

Imperialists, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

Zionist Holocaust

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

It was the Zionist holocaust that so many feared, but one that everyone knew had to happen. Thousands of Palestinian civilians were left defenseless when late last month PLO commandos in west Beirut were disarmed and expelled by the American, French and Italian "peace-keepers." So long as the PLO forces guarded the refugee camps, the Israelis, fearing they would take too many casualties, did not go in. They urged their collaborators in the Lebanese Christian militias to go in and "mop up." But they too would not do it—not until the U.S. Marines, French Foreign Legion and Italian commandos did their job first.

Then the massacre was set up. The Israeli army surrounded the camps of Shatila and Sabra and on September 15 loosed its local butchers, Major Saad Haddad's "Lebanese Forces" and the Damuri Brigade of the fascist Phalange, to murder the defenseless Palestinians. After the massacre was exposed, Begin defended himself, as always, by charging the gentile world with anti-Semitism: "Goyim kill goyim, and they immediately come to hang the Jews."

The horrors committed at Shatila and Sabra reminded the world of nothing so much as the Nazi holocaust. The victims, mainly women, children, the elderly, were shot at close range; many of the women were raped in 36 hours of torture and mass murder. The journalists who entered Shatila and Sabra right after the massacre could have been writing about the Nazi death camps:

"The medical teams, wearing gas masks to fend off the sickly stench that hung over the area, and plastic gloves, went about the horrible task of unlocking the bodies that had been lined up against the walls and executed. Their arms and legs had become frozen in the grotesque attitudes of death..."

—New York Times,
20 September

The dead number in the thousands. The Lebanese Red Cross estimated 1,800 killed and more are being discovered daily. Just how many Palestinians were massacred at Shatila and Sabra will never be known. For as the *New York Times* (20 September) wrote:

"...no one has any idea how many bodies were taken off in the scoops of bulldozers, how many were driven away and killed outside of the camp and how many were buried under buildings that were intentionally bulldozed to cover up bullet-ridden men, women and children."

In any case, while the Zionist racists have routinely murdered ten or even 100 Arabs for every Israeli soldier killed by the PLO, this was certainly genocide: the bloodiest massacre yet in the bloody oppression of the Palestinians.

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West Beirut: Never Again!



Not One U.S. Bullet or Plane to the Israeli Butchers!

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Jail Cleveland Killer Cops!

CLEVELAND—Anger is mounting in the black community as Cleveland cops have gone on a “gun ‘em down in the streets” offensive. Blatant racism in police journals, a cop campaign for dum-dum bullets, and outright murder are part of this wave of police terror. On September 15 protesters marched on City Hall after the cops proclaimed last summer’s wanton murder of an unarmed black man by an off-duty cop “justifiable extermination”!

On July 23 Michael Woods, a 24-year-old black unemployed worker from Cleveland’s East Side, decided to go shopping for a birthday cake for his one-year-old son. But before he could return home he was murdered by a notoriously racist Cleveland cop, patrolman Joseph D. Paskvan. Yelling that he was “going to get it straight now,” killer Paskvan fired his personal 9-mm automatic pistol into Woods as both were driving away from a traffic light at East 65th and Chester. Numerous eyewitnesses verified that the only shot fired was by the cop and that the victim had no gun or ammunition in his car. Even so, the police were able to “find” a .22 caliber pistol and numerous cartridges at the scene.

Paskvan’s whole cop career has been a string of racist atrocities which include seven “shoot-outs” involving at least two deaths. In July 1981 he drove a police car into one black man crushing his leg and saying, “you black mother-fucker, you will never run again.” Another time Paskvan smashed a black man in the face with a flashlight for the “crime” of wearing white glasses. When the victim asked for medical attention to his wound, Paskvan refused, telling him to “hang yourself like that other fucking nigger did” (*Call and Post*, 14 August 1982). This was a reference to a series of suspicious supposed suicides by young black men in Cleveland jails.

After an initial police whitewash in the Michael Woods murder, protests led by the victim’s mother, Helen Woods, forced a reinvestigation. Republican mayor George Voinovich even felt compelled to appoint a civilian review committee to look into the case. But on September 9 a grand jury exonerated Paskvan. And the September issue of the newsletter of the Cleveland Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) attacked the mayor as a “political, gutless phony” for



Cleveland City Hall, September 15, protest against cops' racist attacks.

daring to appoint the civilian review board. Grotesquely, the article cheered the killing of Woods as “justifiable extermination... of another of society’s maggots” by “Officer Joe ‘the Orkin Man’ Paskvan”—referring to a pest control company!

The cops’ aggressive racist attack sparked angry protests. On September 15 some 40 people marched on City Hall and briefly sat in at the mayor’s office demanding the FOP be decertified as a “police union” and that disciplinary action be taken against the article’s author. Spreading suicidal illusions in the killer cops, the reformists and nationalists of the Communist Party, NAACP and “People United Against Repression” chanted “Protect Us—Don’t Kill Us.” Spartacist League (SL) supporters participated in the picketing, their slogans demanding “No to Gun Control—It Kills Blacks,” “For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Fascist Terror,” and “Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution.” The SL slogans pointed to the need for independent black/labor action, not reliance on the bourgeois state for defense against racist attack.

Indeed, the cops’ article, with its

bonapartist defiance of any civilian control, points out the futility of the NAACP’s call for the creation of a permanent civilian review board. Not pressure, but power, through mass actions, in the plants, on the streets, in a class-struggle fight by labor, blacks and all the oppressed. Part of this must be the expulsion of all so-called “police unions” from the labor movement. Cops are the deadly enemies of workers and blacks, existing to police the ghettos, suppress strikes and maintain the exploitative capitalist system.

Not only in the Paskvan case have the cops been on the offensive. In August the Cleveland Police Patrolman’s Association started a petition campaign for the use of the lethal dum-dum bullets in their handguns. The bonapartist racist cops, on a shoot-to-kill spree, prefer these murderous hollow-point bullets which on impact leave gaping holes in internal organs. This dangerous initiative is justifiably seen as an effort to assert the cops’ license to kill black people. Prominent black politicians have come out against the measure, and the NAACP has started a toothless counter-petition. But the cops mean business and vow to circumvent City

Hall and place their proposition on the November ballot.

Meanwhile, racist killers in brown shirts as well as those in blue uniforms have carried out their murderous deeds. In the past year a climate of terror has seized Cleveland State University as a black maintenance worker, a black minister and a white student have been murdered in a series of maniacal shootings. Now, they turn out to be the grisly work of Nazi and “ex” White People’s Party member, Frank Spisak, Jr. This fascist scum, with his apartment decked out in Nazi flags and white-power posters—complete with an arsenal of grenades, sabres, brass knuckles—has been running around peddling his race hatred and... putting his race terror into practice.

Spisak’s lawyer wants to get him off with a plea of insanity. But no matter how much of a “sicko” he may be, this murderer has been a dangerous Nazi activist for years. Following the National Guard killing of four Kent State antiwar protesters in May 1970, Spisak grabbed the microphone at a CSU memorial meeting shouting “Sieg Heil!” (*Cleveland State Cauldron*, 10 September). Police are now linking Spisak and a Nazi associate in a shooting of a black worker at a west side RTA stop and believe a number of “unsolved” killings may be related to this band of fascist killers.

Cleveland represents an almost classic model of Northern segregation. Between the overwhelmingly black East Side and the overwhelmingly white West Side flows the combustible Cuyahoga River. But from the river’s industrial flats area can come the force that can uproot the racism that is the lifeblood of American capitalism. An integrated labor movement, working and unemployed, from the steel mills, auto plants and machine shops has the interest and power to overturn the racist “law and order” of capitalism.

In racist Reagan’s America, from LAPD chief Daryl “Choke Hold” Gates to the fascist “Ghetto Raiders” among the Chicago cops, a rising tide of police bonapartism is a life and death question for the proletariat, especially its black component. Jail the killer cops! For labor/black defense to smash racist terror! ■

Down With the LAPD Gestapo!

LOS ANGELES—Earlier this year, L.A. Police Department chief Daryl Gates caused a furor with his outrageous racist defense of the murderous choke hold, saying black people were not “normal people.” But furor or no, the swaggering paramilitary LAPD has kept on with its deadly work. On July 31 the cops found Donald Ray Wilson, 36, standing naked on the street with two small children. Police said he was under the influence of the drug PCP. After they had handcuffed him and chained his feet and thrown him in the back of a squad car, they drove off to a shoulder of the Harbor Freeway. Here, they shoved him out of the car and “restrained” the completely bound black man with the choke hold. He was dead on arrival at the hospital.

The most notorious incident occurred in Pasadena, August 22, where a softball game was going on between the L.A. county sheriff’s department and the Redondo Beach police. The cops got enraged when a group of Mexican workers began to play ball on the

adjacent field. When a stray ball rolled onto the cops’ diamond, they set upon the outnumbered Hispanics, kicking and striking them. Arturo Banuelos, an 18-year-old garment worker, started to run away from the fight but was chased, knocked down, struck and one of the T-shirted cops applied the choke hold until he stopped breathing. Banuelos was also DOA at the hospital.

Of course, on May 12 the city Police Commission had declared a six-month supposed “moratorium” on the use of choke holds. But Chief Gates has complained that because of this restriction on strangling the people of Los Angeles, some of the cops’ potential victims have been able to get away. As for Arturo Banuelos, the police say he wasn’t choked (which would be in violation of the ban), but supposedly killed by “a compression-type blunt force” applied to his neck. And Donald Wilson was “not choked to death” according to the coroner, although he died of heart failure as a result of “a modified carotid choke hold” (in which the supply

of blood to the brain is cut off).

But choke holds are far from the only weapon in the LAPD’s killer arsenal. On August 31, Long Beach cops shot down 13-year-old Tyrone Dawson who they said was fleeing from a stolen car. The cops said Tyrone (who weighed 97 pounds and looked even younger than his age) was reaching into his jacket pocket, so they blew him away with a .44. No weapon was found on the youth’s body. And on September 14, an LAPD squad car was driving down the street as 27-year-old Victor Ortega was handing a gun to his cousin Saul, 24. The cops took off after the cousins and when they fled, shot Saul Ortega in the chest, killing him.

Despite the uproar over Chief Gates’ racist justification for the cold-blooded murder of black people, the number of choke hold victims is soaring. And now the cops have put in an order for 300 more Taser guns—electric cattle prods, South African style—their “answer” to all the flak they’ve been getting about strangling people to death! A recent *Los*

Angeles Times (27 August) article noted that while blacks are 18 percent of the L.A. population, they make up 36 percent of those arrested, more than 50 percent of those shot to death by LAPD cops and 75 percent of choke hold victims! Small wonder that, as the article headlined, “Many Blacks Fear Police Are the Enemy.”

The problem is not just a racist police chief. For almost a decade now, Los Angeles has been run for the capitalists by black Democratic mayor Tom Bradley, himself an ex-L.A. cop, who has repeatedly refused to fire Gates. As we pointed out last May, liberal parliamentarist demands for review boards, commissions, investigations will not make a dent in the murderous rampages of the LAPD. The capitalist state of deadly racist repression cannot be “reformed” into serving the exploited and oppressed. Only a victorious struggle for power by labor, blacks, Latins and all minorities can put the likes of “Choke Hold” Gates and his killer elite where they belong! Jail the killer cops! ■

"For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!" "Stop Begin's Final Solution!"

As the horror emerged last weekend of the Israeli-sponsored massacre of Palestinian refugees in west Beirut, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) mobilized from coast to coast to protest the Zionist holocaust.

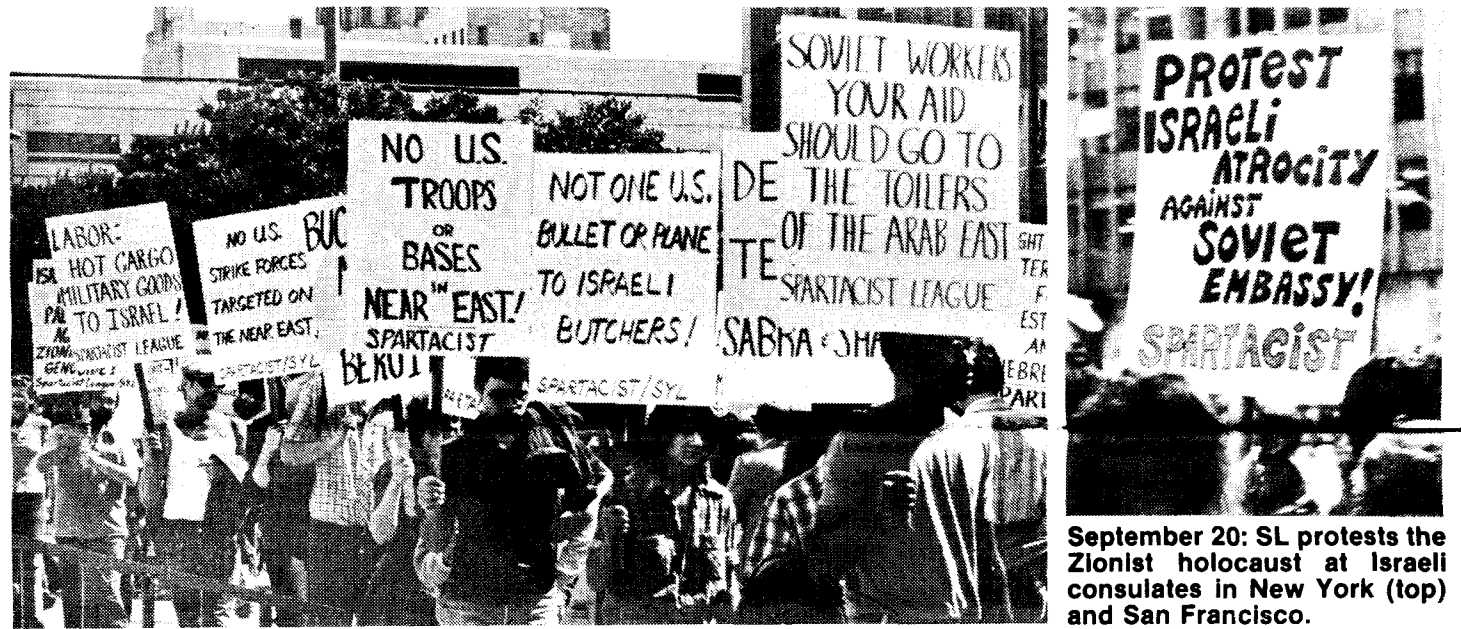
Emergency demonstrations called by the SL were held in New York and San Francisco at noon on Monday, September 21. Angry protesters chanted, "Reagan, Begin, Blood on Your Hands," and, referring to a series of anti-Palestinian massacres, "Deir Yassin, Never Again; Tel Zaatar, Never Again; West Beirut, Never Again—Smash Zionist Terror!" One SL sign pointed to the grisly parallel between the U.S.-prepared, Israeli-organized "purification" of the Palestinians and the Nazis' genocidal holocaust against the Jews: "Reagan, Begin, Hitler."

A press release for the protests said:

"We are calling this demonstration to protest the Israeli-engineered genocidal massacre of more than 1,800 Palestinian women, children and old men in Lebanon. It is the imperialist powers, especially the U.S., which disarmed and expelled the Palestinian fighters and equipped and endorsed the Zionist genocide. Begin uses Lebanese fascists to butcher Palestinians the way Hitler used East European fascists to butcher Jews. "Begin's Blitzkrieg has inflamed anti-Semitism in western Europe. The labor movement must crush fascist terror! The Israeli occupation of the Soviet embassy in Beirut epitomizes the Reagan/Begin fanatical anti-Soviet war drive which today uses Hitler's methods in Lebanon. Tomorrow it threatens to plunge the world into a global nuclear holocaust."

While the Begin-Sharon butchers deny responsibility for their massacres in the camps of Sabra and Shatila, Spartacist protesters demanded, "Israel Out! Defend the Palestinians Against Zionist Genocide and its Phalange Fascists and Lebanese Ustashi!" The latter recalls the German Nazi puppet forces in Eastern Europe recruited to carry out mass murders too dirty even for the likes of the SS. Today, the Maronite Christian Phalange and Israeli puppet Haddad forces play the same genocidal role.

The liberals applauded Reagan's decision to send back the phony "peace-keeping forces" which set the stage for the massacre by disarming the Palestinians, a demand suicidally raised by the PLO. Meanwhile, the reformist left hopes to pressure blood-drenched U.S. imperialism to play a "progressive" role. But the SL denounced the imperialist troops which set up the massacre, chanting "Pax Americana means Pal-



September 20: SL protests the Zionist holocaust at Israeli consulates in New York (top) and San Francisco.

SL Protests West Beirut Massacre

estonian slaughter" and "No imperialist troops to Lebanon!" Spartacist signs at the demonstration read, "Never Again! Not One U.S. Bullet or Plane to Israeli Butchers! No U.S. Troops or Bases in the Near East! No U.S. Strike Forces Targeted on the Near East! U.S. Navy Out of Mediterranean and Indian Oceans!"

The Trotskyists emphasized that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with U.S. complicity fits into Reagan's drive for global counterrevolution. SL signs called for "San Salvador to Beirut—Smash Reagan/Begin Anti-Soviet War Drive!" A spokesman pointed out that Israel as well as the U.S. has been equipping the bloody junta in El Salvador. Signs also warned against illusions in détente and Soviet support to Arab rulers who have consistently stabbed the Palestinians in the back: "Soviet Workers: Your Aid Should Go to Arab Toilers, Not Sheiks and Colonels." Other signs read "Labor: Hot Cargo Military Goods to Israel," a demand which has been raised by militant seamen and longshoremen on the East and West Coasts.

A spokesman at the New York demonstration said, "We believe that the only solution to the cycle of genocide and massacre in the Near East is one which recognizes the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian and Hebrew peoples, which can only be realized within a socialist federation of the Near East." Protesters chanted,

"Stop Begin's final solution—For Arab/Hebrew workers revolution!" "Jews, Arabs, blacks, whites—Workers of the world unite!" and "Smash Zionism—Break with PLO nationalism—For an Arab/Hebrew Trotskyist party!"

Throughout the week, the Spartacus Youth League held demonstrations at

campuses across the U.S. including at Madison, Cambridge, Los Angeles, Berkeley and Oberlin. In addition, comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada marched in a demonstration of some 1,000 in Toronto on September 25, where they chanted, "U.S., Canada, imperialist troops out of the Middle East!" ■

Militant Seamen Say: Hot Cargo Goods to Israel!

The following motion has been raised by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union:

Whereas, the massacre of more than one thousand Palestinians from Wednesday, September 15 through Saturday, September 18 was an act of genocide, centrally the responsibility of the Israeli government; and

Whereas, this atrocity fuels racism everywhere and therefore constitutes a threat to all oppressed and working peoples; and

Whereas, it was the U.S. Marines along with French and Italian troops that disarmed the Palestinians; be it therefore

Resolved, that the membership at

this NMU meeting condemn this outrage and protest Israel's actions, and demand that the U.S. Marines be pulled out of Lebanon immediately; and be it further Resolved, that the NMU National Office instruct all NMU vessels and operations to totally boycott all cargoes to and from Israel until Israeli forces withdraw from Lebanon, and be it finally Resolved, that the NMU call on all other labor organizations, particularly the SIU, ILWU, ILA and the International Transport Workers Federation, to join in the boycott of Israel.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist Candidates in S.F. Speak at CWA Meeting

You Can't Fight for Jobs with Democrats, Bureaucrats!

SAN FRANCISCO, September 20—Spartacist candidates for S.F. Board of Supervisors Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman were strongly applauded tonight as they took their campaign for a class-struggle workers party before the membership of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410. The 90 phone workers, who face a massive job-cutting drive by Pacific Telephone, listened with particular interest to



Diana Coleman

WV Photo

Bradley's account of fighting for a sit-down strike against the closing of the Mahwah, New Jersey Ford auto plant. Bradley and Coleman had been officially invited to address the membership by the Local executive board. After the meeting a CWA repairman emphatically declared his agreement with the Spartacist candidates: "we have to fight for our jobs while we still have them—

when we're out on the street, it's too late." We reprint below excerpts from Bradley and Coleman's remarks:

* * * * *

Diana Coleman: Thank you, brothers and sisters, for inviting me to the local. My name is Diana Coleman and probably a lot of you know me from when I worked in the phone company. One of the nicest parts of running for office is always getting to come back to my old local and speak.

This year, every labor misleader from Lane Kirkland to Doug Fraser is hoping that American workers have taken enough punishment under Reagan to be driven back forcibly into the Democratic Party fold. Bureaucrats of unions wracked with layoffs tell their members, you deserve this for not voting Democratic like we told you to. We say you can't fight Reagan with Democrats, because if Reagan is waging a war on labor then the field marshals of that war have been the big city Democratic Party mayors. [San Francisco mayor Dianne] Feinstein is right in there with the rest of them, from breaking the city workers strike in 1976 to banning hand guns this year. We say gun control kills blacks—if guns are banned, only the cops and Klan will have guns. The Republicans want to take away your job and the Democrats want to take away your gun. We say, "Labor: Don't crawl for the Democrats—Bring down Reagan through labor action!"

So there have been bipartisan budget cuts, bipartisan tax hikes, and it's all going to pay for the bipartisan anti-

Soviet war drive, from El Salvador to Poland. The Spartacist League says military victory to the Salvadoran leftists. Further, we stand for the defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism. These countries, although bureaucratically deformed, still represent real gains for the working class. And it is the working class, through proletarian political revolution, that must deal with the Stalinist bureaucrats.

In Poland we say that Solidarność is a company union for the CIA and the Western bankers. This is a funny "union" that Reagan loves. He smashed PATCO into the ground in this country, but he loves Solidarność because he

understands that it stands for the same thing that he does, which is capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe. Brothers and sisters, you don't have to be a socialist to understand that the U.S. is on a long downhill slide these days: the unemployment in this country, the smashing of the unions. Reagan wants to destroy all the gains the working people have fought for over the past hundred years. So we say you have to fight the anti-Soviet war drive, the imperialist war aims, and that's a necessary part of fighting the class struggle here at home.

Now every election time the reformists of the Communist Party and the

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Richard Bradley addresses CWA meeting in San Francisco, September 20: "Struggle—believe me, that's the only way you can save your job."

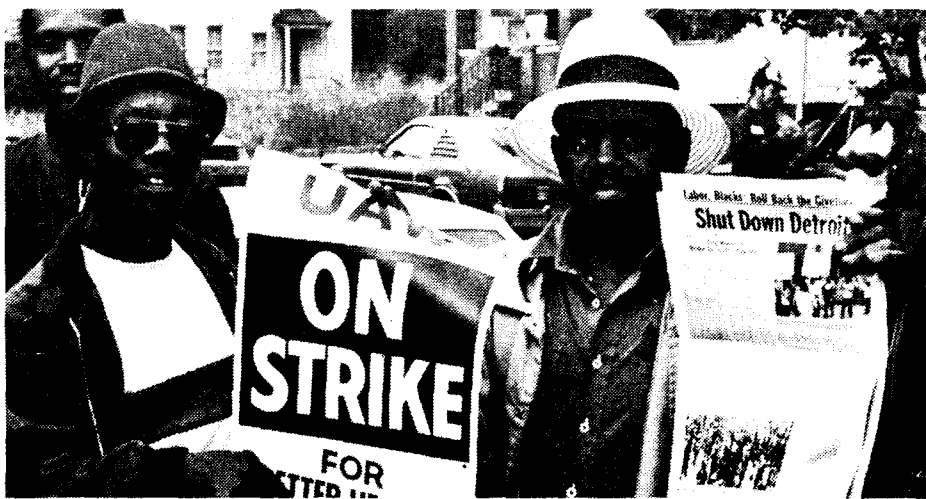


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Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

The annual *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive, coinciding with the opening of the school year, is traditionally the kickoff for Spartacist student work. But this year, the party is also seeking to sell more subs to workers and black people, among whom we are increasingly finding responsiveness to our socialist views. The heating up of class struggle recently has helped us meet interested people. To aid in reaching black workers and students, our new pamphlet, "American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership," was produced for the sub drive.

Overall, the drive is somewhat behind schedule this year, with a third of the national quota met after two weeks of a five-week drive. The good news is the success in selling subs and papers to working people—on picket lines, in the plants and through door-to-door sales in black and integrated neighborhoods. In Los Angeles, 33 points were sold to striking transit workers; 116 single issues were sold at one union meeting. In Boston, sub teams sold 42 points working the Mattapan district where advance single-issue sales had been brisk. A New York local team returning from a successful



trip (83 points) to Pennsylvania campuses stopped off at the Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City and sold 172 papers, as well as two subscriptions to black delegates.

On campus, teams from the S.F. Bay Area sold 127 points in a single evening at Santa Cruz. Our activism for labor/black defense against racist terror, particularly the Spartacist-initiated June 27 anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago, has sparked interest among students. At Amherst, where 75 points were sold, one student remarked: "It's good to see that somebody is fighting these days."

WEEK TWO TOTALS

Local	Quota	Week Two	%
Berkeley/Oakland	550	90	16
Boston	430	239	56
Chicago	450	148	33
Cleveland	250	107	43
Detroit	280	67	24
Los Angeles	400	135	34
Madison	100	54	54
New York	850	309	36
San Francisco	450	102	23
National Total	3,760	1,251	33

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In War You Have to Know Your Friends and Enemies

Detroit Workers: Fight for Survival!

We reprint below edited excerpts from a talk by George Crawford, of the Spartacist League Central Committee, at a September 17 New York SL forum entitled: "You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats! Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!" Also speaking at the forum were Myra Owens of the Spartacus Youth League, on the struggle against black oppression in America; and guest speaker Ed Kartsen, NYC transit worker and chairman of the June 27 Chicago demonstration to stop the Nazis.

I want to talk a little bit about what's going on in Detroit right now. Coleman Young, a black Democrat, with very heavy ties to the labor movement—for many years he was a part of the UAW—was elected mayor nine years ago. What does his record show? How has he fought in any way for blacks or workers? Detroit is the stronghold of the black proletariat in this country. It's critical. Today the unemployment rate in terms of ghetto black youth is upwards of 70 percent. The UAW says approximately half the auto workers have been laid off and will probably never see the inside of a UAW plant again. Detroit has become a total hellhole.

Now, has Young attempted to fight against this and lost? No. Young's position is in favor of the concessions, the concessions that were supposedly to save jobs. Young's position has been and was to break the [1980] AFSCME strike. Because, you see, they had the Republican convention coming into town, Reagan's Republican convention. And that strike was smashed, by Mayor Young. City workers have already taken a wage freeze, and city workers are overwhelmingly black. Now 11,000 mainly black teachers are on strike, because they can't tolerate an 8 percent pay cut. Not even a wage freeze—a pay cut. That adds up to about 16 percent given inflation.

The Chrysler workers two years ago faced with no alternatives, no leadership, bought the concessions—not because they liked them, but they were promised it would save jobs. Since then in two years 40,000 Chrysler workers have been laid off. Dodge Main does not exist. It's rubble, it's a vacant lot. So now there is an understanding on the part of the Chrysler workers that concessions give them nothing and take away everything. And you've got this situation in Detroit and all over the country where before the negotiations were even up you had a spontaneous walkout throughout the country of Chrysler workers. At the Jefferson plant, which is the largest plant in Detroit in terms of the Chrysler plants, they can't stand it anymore. You've got the General Dynamics [tank] plant,



SL agitates for a citywide general strike. Teachers picket Schools Center building (left); Jefferson Chrysler workers on strike (right).

which used to be a Chrysler plant. Chrysler sold it to General Dynamics. Of course, General Dynamics is an historically anti-union firm and it wants to break the union. There the union has already organized flying squads against scabs.

And then you have the River Rouge complex, which is the largest auto complex in the United States; it's the only complex where raw steel goes in one side and a finished car drives out the other. It's been historically the home base for Ford. At one time it employed upward of 100,000 workers. It's been slashed quite a bit. They're trying to sell their steel company off, they've shut down a couple of operations and now, two days ago, came the announcement that they are shutting down assembly work at Ford River Rouge, which essentially guts the complex. And there have been massive layoffs.

So what is the Detroit workforce? It's by and large the Chrysler workers, the Ford workers, the teachers and about the only thing you have left is one, Teamsters and two, AFSCME workers. And the AFSCME workers don't like what's going on. So the situation is, if you just had normal trade unionism where these workers went on strike because they were getting nothing, they were getting cut and slashed, you would have—if you add it up—a general strike in Detroit. So it's not something that we're calling for out of the clear blue sky. It's that the critical sectors of the Detroit proletariat are either already out on the street or there is a mass response to be out on the street. But that means it must be linked together.

Now what kind of leadership do you have in Detroit, in terms of the bureaucracy? We've been getting reports in of the pent-up fury in front of that Jefferson plant, that they can't even find out what the agreement is because they can't find any single union representative to tell them anything, because they are all hiding out. And so what you have milling around the plants in Detroit right now is thousands of auto workers who can't stand it anymore, who know that the concessions are full of shit and have absolutely no leadership at all.

What It Takes to Win

Now I want to read a quote from James P. Cannon [founder of American Trotskyism]. It's about a strike, about a critical strike in which the CIO was



formed. You want to know what we have to say? This is what we have to say:

* * * * *

"San Francisco, November 28, 1936—The maritime strike of the Pacific Coast, now four weeks old, is still stalemated and is clearly becoming a test of strength and endurance. A good deal is said about strike 'strategy'—and that has its uses within certain clearly defined limits—but when you get down to cases this strike, like every other strike, is simply a bullheaded struggle between two forces whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of capital and labor is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the opposing forces at the moment. The only strike strategy worth a tinker's damn is the strategy that begins with this conception....

"We pass over entirely the question of who is 'right' in the maritime strike, for we believe with Ben Hanford that the working class is always right. From our point of view the workers have a perfect right to the full control of industry and all the fruits thereof. The employers on the other hand—not merely the shipowners; all bosses are alike—would like a situation where the workers are deprived of all organization and all say about their work and are paid only enough to keep body and soul together and raise a new generation of slaves to take their places when they drop in their tracks.

"Any settlement in between these two extremes is only a temporary truce and the nature of such a settlement is decided by power; 'justice' has nothing to do with it. The workers will not have justice until they take over the world. The demands of the workers in a strike are to be judged solely by their timeliness and the way they fit realistically into the actual relation of forces at the time....

"The maritime workers are fighting against a powerful enemy and their victory is by no means assured. The strikers can quite easily defeat themselves if they make a miscalculation as to the strength and resources of the enemy, and particularly if they rely on the support of factors which are in reality lined up on the other side. Here we refer directly to the government and the reactionary labor leaders of the type of Ryan, Hunter and Green [the old AFL craft union misleaders]. The first duty of

militant leadership is to tell the strikers the truth in this respect so that they will not entertain dangerous illusions and be taken by surprise at a critical moment....

"The strikers have to battle the shipowners, plus the government, plus the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. That's the score.... And it ought to be painfully apparent to all that the administration at Washington [Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'New Deal' Democrats], which was sold to the workers as a 'friend of labor' in one of the biggest skin games ever put over, hasn't made a move to help the strikers get their extremely modest demands. 'Expectations' in this regard have been cruelly disappointed. And the worst is yet to come.

"But in spite of all these powerful forces arrayed against them, the embattled maritime workers have better than a fighting chance to win. As a matter of fact, once the actual line-up is clearly understood and this understanding is consciously incorporated into the strike policy of the unions, the victory is two-thirds won. For that will mean that the strikers see the real issue clearly, rely solely on themselves and the support of their fellow workers in other trades and dig in for a bitter-end struggle." [From *Notebook of an Agitator*]

* * * * *

"Once the question is seen clearly"... "the partnership of labor and capital is a lie." It is a war. It is critical in any war to understand who your friends are, who your potential allies and who your enemies are. If you do not understand that fundamental fact you'll be destroyed. You cannot win, from the get-go. And that's a good part of the struggle in terms of the American working class, because you have the question of the Democratic Party.

Capitalism on the Skids

I remember when I was growing up in the '50s, it was supposedly the American century: Karl Marx was a fool, everybody was getting along perfectly fine. American imperialism—it wasn't called imperialism, pardon me, "America" was going to set the way. Of course this consensus did not extend to the black ghettos, but there was a feeling that things could be worked out. And of course that was based largely on World War II, when the Americans' imperialist

continued on page 10

Spartacist League Forum

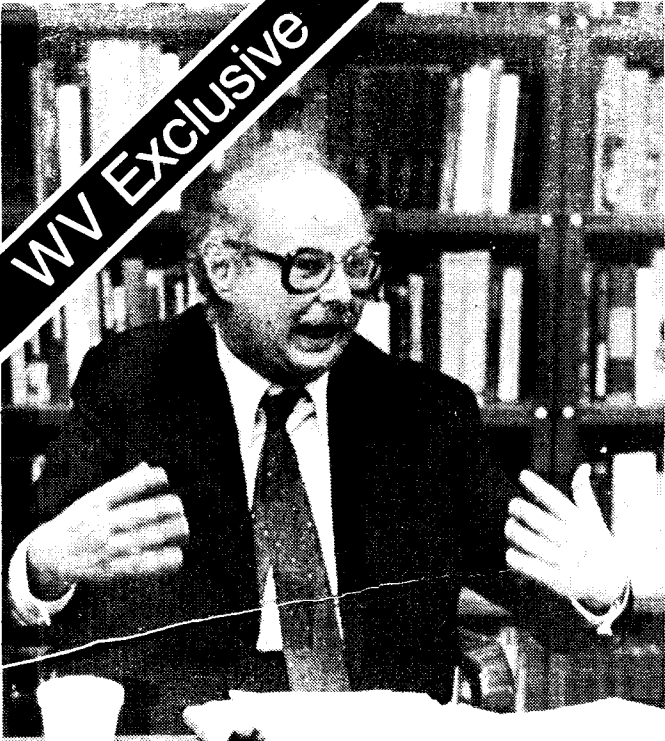
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DETROIT



Israel Shahak

WV Photo

We print below an exclusive Workers Vanguard interview, direct from Israel, with the noted fighter for Palestinian rights, Israel Shahak. A survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp who immigrated to Palestine in 1945, Shahak is chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights. The interview was conducted by telephone on September 22.

* * * * *

WV: The first question is, how planned was this massacre in Sabra and Shatila? How planned was this by the Israeli government?

Shahak: Well, there is no Israeli government in any sense of the word. There is Sharon, Begin and the Chief of Staff Rafal [Rafael Eytan] and the government is a rubber stamp. I think there is no doubt that Sharon planned the massacre and a few people, including Uri Avneri, said that it was with the knowledge of Begin.

The aim of the massacre was very clear. It was exactly like Deir Yassin [massacre of Arab villagers in 1948, by the Zionist terrorist group the Irgun, headed by Begin]. The aim of Deir Yassin, as well as very many other murders, was to cause the Palestinians to flee out of fear. It is known that Begin's government, through the minister Meridor, ordered the Israeli forces and other forces under Israeli control in Lebanon to do everything to push the Palestinians east. This was a declaration of Meridor in Sidon, on June 18, that was reproduced in the Israeli press. I am quite sure that the first aim of Sharon was another step in the genocide of Palestinians, to push the Palestinians east. And not only in Lebanon but also in Palestine, too—because the so-called Village Leagues and Village Associations* are like Haddad's forces, the instrument for an attempted expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

I should add to this that in my opinion, and in the opinion of very many Israelis, the actual forces who did this mass murder in the Shatila camp are not the usual Phalangists—not of course that I want to apologize for them—but special units formed by the Israeli government after the invasion. Some of them belong to new militias of Saad Haddad, and part of them belong to what Israel calls Phalangists, but which are also called the Damur Brigade, special units of quasi-Phalangists formed under the auspices and intimate control of the Israeli forces, of the minister of defense Sharon, I should say exactly.

WV: We characterized them as in fact

*Arab thugs organized and armed by the Israelis to terrorize the population in the conquered territories.

Fighter for Palestinian Rights Speaks from Israel

Israel Shahak: I Accuse!



Shatila-Sabra refugee camp: "I am quite sure that the first aim of Sharon was another step in the genocide of Palestinians"—Israel Shahak.

being analogous to Hitler's *SS Einsatzkommandos* in Eastern Europe.

Shahak: I don't deny this comparison but a much more exact comparison is also, by the way, made by several people in Israel, including by survivors, and I can add my voice as a Holocaust survivor to this. Hitler formed very many forces of various degrees of dependence—90 percent or 100 percent—from the conquered nations in East and Middle Europe. For example, the Croatian Ustashi, the Slovakian forces, the Hungarian fascists and—what is specially important for you, because you are the only paper in the United States I think that mentions this constantly—of Ukrainians and Byelorussians, and Latvians and many other peoples of the conquered USSR. As I can testify, those forces were fully armed and their special units had a very important role in the extermination of Jews (and of course in the extermination of other peoples), and were much more horrible and much crueller than even the SS. I can testify from my own experience as I saw in the Warsaw ghetto, that we used to say that if you are disguised and on one side the control is by Germans, meaning by SS forces, and on the other side by Ukrainians or Latvians or some others, then always choose the Germans.

If you want another comparison I should also mention that there were very many Jews who also participated in killing Jews. All those pictures of the Holocaust in Beirut reminded me of how I have seen, myself, Jews dragging other Jews to *Umschlagplatz* in Warsaw* or in other places Jews beating Jews to death—of course, on German orders. The ultimate responsibility was on the Nazis who stood aside and looked, and maybe afterwards they said they didn't see anything.

*The railroad switching yard where in the summer of 1942 thousands of Jews were loaded daily into cattle cars to be sent to the Nazi death camp at Treblinka.

WV: They did more than just stand aside, of course. They used flares to light their way, etc.

Shahak: Yes, and they entertained the killers with water and food and so on.

WV: How much direct complicity do you see for the United States in this?

Shahak: In this, no. There was United States complicity, I think, until the famous and notorious phone call of Reagan to Begin on August 12, during the last bombardment of Beirut. I think from that time the complicity became less and less because Israel became too big for its boots, so to speak. Not of course for moral reasons, but for true imperialistic reasons. During this massacre the Americans did something that they never did in Israel. They leaked articles to the Israeli press, mainly to *Haaretz*, accusing Sharon of deceiving them during the conquest of west Beirut and generally all the time after the ceasefire under which the PLO forces and the Syrians left. And at least some of the Hebrew press entitled the interview with the Americans "The Fools and Threats." That is, the Americans, in the

opinion of the Hebrew press, were fools for trusting Sharon. And now the "fools" are complaining: "We trusted Sharon and Begin, and Begin cheated us." I think that this is exactly the picture.

Also there is nothing new in this. Remember that during the later phase of the Vietnam War the so-called government of South Vietnam and the so-called government of Cambodia both quite frequently cheated the Americans. I don't want to remove the responsibility, I want only to clarify the last stage.

WV: Well, I do think though that the United States having disarmed and expelled the Palestinian fighters knew that they left these people defenseless and given the history of the region...

Shahak: You are completely right. But we are saying the same thing from different directions. The United States did what you said and trusted in Begin and Sharon. You can say that in trusting gangsters there they have responsibility for what the gangsters did after.

WV: What impact do you think this is going to have on the survival of the Begin government?

Shahak: Let me tell you one thing, I don't believe that Sharon will allow himself to be deposed democratically from his position. I don't know what happened today in the Knesset. He shouted so much like Hitler that I turned off my radio because I was not able to listen to it. He said that all those who protest the massacre are helping anti-Semitism. At this point I decided I couldn't listen anymore. But the danger of fascist steps by Sharon in Israel itself is very, very great. I don't know literally what will happen from one hour to the next.

It is very true that there is very big opposition against Sharon, [who is] supported by Begin and most of the Likud, but not supported by a majority of any other party except the Tehiya (Yuval Neeman and Guela Cohen).* I don't know what the [National] Religious Party will do.

*A rightist split from Begin's Herut, opposed to Camp David.



Furor over Shatila-Sabra shakes Israel.

Feinblatt/Newsweek

WV: What's been the role of the Labor Party in this massacre—the party of Peres.

Shahak: Well, you know from my material that I am not a friend of the Labor Party, but I must clear them absolutely. The Labor Party was absolutely against the Israeli entrance into west Beirut because it knew that so long as some armed forces remained there, any Phalangist unit would not then dare to attack them. In this respect, the guilt is only on the Likud and especially on Sharon—and on Begin who supported him. And on the few Tehiya and the few supporters they have in the religious parties—but mainly on those that I have said.

WV: But it is also true that in 1978 when Begin withdrew from southern Lebanon he was denounced by the Labor Party for withdrawing under U.S. pressure.

Shahak: You are completely right. The Labor Party was very bad during the whole war until the [August 12] phone call of President Reagan.

WV: Which they took as a phone message for them.

Shahak: And you can also add Peace Now. Peace Now made a famous demonstration of a hundred thousand people, and then around July 23 decided not to hold any further demonstrations or activities and was completely silent during the bombardment of Beirut. But from the time that Reagan phoned Begin—from that time the opposition revived and opposed any other steps.

WV: Well, was this phone call and Reagan's subsequent peace plan, which was very much like the Labor Party plan, is this seen in Israel as pressure to put the Labor Party in the government?

Shahak: Yes, this was the beginning of activity, and obviously the Labor Party implicitly, and Peace Now explicitly support Reagan's plan. But you must also give them their due, that they opposed the conquest of west Beirut on their own account—and that they were truly shocked by the massacre. The massacre, when it became known in Israel, caused a wave of protest from a wide variety of groups, from people who have never participated in any protests whatsoever. Let us say that for the first time in Jerusalem judges sent their wives to protest on this Sunday. This has never happened in Israel before and I don't believe that high judges sent their wives to protest in New York about anything. There have been many such things.

Because the Labor Party is so much closer to the Israeli establishment than the other parties it was affected by the shock—by the very wide shock of the Israeli elite, of the Israeli upper and middle classes. Definitely, there was



Der Spiegel



EPB

Israeli Blitzkrieg links up with Haddad forces in southern Lebanon: local pogromists used for the dirtiest jobs, as was Hitler's Croatian Ustashi (right).

quite spontaneous shock, much greater than was reported in the United States. Because the United States reported only the demonstrations in which there were problems with the police. But believe me, there are literally hundreds, if not thousands, of examples in which two, three people—in many cases women, because they are wives of people who are working in something connected to the government and the government here has enormous power—but also other people who had signs saying "Begin is a Murderer," or "Deir Yassin, Beirut..." something like this and who demonstrated and risked clashes with supporters of the government. There is a very large amount of activity like this. I passed in a bus to my home, on the road to the Knesset, I counted at least 12, if not more, small spontaneous groups of two or three people standing with very strong slogans along the whole way to the Knesset—not together so the police will not disturb them. There is no doubt that there was an extreme shock.

WV: I noticed that in the television clips of these demonstrations that they were rather savagely broken up in terms of police action against Jewish demonstrations.

Shahak: Extremely so, extremely so. Let me tell you from my own experience that everyone who goes to demonstrate is risking very heavy treatment by the police. And what's more, by Border Guards. You should say in the name of internationalism that exactly the same Border Guards who beat Palestinians so savagely in the conquered territories were brought to Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa and many other places to beat Jews who demonstrate. These border guards are composed of Jews, Druses, of Bedouins—it is in fact a Jewish/Arab force of oppression.

WV: So what would you say is the response of Israeli society other than the elite and the middle class?

Shahak: Very roughly you have about a third of Israeli society which was very strongly aroused against [the west Beirut massacre]. Begin and Sharon have a third who I really can't describe them as better than Nazis—who delight in the murder, who say it is a very good thing that should be done more and more. And you still have a third in the middle which has hesitated and is torn apart from both sides. This was not mentioned in the American press but you have a large group, as big I think as the opponents of the murders, who are delighted with the murders. In each of the demonstrations for example, apart from the police and border guards there is a part of the spectators who attack the demonstrators and call them "Arab lovers" and say "you should also be killed" or "we should bring the Phalangists" (because in Israel it is forbidden to mention that some of them were

Haddad men so they are called Phalangists). I heard it myself only yesterday—there was another small demonstration in which I participated and a group of people attacked us and shouted "we should bring Phalangists to kill all of you because we don't want to dirty our hands with your blood."

This is by the way a feeling which is very much exploited by Begin. I don't know if it was reported in the U.S. how he yesterday justified the Israeli stance. The sentence is this, it is a quotation: "Gentiles are killing other gentiles. Goyim are killing other goyim, and the anti-Semitic world blames the Jews." And very many people, at least a big group, say that if goyim are being killed it is not for Jews to speak against it. By the way it is also reported that the same feeling is prevalent among very many American Jews. Today the whole Hebrew press reports that the majority of American Jews, I don't know if it is correct, is now supporting Israel more than before.

By the way there is something I'll mention briefly. Apart from fascistization of Israel proper, apart from strong actions against Palestinians—you know Palestinians are striking in both the conquered territories and in Israel today at considerable risk—there is also a danger of an attack on Syria. With Sharon you have to understand him according to classical fascist and Nazi-like logic, and their logic is always that if there are difficulties at home—and now there are difficulties at home—then make a war.

WV: Along those lines, how was the Israeli invasion of the Soviet embassy covered in the press—which was an unprecedented outrage.

Shahak: In the Hebrew press there was a tone of deep satisfaction that we have shown the Soviets how weak they are. There was no attempt in the Hebrew press at even the smallest apology. "Now, we see what the Soviets in the Middle East are..." You are probably aware that one of the lines of Begin and Sharon is that everything that Israel does in the Middle East is a struggle against the Soviets.

WV: Yes, and I think that they thought they were going to re-cement their alliance with the U.S. by trying to place this once again in an anti-Soviet context. And I can't think why they did that action for any other reason.

Shahak: Yes, from sometime in early August the alliance is falling apart, and I think for the following reasons. Basically Israel wants to be an empire. Of course, an empire dependent on the United States, but an empire. The United States is an empire, and big empires do not like little empires. There is no doubt about it.

We really should see, together with its

Middle Eastern role, the Israeli role in the Third World as a leading part of what is called the "Fourth World" of the most fascist regimes—which are doing things which even the United States and its "polite" allies, so to speak, don't do. And also in the same way this so-called "Fourth World" is trying to push the whole world into as great a confrontation with the Soviet Union as possible and even to nuclear war. In this respect never forget that Yuval Neeman, who is even worse than Sharon potentially, has been put in charge of the Israeli scientific-nuclear programs. Or I can give you another hint, that his good friend in the United States, and an open supporter of Gush Emunim [Zionist clerical fascists] and of his party is Professor Edward Teller, the so-called father of the American hydrogen bomb.

WV: What do you think the reaction to this massacre is going to be in the armed forces, especially the armed forces that are stationed in Lebanon now?

Shahak: You see, Israeli forces are divided socially into Class A troops, elite troops, and ordinary troops who are not so good on a military level but who can be brainwashed. Sharon doesn't attempt to use the high-level troops now because they are very strongly opposed to him. He uses either the draftees, those who serve their regular service—kids, really, 18, 19, 20-year-old kids—or second grade troops. I don't think that there will be any reaction from them until winter passes. Don't forget that Israel will remain in Lebanon for a long time.

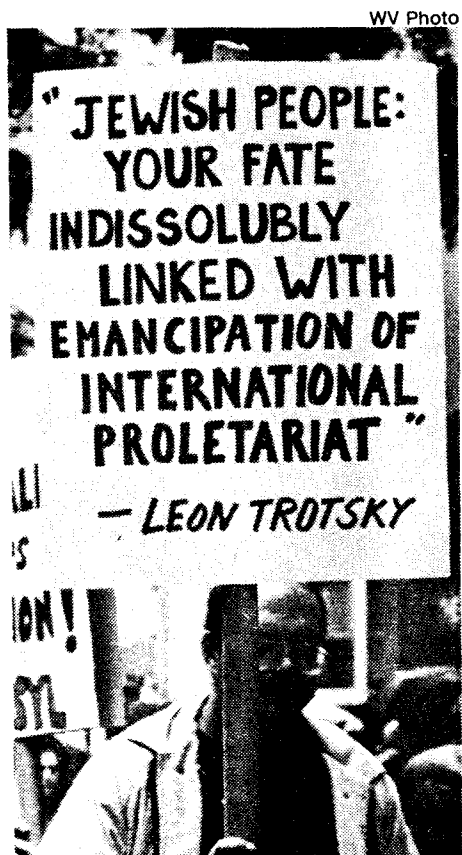
WV: What do you think in general is the opposition within the Histadrut and amongst Israeli workers, the organized industrial workers?

Shahak: This is rather difficult. You mean Jewish workers or Arab workers?

WV: Both Jewish and Arab workers.

Shahak: Jewish workers at the present time I think are, in the majority, the most chauvinistic class in Jewish society. This is because of many problems, the Ashkenazi [European-derived Jews] problem, the control of the mass media, and so on. But there is no doubt of this. In fact, war is still very good for making the Jewish workers support the government, although long reserve service in Lebanon may change the situation. Arab workers don't have proper leadership. Their leadership doesn't call on them to organize and act but to have symbolic strikes every time of one to three days. They obey this. This time the strike of Arab workers is almost complete in the [occupied] territories. But you can't carry on workers struggles on the basis of strikes every half year. There is still no workers organization of Arab workers that really struggles like a workers organization that I can see.

WV: Thank you very much. ■



Zionist Holocaust...

(continued from page 1)

The Uzi submachine guns in the hands of the sadistic killers of Shatila and Sabra are in large part paid for by U.S. imperialism because Israel is a crucial anti-Soviet ally in the Near East. The Israeli war machine is supplied by a huge inventory of American military hardware: from the cluster bombs which rained terror on the Lebanese and Palestinians to the F-16s which wiped out the Syrian aircraft and bombed Palestinian camps. The massive U.S. aid to Israel amounts to between \$3,500 and \$4,000 for every family of five in that small country. This is more than unemployed auto workers in Detroit get. We say: Never Again! Not one bullet, not one plane for the Israeli butchers!

Begin and Sharon have tried to sell their genocidal invasion of Lebanon to Washington as the spearhead of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East by casting the PLO and Syria as Russian surrogates. This sales job was initially successful as Reagan gave the June invasion the green light. But the U.S. opposed the Israelis' takeover of west Beirut because it undercut efforts to cement an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" with other Arab regimes in the region. When Israel seized west Beirut on September 15 they seized the Soviet Embassy, an incredible provocation against the USSR. The fanatical madmen who run Israel today are trying to overcome their rift with U.S. imperialism by humiliating the Soviet Union, even if that means provoking a nuclear showdown between the anti-Soviet fanatics in the White House and the USSR.

Now once again U.S. and allied imperialist troops are landing in Lebanon to support the Zionists' "New Order," to impose a Phalange fascist regime and push forward the anti-Soviet war drive in the region. For the Palestinians, "Pax Americana" means more massacres. This imperialist military mission of war in the name of "peace" must be opposed. U.S. troops out of the Near East!

"We Were Just Giving Orders"

It is a grim irony that only the language associated with Nazi barbarism can adequately describe the developing Zionist policy: "Blitzkrieg," the "final solution," a "master race" and "purification." The Israeli population must have been stunned with the comparison to Nazi Germany when confronted with the government's claim that it "didn't know" what happened at Shatila and Sabra.

The question of responsibility, however, as it is posed in Israel and the U.S. is a whitewash of the war criminals. It is not a question of mere "knowledge." Begin and Sharon *planned* and executed the massacres at the Palestinian camps.

And *all* of the Zionist leaders, including the opposition Labor Party, are *directly* responsible for the Shatila and Sabra atrocity along with their U.S. imperialist backers.

The early cover-up stories about how the Israeli military "didn't know" and moved in to protect innocent civilians as soon as they found out have been thoroughly exploded by Israeli as well as Western journalists. Rank-and-file Israeli soldiers reported the slaughter to their superiors, who told them to "forget it." And when an Israeli TV reporter called Sharon on Rosh Hashanah to inform him of the bloodbath, the

Einsatzkommandos who forced some 50,000 Jews out of their homes in Kiev and marched them to the mass grave at Babi Yar.

The use of Haddad's forces and the Damuri Brigade in the west Beirut massacre is part and parcel of Zionist genocidal policy toward the Palestinian Arabs. Israel's June 6 invasion of Lebanon had as its purpose to "purify" that country of its half a million Palestinians. That is why the ancient cities of Tyre and Sidon were turned into rubble and their surviving populations driven out. With the active intervention of U.S. and allied imperial-



Paris, August 5: French Trotskyists oppose Mitterrand's Foreign Legion in Lebanon.

defense minister's only response was "Good Year."

The basic facts are now clear. The Israeli army invaded predominantly Muslim west Beirut, surrounded the Palestinian camps and trucked in their killer-militia from all over Lebanon to do the job. The Israelis ushered them into the camps, provided the staging areas, road signs, food rations and checkpoints, and also lit flares so the butchery could continue into the night. When the sadistic killers became tired they came out to the Israeli command post and lounged around with the Israelis listening to Simon and Garfunkel songs.

The butchers of Shatila and Sabra were not Christian militiamen who got out of hand and went berserk. They were composed of disciplined units *directly controlled* by the Israeli authorities: Saad Haddad's Lebanese Forces and the Damuri Brigade. Despite Israeli efforts to cover up the fact, there are numerous eyewitness reports that Haddad's men were prominent among the killers in the Palestinian camps. And to get to west Beirut they had to be transported 70 miles from their base in southern Lebanon. As for their acting on their own, Haddad himself declared, "Every move we make has to be coordinated with the IDF [Israel Defense Force]" *Times* [London], 23 September. And so was this one.

The Damuri Brigade (largely composed of survivors of a town where the Palestinians massacred Christians in the 1975-76 Lebanese communalist civil war) is not part of the traditional Phalange. Since the Israeli invasion in June it has been under the direct auspices of Sharon and his cohorts.

In Haddad's forces and the Damuri Brigade, Israel has created its own contingents of local Lebanese murderers for the most bloodthirsty jobs. Sharon and Begin pulled the trigger just as surely as Hitler did for the dreaded Lithuanian and Ukrainian SS Einsatzkommandos, or for the Croatian Ustashi. These East European fascists could be relied on to do jobs that even the German Nazi regulars might not have the stomach for. It was Ukrainian

ist troops, the Zionists removed the 6,000 armed PLO fighters from Lebanon, thus clearing the way for their allies, the Christian Phalange fascists, to take over.

In late August the homicidal maniac who ran the Phalange, Bashir Gemayel, was "elected" president of Lebanon at Israeli bayonet point. Begin/Sharon expected their puppet president to initiate the wholesale slaughter of the remaining defenseless Palestinians. But before he could get started, Gemayel was blown away (quite possibly by one of his legion of fellow Christian enemies). The Zionist leaders used Gemayel's assassination as a smokescreen to invade west Beirut, setting up the massacres at Shatila and Sabra.

Israel's Labor Party and the U.S. Connection

The Shatila and Sabra massacres have thrown Israel into a full-blown political crisis. Demonstrations of outrage exploded day after day. The police moved in swinging their batons at Jews as well as Arab youth. A cabinet member resigned in protest. More importantly, the commander of the staff college quit over "the events in west Beirut." In late July when Sharon was demanding an invasion of west Beirut, a highly decorated officer resigned over the impending invasion, stating, "I look through my binoculars and I see children." Whole sections of the officer corps have threatened to resign and an elite military unit refused to mobilize. The supreme court chief justice refused Begin's directive to carry out an "informal" investigation. And on September 25 the opposition Labor Party brought nearly 400,000 people—over a tenth of Israel's total population—into the streets of Tel Aviv demanding an investigation of those responsible; many signs called for the resignation of Begin and Sharon. Under the pressure of Zionist military expansionism, Israeli society is becoming unstuck. And the authority of the Begin regime has been deeply shaken.

The furor over Shatila and Sabra is not simply a spontaneous expression of

moral outrage. It is also a response to the pressure of U.S. imperialism exerted through Washington's now more-or-less open support to the "moderate" Labor Party opposition. Complaining about U.S. attempts to "destabilize" his government, Begin declared, "Our American friends must know that Israel is not Chile, and I am not Allende." To be sure, the American imperialist rulers, the men of Hiroshima and My Lai, are not "shocked" over Shatila and Sabra. But Reagan cannot easily court Arab sheiks and colonels for an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" while Sharon is ravaging Arab capitals with Pentagon-supplied weaponry.

U.S. imperialism now poses as "peacemaker" in the Near East and turns to the familiar faces of the Labor Party, which ruled Israel for three decades, as the instrument for its policies in the region. What is the Labor Party to weep for Shatila? It was the Labor-Zionists in alliance with Begin's Irgun who in 1948 drove the Palestinian Arabs out of Eretz Israel into the refugee camps. The "Labor" Party is not a reformist workers party, but the party of the European-derived Israeli bourgeois elite which waged the 1967 and 1973 wars. Moshe Dayan, the strutting Zionist Prussian, was appointed commander by successive Labor governments; Sharon was the chief military adviser of the last Labor prime minister, Rabin. It was Labor which occupied the West Bank, Gaza and the Sinai, instituting a regime of police terror over the conquered Arab masses. It was Labor which began the Zionist settlements in the occupied territories.

In the recent Knesset (parliament) debate, Sharon challenged Labor Party leader Shimon Peres over his new-found moral superiority. Referring to the 1976 massacre of Palestinians at Tel Zaatar in Lebanon, Sharon baited the former defense minister: "How come your conscience does not bother you? Thousands of people were slaughtered... where were the officers of the IDF on that day?" Thus it now comes out that senior Israeli officers and Mossad (Israeli CIA) agents were in the command posts with the Phalangists when they took Tel Zaatar.

"Peace-Keepers" Make Massacres

Even before the bodies had been unearthed at Shatila and Sabra, Arafat was claiming the United States had betrayed the agreement to protect the Palestinian camps made by Philip Habib at the time of the PLO withdrawal. Indeed, there was a betrayal with most bloody consequences. The imperialist "peace-keepers" prepared the holocaust by disarming the defenders of the west Beirut camps. But who really expected the U.S. to protect Palestinian refugees? The real betrayal was Arafat's and those who called for the troops which set up the massacre. Yet the PLO leaders have again called for and gotten an "international peace-keeping force" led by the U.S. Those who look to the U.S. as guarantor for a "negotiated solution" in Central America should look at what is happening in Lebanon. Begin/Sharon, it should be noted, took a page from Reagan's book on El Salvador when they claimed that it was not they who did the massacring, but uncontrolled death squads, just "goyim."

The role of U.S. imperialism in the Near East is the central political question now posed. That the Pentagon would like a military presence in Lebanon is also related to the fact that Syria is the leading Soviet client state in the region and that the Soviet border itself is but a few hundred miles away. Reagan's sending American forces to Lebanon is an attempt to use these forces as a tripwire for large-scale U.S. military intervention in the region—directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III. Significantly, the troops

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who today come into Beirut as "international peace-keepers" are the same imperialist troops who lost in Vietnam: the U.S. Marines and French Foreign Legion.

The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO have always seen Palestinian liberation coming about through international pressure, not social revolution in Israel and the surrounding Arab states. Today Arafat is reduced to calling upon Reagan's America to send the Marines to protect the Palestinians! All his diplomatic maneuvers, his waving an olive branch at the UN, have been rewarded with Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its genocidal campaign against the Palestinians. But Arafat the diplomat claims the catastrophic defeat in Lebanon as a great "political victory." Hasn't he had a meeting with the pope in Rome? From the standpoint of appealing to imperialist public opinion, perhaps they will also call the massacre at Shatila and Sabra a diplomatic "victory." But for the Palestinians, with victories like these...

Most of the reformist U.S. left too hails the events in Lebanon as Palestinian "victories" and pushes Pax Americana in the Near East. After Israel's Blitzkrieg into Lebanon, a Socialist Workers Party speaker at their educational conference in Oberlin in August proclaimed that "Yasir Arafat has put the Palestinians in the best possible political position." Probably the most active cheerleader for the PLO on the U.S. left has been Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF). When Begin/Sharon invaded Lebanon in June, the Marcyites organized a New York demonstration calling for "effective U.S. action" to achieve Israeli withdrawal. Only as the U.S. Marines were going in, disarming the PLO, did the Marcyites call for U.S. troops out.

And now? The day after the Shatila and Sabra massacres hit the headlines, the Emergency Committee on Lebanon held a demonstration in NYC, heavily built by WWP/YAWF, which much of the left attended. Amid all the chants of "Victory! Victory! PLO!" hardly a slogan or placard was raised against U.S. troops. A few days later the Marcyites called another demonstration under the banner of one of their several front groups, the People's Anti-War Mobilization. The leaflet distributed for this protest not only did not demand "No U.S. troops to Lebanon," but picked up Arafat's argument that the Marines should never have been withdrawn at all:

"The U.S. 'guarantee,' followed by the quick withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Beirut, has proven to be a calculated set-up to facilitate the slaughter of the innocent Palestinians."

It was not the "guarantee" which set up the massacre but the *disarming and expulsion* of the PLO. In what is perhaps a new low in vulgar economism, the Marcyites have also coined the unforgettable slogan, "Money for jobs, not for massacres."

While the Marcyites are acting as



Begin and his Lebanese Einsatzkommando chief Saad Haddad.

mouthpieces for Arafat, their frequent political bedfellows, the pro-Moscow Communist Party, wants a UN "peace-keeping" force. Like the "Unifil" forces which have acted as border guards on Israel's northern boundary and were quickly brushed aside when Begin/Sharon's military machine went into action last June. Such "peace-keepers" the long-suffering Palestinian refugees can do without!

In opposition to these fake-lefts, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated and organized demonstrations all over the country around the slogans: Protest Zionist Holocaust! No Imperialist Troops to Lebanon! Once again, on a proposition that should be elementary for self-declared socialists, the Spartacist tendency stands nearly alone on the left in opposition to U.S. imperialism.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

The Shatila and Sabra massacre has exposed to millions the truly genocidal nature of Zionism. But it also exposes the utter bankruptcy of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism. Competing nationalisms exacerbated and exploited by imperialism have left the Near East a bloody mess for generations. Today U.S. imperialism is trying to set itself up as an arbiter between Zionism and Arab nationalism. Arafat's fondest hope is a new Balfour Declaration (in which in 1917 British imperialism promised a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine) for the PLO. But Reagan's "homeland" for the Palestinians under the thumb of Jordan's King Hussein would mean only more massacres and bantustan-type oppression for the Palestinian people.

The Arab military dictatorships and sheikdoms of the region, on the other hand, raised not a finger to aid the Palestinians in Lebanon when they were under the guns of the Israelis. Moreover, these regimes have perpetrated even greater massacres against their own peoples (the Syrians at Hama) and against the Palestinians (Jordan in its 1970 Black September massacre of more than 10,000 Palestinians; and Tel Zaatar in 1975, where the Syrian army played for its Lebanese fascist forces in Shatila/Sabra).

Today the Palestinians face the Zionist holocaust. But there are only three million Jews in a sea of 150 million Arabs. Israel's military expansionism and mass terror against the Arabs ultimately lead to the self-destruction of the Hebrew-speaking people. Some day the IDF will be cracked, and then the Begins, Sharons and Peres will be tempted to launch their nuclear bombs at Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, even if this means provoking the ultimate holocaust. On the eve of World War II, Trotsky projected that the Zionist settlements in Palestine would become a deathtrap for the Jews. The bloody terror of the Israeli war machine only makes that fate more certain. If the Jewish people in the Near East are to be anything other than a catalyst for a nuclear World War III, the Zionist state must be smashed.

The Hebrew-speaking working people must be broken from Zionism and the deep-going racist chauvinism that pervades Israeli society, and unite in struggle with their Arab class brothers against the Begins and the Husseins. Palestinian militants must break from their reliance on imperialist and Arab League diplomacy, a dead end both for national justice for the Palestinians and for the liberation of the toilers of the Near East. The few million Jews in the Near East can be a valuable cultural and technical resource in the region, but only in unity with the Arab masses. That unity requires above all the construction of a proletarian internationalist vanguard party that fights for the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian and Hebrew nations through a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

S.F. Candidates...

(continued from page 4)

Socialist Workers Party—and I believe there's Olga Talamante of the "Democratic Workers Party" running in this Board of Supervisors election also—they draw up a list and they peddle their penny-ante reforms and their tax-the-rich schemes. They think that you can change the priorities of capitalism at the voting booth. Well, let me tell you, the capitalist state can't be reformed to serve the interests of the workers and the poor people.

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 women, minorities and gays. But this can only be done by a break with the Democratic Party which doesn't stand for any of those things and stands basically for the same things as the Republican Party. 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.

* * * * *

Richard Bradley: I'm Richard Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and Spartacist candidate for the Board of Supervisors. I worked in an auto plant for ten years at Mahwah, New Jersey. I was there when the plant closed down completely in June 1980. Let me tell you what happened.

First we heard rumors that the plant was being closed; the union leadership denied these rumors. A couple weeks later the rumors got stronger and stronger, and the union leadership had to admit that it was true, 5,000 workers were losing their jobs. So then they told us to write our Congressmen and ask our Congressmen to save our jobs, that we should not do anything militant to jeopardize the SUB [Supplemental Unemployment Benefits] fund. The next thing they said that we should not jeopardize our TRA [Trade Readjustment Act] benefits. Well, what happened was the SUB fund ran out very shortly afterwards, the unemployment [benefits] were cut, the TRA funds ran down and the local leadership didn't have any strategy.

You see, the Democrats did nothing for the workers at Mahwah. The Democratic Party threatened the Taft-Hartley Act against the phone workers

once, and used it against the miners in this country. The Democratic Party is no friend of the labor movement. It's also the party of Tom Metzger, a Klansman from San Diego who will terrorize the labor movement, blacks and poor people across this country. Tom Metzger ran for Congressman in that district on the Democratic Party ticket and got 35,000 votes. So do the workers need this racist Democratic Party which embraces the fascists? No, we don't need it.

I was involved in a caucus at Mahwah, New Jersey. And the caucus put forward a strategy calling for a limited sit-down strike, hoping that it would spark an uprising of the labor movement across the country that would focus on plant closures and layoffs. We also called for a shorter work week with no loss in pay, a 100 percent COLA to fight inflation, full and unlimited unemployment benefits for all workers and an unlimited guaranteed sub fund. That's what the caucus pushed for in Mahwah, New Jersey. Well, we didn't see that sit-down strike in Mahwah. So I better tell you, you should fight today because you still have a job. Struggle—believe me, that's the only way you can save your job.

Doug Fraser, the president of the UAW International, sits on the board of Chrysler. The last few weeks before Mahwah was closed, I think he was on the board of Chrysler, and he's still on the board of Chrysler today. Now what the hell is he doing on the board of Chrysler? He's helping Chrysler survive—by laying off auto workers!

Over the past few years the Klan and Nazis have been very active across the country and the Spartacist League has initiated several demonstrations to stop the Klan and Nazis. Shortly after the Greensboro massacre—remember, there were communists, trade unionists, civil rights activists that were buried in Greensboro—the Klan and Nazis wanted to come to Detroit, a labor/black town, to celebrate this "victory." So the Spartacist League said, the Klan and Nazis must be stopped, that it was labor, blacks, Jews and gays, it was a mass mobilization that would stop them in Detroit. The same thing happened right here in San Francisco, in April of 1980, when the Nazis wanted to do the same thing. And I believe this was endorsed by the CWA, this demonstration against the Klan and Nazis, which was a very successful demonstration, the Klan and Nazis did not show up. That's the kind of thing that people in this country should be doing.

What the working class in this country needs is a workers party. Not the Democrats, not the Republicans but a party that will fight for the needs of the working class. There is no dignity in an unemployment line. ■

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Detroit...

(continued from page 5)

competitors had been destroyed. And so I remember reading something in about '59 and U.S. Steel was producing at 60 percent of their efficiency and they were doing just fine. You know, they were still making a profit. Why invest anything in their capital? They paid big dividends to their stockholders.

And then you had the '60s and there was the development, coming out of the government, of sectoralism. The question is divide and rule; divide the blacks against the whites, divide the women against the men, the Indians... it was a question of everybody has to fight for a bigger piece of the pie. Of course the pie itself was never challenged. But under Reagan nobody gets it. Or everybody gets it. Quite clear.

So you get these guys in Indiana, for example, white workers, who have just lost their houses: "I don't know what's going on. America's not supposed to be like this." You get PATCO workers—boy, you talk about an aristocracy of American labor, what do they make, about \$40,000 a year?—and Reagan smashes their union. Some of these hard-hat unions, they were shocked. They're supposed to get a payoff. Well, there aren't any more payoffs. And when you see the labor bureaucracy, what are they doing now? For years and years what they would do in a strike situation was almost standard. They'd come up and they'd say, oh, the company's going to take away this, they're going to take away that, and they'd set up a big scare tactic and then it would end, and you would get a little more. What is the bureaucracy doing now? The bureaucracy is selling less. It's just a question of how much less. The bureaucracy's position may be a 10 percent layoff. The rotten company's position is 20 percent layoffs. But what's going on? People who used to talk about more and get you less than what you deserve are now the front men for less.

Well, what we have is something that Karl Marx talked about. Capitalism is not working. The profit system is not working. And the labor bureaucrats believe fundamentally that labor and capital are a partnership. Okay then, when labor and capital are in partnership and the profit goes down, where are they going to get the profit? They're going to get it out of the workers' hides. So the fact of Doug Fraser is not surprising. He sits on the board of directors of Chrysler auto company. He's just doing his job, by sitting on the board of Chrysler auto company, to push concessions.

Since Vietnam what you've got is a rearming of American imperialism. That's quite conscious. What you've got is not a "defense budget." What you have is a war budget. And the Demo-

cratic Party and the Republican Party fundamentally agree on that war budget. Now they disagree in terms of numbers. The Republicans want it bigger; the Democratic Party wants it smaller. But they fundamentally agree on the war budget. And they are both capitalist parties. It's not a question of nasty people. It's a question of the system, the profit system. You've got to maintain that profit. And that's what the labor bureaucracy is telling the workers.

So Detroit's happening right now, and we're faced with the question. What you have is absolutely no leadership. Now it looks like the Chrysler workers are going to vote the contract down anyway. And you should understand that it's easy for us to say vote it down. Put yourself in somebody's shoes who's got three or four kids, and he's got a mortgage, and then he's in a situation where everybody wants to strike, but they want a strike that can win. Not a strike that loses. So they're looking at the situation and they look for leadership inside the union and they see absolutely none. But it's gotten to the point that they just can't tolerate it anymore.

It's just incredible: they tied any kind of wage increase to the profitability of Chrysler. That means the more money you get the less the profitability is so the less your wages are! Not only that. It's absurdly easy for any company to hide profits. So the workers have gotten nothing.

So we have come up and made the obvious conclusion. It's a general strike in Detroit: everybody to link up and shut that city down with a big fist for Reagan. And we don't give a damn where they get that money from. There's plenty of money in the war budget. But that's not our concern. Twenty percent increase across the board for city workers. Unlimited unemployment to laid-off workers, single mothers with children and pensioners. Keep them off the welfare rolls.

So who will be our opponents? Once again, it all goes back to the Democratic Party. You must understand these people are enemies of the working class. The Democratic Party is the party of capital. And labor must mobilize itself, relying on itself as a social force, which it can be. But it cannot be a social force tied to the Democratic Party.

Summary:

There was a joke coming out of the late '60s or early '70s. Nixon's sitting in the White House; his wife is looking out the window. She says, "Jesus, there's thousands of them. They're burning the American flag. They're coming towards the White House." Nixon says, "Call out the 82nd Airborne." She looks and she says, "They are the 82nd Airborne." Well, the question is state power. As long as there's an 82nd Airborne.

The army has to be split. It's a question of state power. That's the critical question. Because we're talking about a war between labor and capital. Well, a war has to have an outcome, one way or the other. Either the workers take power and eliminate the system for profit, the irrational system, or Reagan can blow up the world. He really can. And we're talking about a third world war which has to be a nuclear holocaust. We're talking about barbarism that will eliminate civilization as we know it. And that's the options we face. The capitalist system will self-destruct, taking the world with it.

Now, the point is very important about international class solidarity, because the social chauvinism that's being pushed is everywhere: at the Labor Day march you saw it overwhelmingly, also in auto. What it means is that you have solidarity with your national bourgeoisie against the workers of other countries and that is preparations for a new war.

So starting from the quote I read—that the partnership of labor and capital is a lie, that in order to win or in order to



WV Photo

General Dynamics UAW workers strike to roll back the givebacks.

even fight you have to know your friends from your enemies—how do the other organizations measure up? A number of comrades talked about the Communist Party. What's the Communist Party's line? They had a big conference in Milwaukee. The line of their conference was all out for the Democrats; we're going to have a new FDR. And they're quite confident that after Reagan there's going to be a reaction and it will all go towards Teddy Kennedy.

Maybe not. Because there is the question of the fascists. Because capitalism is bankrupt. That's why you don't see a section of the labor bureaucracy coming up and taking the place of the old discredited leaders. Because there are no crumbs left. You have a fundamental bankruptcy of capitalism. You can see it in New York City. You can see it tremendously graphically in Detroit.

So it's a question of program. The Ku Klux Klan have a program. The Nazis have a program. They have been racking up large numbers of votes—a guy in Detroit, Carlson; Metzger in California—a large number of votes. So it is with a sense of urgency that we put forth our politics today. And what we have in Detroit right now is workers who are fed up. They can't stand it anymore and they are about to go into a class battle with no leadership at all. That is not a good situation. Strikes do lose. Unfortunately the only force in Detroit that is putting forth any kind of program to win is us. *Everybody* else is hiding. And I'd like to re-emphasize that point. It is not a good situation when the workers go into struggle with absolutely no leadership. We saw that in the [1980] New York transit strike. The New York transit workers did not win that last strike. They were sold out.

So, we're not a very large organization. But we are agitating for our political program amongst the proletariat in Detroit: "Shut down Detroit! Labor/blacks: Roll back the givebacks! City workers: Strike for 20 percent pay hike!" There's a militant caucus in Rouge who have put out a leaflet inside their plant also calling for a general strike, attempting to mobilize Rouge workers to join up with Chrysler workers to join up with city workers and to make a general strike demand a reality. In a nutshell that's what the Spartacist League is all about. It's the question of providing leadership, to give leadership to workers and the oppressed. And you're looking at a gigantic vacuum. So look at our program. Do you agree with the program? Then join, because we need you. We're not big enough. And we haven't got much time. ■

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

the Schools Center Building. And the week before, there were reports that Ford Motor Company management planned to close down assembly operations at its giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn. With the Rouge steel mill already on the auction block, this threatens the existence of what was once the largest factory in the world. Like Dodge Main before them, Rouge workers are faced with the choice to fight or die. The situation cried out for all those who were already on strike, or should be, to unite in a *city-wide general strike*. As we headlined in our last issue: "Labor, Blacks: Roll Back the Givebacks! SHUT DOWN DETROIT!"

At the most basic level, a general strike in Detroit is simply a matter of fighting together instead of letting the city and auto bosses pick off each group, one by one, like they have been doing with the "givebacks": first Chrysler, then Ford, etc. But any general strike, even on a local level, poses the question of state power: it is a political challenge to the capitalists. And Detroit bosses aren't about to roll over and play dead. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young, a pal of Henry Ford II, told AFSCME city workers they could strike "until hell freezes over" as he forced them back to work on the eve of the 1980 Republican convention. Since then union bureaucrats like the UAW's Fraser have worked hand in glove with the Democrats to force Reagan's anti-labor "austerity" down the workers' throats: wage freezes, billions in "concessions" to company profits, massive layoffs. Above all, the fight against this union-busting offensive requires the building of a new militant leadership of the workers movement, with the program and guts to fight the class war to victory.

Chrysler, Rouge Workers: Fight to Win

Early Thursday morning pickets went up at Chrysler's Sterling Heights, Warren Stamping and Dodge Truck plants around Detroit. At Jefferson Avenue, a few blocks from UAW Solidarity House, nearly a thousand workers massed in front of the plant as morning shift time came. Later, when two men started haranguing the crowd to go into work, their car was very nearly tipped over. No one had a good word for Doug Fraser. "He's on the [Chrysler] Board of Directors and more or less he's for the company," one striker told WV. At Warren Stamping workers told us they had found their own strike signs only to have local officials literally tear them from their hands.

Chrysler workers were plenty pissed off at the sellout which company man Fraser had "negotiated." No wage increase—nothing but a piddling \$85 bonus if Chrysler makes more than \$20 million! Sucker bait. On health care, workers will now have to get a second doctor's opinion, some operations may be ruled "postponable" (examples given included tonsillitis and abortions!); and if the company doesn't save enough money, they will take it out of the "profit-sharing" funds supposedly won by the union last year. Management would be given the right to suspend and fire workers for being late or missing shifts. This comes after the \$1.5 billion in givebacks by the UAW to Chrysler in 1980-81, which have left Chrysler workers with hourly wages \$2.60 below those of GM and Ford. Now the company is making money again (\$107 million in the second quarter of 1982) and has even accumulated a billion-dollar fund which could be used to carry it through a strike. So the "concessions" end up financing a strikebreaking fund!

Fraser was barely able to push this through the UAW Chrysler bargaining council by a 262-249 vote. He and union vice president Marc Stepp tried to use scare tactics to bludgeon the ranks into

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buying it, saying in a letter to the membership that a strike could lead to "Chrysler's bankruptcy, and the possible loss of your job...." But they couldn't get anyone to sell it. A steward from Trenton Engine told *WV*, "If you can find 2,000 people who are deaf and blind, I'll push for it." Now with contract voting scheduled for next week the UAW tops are talking about "sweetening" the package with a few minor changes. Chrysler workers must vote a resounding "No!" to this insulting sellout which would bankrupt them if they accept it. *And prepare to fight a hard, bitter strike.*

Militant auto workers must vote no and fight to form *elected strike committees* to organize a strike. And they must be prepared to resist company attempts at scabherding. It is significant that for the first time in decades UAW locals are organizing *official "Flying Squads"* to defend picket lines, first at the tank plant and now at Sterling Heights as well. These preparations must be made by all the locals, including Ford's and GM as well. This must be an all-out fight to win.

Chrysler workers aren't the only ones who are under the gun. River Rouge is facing a life-and-death threat. Asked about rumored plans to close the complex, the heart of the Ford empire, Henry II cynically remarked, "Well, the world swirls, doesn't it? I never feel sadness about the past.... Always look ahead and see what you can do to make the world a better place" (*Detroit Free Press*, 19 September). Like laying off thousands of auto workers! From over 100,000 workers during World War II, and 35,000 only three years ago, the Rouge is down to less than half that today. And it's escalating: only one shift a day in assembly; millwrights gone from 800-plus to zero. There have been so many layoffs in recent weeks that the company has had to make *appointments* in the business office to do the paperwork. But the Rouge can fight, and it *must*.

Faced with Ford's shutdown threats, the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) in UAW Local 600, the largest in the union, has fought for *sit-down strikes*, the tactic which built the union in the '30s and is needed today more than ever. Recently the RMC issued a call for a "General Strike to Shut Down Detroit" in response to givebacks and plant closings at Rouge, and to defend Chrysler workers and the teachers.

Workers Unity Against the Bosses

Chrysler workers and Detroit teachers must not be forced to go it alone. But meanwhile mayor Coleman Young's Democratic Party machine is mobilizing behind the School Board against the mainly black union. Last week the NAACP, various black ministers and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (!) demanded that the teachers go back. City Council president Irma Henderson (a friend of pseudo-leftists such as Sam Marcy's WWP/YAWF) has declared

the teachers strike "intolerable." And a well-organized Black Parents Movement for Quality Education called for firing striking teachers, saying "Reagan showed us how" in breaking the PATCO air controllers union. In the face of this offensive, the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) tops have responded with defeatism and self-isolation. One of the slogans chanted on the picket lines was "We offered nothing, they said no!" referring to the *DFT* proposal for a wage freeze. When Spartacist League (SL) supporters came to teachers' lines to join the picketing, one union official said "we're going to go it alone"... even if that means going down to defeat.

The SL held an emergency meeting on September 21 calling on labor and blacks to "Shut Down Detroit!" SL spokesman and 1981 Detroit City Council candidate Don Andrews called for unleashing the power of the working class, fighting for all the oppressed:

"It has only been the Spartacist League... that has summoned the workers in this city and the blacks to launch a city-wide general strike to smash concessions, to fight for jobs for all, to fight for a 20 percent wage increase across the board for city workers, and in particular to defend black people in this city."

To counter mass unemployment and runaway inflation, we call for a *sliding scale of wages and hours*—full cost-of-living protection and dividing the available work among those who seek it. Let Coleman Young see a few hundred auto workers on every teachers' picket line. Let Chrysler chairman Iacocca find teachers, sanitationmen, Ford and GM workers outside every Chrysler plant. Militant UAW members and teachers must take the lead in demanding emergency membership meetings to elect strike committees which dispatch pickets, issue strike bulletins and approach other unions for co-ordinated action.

There should be no illusions about the stakes involved. The disintegration of Detroit and the collapse of the No. 3 American auto maker was due to a crisis which is wracking the entire capitalist system. But the response of Fraser & Co. is to put the burden on the auto workers, through givebacks and layoffs, in order to restore the companies' profits. And to attack foreign auto workers with the poison of protectionism. At the contract briefings his main target was...the Japanese! Sounding like the Chrysler board member that he is, Fraser complained that "Free trade isn't fair trade" and demanded, "Make Toyota, Nissan and Honda advertise in Japanese!" Instead of international class struggle—to unite the workers of the world—he pushes trade wars which are the prelude to shooting wars. A bumper sticker displayed at Solidarity House underlines this fact, proclaiming: "Toyota—Datsun—Honda and Pearl Harbor."

Chrysler strikers, Rouge workers, Detroit teachers facing a union-busting drive urgently need unity to win. But unity with whom? Unite with Doug Fraser and you're doing donkey work for the auto bosses and their politicians. In addition to pushing givebacks and racist protectionism, the UAW raised more than half a million dollars in the first half of 1982 to contribute to Democratic Party politicians. All so that a Teddy Kennedy, who just helped break a national rail strike, can replace Reagan. What is needed is *unity of the working class in struggle against the capitalists* who are devastating Detroit and threatening the world with nuclear holocaust in their anti-Soviet war drive. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build a revolutionary workers party that can sweep away the irrational, destructive boom-bust system of capitalism. A workers state would smash the desperate resistance of bloodsuckers like Ford and Iacocca, instituting a planned economy which can for the first time eliminate mass unemployment and poverty, opening the way to the full development of humanity. ■

Strikes Erupt...

(continued from page 12)

charge was none other than Ted Kennedy, fresh from the Steelworkers (USWA) convention in Atlantic City where he received a standing ovation. This "friend of labor" told the Senate that "breaking a strike" was necessary to avoid "further economic damage" (*New York Times*, 22 September). Even the AFL-CIO labor fakers welcomed the bipartisan strikebreaking. Federation spokesman Murray Seeger opined that the economy "can't afford a strike of such devastating effect!"

With this kind of "support," no wonder rail strikers in Chicago were worried about getting "the PATCO treatment." As soon as Reagan signed the strikebreaking law, BLE president John Sytsma obediently ordered the engineers back to work. But the elements for explosive class battles remain: the worst unemployment since World War II, real wages down to 1957 levels, a racist offensive that has wiped out many of the (minimal) gains of the civil rights movement. But militant struggle is anathema to the capitalists' labor lieutenants, who are working overtime to channel workers' pent-up anger into voting Democratic on "Solidarity Day II," November 4.

Only people with a very short memory will buy the lie that more Democrats in Congress means a better life. This year the pro-Democratic union tops are asking, "Are you better off now than you were two years ago?" Of course the answer is "no"—just as it was in 1980 when Reagan asked it and got 40 percent of the union vote. Working people see the devastating effects of "Reaganomics" everywhere they turn, but many can't forget life under the Democrats: during Carter's last two years the real take-home pay of an average worker plummeted 14 percent.

The Giveback Coalition

The twin capitalist parties are both committed to squeezing the poor to pay for revamping the military and restoring the U.S. to its former position of imperialist hegemony. The Democratic/Republican drive to "roll back Communism," from El Salvador to Poland and Afghanistan (and on to Moscow) means austerity and racist reaction at home. Reagan obliterated every social program he could to help pay for a trillion-dollar nuclear arsenal, while the economy skidded into the worst downturn since the Great Depression. Now "Reaganomics" is in a shambles, and Reagan's last remaining hope is school prayer! The Democrats and their Cold Warrior buddies in the AFL-CIO say they can provide guns and butter. They can't. Any attempt to try out this economic alchemy will mean runaway inflation and/or skyrocketing taxes.

The labor fakers are touting a Democratic/labor/black alliance as a "new New Deal." At the Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City last week, both Kennedy and Mondale were invited to hustle votes for the Democrats. Meanwhile, USWA president Lloyd McBride is still pushing "concessions" to the profit-greedy steel bosses even after these were decisively rejected by local union presidents last July. Incredibly complaining that "some company managements have not been staunch enough in negotiations" (!!), McBride announced at the Steelworkers convention that he planned to reopen giveback talks with the steel companies this fall. Appropriately, the main resolution adopted on the opening day of the convention explicitly linked the campaign to elect more Democrats this year to the need for billion-dollar concessions to the steel bosses.

A major element in labor's Giveback Coalition with the Democrats is poisonous economic protectionism. The

UAW tops "demand" that 90 percent of the components in American autos be made in USA—while they hand over \$5 billion in "givebacks" to the Big Three bosses from auto workers' paychecks. This program to shield American corporate profits from foreign competition will simply fuel inflation, promote industrial inefficiency and invite retaliation against U.S. industries that still manage to export. Most importantly, this campaign against foreign imports ideologically lines up American workers for imperialist war against foreign workers. Socialists say, "the main enemy is at home"—in the banks and the boardrooms, in the White House and on Capitol Hill!

For a Workers Party!

Will labor, blacks, the exploited and oppressed win or lose? The key question is leadership. Professional backstabbers like William Winpisinger of the IAM (Machinists) and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland helped Reagan smash the air traffic controllers (PATCO) strike by refusing to shut down the airports in solidarity. Bitter local struggles have criminally been forced to go it alone: Machinists at Browne & Sharpe in Rhode Island, ten months on strike, have been beaten, gassed, even shot on the picket lines. A three-month-old strike against Iowa Beef Processors in Nebraska has been attacked by scabherding state troopers and National Guardsmen using helicopters and an armored personnel carrier. What is urgently needed is a class-struggle leadership that would mobilize to generalize such struggles, uniting them in a general offensive against capitalist rule.

The powerful American unions are crippled by a "leadership" whose no-strike, giveback policies spell defeat for workers who have already put themselves on the line: striking teachers, wildcatting Chrysler workers, etc. American working people need a class-struggle union leadership to unchain the power of labor to reverse the endless cycle of defeats and sellouts. We need a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a workers government, to expropriate industry and institute an overall economic plan. Such a party can only be built in the struggle to oust the labor bureaucrats, political cops for the bosses in the unions. Instead of fighting for such a class-struggle leadership, most "left" organizations simply run interference for the bureaucrats. The reformist Communist Party's *Daily World*, for example, didn't even mention Ted Kennedy's strikebreaking role in the rail strike. As for the Chrysler wildcats, the line of the so-called "Revolutionary Workers League," a tiny centrist sect whose hobbyhorse is crossing picket lines, was to call on the leaders of the UAW, AFL-CIO and the Teamsters to organize a "labor convention" to "found a workers' party." A "workers' party" led by the likes of Doug Fraser, Lane Kirkland and Roy Williams?! These sellout artists and pro-imperialist warmongers, supporters of Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon and Reagan's drive toward a thermo-nuclear World War III, will fight to the death to tie the workers to their capitalist exploiters.

The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive is also a declaration of war against minorities and workers in the United States. And to beat it takes a class-struggle leadership armed with a program to win. The present labor leaders want to prevent militant union struggles at all costs while "mobilizing" the ranks to elect phony "friend of labor" Democrats. This is just a ticket for defeat. The Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary socialist organization, is dedicated to building the vanguard party needed to put an end to racism, unemployment and imperialist war once and for all. No givebacks, no "rollback"—Send the Democrats and Republicans to the scrap heap, workers to power! ■

Spartacist League Forums

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Speakers:
Myra Owens,
 SYL National Committee
 SYL spokesman at June 27 Chicago mass rally to stop the Nazis
Richard Davidson,
 SL Central Committee

Harvard
 Thursday, October 14, 7:30 p.m.
 Phillips Brooks House

UMass-Boston
 Friday, October 15, 2:30 p.m.
 SAC Conference Room
 Building 1, Fourth Floor

Harriet Tubman House
 Friday, October 15, 7:30 p.m.
 566 Columbus Ave.
 For more information call (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

WORKERS VANGUARD

For a General Strike in Labor/Black Detroit!

Bust the Chrysler-Fraser Sellout!

DETROIT, September 28—Desperate to keep the workers in the plants, they "stopped the clock" on the Chrysler negotiations. Thirty hours later, at 6:30 a.m. on September 15, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser and company spokesmen announced a settlement. But Chrysler workers were fed up. Already at midnight there were walkouts across the country. And even after UAW leaders ordered them back to work the next morning, plants in Detroit, Ohio and Delaware refused. Official strike signs were hard to find, but T-shirts soon appeared with slogans like "Doug Sold Us Out—Vote No!" On Friday, Detroit's overwhelmingly black Jefferson Assembly was still out. At the former Chrysler tank plant (now owned by General Dynamics) in suburban Warren, where an authorized strike was under way, a UAW flying squad organized picketing around the clock. A fight was on. The question is how to win it.

Meanwhile, the mainly black Detroit teachers had struck on Monday, resisting the School Board demands for an 8 percent wage cut. This is not just a question of strikebreaking but *union-busting*. As pressure increased, the teachers organized daily mass pickets at

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Detroit UAW workers walk out of Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant: auto militants need fighting leadership. WV Photo

Democrats Stab Rail Strike

Strikes Erupt in Reagan's America

For the last year and a half the misleaders of American labor clamped a lid on social unrest as Ronald "The Ax" Reagan viciously hacked away at working people and minorities. But suddenly in September the country was swept by a strike wave. Teacher walkouts all over. Los Angeles choked by a transit shutdown. Chrysler wildcats from Delaware to Detroit. In the Motor

City the possibility of a general strike is posed, linking up Chrysler and Ford auto workers, teachers and city workers. Even the NFL football players hit the bricks. Then on September 19, 26,000 members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) shut down virtually all rail service outside the Northeast.

The engineers were angered by

Striking L.A. transit workers.



WV Photo

Reagan's demand that they give up the right to strike while their pay differential clause was negotiated. Over 300,000 railway workers honored BLE picket lines. By midweek the shutdown had forced General Motors to close four assembly plants and had stopped production at several Midwest coal mines. The strike had an immediate impact on steel production as well: BLE members picketed U.S. Steel's Gary Works, for example, where trainmen move raw materials and unfinished steel from one facility to another within the nine-mile-long plant. Transportation secretary Drew Lewis told Congress the BLE strike cost the capitalists \$80

million each day; railroad bosses put the figure at \$1 billion a day. In a climate of general working-class unrest, such a powerful strike could provide the spark for massive labor/black struggle to bring Reagan down. The missing ingredient is class-struggle leadership.

The lines were drawn. The bosses' government moved quickly to break the rail strike. At Reagan's bidding, the Senate Labor Committee wrote up a strikebreaking resolution. The chairman of the Labor Committee is Mormon reactionary Orrin Hatch, a racist "right-to-lifer" and notorious union buster. And right in there leading the

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FLASH! Victory in Anwar Picket Line Case!

As we go to press we have learned that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in Washington, D.C. has upheld an NLRB judge's decision ordering Inland Steel to reinstate Keith Anwar, a steel worker who was fired in 1979 for honoring the picket line of a striking Steelworkers local. This is an important legal victory for the basic principle of labor solidarity: picket lines mean don't cross!