WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 281 X-523 22 May 1981

U.S. Heats Up Cold War Over SAM-6 Crisis

Near East War Threat

MAY 18—The Near East missile crisis of 1981 burst on the international scene April 29 when Syria moved Soviet-built SAM-6 anti-aircraft missiles into Lebanon. For five years Israeli jets massacred Palestinians and Lebanese villagers at will. But when the Israelis shot down two of Syrian ruler Assad's helicopters, the SAM missiles went up in the Bekaa Valley. Now, resorting to blatant provocation, Begin says he is going to knock them out. And there could be full-scale war if Israel tries to take them out by force.

The Zionists' arrogance is truly astounding. When Prime Minister Begin moans about Lebanese Christians being "annihilated" by the Syrians, his idea of the peaceful status quo is his "right" to systematically destroy the PLO. Since neither Israeli bombs nor pilots discriminate between civilians and "terrorists," destroying the PLO means destroying every Palestinian in southern Lebanon. That Assad had a deal to allow the Israeli air strikes clearly shows that his claim to be today's champion of the Palestinians is nothing but hypocritical bombast. But as former

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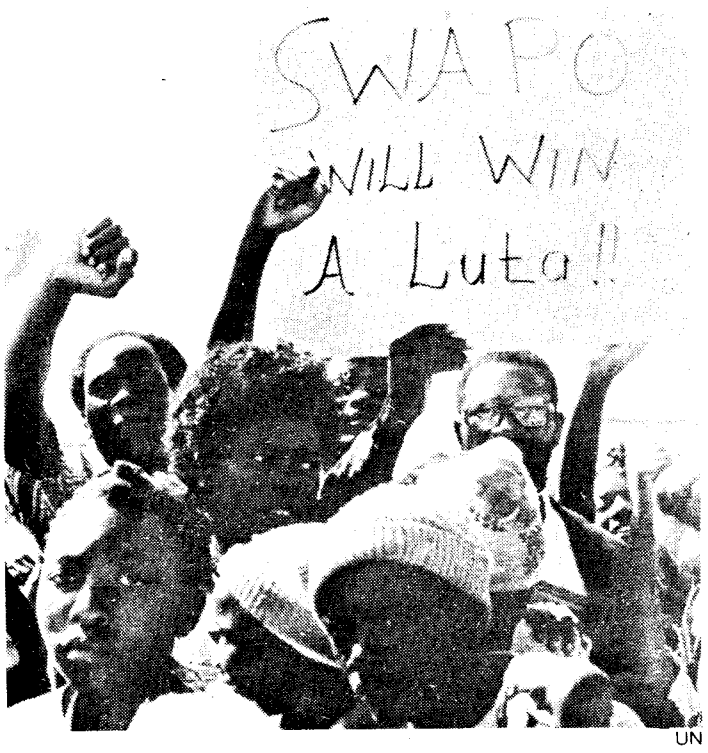
U.S. Army

U.S. helicopters train over Egypt. Reagan seeks to strengthen anti-Soviet alliance in Near East.

Targets Angola, SWAPO

Racist U.S./South Africa Axis



UN

"Reagan's program could have been written by the Klan," declared the Imperial Wizard from the deep South last November. And the rulers of the white supremacist hell that is South Africa also felt immediate kinship with the new U.S. president. South African government radio hailed Reagan's victory as a sign that "Western Christian culture" might yet triumph over Communism. Whether it is suppressing the black African guerrillas in Namibia or attacking the Cubans in Angola, the racist, imperialist U.S.-South Africa axis is stronger than ever.

In order to give its essentially anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign a semblance of "even-handedness" for the liberals, the Carter administration distanced itself from the apartheid state. But throwing off this liberal imperialist hypocrisy, Reagan embraces the butchers of Soweto as his own. And so they are. Visiting the U.S. recently, South African foreign minister Roelof Botha had what were described as "friendly" meetings with Reagan and Haig, meetings designed to work out a strategy for the Washington-Pretoria alliance.

On the key issue of independence for Namibia (South-West Africa), Washington has moved to frustrate black African diplomatic moves to ease out the occupying South African forces. Reagan has tried, unsuccessfully so far, to reverse the Clark Amendment restrictions on U.S. military aid to South African-backed guerrillas in Angola. And Reagan's UN ambassador, right-wing academic Jeane Kirkpatrick, has held secret, technically illegal, meetings with top South African military leaders.

The Reagan shift on South African policy is in harmony with his overall foreign policy, which amounts to an intensification of Carter's Cold War drive against the Soviet Union, Cuba and Soviet-bloc aid recipients such as Angola and Nicaragua. Kirkpatrick provided the ideological cover for this policy with her claim that racial dictatorship in South Africa is less "totalitarian" than Marxist "dictatorship." The Carter administration flirted with the idea of drawing nationalist regimes like Angola and Nicaragua away from the Soviets into the U.S. camp à la Sadat's Egypt. The Reagan administration seeks instead to "destabilize" and eventually overthrow these petty-bourgeois

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No to SWP Anti-Trotskyist Exclusionism!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

BOX 1377 GPO, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10116 212/732-7861

18 February 1981

Dear Friend,

On February 7, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held a publicly-advertised rally to publicize its "socialist Watersuit" against the U.S. government's COINTELPRO program of harassment and disruption of the left. Members of the Spartacist League (SL) and other leftists were forcibly prevented from attending that "public" meeting by an SWP goon squad. At the same time that the SWP is seeking to build support for its lawsuit—billing the suit as a major blow in defending all socialists, unionists, blacks, etc. against repression—the SWP is itself violating the elementary democratic rights of other avowed socialists through cowardly exclusionism aimed at sealing off its own supporters from political debate.

The SWP hopes it can persuade civil libertarian supporters of its suit to countenance its anti-democratic exclusionism by telling them the excluded comrades are "disrupters." This is a simple slander, in the time-dishonored Moscow Trials tradition of Stalin who—using his authority as leader of ostensible Communism—sought by slander to cut off Trotskyist critics from a sympathetic hearing among leftists, "progressives" and liberals. Now the SWP wants to make Marxists into non-people, undeserving of workers democracy. These same methods have played no small role historically in undercutting genuine solidarist defense of victimized leftists. During the first Smith Act trials (1941-43), the Communist Party cheered the government's prosecution of "Trotskyite fifth columnists." Everyone knows that the Smith Act was soon turned against the CP itself.

Especially in the present context, to slander socialist opponents as lawless, violent, crazy "disrupters" is itself a tactic which facilitates witchhunting against the far-left, dovetailing the media's portrait of leftists as "extremists" and "terrorists" in seeking to create a climate favorable to their violent suppression (as in the case of the Panthers) and legal repression.

We are not disrupters, as the SWP knows full well. We are socialists who simply seek as members of the public to attend public meetings and speak from the floor during discussion periods. Far from "disrupting" SWP meetings, we are well known as consistent defenders of workers democracy, and have defended the SWP against disruption, gangsterism and slander. The SWP's exclusion of us and other members of the socialist public from its February 7 "public" meeting was a provocation, a genuine "disruption" of the left.

As socialists who have had our share of government persecution, we appreciate and have sought to publicize the revelations of COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" that have emerged from the SWP court suit. But the need for anti-sectarian unity in defense of socialists' civil rights is not served by the anti-democratic conduct of the SWP. Those concerned with civil liberties cannot countenance the attempt to suppress by exclusionism and slander (and ultimately by violence) the expression of dissident opinions on the left.

As a supporter of the SWP suit, you can effectively raise with the SWP your concern over its shameful exclusionism. If you would like further information about the February 7 incident or about us, please contact us at the above address/phone number. Please be sure to send a copy of your protest to the SWP to us as well.

Fraternally,
Walt Sloan

ACLU Activist Protests

May 5, 1981

Ms. Ramona Ripston
Executive Director
ACLU of Southern California
633 South Shatto Place
Los Angeles, CA 90005

Dear Ramona,

Last month, I—as a board member and school desegregation activist—was asked by the ACLU Speaker's Bureau to speak before the Socialist Workers Party's Militant Labor Forum on the issue of school desegregation.

The forums, held regularly by the SWP as a general public informational, discuss progressive social issues, this night's being, according to them, pro-busing.

As I arrived at the SWP meeting hall, I was met by a woman with whom I have worked politically since the mid-70s. She, along with four or five of her comrades, were selling the Spartacist League's Workers' Vanguard on the sidewalk outside the SWP headquarters. After a couple of congenial "hellos," I asked her if she was ready to come in to the forum. Then she told me that she and members of the organization were denied admittance by the SWP. Thinking that she was either mistaken or—more foolishly—that I could persuade them to let in the Spartacist League so that they too could participate in the discussion, I went inside and met with the organizers of the forum.

Not only were the Spartacist League members present that evening prohibited from attending the forum, but indeed—much to my surprise—no member of the Spartacist League in any part of the United States is allowed to attend a Militant Labor Forum or any other forum organized by the SWP. The forums are open to all other political organizations, as well as the general public.

This national exclusionary policy—enacted over a year ago, according to SWP members, by the party's central committee—is particularly distressing to me on several counts. As an avid reader and admirer of Trotsky, I find this prohibition especially offensive and a smear against the democratic traditions for which he lived and was murdered.

Moreover, the SWP itself has historically fallen victim to left sectarianism, the most virulent of which sent many of its most courageous and talented leaders to prison in the early 40s. There members of other left organizations during the Minneapolis labor trials rose as witnesses against the SWP and for the State, resulting in the first convictions under the infamous Smith Act. It is ironic that the SWP would, just a mere 40 years later, act in ways which discredit and evoke widespread condemnation of other left organizations—in this case the Spartacist League.

Finally, the concern of an organization for issues of justice, equality and democracy are belied by instituting a national, organization-wide exclusionary policy, so intractable as to defy reconsideration after a year's time.

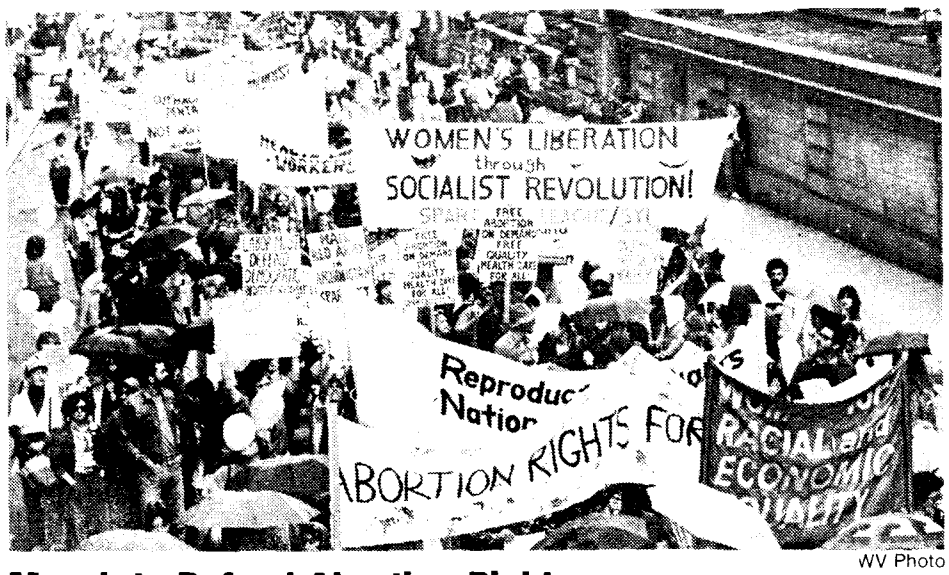
And for me—well I couldn't go before an audience at the Militant Labor Forum and talk about the exclusionary policies of the Los Angeles Board of Education, and the West Valley's parents' cries against integration because black children "are disruptive and ill-behaved." Not when political allies were standing outside, barred from entry on the same baseless charges.

These practices are offensive to all of us—whether it's the California Club or the SWP. And I urge the ACLU to consider whether it can ask its members to share or participate with the SWP as long as *this policy is in force.*

Warm regards,
Linda Hunt

cc: The Socialist Workers Party
The Spartacist League

Linda Hunt is on the Board of Directors of the southern California ACLU and was formerly an ACLU staffer for five years. She coordinated the campaign in southern California against the anti-busing Proposition 1.



WV Photo

March to Defend Abortion Rights

Stop Moral Majority Tyranny!

On May 16, proclaimed "Reproductive Rights Day," thousands demonstrated across the country in defense of abortion and other women's rights. The protest came as Reagan's "Moral Majorityites" are hellbent on once again making abortion a crime, forcing women back to deadly back-alley practitioners, and turning doctors into "sex police" against teenage girls.

The most ominous development is the current Senate hearings on a proposed "Human Life Statute," sponsored by ultra-rightist North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, which would declare a fertilized egg a human being with full constitutional rights! If enacted, this grotesque anti-humanist law would subject doctors who perform abortions to prosecution for murder!

Spartacist contingents marched in New York and Boston under the banner of "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." Our socialist program called for "Free Abortion on Demand!" and the extension of free, quality health care, including contraceptives and birth control information for all.

Spartacist Educational Weekend

- American Communism: 1915-1980
- Lessons of the 1905 Revolution
- Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Detente, Cold War II
- El Salvador: Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents

For more information, contact:

San Francisco Bay Area May 23-24
P.O. Box 935
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Chicago May 29-31
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

New York City June 6-7
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League • registration fee: $5 (students $3)

U.S. Hands Off Irish Northern Aid!

Avenge Irish Martyrs!

Francis Hughes died on May 12, the second Irish Republican hunger striker killed by the bloody arrogance of British prime minister, "let 'em die" Margaret Thatcher. Mass demonstrations and protests, which broke out May 5 on the death of Bobby Sands in the Maze Prison, have continued throughout the past two weeks across the United States and Canada. The great courage with which Sands and Hughes met their death at the hands of British imperialism compels respect, while the cold cruelty of butcher Thatcher's government has sickened and horrified millions around the world. Meanwhile, more violence is awaited—even eagerly anticipated, it seems—by the British troops, as yet more coffins of hunger strikers are likely to come out of the hellhole Maze Prison. Just last week a fourteen-year-old girl was buried in Northern Ireland, cut down by British riot police bullets.

Both the ruling Tories and the Labour Party opposition in Westminster have refused to grant the IRA hunger strikers' just—even minimal—demands for political prisoner status, although the hundreds of H-block inmates were put there by special political ("anti-terrorist") tribunals where normal standards for witnesses, evidence and jury trials are dispensed with. The "crime" of Bobby Sands, who was elected a member of British parliament from his jail cell in Long Kesh Prison, was being present in a car where a handgun was found. And for this, "Iron Lady" Thatcher condemns him to death as a "common criminal" and even "murderer"! The real murderers are the British imperialists, who have subjected the oppressed Irish Catholic minority of Northern Ireland to years of bloody military occupation.

In the U.S., the Reagan administration has seized upon the H-block protests as part of its campaign to whip up an anti-Soviet "terrorist" frenzy. On May 1 the U.S. Justice Department obtained a court ruling to force the Irish Northern Aid (INA) to register as a "foreign agent" of the IRA. This would require the INA to turn over its financial records, lists of contributors and essentially anything else the government wants. Such McCarthyite witch-hunting against Irish Northern Aid is an attack on the entire left, labor and socialist movements in the United States and must be vigorously protested. Thus Spartacist League demonstrators in recent H-block demonstrations prominently carried signs demanding, "Hands Off the Northern Aid Committee!"

WV Photo

New York, May 7: Enraged by death of IRA leader Bobby Sands, protesters burn Iron Lady Thatcher in effigy.

So far, at least, protests in the U.S. and Canada have been largely limited to Irish nationalist supporters. Most self-proclaimed socialist groups are conspicuous by their absence. Representatives of important trade unions spoke at a New York City rally May 7, including John Lawe of the Transport Workers Union, and the International Longshoremen's Association called on its members to boycott British ships for 24 hours. Such working-class actions against British imperialism are welcome and powerful weapons, which must be extended! Unfortunately, many of the Irish American trade-union leaders saw their actions as simply token gestures of support to "their people," and refuse to lead their ranks in a united struggle against the U.S. imperialist government, intimately linked to Thatcher's torturing, murdering policies.

The Spartacist League in the United States and the Trotskyist League of Canada have actively participated in most of the H-block protest demonstrations in North America. "Butcher Thatcher Has Blood on Her Hands! Avenge the Murder of Hughes and Sands!" and "Smash H-Block! British Troops Out!" were among the militant slogans of the SL and TL contingents. In New York on May 5, SL supporters were brought before television cameras by demonstrators who appreciated the militancy of the Spartacist participation. In Toronto, a Trotskyist League contingent joined with several hundred protesters outside the British Consulate May 9 and a TL banner demanding "Avenge Bobby Sands, Smash British Imperialism" appeared on national Canadian TV coverage of the demonstration. In the San Francisco Bay Area an impressive Spartacist contingent of 70—the only left organization with more than a token presence—joined the INA-called demonstration on the night of Sands' burial, May 7. Youths in the crowd of 2,000 picked up the Spartacist chant "British Troops Out Now!" as the gathering dispersed.

Above all, our fight to avenge the wanton killing of the IRA martyrs Sands and Hughes is a fight to forge a united working-class struggle against British imperialism, for an Irish workers republic and a socialist federation of the British Isles. The Spartacist tendency's strong participation in the protest demonstrations is part of our commitment to wage this fight to victory. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 281 **22 May 1981**

Ten Acquitted in Racist Frame-Up

Free All the "Pontiac Brothers"!

CHICAGO—After little more than five hours of deliberation, on May 9 a jury of seven blacks and five whites acquitted the ten black "Pontiac Brothers" on charges of murder, attempted murder and mob action—charges for which the state of Illinois had sought a mass death penalty. The "not guilty" verdict came in response to one of the flimsiest prison frame-ups in recent history—testimony to the immensely racist character of so-called American justice. Revolutionaries applaud this derailing of a "legal" racist atrocity.

The trial stemmed from a 22 July 1978 prison revolt at the Pontiac State Penitentiary in rural downstate Illinois, during which three prison guards were killed. The revolt was provoked by tremendous overcrowding and 110-degree temperatures in the decrepit institution. In its wake, the director of the Illinois Department of Corrections cynically stated that "it came a year later than most of us anticipated."

The state responded with brutal repression, putting the entire prison population of 2,000 under 24-hour deadlock, without work, visits, showers or even soap and toilet paper for eight months! It was under these barbaric conditions that the authorities were able to coerce "testimony" from prisoners who were given privileges, time-off sentences and transfers to less heinous minimum-security institutions.

Subsequently, an all-white grand jury brought down indictments against 17 black prisoners for murder and 14 others for lesser riot charges. As a defense attorney observed, "There are dozens of people accused of murder in the investigation's discovery and the state in arguing before the Grand Jury just picked out whichever prisoners they wanted. They don't know who really did it" (*Chicago Reader*, 3 October 1980).

Yet the prosecution announced that for those charged with murder it would seek the electric chair. Attorneys for these defendants were able to shift the trial from rural Livingston County to Chicago. Murder charges are still pending against six of this original group.

From the beginning, the state tried for a "Greensboro jury" which would convict out of prejudice despite the evidence, as did the jury which acquitted six Klansmen and Nazis who shot down left-wing anti-KKK protesters in North Carolina in November 1979. Judge Benjamin Miller eliminated a 63-year-old welder from jury service because he stated that "these boys are black and I'm black" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 20 September 1980). But Chicago is not North Carolina,

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P.P.S.C.

Pontiac Brother John Bailey.

Near East War Threat...

(continued from page 1)

Irgun terrorist Begin seems inclined to shoot down Assad's planes, the missiles will stay put. The attempts of American shuttle diplomacy to strike a deal (read: remove the missiles) have thus far failed.

The U.S. imperialists have tried to play up the crisis as another instance of Soviet designs on the Middle East. Secretary of State Haig claimed that the initial shooting which led to the crisis may have been "instigated from Moscow" (*Newsweek*, 20 April). To back this up the U.S. engaged in some "aircraft carrier diplomacy," moving the *USS Independence* from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Rabidly anti-Soviet columnist William Safire, ever alert for the Red Menace, stated: "The Syrian missile crisis is the first Soviet test of the Reagan administration's will. The Reagan response to the Kremlin's probe has been dangerously soft" (*New York Times*, 18 May). Safire doesn't indicate how "hard" Reagan should have been—tell Begin to bomb Damascus, or perhaps send out the Polaris submarines? Beyond the local conflict looms the possibility that the Middle East crisis could ignite World War III.

Ever since the shah of Iran fell, the U.S. has been seeking to reestablish a military foothold in the Persian Gulf. Carter declared that no Soviet meddling would be tolerated in the region and that the U.S. was ready to defend its "strategic interests" there with nuclear weapons. Egypt's Sadat welcomed this and has since agreed to the placement of U.S. troops in the Sinai in April 1982—in effect, putting detachments of the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force on site. Reagan's strident anti-Soviet policy has translated into the search for a "strategic consensus" in the Persian Gulf, i.e. to subordinate regional Arab-Israel hostilities in an alliance against Moscow. To sweeten the deal, the advanced surveillance aircraft (AWACS), which Carter sent to Saudi Arabia when the Iran-Iraq war broke out, are to be sold outright to the sheiks, along with 62 F-15 fighters, air-to-air missiles, ground radar stations and U.S. personnel to maintain and operate them.

When Haig visited the region last month he tried to sweep the local animosities under an anti-Soviet rug. A participant in the Jerusalem talks caught the flavor: "You know the type that winds up talking about sex no matter what the subject you raise? Haig is like that but his angle is communism" (*Newsweek*, 20 April).

But it didn't float. After 30 years of murderous nationalist wars, neither Begin nor Prince Fahd leaped at the chance to become blood brothers in the fight against Moscow. The Saudis emphasized Israeli attacks on the Palestinians while Begin fumed that the Saudi AWACS "could detect movements throughout Israel and would neutralize Israel's ability to make a surprise attack" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

The deeply anti-communist Saudis' pronouncements about the Palestinians and their resistance to direct U.S. military forces have more to do with the fragility of their regime and their xenophobia than "Arab unity." In fact, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are concerned that the fragility of all the regimes in the region makes them vulnerable to war.

The true believers now running the U.S. think they can recapture the short-lived "American Century" of the 1950s. So Reagan/Haig came into office intent on strengthening ties to the traditional U.S. ally, Israel, taking a harder line against Moscow-allied nationalist regimes like Syria and deepening its anti-Soviet alliance with the Saudi feudalists. Well, it won't work. The Arab-Israel national conflict is real and cannot be exorcised by anti-Soviet incantations. Haig's exhortation won't get Prince Fahd and Begin to march together, Koran and Torah held aloft in an ecumenical holy war against godless Communism. To the extent that the U.S. encourages Israeli attacks on Syria and the PLO, it is easier for nationalists like Assad to appeal to the Saudi monarchy for aid against the Zionist enemy. The endless vacillations of the U.S. Near East policy since the 1967 war show the impossibility of simultaneously backing Israel 100 percent and fully directing the major Arab states against the USSR.

If another Arab-Israeli war breaks out, it would be merely a repeat of Arab and Israeli workers killing each other to serve their respective capitalist masters. However, should the crisis escalate into a direct U.S.-Soviet conflict, revolutionaries would unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Assad: No Friend of Palestinians

All the Arab nationalists *claim* to defend the Palestinians. The Syrians shouted it when they fought Israel in 1973. But then in 1976 their planes massacred Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in Lebanon. Now they say it again as they point SAM-6 missiles at Israeli jets. The blood of the victims of 1976 proves that Assad is no friend of the Palestinians. Within Syria, Assad practices the same murderous bonapartism as the other Arab bourgeois nationalists, suppressing the Syrian proletariat in the name of Ba'athist "socialism."

Der Spiegel

Haig obsessed by anti-Communism.

The Syrians invaded Lebanon in 1976 when increasing Palestinian activity on the side of the Lebanese Moslems threatened to blow apart the dominance of the Maronite Christian minority. Syrian troops "pacified" the Palestinians and installed a new Maronite leader. Typical of the Byzantine intrigues and constantly shifting allegiances is that the former president of Lebanon, whom the Syrians removed in 1976, is now in exile in Syria on good terms with Assad. Further, the Syrians' Maronite allies in 1976 are now their enemies. The 1976 Lebanese civil war, just as the fighting today, is a striking confirmation of our position that all sides are equally squalid in this conflict of competing nationalist and religious groupings.

In spite of the sordid history of these communal wars, for which you need a daily scorecard to keep track of friend and foe, the fake lefts still push the "Arab Revolution" as the way forward for the Palestinians. Standing firmly as ever in the shifting sands of nationalism, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) now declares that the Syrians have adopted "a firmer anti-imperialist stance" and have "aligned themselves with the colonial liberation struggles against imperialism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 11 May).

The criterion for being either anti-imperialist or pro-imperialist seems to be the intensity of rhetoric about Israel and U.S. imperialism. The epitome of this brand of "Marxism" is that the SWP's favorite anti-imperialist is Ayatollah Khomeini, who supplements denouncing the U.S. with stoning adulterers and butchering Kurds. The methodology is also flexible—it enables the SWP to declare Syria anti-imperialist in 1973, then pro in 1976 and anti once again today despite the fact that the Syrian leadership has remained *unchanged* for over 10 years! The fake lefts' capitulation to nationalism is in fact a program which binds the oppressed to their bourgeoisies, will never liberate the Palestinians and offers the Hebrew-speaking workers no basis to fight for their international class interests.

The provocations of the aggressive Zionist war machine could take the current round of threats and brinkmanship to another full-scale Mideast war. The reason that Begin insists on Israel's right to send fighter-bombers into Lebanese airspace unhindered by Syrian SAMs is that he wants to be able to continue massacring Palestinian refugees in the PLO camps in Lebanon. From the Gaza Strip to the West Bank to the Golan Heights, wherever the Zionist army goes genocidal terror and organized murder are sure to follow. Even beyond the ever-expanding Israeli frontiers the Zionists arrogantly assert their "right" to butcher the Palestinian people.

Domestic Israeli politics have also played a role—Begin was lagging in the polls for the June elections and saw a confrontation with Syria as a way to boost his popularity. With Egypt removed as a war threat and with over 100 percent inflation, the Zionists need a new focus of national unity to keep the lid on their working class. Taken by surprise at Begin's offensive, the opposition "Labor" Party has taken as hawkish a stance. Labor leader Shimon Peres whined that Begin's speech in the Knesset (parliament) about a scrubbed attack on the Syrian missiles gave away too many secrets (*New York Times*, 12 May)!

Despite its dependence on U.S. weapons and support, Israel is not simply a puppet on an imperialist string. The Zionist leadership certainly shares Reagan's anti-communism, but it also has national/territorial ambitions of its own. Begin's mad dog provocations, from the routine savage repression of Arabs on the occupied West Bank to the daily terror bombing of southern Lebanon to the increasing expropriation of Arab land for new Israeli settlements, elicited mild criticism from the Carter administration because such actions stood in the way of a U.S./Saudi/Egyptian/Israeli alliance against the USSR. Reagan has so far kept quiet, hoping for his anti-Soviet "strategic consensus," and this has served to embolden the Zionists. But in the long term, Zionist provocations run counter to the larger U.S. ambition to forge anti-Soviet unity in the Persian Gulf.

Capitalist rule in the Near East means the continuation of national degradation and fractricidal wars. Only its elimination by the revolutionary proletariat, led by its Leninist vanguard, will break the cycle of bloodshed. Not classless "Arab Revolution" but socialist revolution is needed to sweep away the bourgeois nationalist butchers and the poisonous national hatreds they exploit to maintain their power. It is only the revolutionary proletariat which can rise above the historically accumulated antagonisms, rallying to its banner the oppressed and exploited masses.

The stakes are high. The Middle East, long a powder keg, is a strategic part of imperialism's drive against the Soviet Union. The Saudi AWACS go alongside "Euromissiles," large-scale aid to Pakistan and the U.S.-China alliance. The capitalist class is trying to forge an unbroken anti-Soviet chain from Asia, through the Persian Gulf and into Europe. A local explosion anywhere along that chain could be the spark which sets off World War III. It will be socialist revolution, not détente or phony liberal disarmament schemes, which will remove that threat of nuclear mega-death once and for all. ■

Khomeini Jails Dissident Poet

Free Saiid Soltanpour!

Saiid Soltanpour, a prominent Iranian poet, playwright and director who was imprisoned and tortured several times under the regime of the butcher shah, is once again behind bars in Iran, a victim of Khomeini's clerical reaction. Soltanpour became a marked man when he began to oppose the anti-democratic rule of the Persian Shi'ite mullahs and their atrocities against the left, the national minorities and "immodest" women. Earlier this year Soltanpour, along with other prominent writers, academics and jurists, signed a statement condemning the regime's "destructive policies and its repeated violations of the rights and freedoms of the people."

The left and labor movement in this country and internationally must demand the immediate release of Saiid Soltanpour and the thousands of other victims of the mullahs' reactionary theocratic terror. Even before Khomeini came to power, the international Spartacist tendency warned that the mullahs' rule would be just as reactionary and repressive as the bloody dictatorship of the shah. As we stressed from the outset, what is needed in Iran is a workers revolution that will smash the capitalist class and its turbaned torturers, who continue the bloody work of the shah.

The case of Saiid Soltanpour is being publicized in this country by Iranian student organizations such as the Iranian Student Association (Northern California), which is urging all who stand for democratic rights to send letters and telegrams demanding the release of Soltanpour to the following addresses:

President Abolhassan Bani-sadr
Presidential Office
Teheran, Iran

Prime Minister Ali Rajaii
Premier Office
Teheran, Iran

Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani
Chairman of the Islamic Parliament of Iran
Teheran, Iran

The Islamic Republic
PO Box 2130, 571 South Saadi Ave.
Teheran 11, Iran

The Islamic Revolution
Imam Khomeini Ave.
Across Post Office
Teheran, Iran

Avakian Flees, Klonsky Deposed

End of the Line for American Maoism

Deeply discredited by China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, demoralized facing the prospects of hard struggle in the Reagan years, American Maoism has come to the end of the line. A spectacular symptom: in the space of a couple of months this spring the two top dogs of New Left Maoism—Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian—suddenly departed from the scene. And speaking for those of us who have known these macho ego-tripping phonies since their days as anti-working-class SDS honchos, it couldn't happen to a more deserving pair of jerks.

A protracted upheaval in the slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) has deposed the Klonsky Family regime while its central committee dissolved itself. Reportedly CPML members have been leaving in droves as an ongoing internal debate questions the very reason for existence of the group. Meanwhile Avakian, the *líder máximo* of the pro-"Gang of Four" Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), now facing a lengthy jail sentence on charges stemming from the RCP's frenzied 1979 Chinese embassy attack, has fled to France where he is requesting political asylum.

A signed editorial statement in the April issue of the CPML's *Call*, entitled "The Crisis in Marxism and M-L Unity," begins starkly: "Any reader of the last few issues of *The Call* can plainly see the CPML is in the midst of a serious ideological, political and organizational crisis." Its one-sentence summing up indicates the rightist thrust of all sides in the dispute: "The basic reason for this crisis is the ultra-left orientation, line and method that held back the CPML's development from a small sect into a political force in the United States." "Ultra-left"?! On every key international issue the Peking Stalinists stand *to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie.*

From Angola to Afghanistan, they saw their task as stiffening the resolve of Western imperialism to fight the "main enemy," Russian "hegemonism." And as this role as anti-Soviet Cold Warriors increasingly turned U.S. Maoists into despised sects, the crisis set in. Beginning last year, the CPML began publishing fundamental self-criticisms rejecting its whole previous "party-building" line and denouncing its orientation in the unions as "sectarian." The *Call* lost its Spanish-language section, *El Clarín,* went from weekly to monthly, changed its masthead from "Organ of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist" to "Voice of Socialism in the United States."

In March came the laconic announcement that "the chairman resigned his position." Citing "organizational disintegration," the CPML reported that an emergency delegates conference had been held where an Interim Political Committee was formed and the question of party liquidation was openly debated: "For example, many CPML members feel our mistakes of sectarianism flowed from our conception of ourselves as *the* vanguard party. But there is disagreement over whether the whole concept of vanguard party is invalid or whether it was misapplied" ("CPML Holds Special Meeting to Rebuild Organization," *Call,* March 1981). Indeed, outright dissolution of the CPML is not out of the question, as a number of leading members have since quit heading in the direction of mainstream social democracy.

WV Photo

CPML: To Be or Not To Be

What is going on in the "official" U.S. Maoist organization? In the welter of documents and letters, the frankest piece was "A Message to the Movement" (*Call,* February 1981) by former staff writer Jim Hamilton. After years of double-talk Mao-think jargon, Hamilton's piece is a straight out call for American nativist populism. In the face of the rightward shift in U.S. politics signaled by the Reagan election, Hamilton speaks for demoralized New Lefters who see the CPML's prospects drying up and want to throw in the towel as a "vanguard" tendency. Instead they hanker after the old "movement" they used to know. Hamilton's indictment:

> "Nearly ten years of difficult and dedicated mass work by our hundreds of cadres has yielded little result in terms of building a truly mass revolutionary movement. Neither our press nor our political approach has really 'caught on' among any significant section of the population, and they show no signs of doing so unless fundamental changes are made in our work. Our membership has declined by several hundred over the past two years...."

Basically, Hamilton says they were wrong to form a party at all:

> "...it is evident that our conception of a single, vanguard communist party playing the *only* leading and revolutionary role in society was more than a little to blame for our hegemony-seeking and for the poor state of our united front work. Furthermore, the notion that the CPML *was that vanguard party* only added to the problem." [emphasis in original]

Hamilton rips the CPML's "disdain for electoral work" and the "apocalyptic vision of the U.S. revolution" rooted in "the anti-Marxist notion that armed struggle is the only strategic component of the revolutionary seizure of power." The "Chilean experience," he writes, must be reinterpreted in the light of a "possible parliamentary transition." Shades of Khrushchev! But in reality, Hamilton's main line is in the direction of American national-reformism: "Isn't there something wrong when many in our movement know the names of Chinese officials but not the names of their own Congressmen?"

The message of "A Message to the Movement" is nativist populism:

> "The New Right, for instance, is a real phenomenon, reflecting not only the latest shift in ruling class policy but also the fact that racists and reactionaries have often spoken to the people's genuine fears and frustrations better than we have."

Hamilton wants to beat the right-wing populists at their own game. For him and many others in the CPML, the "left" should lead the racist "tax revolts" instead of the likes of California state senator Howard Jarvis. Following the logic of his positions, Hamilton has since quit the CPML, along with former *Call* editor Daniel Burstein. Others who support this line are talking about a fusion with Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), a pressure group for Kennedy liberalism, and the slightly less openly pro-Democratic Party New American Movement (NAM).

While Hamilton's "Message" was openly liquidationist, the response of the Interim Political Committee was hardly less so. The differences were over how the CPML should be liquidated. While the dissidents want to merge outright with the social democrats, the leaders of the rump organization long for the amorphous New Left that was their breeding ground in the late '60s. This perspective is spelled out by the editorial in the April *Call* signed by PC spokesman John Martin:

> "The CPML's self-conception of being *the* vanguard party undoubtedly caused difficulties in uniting with other organizations.... Further, the organization that will be formed through any merger will approximate a pre-party organization and not *the* party itself." [emphasis in original]

The main targets of this pitch for good old "M-L unity" are Mickey Jarvis' Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (a split from Avakian's RCP) and the West Coast-based League of Revolutionary Struggle (Unity) group.

The China Connection

Among their numerous *mea culpas* for "ultraleftism," both CPML leaders and dissidents single out their ineffective policies in the labor movement going back to the days of Klonsky's October League (OL). An article last year, "Summing Up the Party's Trade Union Work," states:

> "The most vivid example of the practical results of incorrectly aiming the main blow (with a particular emphasis on attacking the most social democratic

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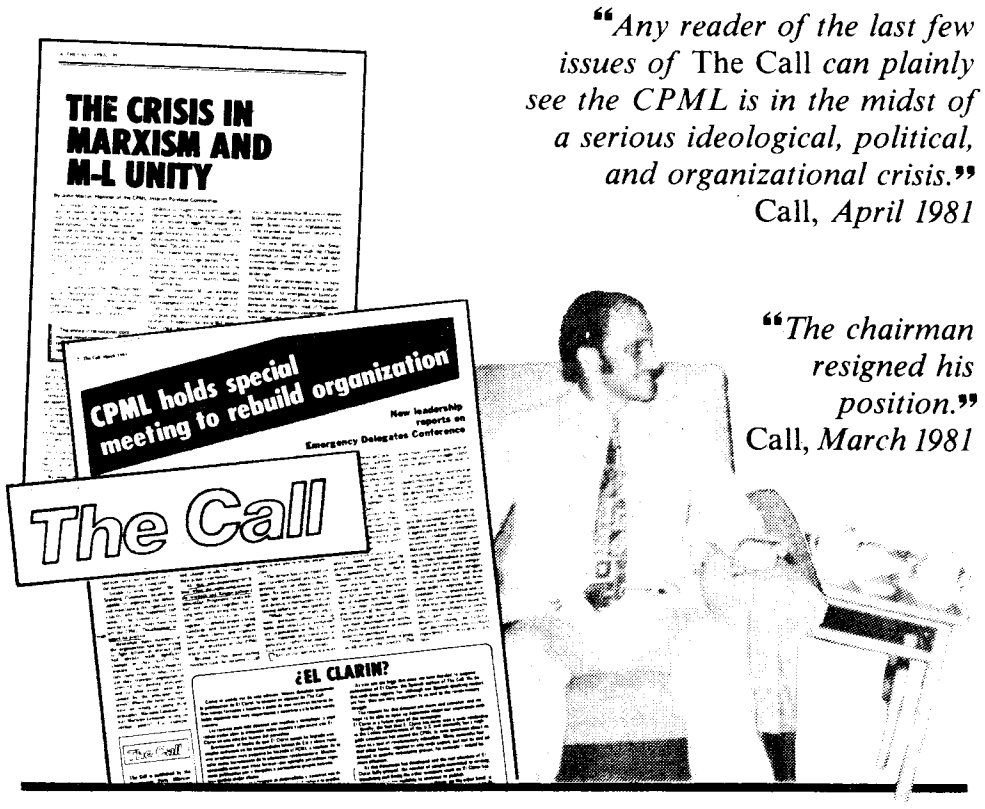

"Any reader of the last few issues of The Call *can plainly see the CPML is in the midst of a serious ideological, political, and organizational crisis."*
Call, *April 1981*

"The chairman resigned his position."
Call, *March 1981*

Which Side They Were On

PAM Marches for Imperialist Doves

WV Photos

Big-mouth Bella (above) calls on PAM rally to "visit electoral punishment" on Reagan, that is, to campaign for liberal Democrats.

The workers and peasants of El Salvador are fighting a life or death struggle against the junta, its sadistic killers and its godfathers in Washington and Wall Street. Every class-conscious worker and socialist, every defender of social justice must desire victory by the Salvadoran insurgent masses against their torturers and exploiters.

Military Victory to the Leftist Rebels! This was the rallying cry of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League at the El Salvador demonstration in Washington May 3. We were the only militant contingent there. Our red banners of revolution, not the pale green flags of liberal "concern," captured the attention of the press, and the AP wire photo of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was picked up by the major bourgeois papers and run as *the* picture of the demonstration.

The reformist organizers of the May 3 protest understood that the red banners of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent posed the "spectre of communism." For the "People's Antiwar Mobilization" (PAM), dominated on the East Coast by the Workers World/YAWF group led by Sam Marcy, our call for military victory to the anti-imperialist fighters in El Salvador is a *split issue*. PAM "marshals" forcibly prevented protesters from joining the Anti-Imperialist rally, instead herding them to the "official" rally to hear liberal Democratic politicians like Bella Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer and John Conyers (who didn't show but sent a telegram) call for more butter/less guns and a cagier policy in the "best interests" of American imperialism.

Gooning for the Democrats, PAM/YAWF made it explicit that their followers were marching *against* military victory for the Salvadoran leftists. Why is Sam Marcy in such a hurry to draw a hard line against revolution in El Salvador? Because he and his fellow reformists are hostile to a perspective of mobilizing the working class for *power* in the U.S. and in America's Latin American neo-colonies, deeming it more "realistic" to pressure the liberal wing of American imperialism to bring "human rights" to El Salvador. Their strategy is predicated on the illusion—even here in the citadel of world imperialism!—of a "progressive" wing of the ruling class. Desperately searching for such a thing, they find only the Democratic face of the world's number one warmongering imperialism.

Workers World

Sam Marcy

The Democratic "doves," who disagree with anti-Soviet militarism only when it looks like it's *losing* (as in Vietnam), are no less than the Republicans racist strikebreakers at home and bitter foes of international revolutionary struggle. But for Sam Marcy, wedded to the popular-front strategy of collaboration with the "peace-loving" servants of imperialism, they are the only game in town, and their tender sensibilities had to be protected. So the PAM "marshals" had to herd people past the Anti-Imperialist rally and its chants of "Take a Side—Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" For the Anti-Imperialist rally—where people could hear a socialist perspective for El Salvador, where they could express their solidarity with the U.S. miners' strike and the Irish nationalist prisoners, learn about the Russian Revolution, sing "Which Side Are You On?" and the "Internationale"—clearly posed the question: reform or revolution. So the Marcyites organized violence against the Anti-Imperialist rally. Now they are stuck with justifying it.

Accordingly, the Marcyite paper couples the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with a Moonie counterdemonstration in support of the junta's white terror as "Two Disruptions That Fizzled" (*Workers World,* 8 May). At the demonstration too, the Marcyite-led disrupters lied to the marchers, telling them the Anti-Imperialist rally was the right-wing counterdemonstration. But nobody believed it. Everyone knew our rally was against the Democrats and for red revolution. That's why the "marshals" had to forcibly prevent people from joining us, as is openly admitted in *Workers World,* which quotes a "PAM coordinator": "PAM guides prevented this from happening by forming a barrier between the disrupters and the antiwar protesters...."

By way of political cover, *Workers World* supplies the following:

> "Their call for 'military victory' to the left-wing insurgents is a cover for their hostility to the Salvadoran liberation forces. Thus in a newspaper distributed at the demonstration they demanded that 'the workers and peasants of El Salvador must break with the FDR'."

What? We call for victory to the Salvadoran liberation forces in this civil war because we are hostile to the Salvadoran liberation forces? Those unfamiliar with classical Stalinist "logic" will find this a little hard to understand.

Because we stand in solidarity with the heroic Salvadoran workers, peasants and leftist intellectuals, we oppose their popular-frontist leaders of the FDR, who are using the blood shed by the insurgent masses to intensify pressure for a "political solution." What this would mean is a replay of the made-in-USA "human rights" junta of October 1979, which included among its ministers the first president of the subsequently formed FDR, Alvarez Córdova (who was killed by a rightist death squad) and its present head, Guillermo Ungo. Yet this "reform" junta, among its very first acts, massacred workers who took over the factories. All the talk of a "peaceful solution" in El Salvador simply means more death and destruction for the working masses.

In El Salvador, a military victory for the insurgency, destroying the existing capitalist armed forces, would lead to a situation of dual power, opening the possibility for workers revolution despite and against the flimsy FDR popular front, whose program is a "reformed" capitalist government. At the very least, rebel military victory would allow the masses a taste of vengeance against the brutal killers who have ruled the country with fire and death for decades. On the other hand, defeat at the hands of the U.S. puppet junta would mean the destruction of the workers movement and the left and an immense strengthening of imperialist counterrevolution throughout the region.

Marcy: "Self-Determination" Is the Right to Betray

As they seek to become brokers for the Democratic "doves," the WWP/YAWF organizers of PAM have been feeling the heat both from liberals and social democrats to their right and from the SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent to the left. Shortly before the May 3 march, Marcy himself wrote a pathetic apologia for counterrevolutionary betrayal in El Salvador, titled "On Negotiated Settlement and the Right of Self-Determination" (*Workers World,* 17 April). He attempts to argue that when the liberal imperialists argue for a "political solution" this is a bad thing, but it's okay for ostensible leftists to do so. Evidently ashamed to say straight out that he stands for a coalition government between the FDR and the blood-drenched ruling junta, he appeals to liberal guilt in the name of national sovereignty:

> "Under any and all circumstances, it is the right of the oppressed country to set the conditions and the specific immediate objectives for which it is struggling....
>
> "The oppressed and the oppressed alone have the right to determine whether to fight for full withdrawal under the circumstances, how and by what means to arrive at a political settlement, if that is desirable, and what conditions should be embraced in any agreement."

The right of self-determination means one thing and one thing only: the right of a nation to an independent state. El Salvador is engulfed in a *civil war*. Thus the call for "self-determination" is an irrelevant piece of rhetoric dredged up to cover Marcy's tailism: first identify the flimsy, contradictory FDR with the will of the Salvadoran nation and then pronounce any opposition to its policies a violation of self-determination. If some gang of bourgeois nationalists set up an American military base in their country, would Marcy support this in the name of self-determination?

Marcy appeals to the precedent of Vietnam, arguing that it was correct to support the 1973 "peace" settlement there. The Spartacist League pointed out then that this treaty would settle nothing, and indeed it took two more years of bitter fighting until the Vietnamese workers and peasants won the victory on the battlefield. But calls for a "negotiated settlement" or "political solution" in El Salvador are far more dangerous. As an SL spokesman noted at the May 3 Anti-Imperialist rally:

> "...there's one crucial difference, because in Vietnam the Soviet Union against its will was forced to deliver some arms and they had the ability, militarily, to defeat the U.S. on the battlefield. The United States in this case is operating in what it considers its own backyard and the people who are talking about a political solution are talking about a bloodbath in Central America—*and you'd better know it.*"

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Tom Janota on NYC Black Radio Forum

Anti-Imperialist Contingent Fights for Leftist Victory

We reprint below excerpts from a panel discussion with Tom Janota, June Jordan and Judy Simmons broadcast May 8 on WLIB radio in New York, a major black NYC station. Janota, a former Peace Corps volunteer in El Salvador, was a featured speaker at the Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally at the Pentagon May 3; June Jordan is a poet and black activist; Judy Simmons is the WLIB moderator.

WV Photo

At the May 3 El Salvador protest only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent drew the class line. Against Democratic Party liberals! For workers revolution!

Simmons: Reagan was talking about the people who were fighting against the right in El Salvador, and he called them rebels and terrorists. But he designated as "freedom fighters" those people who were fighting against the government of the left in Poland and Afghanistan.

Jordan: And he talks about the murderers and the tyrants in Argentina and Chile as moderate father types!

Simmons: I'm talking now with June Jordan and Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. He left in May of 1980, a little over a year ago. But things were pretty hot there then. Tom is a teacher and he went to El Salvador to teach eco-systems. Tom, how long was your commitment in El Salvador. How long do you sign up for?

Janota: It was a two-year assignment. The Peace Corps decided to leave in February 1980, the whole Peace Corps shut down. I stayed on until May because I was interested in how things were going to develop. There had been many promises made when the coup was first declared in October 1979, promises about land reform—to make social changes in El Salvador.

Simmons: Who couped in '79?

Janota: Basically, it was a change of colonels. You had Colonel Romero in charge and he cculdn't deal with the rising wave of strikes by the unions, which were becoming very militant, taking over the plants. So, in October 1979 the new so-called progressive colonels came to power with all kinds of fancy promises about what they were going to do. And Jimmy Carter immediately rushed in to bolster these guys.

So, on October 15 of 1979 there were about five plants occupied by the workers in Soyapango, a working-class suburb of San Salvador.

Simmons: Sort of like the people who occupied Sydenham Hospital.

Janota: Right. And on the 15th then, after the coup was declared.... And Romero, I might add, took the next jet to Miami to join his bank account there. On that day the army pulled up to each of these plants with their little tanks, something called a tanqueta....

Simmons: A baby tank!

Janota: A city tank, not for your heavy-duty warfare, for shooting at people that don't have anything to shoot back at you.

Simmons: Sort of like the small armored vehicles used in the cities of the United States by the police force.

Janota: Riot Control.

Simmons: Yes, exactly, which have become part of the general police arsenal since the rebellions of the '60s... in case anybody wants to know what would happen in future rebellions.

Janota: So the workers, if they were armed at all, were armed with sticks, a few old guns. They were surrounded, probably not even asked to vacate the premises. Just blown away. The official death toll was four killed. We know about official death tolls in Vietnam, the body counts. And those that weren't killed were arrested, and the whole strike wave broken.

Simmons: That was a year after you got there?

Janota: Right. And I might mention Carter supported those acts. Although there were promises of reform, the repression actually intensified.

Simmons: Now, June, you were at this rally in Washington, one of whose major themes was that the U.S. stop sending aid to El Salvador. Did you go to that rally because you are aware of the kind of things Tom was talking about?

Jordan: Yes, I did. One of the things that I felt about the rally, though, is that it was an opportunity to let people know what was happening who may not know. I happen to have made it my business to find out. But one area of information that was not really

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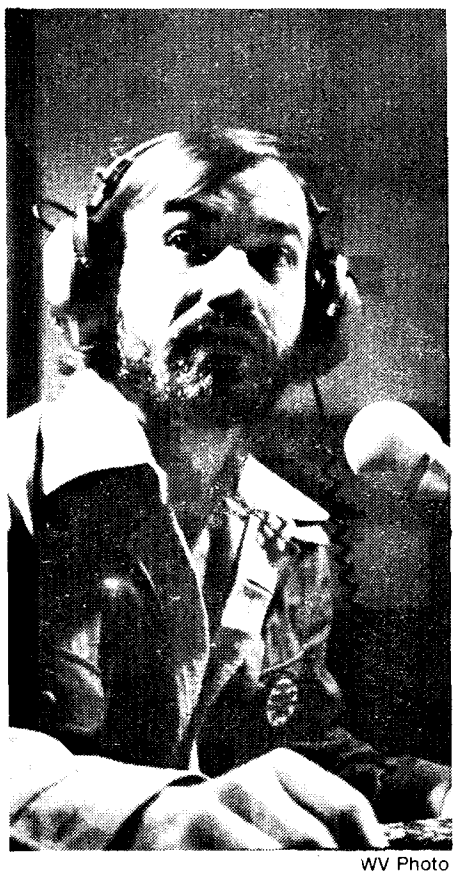


WV Photo

Tom Janota

WV Photo

Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Janota...

(continued from page 7)

addressed well at the rally was what exactly is going on in El Salvador, who knows that and how is it being supported.

Janota: I'd like to make a comment on that May 3rd rally, because I think there were some very important points that came up at that rally. The main rally, organized by the People's Antiwar Mobilization, or PAM, one of the problems that I found in that part of the march was that all they wanted to do was to get the United States out of Salvador militarily. They didn't necessarily talk about the economic aid that is propping up that government right now.

Simmons: Even as economic arrangements prop up the government of South Africa.

Janota: Right. They didn't come out very squarely for the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, but instead were trying to talk platitudes about peaceful change—maybe this can be a negotiated settlement and so forth.

It's important to note, too, that the only contingent at that march taking a side in the war was the Spartacist League contingent, which organized the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, that actually said, "Look, there is a civil war going on. We take the side of the leftist rebels there." Not only do we say no military aid, no economic aid for the government in El Salvador, we also say "Military victory to the leftist rebels." And I think that hard line—it was very important that it was drawn.

Simmons: Well, you've been there, so you can see very clearly that a military solution is what is required there. That the thing is on now, as they say.

Janota: The landed class has to be defeated once and for all, militarily, in the field, and a new society then could be built, drawing from the resources of the working class and the peasants of that country. Any kind of compromise with the ruling class is going to allow them to keep their power and to allow for another counterrevolution and another bloodbath in El Salvador. So I think one of the problems with that May 3rd march was that it was very vague, very unclear on its very politics.

Jordan: That's what I mean by rhetoric. As against rhetoric, I think we should have, first of all, information, so people can make up their own minds. And then take a position and give people the credit to think for themselves to decide whether they want to go with your position, or not. But take a position! We're not talking about namby-pamby anything. Haig, for example, hysterical to get 35 million dollars more aid for El Salvador. He knows what he's talking about. He's just taking a side. Are you on his side? If you're not on his side, then something follows from that, something real, you know, a concrete proposal. But there was much hot air.

Janota: That's right. It's important to note, too, that as the march neared the bridge to go to the Pentagon, the Spartacist League had offered an alternative. An Anti-Imperialist banner was put across trying to give the people in the march an option of taking the harder path, the clear path toward fighting with the military victory in the conflict in El Salvador. But the very organizers of the march linked arms in front of that fork to keep people from taking that path. Rather than allowing the people who are marching in that demonstration to decide to take the turn for a clear left-wing victory in the country, they were even blocking off even the potential for people to leave the main march.

Spartacist Canada

Seattle, May 3: Anti-Imperialist Contingent marches on the side of the Salvadoran leftist insurgents.

Jordan: I think that what we're seeing also is that, as you said, the '60s have not gone, and I don't think we should have a rerun. For example, many of the people who were prominently active in the May 3rd rally were people who first came into political activism during the anti-Vietnam War movement. And many of the people in that anti-Vietnam War movement were really what the press called "peaceniks," that is to say, they were against violence, they were against war. But I would like to point out to people, if they haven't thought of it before, and I hope they have, that there are two reasons why the war in Vietnam concluded in victory. And one was this, to be sure there was the movement here. And the other was that the people of Vietnam *fought a war and won it!* They did not stand around and rally. They *fought* for a victory and they *won* a victory.

And I think this is something that we're going to see coming up now dealing with El Salvador. Within the next year or two we're going to see, if not sooner, it coming up as an issue again in Angola, where Haig has publicly said he intends to destabilize the government in Angola. He intends to do this. And we know that next we're going to see the United States allying itself with the regime in Pretoria. And the question is—are we going to have "antiwar" rallies? Is that a moral position in a circumstance...to at least consider the morality of another position, which is to say: there is a war on and I will take this side....■

PAM...

(continued from page 6)

At bottom the Marcyites' appeal is to nationalism and liberal guilt. "We Americans can't tell other peoples what to do" is the line of argument. Well, the Spartacist League is not "we Americans." We are Marxist *internationalists!* The German socialists Marx and Engels rallied the European workers movement in support for a military victory of the North in the American Civil War—and while sharply opposing Lincoln's policies on many occasions. That is our tradition. We are part of an international class, the world proletariat. And we support the victory of *our class* in El Salvador!

Teddy Kennedy's New Waterboys

With the May 3 demonstration, the Marcyites make their bid for the role played by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Vietnam antiwar movement—organizers of radicalized youth for the liberal Democrats. The SWP was too worried about winning its current court suit against the FBI (by getting the government to acknowledge the SWP is too tame to warrant secret police surveillance and "dirty tricks") to compete for the mantle of "best builder" on May 3, especially after having tried to demonstrate its respectability by joining with DSOC to red-bait the march as "violence"-prone. (This didn't stop the SWP's *Militant* after the fact from hailing the demo as the "Biggest Antiwar March Since Vietnam"!) The SWP's abstention left the Marcyites a clear shot at becoming, along with the Communist Party and its numberless front groups, the aspiring brokers for a new bloc between anti-Reagan youth and the Democrats.

The Marcyites have come a long way down even from their origins as a pro-Stalinist split from Trotskyism in 1958. During the Vietnam era, the Marcyites were among the most raucous cheerleaders for all manner of Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. While slavishly tailing Vietnamese Stalinism and its popular-frontist strategy, the Marcyites on occasion criticized the official antiwar movement led by the SWP and Communist Party (the "Mobe" and the "New Mobe") from the left:

> "...American troops have intervened again and again in dozens of countries to establish corrupt regimes that serve the interests of U.S. corporations....
> "The Mobe leaders know all this, but are so anxious to have the support of the doves of the ruling class that they refuse to alert the American people to the dangers that lie beyond the Vietnam war....
> "Anyone genuinely opposed to war must, in the long run, oppose imperialism and fight for the destruction of its foundation, monopoly capitalism."
> —*Workers World*, 13 November 1969

For years YAWF trained its members to tail every kind of "Third World" nationalism and Stalinism. But to get Teddy or some other mainstream liberal Democrat onto the speakers' stand, YAWF will have to shed even nominal anti-imperialism. If you want Teddy, you can't have the PLO, just for instance; at the "multi-issue" May 3 rally there was no demand about Zionism. To be successful brokers toward the liberal establishment, Marcy will have to wean his membership away from any residual attachment to national liberation struggles and especially from even lipservice to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. With May 3 this process has more than begun.

Once the Marcyites liked to posture as hard-guy defenders of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Under the theoretical rubric of the "global class war" they slavishly supported the Kremlin's foreign policy, especially its most counterrevolutionary aspects (what precipitated their split from Trotskyism was their support to Khrushchev's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution). But now that the U.S. imperialists are making El Salvador the front line of "Cold War II," these "global class warriors" are found in the bourgeois liberal camp. They organized the May 3 demo on the liberal line that the Central American upheavals have no bearing on the "East-West conflict."

Reagan declares El Salvador the forward point of "Soviet expansionism." Haig threatens Cuba with military action if it doesn't stop arming the Salvadoran insurgents. Yet the Marcyites eagerly seek a blood line between themselves and our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." The rightward shift in the bourgeois political climate finds internal reflection in the Marcy group, which now aspires simply to the social-democratic role which earned the SWP the just contempt of many tens of thousands of subjectively anti-imperialist youth during the Vietnam War.

The rightward shift of liberalism and its left apologists is palpable in the El Salvador protest milieu. Che Guevara's call for "two, three, many Vietnams" used to be a standard chant among New Left radicals. Everyone understood that the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese was draining U.S. imperialism of its strength. But today the liberal slogan of "no more Vietnams" is pervasive. Ironically one of the clearest statements of this shift to the right comes from the *academic Castroites of the North* American Congress on Latin America, which actually begins a fund appeal, "Help save the people of the U.S., and the peoples of Latin America, from the tragedy of two, three, many Vietnams"!

PAM pushes the same line. In endorsing the May 3 PAM rally, a Detroit city council resolution warned against "entering into another no-win Viet Nam-type internal conflict." The key here is "no-win." Liberals fear "another Vietnam" only because U.S. imperialism *lost* there. Speaking for the resurgent hawks, Richard Nixon declared in a Seattle television interview that El Salvador "is not another Vietnam. It is not going to be a place where we're going to fail." This is the flip side of the imperialist defeatism which PAM appeals to. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent, in contrast, stood with the working masses of Central America and appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the U.S.

The Spartacist League fought for the victory of the Indochinese revolution and we fight today for *victory* to the toilers in the Salvadoran civil war—by posing a clear *class line* in El Salvador and at home. The choice is between preaching faith in the Democratic wing of the capitalist warmongers or building a massive anti-imperialist movement with a perspective of workers power in Latin America and here. We know which side we're on. And we know which side Sam Marcy's on, too. He stands for "anti-Reaganism" under the hegemony of Carter/Kennedy's Democratic Party. We stand for class solidarity and class struggle. The reformist charlatans *oppose* the defeat of the blood-soaked Salvadoran junta, in the interests of appealing to the pro-imperialist "doves" who above all fear the spectre of revolution. That is what makes a Sam Marcy, by his words and by his deeds, a self-proclaimed counterrevolutionist on El Salvador.

We demand: Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Smash junta terror in El Salvador—For workers revolution!■

Maoism...

(continued from page 5)

> union officials) was our boycott of the Sadlowski election in the Steelworkers union."
>
> —*Call*, 9 June 1980

Back in 1977, the Klonskyites accurately called liberal bureaucrat "Oilcan Eddy" an "Opportunist Out of Office." But as we pointed out then (see "Maoist OL Somersaults Over Sadlowski," *WV* No. 144, 11 February 1977), this refusal to support a liberal bureaucrat-on-the-make was only a momentary aberration for these Mao-Stalinists. More representative of the practice of the OL/CPML was their craven support to the bureaucratic Brotherhood Caucus in the Fremont (California) United Auto Workers. Here their only deviation from mainstream labor reformism was to initiate an *anti-union* court suit for "super-seniority" for women and minorities (in reality a call for "preferential layoffs" of white, male fellow workers).

But the real source of the near-terminal crisis of American Maoism is not that it didn't sell out enough in the domestic class struggle. At that level, they were certainly on a par with the reformist Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party. The specific origins of the Peking Stalinists' decline are to be found in their links to the ruling bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state and its deepening alliance with U.S. imperialism. For years, Peking-loyal Maoists tried to disguise China's support for NATO with Mao-talk about Russia as the "main enemy." And now that their isolation has reached catastrophic proportions, one would never know from the documents of the current explosion in the CPML that Klonsky & Co. ever had anything to do with "People's China."

But the Chinese connection is there. Both sides try to distance themselves from some of Peking's most rabid anti-Soviet theses. Hamilton writes, "Isn't there also something wrong when we insist on describing the Soviet Union as 'capitalism restored' even though no one in our movement can offer a coherent proof of that contention?" Martin, for the Interim Political Committee, talks of a need to "reassess" the "change of tactics of the USSR internationally": "This new left posture of the Soviet social imperialists, along with the Chinese experience of the Gang of Four and their internal influence, show that revisionism today comes from the left as well as the right."

The idea of Brezhnev as an ultra-left is absurd, but it does indicate some awareness by the CPML leaders of their own position in far right field. Obviously, they are worried that their hundreds of ex-members (and many who have stuck it out this far) may be attracted to the so-called "anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist Trend" which has lately been picking up disoriented former New Left Maoists (see "Where is the 'Trend' Going?" *WV* No. 273, 30 January). As we pointed out, the main line of the Trend is slouching towards Moscow as these perennial fellow travelers oscillate from one Stalinist bureaucracy to another in the eternal search for the popular front. But even "critical Brezhnevism" may look a lot more appetizing than supporting the CIA-backed 1975 South African invasion of Angola and China's 1979 attempt, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson."

RCP: Back to Weatherman

From the time Klonsky's OL and Avakian's Revolutionary Union (RU) were squabbling over the fallout products from the 1969 split in SDS, the two have feuded over who would be Numero Uno in the New Left Maoist milieu. By the mid-1970s the OL/CPML's main claim to fame was its recognition by Peking. Avakian's RU/RCP lost out in the battle for the Chinese franchise, and following Mao's death supported the "Helmsman's" widow Chiang Ch'ing and her "Gang of Four" deposed by Hua and Deng. But Klonsky's well-photographed handshake with Hua didn't catapult him into the big time—if anything, it had the opposite effect. So not surprisingly the RCP is gloating over the current tribulations of their archrivals:

> "...the Chinese had made their own belly crawling peace with U.S. imperialism and penny ante parties were an embarrassment to them at best.... Thus, Klonsky's magic carpet franchise of tailing after the Chinese revisionists, upon which he staked his own career and the prestige of his organization, was pulled out from under."
>
> —"The Rocks the CPML is Crashing On," *Revolutionary Worker*, 3 April

The Avakianites are hardly in a position to crow, however. Their own adventurist antics have landed them in a heap of trouble which could spell curtains for the RCP. It's been a while now since this crazed leader cult went off the deep end. To the accompaniment of Avakian's clanking bullet necklace, punk Maoist RCP youth brigaders went wild in the streets: Weatherman-style high school "breakouts," arrests for planting their miniature red flags atop the Alamo. Building for its Mayday 1980 happening, the Avakianites pulled scores of cadres out of the factories chanting, "Chairman Bob is our leader, Long live the RCP!" In L.A. this craziness took on tragic dimensions as RCPer Damian Garcia was stabbed to death and two others injured in a confrontation at Pico Gardens housing project.

There was the United Nations stunt, when the Avakianites drenched U.S. and Soviet deputy delegates with red paint. But the most dramatic was a pistol-waving assault on the Chinese embassy in Washington in January 1979 protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). After a lower court had dismissed charges, on appeal federal prosecutors won reindictment on charges which could total 241 years imprisonment for Avakian and 16 other "Mao Tse-tung Defendants." Sizing up the meaning of Reagan's election, the RCP "Chairman" fled to France. That Avakian ran to Paris rather than to someplace like "socialist Albania" is about the only sign of sanity in this whole insane affair.

At the time that the more staid Jarvisite pro-China reformists split from the Avakianites three years ago, we wrote:

> "An unstable, demagogic tendency, the Avakian faction is capable of both extreme adventurism and slavish capitulation to the worst backwardness of the working class. The post-split RCP will likely be simply a personality cult, crassly opportunist, violently sectarian and programmatically extremely unstable. It could go anywhere—from trying to seize Solidarity House to blocking with the Ku Klux Klan (as it did in hailing the anti-busing mobilizations in Boston and Louisville as 'fightback')."
>
> —"RCP Splits!" *WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978

This has certainly been borne out as the RCP has gone every which way but loose. While the CPML harks back to early New Left social-democratic populism, the RCP is reverting to a Weatherman period.

With Avakian and Klonsky out of the picture, who's left in the Maoist firmament? Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party (CWP), once the most obscure of obscure Mao sects, was thrust into national attention as a result of the brutal November 1979 Greensboro KKK/Nazi massacre of five CWP workers. As the CPML falls apart and the RCP parades around cloud-cuckoo land, the CWP appears as the only run-of-the-mill Maoist group on the scene—yet the Tungites are plenty out of kilter themselves. In the case of the NASSCO 3, unionists at a San Diego shipyard trapped in frame-up bomb charges, CWP supporters couldn't differentiate between union militants and a well-known provocateur who goes around talking of blowing up power stations.

The CWP ("Gang of Four" supporters who split from Progressive Labor in the early '70s), like many Maoist cult/sects, has been known for its wild gyrations between adventurism and opportunism. Following its "Death to the Klan" confrontations in the South and the tragic assassination of the Greensboro martyrs, the CWP has swung sharply to the right, trying to gain broad support through building popular fronts with the bourgeoisie. Last year they accurately labeled the National Black Independent Political Party as a bourgeois trap, while today they are beating the drums for the NBIPP. Now we learn that CWPers are not only attending church regularly but are teaching Sunday school. We also hear on the grapevine that Jerry Tung changed his line on the Russian question six months ago, though nothing has been said in public as yet.

With Whimpers and Bangs

Most likely the CPML and RCP will not long survive the departure of their respective maximum leaders. More importantly, this dramatic double-exit throws a sharp light on the death throes of American Maoism. As we noted a year ago, when the Maoists were beating the drums for Carter/Brzezinski's Cold War frenzy over Afghanistan:

> "The rapprochement of China with American capitalism has demonstrated that the Maos and Dengs, under the guise of building 'socialism' in *their* country are as willing to sell out revolution as the Stalins and Brezhnevs—and prepared to join a global counterrevolutionary alliance with the main imperialist power, aimed at breaking the strength of the main anti-capitalist power (the Soviet Union), besides. Increasingly confronted by the reality of these betrayals, the Maoist movement has degenerated into a collection of politically irrelevant sects like Progressive Labor, macho cults like Avakian's RCP, or open apologists for U.S. imperialism à la Klonsky."
>
> —"Maoists United with Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February 1980

How, then, can you fight draft registration, initiated by Jimmy Carter as part of his anti-Soviet war drive, if like China and the CPML you actively support CIA-backed feudalists in Afghanistan? It's no accident that in the last year the Klonskyites have waffled all over the map on military conscription for the imperialist war machine. Responding to the same Cold War pressures, the Stalinists-without-a-country of Progressive Labor have recently come out for *volunteering* for the U.S. army (see "PL 'Picks Up the Gun' for Uncle Sam," *Young Spartacus* No. 91, May 1981).

Or what about El Salvador? At the May 3 Salvador demonstration in Washington, far and away the largest protest of this kind since the Vietnam War, the CPML was nowhere to be seen while the RCP's presence was minimal. The only exception was the CWP, with Tung speaking at the reformist/liberal PAM rally. The reason for the Maoists' embarrassment is obvious. How can they unequivocally oppose the bloody U.S.-backed Salvadoran junta without being seen as aiding "Soviet social-imperialism"? Thus Avakian's *Revolutionary Worker* (27 March) warns:

> "None of this implies that the Soviet Union is giving up and just leaving Central America to the U.S.—far from it. In fact, it is preparing to make a grab for it in the future while attempting to increase its influence in the region."

At the May 3 protest it was the right-wing Reaganite counterdemonstrators who chanted "End Soviet imperialism" and "USSR and Cuba out of El Salvador."

Aside from the specifically Maoist aspects of their present crisis, what is going on with the CPML and RCP more generally reflects the response of ex-New Lefters to their stagnation and decline during the dog days of the late 1970s. They yearn for the late '60s, when they had a mass audience. But where the New Left moved from social-democratic populism to the left—from cheers for Kennedy's "New Frontier" and "part of the way with LBJ" to "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is gonna win"—now many Maoists are looking for a populist road out of their present isolation by competing with Reaganism on its own terrain of racist reaction.

Following ex-New Left honcho Tom Hayden, now a loser Democratic Party politico, CPML leader Lyn Wells declared at an anti-KKK conference this January: "Why does [California senator] Jarvis have to lead a tax movement? Why can't we lead one?" Why not? Revolutionary socialists have no program for how the capitalist state should finance its programs; generally we abstain on tax referenda, pointing out that tax cuts are almost always followed by wage-cutting inflation. But the present tax revolt is really the "white backlash" at one or two removes—a racist middle-class mobilization to cut back social services in general and especially government aid to minorities, the unemployed and poor. Perhaps the CPML's next slogan will be, "They say cut back! We say cut back!"

We are witnessing the final demoralization of the "classless" New Left. As the CPML Interim Political Committee noted about its own crisis: "All this was happening at a time when the right wing was on the warpath and Reagan galloped into office." Lacking a proletarian Bolshevik program enabling them to swim against the stream, the degenerated Maoists want to go with the tide of reaction. The response of the Trotskyist Spartacist League is quite the opposite. In a recent forum, SL central committee member George Foster warned about political dives by so-called leftists in the face of Reagan reaction:

> "We're going to see other stuff, too, a loss of nerve and a loss of will. Which is going to find a program: run and hide, drop out. Suddenly Michael Harrington and DSOC seem to be the wave of the future—right?—we'll work in the Democratic Party. That stuff is going to find a program."
>
> —"Facing the Reagan Years," *WV* No. 273, 30 January

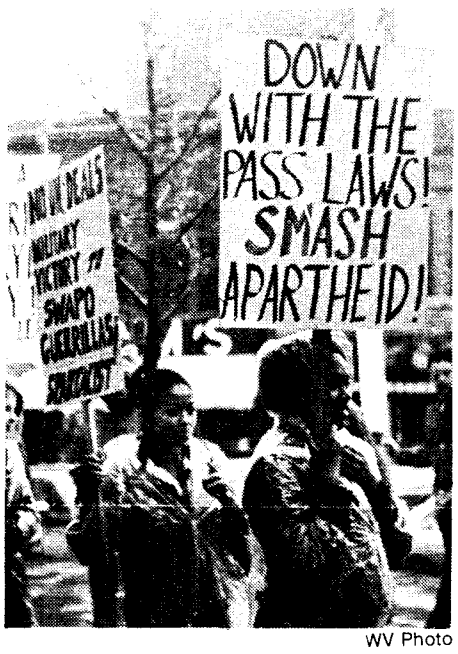
The disintegrating New Left Maoists have found this program. As some of these big-talking hotshots flee for asylum, others seek refuge in the Harrington/Kennedy camp of Democratic Party liberalism and still others are heading down the road of American nativist social-populism. Unlike these impressionistic and weak-willed petty-bourgeois radicals, as Marxists we understand that the popularity of the Reagan "honeymoon" is superficial. The war drive against the Soviet Union and the drive to step up the exploitation of American workers, intensifying virtually every form of social oppression, will produce a new wave of class struggle. And the Trotskyists will be there fighting to lead the working class and its allies to power. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

nationalist governments.

As a first step in this direction, Reagan supporters in Congress have been trying (so far unsuccessfully) to overturn the Clark Amendment, adopted in 1975 to prevent direct U.S. overt or covert aid to pro-South African guerrillas in Angola against the Cuban/Soviet-backed MPLA. U.S. military aid to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement would not in itself change the relation of forces in Angola. (Savimbi already gets all the weapons he needs from South Africa.) But reversing the Clark Amendment would be a declaration of political solidarity with South Africa and a virtual declaration of war on Angola, which is already subject to frequent air and land attacks by South African forces. Given Reagan's bellicosity, an attempt to reverse the imperialists' 1976 defeat in Angola by another Washington-backed South African invasion is possible.



WV Photo

Ann Arbor, May 13: SYL protests apartheid state foreign minister Roelof Botha.

Military Victory to SWAPO!

South African troops and settlers took possession of Namibia, the former German Southwest Africa, a mineral-rich but barren territory lying between South Africa and Angola, during World War I. Seventy thousand South African and black puppet troops are still there, preserving Namibia's wealth for the apartheid rulers and holding off the forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been waging guerrilla war for 15 years to win Namibian independence. Diplomatic moves sponsored by black African states to force South Africa out of the territory culminated in 1978 with a United Nations resolution calling for a UN "peacekeeping" force to oversee elections for an independent Namibian government. The Carter administration backed that unanimous Security Council resolution, and South Africa reluctantly claimed to accept it.

Three years later, however, nothing has changed. South Africa continues to wage a murderous military campaign to suppress SWAPO and massacre its supporters based in Angola. And the U.S., under Reagan and Haig, is running interference internationally for the apartheid butchers. The State Department now says that a Cuban withdrawal from Angola must precede any moves to get South Africa out of Namibia. Haig insists that there is "no deadline" for a South African withdrawal and the State Department, together with other NATO powers, is trying to alter the terms of the UN independence mandate to insure a pro-U.S./South African regime in any "independent" Namibia.

The key to imperialist plans to frustrate self-determination for the peoples of South-West Africa is the so-called UN "Transitional Assistance Group," a force of 7,500 troops which would supervise elections and the transfer of power. Foreign minister Botha, mindful of growing hard-line apartheid pressure on his government back home, told Reagan that such a UN force was no longer acceptable to Pretoria because it would be "biased" in favor of SWAPO. And there is no doubt that in any reasonably fair election SWAPO would soundly defeat the South African puppets at the polls.

Revolutionaries stand for the military victory of SWAPO and the complete withdrawal of *all* South African or United Nations troops from South-West Africa! As the Korean people know only too well, there is no such thing as a neutral "peacekeeping" force. UN troops, no matter what their country of origin, would only substitute for direct imperialist intervention. With the imperialist powers united in their determination to prevent a Soviet-allied nationalist government from assuming power in Namibia, any UN force would seek to disarm SWAPO militants and impose a "coalition" regime amenable to South African pressure.

That SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma now looks to the UN (and through it to the U.S.) to bring his movement to power reflects more than SWAPO's military weakness. The experience of Zimbabwe should warn working people in South-West Africa of what can be expected from an imperialist-arranged "solution" of the Namibian independence struggle. Robert Mugabe's ZANU government, eased into power by elections overseen by British troops, runs a strikebreaking, anti-working class regime. Despite South African fears about his so-called "Marxist" militancy and anti-Western aims, Mugabe has refused to expropriate the white settler landlords and has yet to allow the Soviets even to open an embassy in Salisbury! Little different could be expected from an independent Namibia born out of a U.S. imperialist deal with the apartheid rulers.

The only road toward genuine independence from imperialism is socialist revolution in southern Africa. Above all, this means workers revolution to smash the South African white supremacist regime. The black working class of South Africa occupies a strategic position in the heart of the industrial powerhouse of the continent. Black workers have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery and free the entire region from the white racist gold-and-diamond capitalists of South Africa. South Africa out of Namibia! No to UN troops, military victory to SWAPO! For a socialist federation of southern Africa! ■

"Pontiac Brothers"...

(continued from page 3)

and more blacks responded to jury duty call than is normally the case. The result was a jury which did not buy.

The prosecution knew it had no case, so it simply concocted a scenario whereby prison gangs grew tired of fighting each other and banded together to get the guards. But prisoner and guard witnesses called by the state repeatedly contradicted themselves and their immediate post-riot stories, while charges that prisoners had been bribed were verified.

Meanwhile, throughout the trial, defense lawyers were harassed with contempt charges and refusals of fee. Now after the verdict a livid Illinois senate appropriations committee has refused to grant funds to complete the payment of defense lawyers for acting as public defenders and may force them into court just to get their fees settled!

The depth of the prosecution's bankruptcy is illustrated by an incident which occurred during the summary of head prosecutor Thomas Breen. When Breen asked rhetorically whether the jury really believed that the state of Illinois would perpetrate the frame-up alleged by the defense, jurors began to nod visibly! Breen abruptly requested a five-minute recess and came back to announce that the state rested. Shortly thereafter, the not-guilty verdict was in.

It all reminds one of the famous 1969 frame-up of 21 New York City Black Panther members on charges of plotting to bomb public buildings, a case in which the jury immediately acquitted and denounced the entire prosecution through the press.

Three of the ten Pontiac defendants had completed their original prison sentences and were released the night of the verdict. One had been cleared of the original charge and now stands vindicated as a completely innocent man whom the state of Illinois attempted to fry because he was poor, black and a prisoner. But seven remain in prison, six are still awaiting trial on charges of murder, and another six prisoners have trials still pending downstate on lesser riot charges.

None of these prisoners are safe! Now that all the Pontiac Brothers stand a chance at acquittal there is nothing to stop prison guards from handing down their "own" sentences. In an incredibly provocative statement, prosecutor Breen lamented that in light of the verdict "no prison guard will be safe now." One can imagine eager prison guards rubbing their hands together at the prospect of insuring their own safety! *All* the Pontiac Brothers must be freed now!

In this racist society, mass unemployment and ghettoization breed crime, violence and police terror and pack the prisons with the desperate, mainly minority poor. Marxists solidarize with prison rebellions while emphasizing that the real solution lies in a radical overturn of society through workers revolution. As we wrote in the aftermath of the desperate 1971 Attica prison rebellion:

> "The prison system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished. While it is correct to struggle for demands which meet the immediate needs of the prisoners, it is essential that we raise the banner of Smash the Prisons! We must point out that the main bulk of the reforms proposed can only be realized when bourgeois property relations are overthrown. To abolish the prisons, we must abolish the bourgeois state of which they are part, and the class in whose interests that state is administered."
>
> —"Massacre at Attica,"
> *WV* No. 1, October 1971

Drop the Charges! Free the Remaining Pontiac Brothers! ■

Local 600...

(continued from page 12)

Fraser, just like every other member of the Chrysler board of directors, helped to rip up the Chrysler contract over and over, while the plant closings and layoffs continued unabated. The RMC and other militants from Local 600 and Local 140 (Dodge Truck) pointed the way forward for workers at Lynch Road and other Chrysler plants being put on the scrap heap after the bankers had bled them dry. When the companies pleaded bankruptcy, they called for sit-down strikes and for a workers' auction to seize and dispose of the Chrysler assets—without a penny of "compensation" to the bloodsucking bosses. The RMC program of audacious class struggle stood out sharply against all the phony social-democratic nationalization and bail-out schemes cooked up in Washington.

Rinaldi Spits on Ranks: "You're Gone, I'll Be Here"

While the incumbent bureaucrats in Local 600, president Mike Rinaldi and his running mates, Ernest Lofton and Bob King, were working overtime to secretly negotiate pay cuts for Rouge steel workers, the RMC cut through the lie that the company's offensive against the union can't be fought. At the Dearborn Assembly Plant, Rouge Steel Division and Michigan Casting, the RMC called for sit-down strikes and a union-wide fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This struck a chord among militant auto workers who know full well that whether the UAW wins or Ford wins is a question of strength. Rinaldi's contempt for the UAW membership comes through loud and clear. Every couple of weeks he appears on the 6 o'clock TV news in Detroit to promise that if only the "Deuce" (Henry Ford II) comes back and makes some lousy promise to keep Michigan Casting Center open for a while, he (Rinaldi) will reach into auto workers' wallets and give their money to Ford Motor Company in Chrysler-style "concessions." At a meeting of over 700 MCC workers, many with eight or ten years seniority and facing permanent layoff, Rinaldi arrogantly told angry workers that: "Long after you're gone, I'll still be here."

The other slates in Local 600 offer more of the same. Walter Dorosh (Local 600 president and chairman of the National Negotiating Committee for ten years), Larry Bronson and Bill Brown are praying Rouge workers have a short memory. They hope workers will forget it was Dorosh who gave away thousands of dollars in COLA money in 1967, while he let hundreds of scabs into the plant during the 67-day strike. But Rouge workers remember the brother who was shot at the Local 600 hall in 1973 for protesting the revotes that Woodcock and Dorosh held until the count came out the way Ford wanted.

Meanwhile, a shaky lash-up calling itself the "United Front Slate" briefly put forward Nick Qasem for Local president. The main operators in this maneuver were the skilled-trades-based "Local 600 Organizer" and the misnamed "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW." Their idea of a militant union was to *oppose sitdowns* at the Steel Division and Michigan

NLRB Takes Up Anwar Case

CHICAGO—An important development in the picket line case of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) member Keith Anwar was announced here May 11. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) office for the Chicago-Gary area has issued a decision invalidating a previous arbitrator's ruling and accused Inland Steel Company of engaging in unfair labor practices in firing the USWA Local 1010 militant. Anwar, an apprentice millwright at Inland in East Chicago, Indiana had honored a picket line set up by another USWA local at his plant in 1979.

Anwar acted in defense of a tradition that built the industrial unions in this country—picket lines mean don't cross! And the thousands of District 31 steel workers who signed petitions, mailed postcards, fought in union meetings and donated hard-earned cash to the campaign to reinstate Anwar are still foursquare behind him. Although the case has been on ice since the arbitrator's decision last December, the shop floors and corridors of Local 1010 were buzzing with the news the minute a leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee (KADC) hit the plant.

The bosses at Inland Steel immediately stated their intent to appeal, thus barring Anwar's return to the job. They doubtless intend to litigate the case to the hilt, with ample resources drawn from the corporation's immense profits. Anwar supporters say they are collecting funds for what will be a costly and arduous legal battle.

In a motion passed at Local 1010 in June 1980 the local pledged to take the case to the NLRB, but the KADC notes that its central problem still is to get the local to back the case in *action*. What is needed is not only full union financial backing, but also that the union actively participate in the case and mobilize the ranks to take action against the company. Local president Bill Andrews and District 31 director Jim Balanoff (both so-called progressive "dissidents" in the union) have dragged their feet at every crucial point in the case and welched on turning every paper motion into action. Not one penny of the thousands of dollars collected from the membership by the Anwar defense committee has come from USWA coffers! A KADC leaflet issued May 19 observed that "Local 1010 is the biggest local in the USWA, with millions of dollars dues money... only a few months ago the local gave several hundred dollars to send police forces belonging to the strikebreaking Lake County Sheriff's department to the Rose Bowl. Meanwhile, Anwar's NLRB suit has yet to get the time of day in this local! We've got to turn things around and start fighting for *labor's interests*."

All Balanoff cares about right now is back-slapping to keep his job against Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works and a supporter of USWA International President Lloyd McBride, in an election set for May 28. But beyond this, bureaucrats of both the "progressive" and more conservative, pro-USWA International ilk are terrified by the militant traditions of the 1930s. These fakers never set up picket lines themselves because they negotiate and honor sellout no-strike agreements with the companies.

The NLRB is no friend of labor because it is an arm of the bosses government—steel workers cannot rely on such means to defend the principles of class struggle. In fact, the whole purpose of such government bodies is to prevent strikes by channeling unrest into time-consuming legal quibbling. And the whole point of the Anwar case is to show that gains are won by class struggle, not legalistic maneuvers. This case should never have come before the NLRB because Anwar should never have been fired in the first place. Unions must honor picket lines, the battle lines in the class struggle, and use the strike weapon if necessary to prevent victimizations!

In the face of plant closings and tens of thousands of layoffs, the District 31 leadership under Jim Balanoff has done exactly nothing. A clear victory for Anwar could play an important part in reversing this chain of defeats. When Anwar walks back into the plant, labor solidarity will get a big shot in the arm. Balanoff and his fellow bureaucrats may not wise up, but the thousands of rank-and-file members who have supported this case will continue to fight because they know that to defend the picket line is to defend the union.

Casting unless and until the International calls for them! (The political leaders of the CMDUAW are an Ann Arbor student-based group which defends scabbing as a "tactical" question.) But the ill-fated block soon fell apart as Qasem withdrew as presidential candidate. Thus on June 9-11 Rouge workers will have the choice of voting for class-struggle candidate Frank Hicks for president, or the Tweedledum-Tweedledee Rinaldi/Dorosh candidates of the giveaway Fraser bureaucracy.

Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

Brothers Hicks and DuBois are the *only* candidates for top office in River Rouge who defend black workers against rising Klan/Nazi terror. When the Nazis opened up a bookstore to organize their racist terror less than a mile from the Local 600 hall in 1977-78, Rinaldi and the rest of the Rouge bureaucrats set up a "labor-community council"... to guarantee that the anger of the workers would be channeled into "peaceful, legal pressure" on Mayor Coleman Young—whose cops were defending the Nazi headquarters. Brother Hicks instead fought for the UAW to take the lead in organizing a united-front demonstration at the Nazis' lair, to drive the fascist race-terrorists out of Detroit.

When in 1979 Hicks and DuBois, together with other militants, mobilized Dearborn Assembly Plant workers to drive out two foremen who wore Klan hoods in the plant, Rinaldi and Lofton covered for the company and allowed the foremen to be transferred to suburban plants. And when the RMC candidates built the successful 10 November 1979 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square to stop the Klan from riding in Detroit, the Local 600 bureaucrats opposed it. Instead they sent a telegram to Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter pleading with him to "investigate those responsible" in Greensboro. The "investigation" by the racist, capitalist state resulted a year later in the acquittal of these fascist killers.

In a recent interview with *WV*, Rouge Militant vice-presidential candidate Charles DuBois stressed that the UAW must *lead* the fight for blacks and other minorities, for genuine equality:

> "Our union misleaders don't fight racist conceptions or the racist status quo, and in fact perpetuate it so that blacks, Arabs, women and other minorities aren't represented proportionately in skilled trades, for instance. The labor misleaders pretend to be color-blind, but as long as workers hold the conception that there are a limited amount of jobs, white workers will see gains for blacks and minorities as at their expense.
>
> "We want to use our union's power and organization to answer the cries of working-class and ghetto youth to fight for jobs for all, with aggressive recruitment of minorities and women to learning skills, upgrading their jobs, and put an end to blacks and Arabs being segregated into the more dangerous and dirtiest jobs. And when we, and our program, are running the show, Local 600, not "911," will be the emergency-line to call whenever the fascists with their sheets and swastikas dare to raise their scurvy heads.
>
> "We want to show the workers and oppressed masses the power of black and white workers smashing the Klan, and fighting the bosses side by side to create genuine equality with a new and just social order."

A Program to Win: Detroit to El Salvador

The RMC candidates are the *only* ones who have fought for real labor solidarity against the capitalist offensive and Reagan's reactionary Cold War drive. During the 110-day 1978 miners strike, brother Hicks campaigned in the Steel Division's Rolling Mill Unit demanding the International shut down the Big Three auto companies when Jimmy Carter slapped the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction on the miners. But Rinaldi would only collect canned beans and Fraser did everything in his power to bolster the sellout Miller leadership which was sabotaging the miners strike at every step.

Now with a civil war raging in El Salvador, the RMC stands with the workers and peasants of that embattled land, facing a murderous U.S.-backed military junta. More than $500 was collected in the plant to send a delegation of militant Rouge workers to Washington on May 3 to join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the only group standing for the military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. In a leaflet to the plant these brothers said:

> "The labor movement in America must do everything in its power to help workers and peasants in El Salvador *win*... if Reagan sends in the Marines, the UAW must be prepared to strike against it!"

But the International bureaucrats tell workers in El Salvador to make a deal with the junta butchers, just like they tell Chrysler and Ford workers to knuckle under to the companies' union-busting takeaway demands.

While the bootlickers who sit in Solidarity House push their "love the companies, hate Japanese auto workers" campaign, Reagan whips up the same chauvinist frenzy in his war drive against the Soviet deformed workers state. Hicks and DuBois' forthright defense of foreign workers is a powerful answer to the racist "Buy American" crap from Rinaldi and Dorosh and the cowardly refusal of the (now headless) United Front Slate to even mention the bureaucracy's poisonous protectionism.

There is not much any of the capitalist politicians can do about the deteriorating economy and they are no longer faking it. Chrysler chief Iacocca says: "It's freeze time boys." And the UAW bureaucrats make sure the ranks stay in cold storage. All the empty talk of the union's "great militant tradition" just stays on the shelf. All that Fraser & Co. offer auto workers was summed up in one of their banners at last year's UAW convention: "Hungry? Eat a Toyota."

A *workers party* is urgently needed to stop these savage attacks and put the bosses and their capitalist politicians on the run. Detroit today is more like "Murder City" than "Motor City"—with the Big Three holding the gun and Fraser pulling the trigger. The weekly "indefinitely unemployed" figures drop only because workers are losing their recall rights. Today's workers with ten years seniority have no more security than "89-day probationaries," and the hottest-selling newspaper is the *Houston Chronicle* advertising jobs in Texas. While the government and auto bosses slash jobs and living standards, the Klan and Nazis attack blacks in their homes. What is most criminal of all, the cowardly racist sellout UAW leadership cracks the whip of austerity to prove their "good faith" to the bosses.

The Rouge Militant Caucus is the only group in Local 600 with the program and guts to put this once-proud union back on its feet. They are the only ones to call for sit-down strikes against mass layoffs, labor/black defense guards against fascist terror—the kind of militant union action that built the UAW in the class battles of the '30s. These are the only candidates who fight for a workers party and a workers government, for a socialist planned economy to eliminate the boom-bust economic chaos that has put *half a million* auto industry workers out of jobs since 1977. RMC candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois tell it straight and fight for their program and their fellow workers. Brother Hicks has been a dedicated union man at Rouge for more than eight years, both at the foundry and in Maintenance and Construction. Brother DuBois is a three-year UAW militant in M & C who ran for convention delegate last year. Both were among the organizers and speakers at the November 1979 Kennedy Square "stop the Klan" rally. The Rouge Militant Caucus has lived up to its responsibility to *lead*, their program offers auto workers a way out. Vote Hicks and DuBois! ■

CORRECTIONS

A picture caption on page 3 of our last issue (*WV* No. 280, 8 May), in the article on elections in United Steelworkers Chicago-Gary district, referred to Southworks as the home local of District 31 director Balanoff. As the article stated, the U.S. Steel plant is the home local of former district director and Balanoff supporter Sadlowski.

In *WV* No. 277 (26 March), the article on an anti-deportation demo in Los Angeles refers to the endorsement of Phil Russo of the ILWU; it should have read ILGWU. Also, the Valley City College chapter of CISPES did not endorse although individual members participated in the demonstration. The endorsement came from the UCLA chapter of CISPES.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois for Rouge President, V.P.!

For a Fighting UAW Local 600!

DETROIT—Local union elections take place this month throughout the United Auto Workers (UAW)—but there will be no elections at Dodge Main, Lynch Road, Pico Rivera, Mahwah and a host of other plants which have fallen victim to factory shutdowns and the wrecking ball. And in hundreds of UAW shops around the country, *several hundred thousand* UAW members have been thrown onto the unemployment lines. Yet the entire union bureaucracy, from International president Doug Fraser on down, does nothing but demand more sacrifices from the ranks in order to restore the bosses' profits.

Now at the UAW's largest and potentially most powerful local, Ford's River Rouge Local 600 in Dearborn, beleaguered auto workers have a chance to vote for candidates with a class-struggle program and a proven record as fighters who can stand up to the companies and defend the workers' interests worldwide. Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois, running for local president and first vice president respectively, show the way for auto workers to *win* against the capitalist crisis.

Fraser and his crew of "progressive" social-democratic capitulators in Solidarity House have spent the last three years ripping up gain after gain that UAW members fought for. COLA is gone at Chrysler; the industry-wide contract is a thing of the past; Dodge Main, the home of the sit-down strike for Chrysler workers in 1937, is plowed under; the fascist terror that UAW militants fought and defeated in order to establish the union rears its head every week in Detroit.

Auto workers now face the "choice" they had rammed down their throats in the days before the union—take a pay cut or the bosses will throw you on the street. And where is the UAW leadership? Sitting with the bosses on the board of directors! There is a class line between workers and bosses, between the company and the union, and those who cross it are scabs and traitors! Hicks and DuBois say: Oust the Bureaucrats—Make Local 600 a Fighting Union Again! For a Class-Struggle UAW!

Fraser: UAW Means "U Ain't Working"

The RMC candidates have fought against the plant closings and "concessions" blackmail from Dodge Main to Michigan Casting. When the International abandoned 5,000 Chrysler workers at the historic Dodge Main plant, brother Hicks fought at Rouge for a perspective of sit-down strikes to spark a militant fight for jobs. In June 1979 all three shifts of the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit passed Hicks' motion calling for "the International Union to organize a plant occupation/sitdown strike at Dodge Main and other plants slated for closing."

Even the smallest, weakest union at least pretends to defend its membership—but not the gang of sellout "democratic socialists" and "labor statesmen" at Solidarity House.

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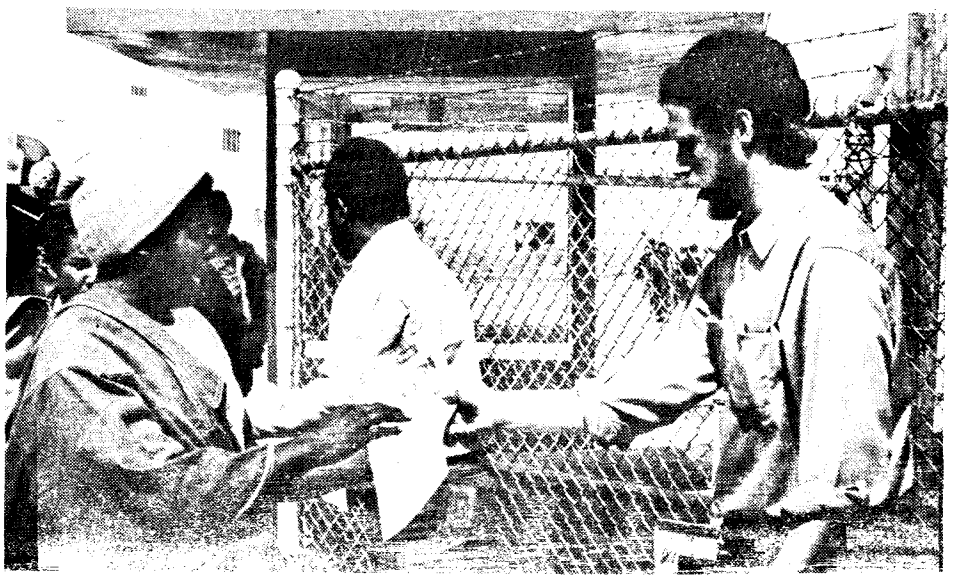

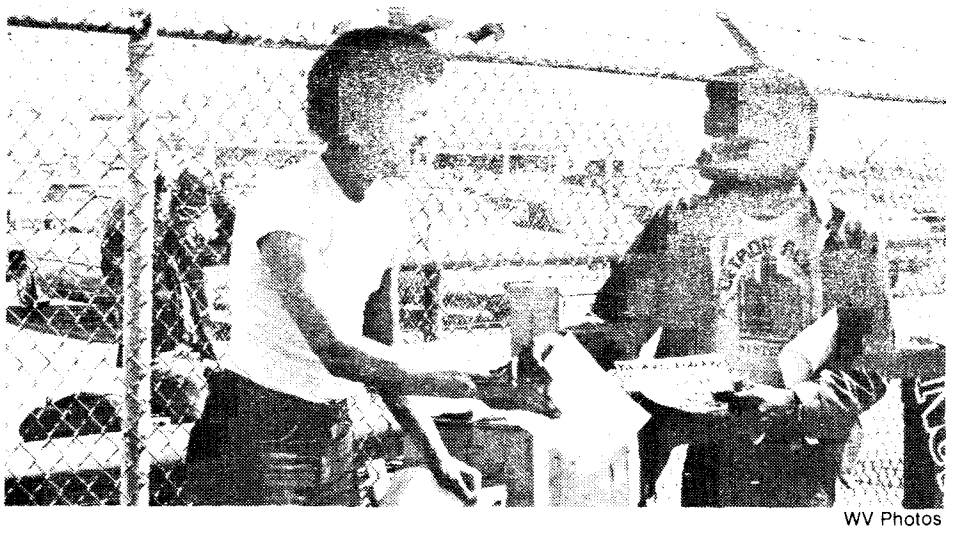

WV Photos

Frank Hicks (above), Charles DuBois (below) call for labor/black defense against Klan/Nazis, a workers party to fight for a workers government.

We are the Rouge Militant Caucus candidates

We are running on our record of leading militant fights against Ford's assault on our union and the betrayals of the UAW International. The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't wait until election time and proclaim "vote for me and I'll set you free." Every day, on every issue we fight to put the power of our union to work for us. A vote for Hicks and DuBois is a vote *against* plant closings and concessions, a vote *against* Klan/Nazi racist terror, and a vote *for* putting the workers in this country in the drivers seat!

We are the Caucus that:

- Fights to mobilize the membership against the concessions blackmail that Fraser and Rinaldi help the companies ram down our throats. From Dodge Main to Lynch Road the government/company phony bailout scheme means misery and total ruin for Chrysler workers. Let's shove it to Ford with mass sitdown strikes to stop them from closing Michigan Casting and the Frame Plant! What's more important, Ford's profits or our jobs?
- Organizes labor/black mobilizations to crush Klan/Nazi terror. We led over 1000 DAP workers to drive out the two Klan-hooded foremen, while Rinaldi and Lofton covered for these racists and let the company transfer them to Wixom and Wayne. When the KKK murdered five people in Greensboro and threatened to celebrate it in downtown Detroit, we built a 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square to make damn sure that the Klan wouldn't ride in the Motor City!
- Stands for a fight against Reagan's war on working people, minorities and the poor. The bureaucrats on the Rinaldi and Dorosh slates push the "Buy American" crap to defend Ford's profits while our jobs go to hell. Their racist anti-Japanese campaign is just what Reagan wants to help him whip up a patriotic frenzy for his anti-Soviet war drive, beginning with the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants in El Salvador. The UAW mis-leaders paved the way for Reagan with their support for Carter and other anti-labor, racist Democratic Party politicians. We are the *only* candidates in Local 600 who stand for a break with both the bosses parties and a fight for a workers party and a workers government!