troops to bust up effective flying pickets.

Plenty of working people are fed up and looking for a way to fight Reagan reaction. What is needed to bring down Reagan and his racist, anti-labor program is militant working-class action led by a class-struggle workers party: plant sit-ins where workers are hit by mass layoffs and factory shutdowns; industrial action to halt arms shipments to the U.S.' anti-Soviet allies in Central America, Israel, etc.; and when blacks like New York transit worker Willie Turks are lynched on the city streets, mass integrated union-based defense guards to smash the race-terrorists.

But a militant response to the bosses' racist, union-busting onslaught is the last thing on the bureaucrats' minds. Since last year's "Solidarity Day," union misleaders representing more than a million workers in auto, trucking, meatpacking, airlines, etc. have agreed to multi-billion-dollar givebacks to the corporations. In the face of mounting racist terror, the highest unemployment

rate since the Great Depression, a colossal military buildup aimed at the USSR, government attacks on every essential social service, the bureaucrats' Labor Day answer to KKK-backed Reagan was: give us more of the same from the Democrats.

In New York the union bigwigs campaigned for Democratic gubernatorial hopeful Mario Cuomo, who marched at the head of the parade with Central Labor Council president Harry Van Arsdale and social-democratic city workers union misleader Victor Gotbaum. Cuomo, who is Governor Carey's disciple and lieutenant governor, is the bureaucrats' preferred candidate against the front runner, racist labor-hater mayor Ed Koch. There is no essential difference between these Democrats: both support the bankers' program of continued austerity for New York which means more racist cutbacks and more attacks on the unions. Both candidates support the union-busting Taylor Law. Both want more police. Both want to convert state mental hospitals into prisons. Whoever wins, workers and blacks will lose.

No wonder the powerful New York City working class, especially its black component, stayed home. The largest

contingents were from the craft-dominated, mainly white building trades, particularly Van Arsdale's Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). From the heavily black hospital workers District 1199 and Transport Workers Union Local 100, only a few hundred each came out. The phone workers contingent had more "Cuomo for Governor" signs than workers. There were the usual floats, 150 marching bands and a contingent of Rockettes from Radio City Music Hall. There were protesting dancers from the American Ballet Theatre, locked out by their anti-Soviet boss, Mikhail Baryshnikov. But the bureaucrats by and large mobilized only themselves and their hard-core supporters.

While there were some signs demanding "Amnesty for Undocumented Workers" and "Political Asylum for Haitian Boat People," Labor Day was dominated overwhelmingly by chauvinist protectionism and anti-Soviet flag-waving. In Boston the UAW had a "Buy American" float displaying two new U.S.-built cars, while New York clothing workers carried signs reading, "Jobs—America's Best Defense." IBEW leaders wanted to give the Nobel Peace Prize to Lech Walesa of Solidarność, Poland's pro-Reagan company union for Wall Street. In Boston the parade organizers even created a special contingent to support Solidarność.

Missingly entirely, of course, was PATCO, destroyed when Reagan fired its members en masse and union leaders like Van Arsdale and "socialist" Machinists' leader William Winpisinger stabbed the air controllers in the back by refusing to strike the airports. This year PATCO was "remembered" with a hearse bearing signs which said, "New York Labor Mourns PATCO, 1968-1981." Hypocrisy! Van Arsdale, Winpisinger and AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland helped dig the grave.

Last year the Spartacist League fought for labor to shut down the airports in solidarity with PATCO. Such decisive action could have busted Reagan's union-busting attack on the small air controllers union and opened a working-class offensive that went beyond the bounds of "pure and simple" trade unionism. As we said after "Solidarity Day" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981):

"In 1968 Lyndon Johnson's administration was rendered impotent by the North Vietnamese Tet offensive. We need a Tet offensive by the U.S. labor movement to bring Reagan to his knees." ■

S.F. Elections...

(continued from page 3)

this country is going to fuel the anti-Communist war drive from Poland to El Salvador. The Spartacist League says: "Military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador!" We say that Solidarność in Poland is a company union for the CIA and the Western bankers. It's interesting that this is the one "union" that Reagan likes. He loves Solidarność and smashes PATCO into the ground. We want the crystallization of a genuine Trotskyist party to lead proletarian political revolution to oust the venal, incompetent, counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucrats and defend the Polish working class against imperialist-inspired counterrevolution.

In this country we want a program to mobilize labor and minorities. We want jobs for all, decent housing, free medical care, child care, education, transit and a massive program of public works under union control. We want full equality for

minorities, women and gays. But this can be done only by a break with the Democrats who stand for none of these things, who stand for the same things the Republicans stand for, basically. Workers need their own party, a revolutionary workers party, to fight for a workers government which will smash the bosses' state, expropriate major industry and institute a planned economy. And then, only then, will the working class and black people in this country get what they need and deserve. Thank you.

Question: I have a comment to make as a rank-and-file member of this Labor Council. Is there anybody in this Labor Council here who thinks that Solidarity in Poland is a tool of the CIA?

Coleman: I would just like to comment that the *Amsterdam News*, which is an influential black newspaper in the United States—maybe you've heard of it—came out with an editorial that said "Why Cry for Poland?" Because they noticed that Reagan was smashing black people and the unions in this

country but was touting the rights of Solidarność. They thought there was something kind of funny about that. So I would suggest to you that maybe some of the rank-and-file members of your unions, especially some of the black members who have seen what American freedom and justice mean to them here at home, have a few more doubts about [Solidarność] than you do.

Question: How do you feel on the nuclear freeze?

Coleman: I feel it's essentially utopian and no answer. I don't think you can get Reagan to disarm by writing petitions or passing propositions. I believe that only the working-class people, by taking state power in their hands, are going to stop Reagan sending missiles. I believe that only the fact that the Soviet Union has a nuclear arsenal has kept U.S. imperialism from taking over the whole world.

Question: If you were a member of the Board of Supervisors at the time of the PATCO strike, what single thing would you do to resolve it?

Coleman: Well, that's a good question. I would like to speak to that, and to the question of the gentleman over here about William Winpisinger as well. During the PATCO strike, it was very obvious that PATCO stood alone. What was needed was support from other unions. And I don't mean just the demonstrations which a number of people very faithfully came to.

Questioner's interruption: You're not answering the question. What single thing would you have done if you were a member of the Board of Supervisors, the office you are running for?

Coleman: I would have got up and made a speech on television and everywhere else I could, that workers ought to see that the airports were shut down. And that means especially the IAM—and Winpisinger as the head of that—had to see that the airports were shut down. I see running for Board of Supervisors as a way of mobilizing the working class to struggle. Because I don't think you get anything unless you struggle. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

of repression of the mass nationalist organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress. The union movement has been the main vehicle for resurrecting militant black struggle. There are now dozens of black unions with hundreds of thousands of members. Another index of the effectiveness of black labor struggle is that the wage differential between black and white workers has decreased in the past decade from 20 to five to one.

Given the savagery and all-sidedness of racist oppression in South Africa, black workers will never be satisfied with narrow economic unionism. They will certainly identify with the broader currents of political opposition to apartheid. Here it is significant that at the mass funeral procession for a white union organizer, Neil Aggett, who was murdered in prison six months ago, militants raised the flag of the outlawed ANC.

The liberal-nationalist ANC has long been in bloc with the South African



Newsweek

Cuban soldiers prevent South African imperialists from conquering Angola.

Communist Party. The ANC/Stalinist strategy is one of pressuring the supposedly "progressive" elements of the white South African capitalist class. Their main candidate for this role is diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer.

Thus, the American CP's *Daily World* (14 August), here simply expressing the views of its South African co-thinkers, noted approvingly Oppenheimer's call for "cooperation between unions and management"! The Stalinists' long, one-

sided courtship of Oppenheimer has not, of course, prevented him and his colleagues from supporting the basic laws maintaining and establishing the apartheid system, not least the Suppression of Communism Act.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC and the other exile and underground nationalist organizations offer no effective strategy to defeat apartheid. Moreover, their *model* for post-apartheid South Africa should they come to power is based on the anti-working-class middlemen for imperialism such as Mozambique's Samora Machel and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe.

If South Africa's oppressed black masses are to achieve full victory over the white racist regime they must look elsewhere for leadership. A key task in South Africa is the construction of a Trotskyist party armed with a program for workers revolution through smashing apartheid. South Africa, a regional imperialist power, is the key to socialist revolution throughout the entire economically extremely backward region. The South African proletariat is therefore in the vanguard of social revolution for all of black Africa. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 5)

"that if you met with Daley and he made a commitment, not only *could* he deliver, but he *would*." Right—like when he promised to shoot to kill blacks who exploded in anger after the murder of Martin Luther King in 1968!

Chicago doesn't need Son of Daley, and it doesn't need a black Democrat for mayor either. Anyone who thinks a black mayor will improve life for black and working people ought to take a long hard look at Detroit, the union and black town ruled by Coleman Young on behalf of the auto bosses. Young presided over the mass layoffs which have turned that city into a wasteland. He's declared war on one city union after another. In 1980 he busted the largely black AFSCME strike so he could host the Republican convention. His "Detroit Renaissance" rhetoric has given way to talk of "trickle down" schemes for the poor. He told the black population to learn to live on less: "You can eat beans!"

Jesse Jackson has his own "trickle down" black capitalist scheme, an updated version of Operation Breadbasket. He wants blacks to use their purchasing power to demand a niche for black entrepreneurs in the business community. He just signed multi-million dollar pacts with Coke and 7-Up, and now he's after Anheuser-Busch. But what will the black community get? A few black distribution franchises, some financial aid to black businesses, a few blacks on the board of directors, and a *promise* to hire more blacks.

A boycott campaign might open up a few hundred jobs. But it can never solve the problem of the unemployed millions. The Communist Party attacked these petty-bourgeois utopian schemes during the Great Depression in Chicago:

"The triviality of this proposal is obvious on the face of it. It is indeed possible on occasion to kick up a row big enough to force a Woolworth store in Chicago to make a promise. But what has this to do with hundreds of thousands of Negro workers in the coal, iron, steel, oil, automobile and packing industries?... There is no substance to the "use our buying power" proposal; it can only be raised by those whose social vision is bounded by petty industry and petty trade, who see everything not from the viewpoint of the Negro workers—the great mass of the Negro people—but rather from that of the Negro small businessman."

—quoted in Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, Vol. I (1945)

Most of the fake-lefts have fallen in line behind the campaign for a black mayor in Chicago. The Communist Party (CP) wholeheartedly backed

Jackson's diversionary boycott and is pushing a black mayor as the solution for black people. In response to the vicious racist beating in Bridgeport the CP called for people to write their Congressmen to get the government to enact laws against racism. Faced with Reagan reaction these reformists are pushing the same old Democratic lesser-evilism—that means Teddy Kennedy in the White House and Harold Washington in city hall. Their strategy is reliance on the racist Federal government and the Democratic Party, not the working class, to defend blacks' and workers' rights. That's why the CP refused to participate in the June 27 anti-Nazi demonstration, though some of their friends, like Norm Roth of UAW Local 6, felt compelled to make an appearance. The CP opposes labor/black mobilization; instead they call on the racist capitalist state to ban the Klan and outlaw racism.

We Need Black Leaders in a Workers Party

In the face of Reagan's war on blacks, minorities and workers, blacks are leaderless as never before. There are plenty of hustlers like Jackson running around who talk anti-Reaganism to serve the Democrats. The main movers behind the black mayoral campaign in Chicago, like Jackson and Lu Palmer of Chicago's Black United Communities (CBUC), were Martin Luther King's lieutenants in Chicago in the 1960s. These jokers have led nothing since they helped lead the civil rights movement to defeat well over a decade ago.

Today there is not a single organization that stands for the elementary defense of even the most minimal needs of the black population. The organizations that do exist—PUSH, NBUF, the National Black Independent Political Party—exist for one purpose: to peddle blacks to the

Democrats. Little wonder blacks feel isolated and besieged.

It will take integrated *class struggle* to defend black people from the rising line of race terror in this country and address the basic economic oppression of the black masses. And that means a political fight against the Democratic Party; not just against the high-handed racists like Byrne, but against the black frontmen too. That's what the Spartacist League did when we mobilized 3,000 unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists to stop the Nazis in Chicago's Lincoln Park, *against* the appeals of Byrne who told people to ignore the fascist provocation against the gay pride march. The black Democrats had Byrne's line. When SL spokesman Don Andrews contacted Lu Palmer to find out what he planned to do about the Nazi rally, he spoke for them all: "Aw, brother, I can't deal with it. You know we have to put together..."—you got it, a campaign for a black mayor.

The June 27 demonstration was not merely a gathering of several thousand people who oppose the Nazis. It was a glimpse of the power of the Marxist program for labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror. The anti-Nazi protesters came from the steel mills of East Chicago, from the Harvester plant in Melrose Park, from the largely Jewish suburb of Evanston, and heavily gay New Town; but most importantly, they came from the sprawling South Side ghetto. The fascists feed off the present depression conditions and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Their ultimate function is to act as capitalism's shock troops, to destroy the unions and whip up genocidal attacks against minorities. They must be crushed in the egg: not by small-group confrontations with the cops, not by suicidal appeals to the racist capitalist state which systematically protects them, but by massive, militant labor/black struggle. That's the strategy of the Spartacist League.

The phony nationalists who talk about electing a black Democratic mayor as "self-determination" and "black liberation" mean to tie blacks into the ghettos. Like the tribal chiefs who rule the bantustan homelands on behalf of the apartheid rulers of South Africa, these ward hustlers have a vested interest in segregation; integration would destroy their patronage base. But the urban centers are not just rigidly segregated neighborhoods; there are integrated factories, integrated unions.

The unions are key. Here lies the possibility for an alliance between black and white workers, pounded by Reaganism, against their common enemy. The unions today are the main organizations of potential black social power.

The next wave of black struggle does not have to pass through hustlers like Jackson and Daughtry! Black workers and their class-conscious white union brothers can lead a political fight within the unions to make them weapons in the struggle for black rights and against Reagan reaction. The racist cold warriors who run the American trade unions can't fight Reagan because they share his program to "roll back" Communism. Reagan's drive to "roll back" black rights and workers' living standards is integrally linked to his drive to "roll back" the gains of the Russian workers revolution. Black workers are key to the fight to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and the building of revolutionary leadership in the unions.

Thousands of black workers used to work in the giant South Side steel mills. U.S. Steel's Southworks plant used to employ 9,000 people, now only 900 workers remain. The steel workers union recently turned thumbs down on the companies' demands for more concessions. The steel bosses say they'll close Southworks and other Chicago-area plants if the workers don't knuckle under. Enough! Seize their factories! A class-struggle union leadership would organize the unemployed, linking the ghetto masses to the power of the workers in the factories, and march the multitude of South Side ghetto poor to the gates of Southworks to defend sitdown strikes. Such militant action could spark a nationwide fight against mass layoffs, plant closures and unemployment. That's the kind of working-class action blacks need, not crumbs from the Democrats.

The key to victorious labor/black struggle is the forging of black leadership in a communist vanguard party. As Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Andrews told a public forum in Chicago following the successful June 27 anti-Nazi mobilization:

"They're telling us that there is no solution to racial oppression under capitalism, and they are absolutely right... Black workers, potentially the most combative section of the working class, can lead all the oppressed along with their white class brothers and sisters, through a vanguard party. And you've got to join us if you want a revolution in this country that will give us all the things we need and deserve that nobody should have to beg for. Everybody has the right to a job—jobs for all. How you going to get it? You got to fight for it. So the question is posed in this country that if you want to change this rotten system you've got to stand in the front ranks of struggle for working-class revolution to end this racist nightmare called America. Because we can't let this country go the way of race war, which would profit the Ku Klux Klan and the bosses in this country. That's why we fight for socialist revolution here and everywhere else." ■

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WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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WORKERS VANGUARD

For International Labor Action to Support Black Unions!

Black Labor Shakes South Africa

For decades the words "South Africa" and "apartheid" have been synonymous with brutal police-state repression against the black majority. Every day 90,000 blacks are "detained" in South Africa's prisons, and not a few are "found hanged" in their cells. Black leaders like Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress (ANC) have been imprisoned on the infamous Robben Island for a quarter of a century, that is, most of their adult lives. Last month a leading member of the South African Communist Party, Ruth First, was assassinated in Mozambique by a letter bomb, undoubtedly sent by BOSS (the South African secret police).

Yet despite the massive apparatus of racist terror, South Africa is now being shaken by the one force too powerful to repress—the superexploited black workers on whom this industrial powerhouse of the African continent rests. From the gold mines of the Rand to the auto plants of the East Cape to the docks of Natal, an unprecedented strike wave is sweeping the apartheid state.

Now is the time for workers throughout the world to strike a blow against this bastion of capitalist racism. Now is the time for American workers to come to the aid of their South African black brothers. International labor action—boycotts and secondary strikes—can be decisive in securing victory for the black unions struggling in South Africa. This is especially the

case since some of these strikes are directed against multinational corporations, such as General Motors, Ford and Volkswagen. Smash apartheid—For workers revolution! Black unions are the key!

The Strike Wave

The recent crescendo of strikes began in the gold mine hellholes in early July. The death of six miners in yet another fatal accident plus a pay "raise" which was actually a wage cut triggered the walkout of 4,000 miners at West Driefontein mine, part of the richest and largest gold-mining complex in the world. The strikers burned down the company administration building, and the strike quickly spread to three neighboring mines. The police moved in with helicopters, tear gas and guns and murdered ten miners. Black proletarian rage swelled after these police murders. When 12,000 miners were locked up in hostels by the security guards for the night, they broke out and battled with the cops, halting production in another mine. These militant struggles have forced important concessions from the apartheid state. The Chamber of Mines has given permission for the Black Mineworkers Union to recruit members and has recognized for the first time a non-white union, one consisting of Indian and colored (mixed-race) drivers, handymen and painters.

The second phase of the strike wave



Reininger/Contact
Apartheid capitalism rests on superexploitation of black workers, especially in the gold and diamond mines.

centered in the auto plants of the East Cape, a stronghold of the new black union movement. Led by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, in late July 10,000 black workers closed down the Port Elizabeth plants of Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen. The strike was called off as the union and companies returned to the negotiating table. When the companies demanded outside arbitration, however, the union adamantly refused and organized a series of mass walkouts throughout August. The situation in the plants remains volatile.

Meanwhile an important battle was developing on the Port Elizabeth docks, where the General Workers Union (GWU) began a slowdown in early September to demand recognition by the government-owned South African Transport. The GWU is already recognized by private stevedoring companies in the major ports, a testimony to the union's strength. In fact, these private employers have criticized the government agency for refusing to negotiate with the GWU, thus risking a general dock strike. While the capitalist firms are interested in avoiding labor trouble, for the Afrikaner nationalist regime the stakes involved are far higher. To recognize this independent black union would be a major breach in the entire apartheid system. To break the black dockers union the government fired 400 of the most militant workers and is attempting to deport them to their bantustan "homelands." Many of these dockers have gone underground while the GWU threatens a nationwide port strike.

Especially given the division within the South African ruling class over recognizing the GWU, the black dockers can win! And here longshore and transport unions throughout the world can play a vital role in supporting this critical struggle against apartheid by hot-cargoing South African shipping. Unlike the empty boycott/"divestment" schemes favored by liberals to display their disapproval of South Africa, concrete industrial action by the workers movement internationally can deal real blows to the apartheid rulers. Victory to the GWU—Recognize the union!

Beware the "AFL-CIA"

Significantly, a few days before the South African dock struggle blew up, a delegation from the American AFL-

CIO was scheduled to arrive in South Africa for a first-ever visit. Lane Kirkland & Co. spend most of their efforts supporting the CIA-backed Polish Solidarność and running "free trade unions" from the American consulates in Washington's Latin American neo-colonies. Their loyalty to American imperialism has prevented them from lifting a finger for the superexploited black proletariat of South Africa, the apartheid state which has become an increasingly important part of "the free world."

One of the leading black establishment papers, the Harlem-based *Amsterdam News*, exclaimed bitterly:

"Eight black South African miners have been killed while participating in a strike in Johannesburg recently...."

"Has anyone heard from Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO? Has Al Shanker and the Teachers Union opened a New York office for the black trade union members so they can tell the true story about South Africa?"

With people like well-known CIA operator Irving Brown running their foreign operations, you can bet the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is up to no good in South Africa. While Teddy Gleason's longshore union routinely and repeatedly refuses to load Soviet ships, the head of the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center, Nana Mahomo, contends nothing can be done to aid South Africa's black unions. Likewise the Fraser gang of the United Auto Workers, with its hundreds of thousands of black members, has not taken a single action in solidarity with the black workers struggling against Ford and General Motors in South Africa.

If Kirkland & Co. now take an interest in the burgeoning black union movement in South Africa, it is only to sabotage its struggles and combat any tendencies toward political radicalism. Class-conscious and anti-racist American workers must struggle to support South Africa's black unions against the policies—either do-nothing or backstabbing—of the Kirklands and Frasers.

For a Black-Centered Workers and Peasants Government

The present strike wave comes at the end of a decade of a rising line of black struggle which opened with the Durban mass strike of 1973. At the beginning of the 1970s, active black opposition to apartheid was at a low ebb in the wake

continued on page 15



Mark Peters
Over 2,000 black strikers under police guard at Kloof gold mine near Johannesburg.