

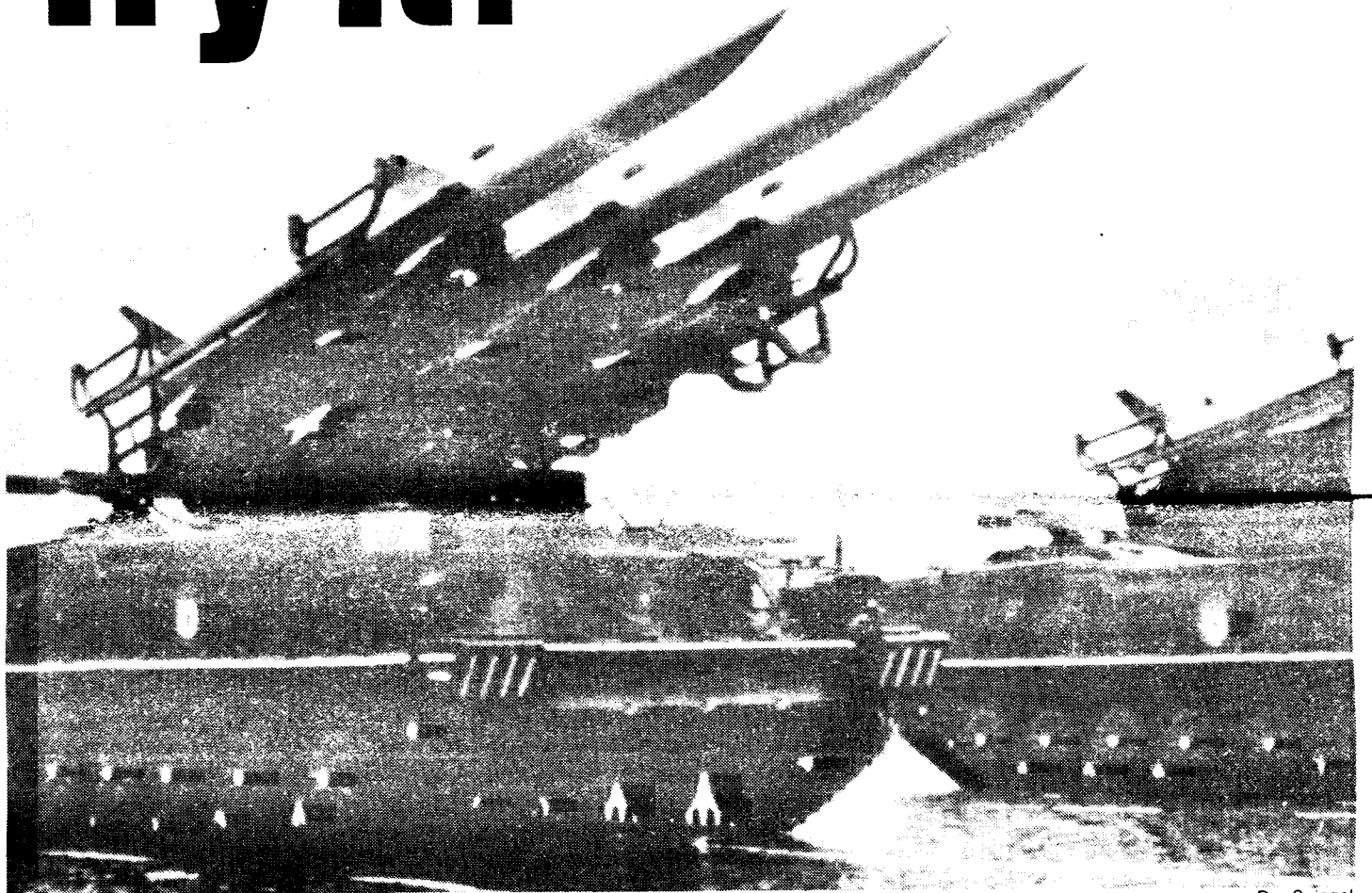
U.S. Plots Nuclear War, Anti-Soviet "Rollback"

Russians to Reagan: Don't Try It!

U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua, Poland!

NOVEMBER 9—The Soviets are fed up with Ronald Reagan, with his crusade to "roll back Communism" and his nuclear threats to blow them off the face of the earth. At the annual Kremlin celebration of the Russian Revolution yesterday, Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) general secretary Leonid Brezhnev warned the Cold War adventurers in Washington that "every potential aggressor should know: a crushing retaliatory strike will inevitably be for him." The CPSU chief added, "Our might and vigilance will cool, I think, the hot heads of some imperialist politicians" (*New York Times*, 8 November). But it will take more than military strength to defeat the imperialists, who have vowed to restore capitalism to Russia ever since it was overthrown in October 1917, and whose leading forces are today hell-bent on regaining the military superiority over the Soviet Union they had immediately after the Second World War when Russia lay in ruins. The U.S. imperialists want nuclear blackmail, and they intend to use it.

Two weeks ago Brezhnev had addressed an unusual gathering of the command personnel of the Soviet army and navy, condemning "Washington's aggressiveness which is threatening to push the world into the flames of a nuclear war" (TASS dispatch, 27 October). After 20 months of an unrequited "peace offensive," Moscow finally drew some negative conclusions from the multi-trillion-dollar U.S. nuclear arms buildup (already begun under the Democrat Carter and his sinister adviser, Brzezinski). The Soviet



Soviet surface-to-air missiles: Russian arsenal gives U.S. Dr. Strangeloves pause.

leader accused Reagan of "adventurism, rudeness and undisguised selfishness." Only mentioning "détente" once in passing, Brezhnev stressed the need to "tirelessly strengthen defenses" and "perfect combat readiness." The central Soviet priorities are now good grain production and military preparedness, and in the areas of advanced weapons and military hardware, he declared, any lag in competition is "inadmissible."

American rulers took umbrage at the Brezhnev speech. The Establishment was concerned. The *New York Times* (3 November) published an editorial, "From Russia with Worry," urging Brezhnev not to take Reagan at face value. U.S. secretary of war Caspar Weinberger, on the other hand, seized upon the speech to fulminate against the

Democrats' nuke "freeze" referenda. In a classic case of a robber crying "thief," he accused the Soviets of using détente for an "intensified quest for military superiority." Who does he think he's kidding? The Reaganites have openly proclaimed their goal of military superiority over the Soviets ever since the 1980 Republican platform. But now the Kremlin is digging in its heels. Last week Soviet Politburo member Viktor Grishin said bluntly the USSR would reply to the deployment of hundreds of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe with "the necessary countermeasures," vowing that they were determined to defend Soviet allies "from Cuba in the West to Vietnam in the East" (*Washington Post*, 6 November).

Reagan Exports Counterrevolution

Brezhnev accuses Reagan of "rudeness." That's an understatement of the decade. A few weeks ago, the State Department invited half the spies in Washington to a two-day public seminar on "Democratization of Communist Countries." The sponsors made no bones about openly fomenting counterrevolution around the globe. Secretary of State Shultz declared that the U.S., while supposedly not stirring up "violent unrest" in the Soviet bloc, would eagerly step in if someone fomented it anyway: "It is our responsibility...to

meet their calls of help. We must aid their struggle for freedom." Two generations of American high school kids were brought up on films of Nikita Khrushchev declaring, "We will bury you." That wasn't even a threat, merely a historical prediction. But here is the United States government openly avowing it seeks to overthrow governments throughout the Soviet bloc.

A second State Department confab in this series was held last week on the subject of "free elections," with invited delegates from the military dictatorships of Turkey and Argentina (they're for "free enterprise," anyway). This series of Washington seminars on exporting counterrevolution is the implementation of Ronald Reagan's call last June, in a speech to the British parliament, for a "crusade for freedom" to overthrow Communism around the world. They recall the statement by National Security Council adviser Richard Pipes, shortly after the Reagan inauguration last year, that the Soviet Union faced the choice of "changing the Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war." Pipes was rapped on the knuckles then, but only for putting things too bluntly.

Since then, the administration has made it amply clear with its talk of "demonstration bombs" and its plans to "prevail" in a "protracted nuclear war,"

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The Left After Lebanon:

From
"Arab Revolution"
to
Pax Americana

SEE PAGE SIX

Defend the Union—Defend Kathy Ikegami!

Stop Witchhunt of CWA Militant!

Militant San Francisco phone unionist Kathy Ikegami is the target of a vicious bureaucratic purge campaign in Local 9410 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Last July a flunky for Local 9410 president James Imerzel sprung the frame-up charges on elected delegate Ikegami, a local executive board member and a leader of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC), as she arrived at the CWA convention in Detroit. Imerzel was retaliating for MAC's role in unmasking union misleaders' collusion in secret phone company plans to drastically reduce the workforce through harassment, firings and layoffs. While MAC told the truth, Ma Bell's flunky Imerzel stonewalled with the lie that "no layoffs are projected," and launched his attempt to purge this effective fighter for the union members' interests.

CWA president Glenn Watts wound up the union's convention with a call to get MAC, and that's just what Imerzel is out to do. But phone workers have come to Kathy Ikegami's defense against the witchhunt. Over 400 Local 9410 members signed a petition demanding that the charges be dropped (see "Bureaucrats' Purge Trial in S.F. Phone Union," *WV* No. 313, 17 September). And since proceedings began on October 18, many members have attended the "trial" where Imerzel not only handpicked the jury, but also acts as prosecutor, witness and judge.

Now, according to the latest MAC leaflet, International representative R.W. Rivers, testifying for Imerzel, admitted that layoffs *are* going to hit PT&T workers in the Bay Area. The MAC leaflet also revealed that local secretary Joe McKenna admitted attending a Ku Klux Klan meeting. This is an outrage! Further, Imerzel plans to hold the trial during the daytime in order to prevent members from attending, at a projected cost of \$1,500 a day in union dues to pay for lost work time! We urge all phone workers to protest this atrocity. Defend the union—defend Kathy Ikegami!

We reprint below from an October 19 MAC leaflet Kathy Ikegami's opening statement to Imerzel's kangaroo court.

* * * * *

Let's get it straight from the very beginning. This is a political purge trial. These charges have been brought because I am in the Militant Action Caucus which is an effective, organized, political opposition to the policies of the National and local leadership. It is our right and our duty to put forward our disagreements with you. This attack is an attempt to take away the right of all the membership to oppose the union leadership's collaboration with the company. I defy you on every single count in these charges. These charges are worthless and are an indictment of your inability to deal with us politically.

This is a kangaroo court. It is not a jury of my peers. I do not expect a fair verdict from your handpicked jury. Therefore, what I have to say is for the benefit of the membership—who have a lot to lose if you get away with this.

Charge 1 says I willfully violated the bylaws by allegedly refusing to comply with the steward and committee appointment provisions. What does this mean in plain English? This means that I have not been a rubberstamp for the policies of Imerzel, specifically on the question of appointed stewards. I believe, and I think many members believe, and in fact, it's a practice in other locals and numerous other unions, that stewards must be elected by the members they represent. You want to appoint people to be beholden to you—I say no! On this basis I have, in general, voted against the appointment of any position. And, in fact, I have been prevented from voting for members who have submitted petitions from their work groups to be a steward. You have prevented me from doing so, because you cannot stand that I vote just like I said I would to the members who elected me and because I have a principled position on this question. Stewards are very important—they are the front line of defense for the members. In order for the union to be strong and united against the company, it is absolutely necessary that the stewards be accountable to the members they represent—not to who appoints them! Further, many of your supporters have used and are using their appointed positions as a stepping stone into management.

Other current and past executive board members have voted no on certain and sometimes all appointments. I am being singled out because of my consistent and effective opposition to your policies of collaboration.

Charge 2 is the real heart of this trial. Right at the top I am accused of being in the Militant Action Caucus which Imerzel says is "a self-proclaimed left-wing extremist political group of Trotskyist 'communists' affiliated with the Spartacist League." Alright, Imerzel, you show us! You know damn well that we are a political opposition to your policies and to the policies of the National you support, that long preceded your administration. MAC has been an organized opposition for over 12 years, long before you were elected by a membership that hoped you would be better than the regime before you. But you're not, as we said then, as we say now. You show us, where do we say this? We have every leaflet we've ever printed that say what we are. That's more than can be said of you. The most you can get it up to print is the racist, anti-gay, anti-union, scab-printed, red-baiting leaflet called "Malignant Action." That's the closest you have ever gotten to printing your real position on issues in this local. All this trial is is a McCarthyite,



WV Photo

Kathy Ikegami at CWA convention.

Meanyite, red-baiting attack in an attempt to purge a political opposition opposed to the policies of the National that you support. You want to ask me my political views? You go right ahead, and I'll answer you like I answer every member in this local who asks. Nothing that the caucus stands for is a secret, we say it and we print it.

We're charged with bringing the union into disrepute. What does this really mean? It means that you were caught with your pants down when we put out the 4/18 MAC leaflet telling the members that Ma Bell intended to drastically cut our jobs. Every statement we made in that leaflet is true. We are proud of our leaflet and that we printed this information as soon as we obtained it. The members know who they heard it from. Despite all your denials, all the company's denials, layoffs are happening and will continue to happen until this union gets off its knees and fights it.

Let me give you a chronology of facts: *March 18th:* the statewide company/union Technology Change Committee meets. The company says massive surpluses and asks the union to keep quiet. The members hear nothing.

March 24th: a letter from the company to District 9 stating their intent to surplus jobs and it mentions layoffs.

April 14th: 11502 stewards meeting—President Wood tells of company/union meeting. Company stated intention to surplus and layoff. Company asks union to keep it from the members for two weeks. Two weeks later, Wood talks.

April 18th: the MAC "News Bulletin" reports information from Wood on secret meeting and calls for strike action to defend our jobs against layoffs and surpluses.

April 25th: you deny everything.

May 6th: MAC leaflet further substantiates surpluses and layoffs with company documents.

May 13th: members who want to fight layoffs elect me as convention delegate.

July 10th: I arrive at the convention and am presented with your charges.

July 15th: the convention—Watts says get the MAC.

July 19th: company *Update*—construction budget cut, expects to cut workforce by over 16,000 by end of '83.

July 28th: San Francisco *Examiner*—PT&T to cut work force by 16,000. You're quoted—company says no layoffs.

September stewards bulletin: you deny any possibility of layoffs again repeating the company assurances.

September 9th: union tape—Malliett finally admits to surpluses.

October 12th: company letter to employees in Distribution Services—layoffs by the end of the year.

October 13th: union tape—you now claim you knew about the surpluses in Distribution Services since last April.

And now you admit layoffs will hit all over *except* San Francisco. Company assurances again!

You're a liar, Imerzel! You knew then and you know now. There are going to be layoffs. Call it whatever you want, members are going to lose their jobs. The company is emboldened by your lying and your sniveling policies. You are disarming the union by lying to the members at a time when it is absolutely necessary that we know about and act upon these company attacks.

To conclude—I have sat on the executive board for ten months and I have been the brunt of your sarcasm, your rudeness, your boorish behavior, your attacks, your physical threats, your undemocratic procedures. And now, with what you hope will be a final resolution to my opposition to your policies, you want to throw me out of the union. Are you going to expel every oppositionist in the union? How are you going to expel our ideas? How are you going to stop the members from fighting back against the harassment, the speed-up, the cutbacks, the surpluses, the layoffs? You depend on the passivity of the members—which was brought about by years and years of union collaboration with the company—in order to maintain your position. But we've stood up to more powerful people than you, and won. We've beat back attempts by the company to fire us. We've beat back the government for trying to stop our opposition to Carter at the '79 CWA convention. While you finked and lied to the Secret Service and to the *Detroit News*, we won an apology, \$3,500 from the Secret Service which we then donated to the union strike fund.

You may have your way in this first round with this kangaroo court—but you will not win in the end. We'll expose you for what you are to the members who elected you and to the thousands that don't vote because they're so fed up. You people are *nothing* compared to the membership. I stand with the membership. You stand with the National and they stand with the interests of the company. And when the members decide to strike and teach this company a lesson—it'll be you telling them to go back for less. And when that happens, you'll be quickly swept aside and replaced by leaders who want to lead this union to victory. (End of opening statement).

STOP THE KANGAROO COURT! Be there at the November 16th union meeting. Let's fight while we still have jobs. Join the Militant Action Caucus, the real fighters for the union. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Bay Area phone worker contingent marches for leftist victory in El Salvador on MAC initiative, March 27.



WV Photo

Coleman and Bradley Score 11 Percent in Black Districts

A Bolshevik Campaign in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—As the polls closed on election night November 2, supporters of Spartacist candidates Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors crowded into the Spartacist League (SL) office to celebrate the end of a hard-fought campaign. From the earliest returns, it soon became clear that we had scored well—over 10 percent—in several black and working-class districts where the campaign concentrated. When the final tallies were in, it was 6,326 votes for Bradley and 8,692 votes for Coleman—a solid showing for our black-centered, Soviet defensist, class-struggle campaign.

These were hard votes for our fighting program against Reagan's bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive and domestic war on labor and the poor. Coleman received just under 7,200 votes in 1980 when there was a bigger turnout and each voter could cast ballots for 11 candidates (instead of 5 this time). But the main difference in the 1982 vote is this: after two years of vicious cuts and rising unemployment, there is a broad anti-Reagan popular front, ranging from Lane Kirkland and the union bureaucrats through Tom Hayden, Ron Dellums and fake-leftists of every stripe, that is running hard to channel discontent into votes for the Democratic Party. Bradley and Coleman ran squarely counterposed to this "lesser-evil Democrats" lie and received thousands of votes as the only socialists on the ballot.

The Spartacist campaign exposed the Democrats' and liberals' favorite hobby-horses: we warned that the popular "nuke freeze" proposition (supported by Democratic and Republican candidates alike) was just an alternative program for arms buildup against the Soviet Union. Coleman/Bradley defended the Soviet Union and told the truth: "Imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat seizes power from the bourgeoisie and establishes its own class rule." The Spartacist candidates opposed Proposition 15 and all gun control measures as a mortal danger to blacks and workers in the face of rising Klan terror and killer cops. Against the "progressive" austerity politicians, the Spartacists counterposed a program of massive public works and a fight for jobs for all.

While Democrats gained against the Republicans nationally (though hardly the anti-Reagan landslide they had predicted), there was a right-wing advance in California. Social democratic Congressman Ron Dellums and Berkeley mayor Gus Newport only squeaked by. The two top vote-getters on the now all-Democratic SF Board of Supervisors were Wendy Nelder, daughter of a former police chief, and Richard Hongisto, former SF sheriff and head of the NY state prisons. In the contest for governor between two law-and-order pro-death penalty top cops, attorney general George Deukmejian edged out L.A. black mayor Tom Bradley by capitalizing on the almost two-to-one vote against the liberals' gun control proposition, and some not-so-



WV Photo

Taking the campaign to black workers at Bethlehem shipyards.

subtle appeals from the Deukmejian camp for a racist vote.

In the Senate race, Jerry Brown lost out to San Diego mayor Pete Wilson. Commentators blamed his "Governor Moonbeam" image, while Brown with his usual arrogance remarked, "I believe the people of California would like a respite from me, and in some ways I would like a respite from them." However, actress Jane Fonda's husband Tom Hayden bought himself a seat in the State Assembly by spending more than \$1.2 million, raised by his populist "Campaign for Economic Democracy." This was the most expensive assembly campaign in California history, costing almost one half as much as the right-wing Republicans' infamous NCPAC doled out nationally to try to unseat 14 Democrats.

San Franciscans looking to cast a mock-protest vote could find it in Sister Boom Boom (ballot designation: "Nun of the Above") who got 23,000 votes as a member of the transvestite Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence. Those voting for a soft "progressive" had Olga Talamante of the Democratic Workers Party and the Peace & Freedom Party which campaigned for Ron Dellums. Talamante got 18,000 votes on a reformist program of ballot schemes to tax the rich. They ran *with*, not against the Democratic Party stream. The Spartacist candidates won some thousands of votes running as the only proletarian tendency fighting against the capitalist parties. But in the present social climate of Cold War racist reaction the candidates of fascist terror groups have won hundreds of thousands of votes from North Carolina to the lily-white suburbs of Detroit to Orange County. This ominous trend must be reversed.

In fact, the Spartacist candidates were very nearly prevented from running as declared socialists and had to fight for the right to do so. The Registrar of Voters blatantly censored their ballot designations and excised all critical references to the Democratic Party in their voters pamphlet candidates' state-

ments (see "San Francisco Democrats' Dirty Tricks," Spartacist Candidates Beat Back Elections Censorship/Slander," WV No. 316, 29 October). As settlement of the suit, the Registrar mailed out to 300,000 voters the original version of the candidates' statements, restoring the slogans "Democrats—Enemies of Labor/Blacks" and "Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!" On election day, every ballot was prominently corrected to designate Bradley and Coleman as "socialist union militants." Thus the 6,000-8,000 votes received were hard programmatic votes—everyone knew where we stood.

In mapping out sites and neighborhoods for concentration, Spartacist campaign organizers planned to follow up on the high *Workers Vanguard* street sales and successful subscription drive among blacks and union members. The Spartacist candidates did best in black and Hispanic districts where historically election turnouts have been lower. Those who don't share the "American dream" have fewer illusions in the bogus parliamentarism that covers the capitalist rule of racism and unemployment. Most important were the dozens of individuals met during the campaign, the thoughtful and serious response to our politics which came from black workers, most of them unionists in their late 20s and 30s.

Citywide, Bradley and Coleman received 3.5 percent of the vote. But in numerous precincts in the mainly black Bayview/Hunters Point and Western Addition, and in parts of Potrero Hill and the Latino Mission District, the vote for Coleman/Bradley ran up to 10 and 11 percent. The Spartacist vote declined somewhat from Diana Coleman's 1980 vote in petty-bourgeois areas like Haight-Ashbury and the Castro district, where the numerous gay Democratic clubs were working overtime to mobilize the gay vote. During the last few weeks of the campaign, SL supporters worked intensively, being dispatched in teams to distribute 18,000 election brochures, put up 2,000 posters

and pass out 10,000 very popular *Workers Vanguard* supplements about the October 16 rout of the KKK in Boston.

The Spartacist candidates campaigned with coffee trucks at numerous union locations around the city. They talked with Muni transit drivers at their barns and union hall. At the ILWU Local 10 (warehouse) hiring hall, Bradley talked about the need to organize mass strike action against layoffs. At the September 21 CWA (phone worker) local meeting, and at an October 20 meeting of some 100 laid-off Bethlehem shipyard workers, Bradley and Coleman were applauded for their calls for sitdowns and strike action against shutdowns. They also called for throwing out the do-nothing union bureaucrats who tie workers and blacks to the twin parties of capitalism.

The difference between the Spartacist candidates who fought for the program of socialist revolution, and various pseudo-socialists who do the donkey work for the pro-capitalist labor fakers, was vividly seen at the October 24 SF march called under the slogan, "Vote Labor for Jobs and Justice." Local AFL-CIO, ILWU and Teamster labor tops canceled this year's Labor Day parade (last year ex-VP Walter Mondale was booed by angry workers chanting "PATCO!") in order to hold this pre-election rally for the Democrats.

While the Communist Party and Peace & Freedom were openly backing "progressive" anti-Reagan bourgeois candidates, a handful of centrists called a "Labor Party Contingent" to tag along at this Democratic Party pep-fest. The contingent was called by the tiny Revolutionary Workers League, whose prominent supporter Steve Zeltzer sits on the "central committee" of Peace & Freedom Party which endorsed Dellums; the Freedom Socialist Party, which joined the RWL in importuning California AFL-CIO head John Henning to form a reformist labor party; and (the only ones who actually showed up) the macho thugs of the International Workers Party (IWP), followers of

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Cold War Goons: The DSA Connection

Bloodhounds and Bureaucrats

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy which runs the American unions was forged in the postwar anti-communist witchhunts of the late 1940s/early 1950s. The splitting operations of the Cold Warriors against "Communist-influenced" unions and the purging of militants and socialists from the others were a crucial aspect of the rise of McCarthyism and all but severed the connection between the left and the labor movement. The end product was the sellout labor bureaucracy which still rules the unions today, lording it over the ranks of labor, characterized by naked pro-company sellouts, arrogant racism and a jingoist political line which makes the U.S. union tops an unofficial arm of State Department policy from Central America to Poland.

As a working-class socialist organization committed to strong labor unions under militant class-struggle leadership, the Spartacist League has had its share of trouble from the labor tops, who view the prospect of independent working-class struggle against capital as a sinister "commie plot." In recent weeks, though, union militants whose work the Spartacist League politically supports in our press have been subjected to an escalation of witchhunting, exclusionism and physical intimidation at the hands of the union bureaucracy.

Regular readers of *WV* are already aware of the political show trial being conducted in the San Francisco phone workers union (CWA Local 9410) against Kathy Ikegami, a leader of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC). As a member of the Local 9410 executive board, Kathy broke the CWA tops' conspiracy of pro-company silence by telling union members the truth about Ma Bell's plans to cut thousands of jobs. Local president Imerzel denied everything and then, his lies exposed, brought Ikegami up on charges before a hand-picked kangaroo court (see page 2).

The witchhunt campaign against the MAC was soon taken up in Los Angeles, where Local 11502 president Janice Wood, with pseudo-socialists leading the charge, rammed through a dirty lying motion against MAC supporters and *Workers Vanguard* at a union meeting on October 21. A leaflet titled "Stop the Witchhunt Against MAC!" by L.A. MAC member Larry Ackerson (reprinted in *WV* No. 316, 29 October) charged that "J.V. Stalin would understand Wood's methods very well."

Then on October 28 in Chicago, Steelworkers bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, darling of the liberals and the Labor Department, brutally assaulted two militant steel workers who came to a public forum of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Dorcas Joslin (a 5 ft. woman) and Bob Lotz were there to expose Sadlowski's shameless attempt to portray himself as an opponent of givebacks to the steel bosses. They were brutally manhandled by Sadlowski and his sidekick, Rob Persons, a fellow Steelworkers bureaucrat and DSA member, outside the meeting after they asked Persons for a comment on the recent NLRB decision in favor of Keith Anwar, a steel worker fired in 1979 for the "crime" of honoring a picket line (see page 5). And on October 30 in Detroit, an attempt was made to exclude members of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600 from a unit meeting (see interview, page 10). Unit chairman Hank Wilson, a black bureaucrat known for his "fightback" rhetoric, directed his goon squad to remove the oppositionists from the hall.

What's going on here? On the most concrete level, we don't know and it's not easy to find out either. That there's a convergence of interests between the various bureaucrats is obvious, particularly on the issue of jobs, a burning question for workers in just about every industry. The bureaucrats in phone, steel and auto have no answers for the besieged union ranks—except, apparently, to try to wipe out their most outspoken critics and thereby intimidate the rest.



San Francisco, August 27: Spartacists protest DSA social imperialists.

But more than that, what's going on is political. The AFL-CIO fat cats rose to their exalted positions as the purgers of the traditions of militant union struggle—and of the militants who embodied those traditions. A vanguard of the Cold War, these apologists for imperialism remained Vietnam War "hawks" after most capitalist politicians had already given up. Today the union tops are marching in lockstep with the anti-Soviet war drive and its devastating economic consequences for workers and minorities at home. And right in there with them are the "State Department socialists" of the DSA.

The open bloc between the government, the union tops and the social-democrats was clearly displayed over Solidarnosc, the Polish company union for the CIA and Western bankers. U.S. imperialism saw the Polish crisis as its best opportunity in decades to "roll back Communism" and reopen Eastern Europe for capitalist exploitation. The U.S. union leaders were really in their element here, boosting "free trade unionism," long the fighting slogan of the Cold War. Just about everybody got into the act. In particular Ed Sadlowski—formerly a "union democracy oppositionist" courtesy of the Labor Department and now a McBride appointee—was a featured speaker at the Town Hall meeting in New York where Susan Sontag proclaimed that "Communism is fascism."

The Spartacist League came out forthrightly against the imperialists' designs in Poland, concentrating particularly on the role of the AFL-CIO in fronting for bloody counterrevolution. We exposed, for example, the involvement of the notorious Irving Brown, "AFL-CIO European representative." Brown was U.S. imperialism's main man in Western Europe after World War II, where he used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire Corsican Mafia killers to smash combative unions.

When the Spartacist League picketed

the opening of a Solidarnosc office at the headquarters of Albert Shanker's teachers union in New York on 24 September 1981, forces far more powerful than the union bureaucrats were displeased. A lead editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* (29 September 1981) waxed lyrical about American labor's "efforts on behalf of political freedom" abroad and ended with this unmistakable threat: "Anyone seeking to delegitimize its performance in this realm should be aware of just how serious an

attack he is launching." We commented in *WV* (9 October 1981):

"What this mouthpiece of the American ruling class has in mind is not an exchange of polemics on Poland, but a government assault on the right of communists in the labor movement to challenge the pro-capitalist line of the American labor bureaucracy."

The *Wall Street Journal's* friends in the labor movement have also found Spartacist supporters a thorn in their sides over the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), an active agency of CIA union-busting and "counterinsurgency" in Latin America. In the CWA, which spawned this union-busting outfit, the Militant Action Caucus has a ten-year history of outspoken opposition to the AIFLD. Kathy Ikegami, as a delegate to the CWA national convention last summer, spoke against AIFLD on the convention floor. And here's more food for thought: both local president Imerzel (San Francisco) and local president Wood (Los Angeles) have shown by their actions that the interests of AIFLD occupy a special place in their hearts. The SF local wasn't contributing funds

to AIFLD for a long time...until Imerzel got in. And last April, Wood personally broke a tie in a meeting to pass a motion restoring the union's money going to AIFLD. It should also be noted that Steelworkers president McBride and CWA president Glenn Watts serve on the AIFLD Board of Trustees, as does Machinists president William Winpisinger, vice chairman of the DSA.

As might be expected, the DSA connection is big among the witchhunters. Imerzel himself hangs around them, and one of the people he appointed to the Kathy Ikegami "trial" board is one Barbara Andrews, who served as treasurer for the election campaign of Ron Dellums, a DSA Democrat. Sadlowski too is plenty chummy with the DSA, and his cohort in the attack on Joslin and Lotz outside the DSA meeting is an open DSA member. The UAW bureaucracy too is rife with DSAers, including DSA symp Secretary-Treasurer Ray Majerus, who was given a special "Award for Social Justice" at a DSA conference in Detroit last April.

Not a new picture: anti-communist "socialists," union sellout artists and behind them the spectre of Wall Street, lined up for a hoped-for repeat of the witchhunts of the 1950s. But it isn't the 1950s anymore. The devastation of Europe in World War II ushered in what was supposed to be an "American century" based on unquestioned U.S. hegemony in the capitalist world; America's devastating defeat in Vietnam and the emergence of Japan and West Germany as powerful imperialist rivals have put period to that. The 1950s smug anti-communist expectation, based on a fat economy, was that the "American way" would take care of you, unless you were some kind of "un-American" (or black). Not anymore—not with 11 million unemployed, the cities gone visibly to hell, Social Security in jeopardy and the prospect of nuclear war on everybody's mind.

The labor bureaucracy, thanks to craven capitulation before capitalism's assault on the living standards and basic rights of workers and black people, is hardly riding a tide of membership confidence. Real socialist militants in the unions have a base of support for their democratic rights among their fellow union members. Certainly we don't welcome what looks like a pattern of victimization and violence directed against friends of the Spartacist League in the labor movement. But we will use these attacks to win to our side new supporters, people who know that working people will never win anything unless they fight. ■



September 1981: When Social Democrats sponsored Solidarnosc office in New York, Spartacist League exposed Polish company union for CIA and bankers.

Ed Sadlowski: Loser Thug Assaults Steel Militants

CHICAGO—On October 28 Ed Sadlowski and his sidekick Rob Persons, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), brutally assaulted two steel workers after a DSA forum. Sadlowski, once a "reform" candidate for president of the United Steelworkers (USWA) and darling of campus-town rad-libs, is now an appointed staff man for Lloyd McBride, the man he lost to in 1977. The assault on Bob Lotz and Dorcas Joslin, members of USWA Local 1014 (U.S. Steel Gary Works), came after they nailed Sadlowski for pretending to oppose the very givebacks he had shoved down steel workers' throats. The two militants have been active in defending Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member fired by Inland Steel in 1979 for honoring picket lines (see "Steel Unionist Wins Key NLRB Case," *WV* No. 315, 15 October). Lotz and Joslin are distributing a leaflet (reprinted below) denouncing the assault and calling on steel workers and USWA locals to condemn Sadlowski and Persons. *Workers Vanguard* asked Joslin and Lotz what was behind this vicious thug attack:

Joslin: Sadlowski went up to the North

Side where he figured he wouldn't run into any steel workers, and said he didn't buy this concessions talk that was going around. Well, Bob and I knew better. I've been laid off for nearly a year, and there's thousands of steel workers just like me in District 31 who've been laid off for a year and much more. And Ed Sadlowski, he's been an appointed union official since 1977 and he hasn't lifted a finger to get our jobs back. So I got up and said that hundreds of Local 65 members from U.S. Steel South Works had heard him say at their local meeting this past August that this concessions agreement that he negotiated was the best the union could do. Well, that rotten contract means job combinations and cutbacks! I said that in reality he was responsible for ramming through a concessions contract at South Works!

WV: Did Sadlowski try to defend that?

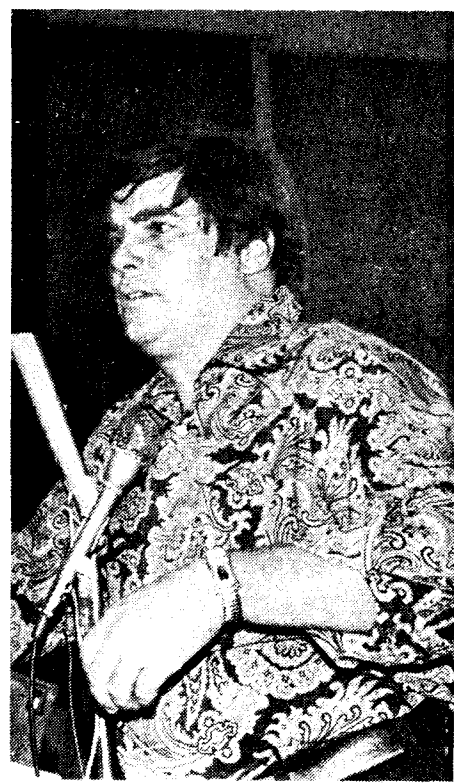
Joslin: No. Instead he tried to stop me by yelling that I must work for his opposition. So I told him, well, I *am* your opposition, that I was in favor of a real class-struggle fight against layoffs and against the plant closures and that would require things like sit-ins and

strikes—and it would also mean that the workers would have to break with the Democratic Party.

Lotz: There was a lot of heckling, not least from Sadlowski. I spoke after Dorcas and said, "As to your remark to this sister here, *you* work for your opposition! You've got a paid staff job from Lloyd McBride!" I said we'd just had this International convention in September, where the International authorized renewed concessions bargaining industrywide, and Sadlowski didn't even bother to speak. And there's local concessions agreements in District 31 that he hasn't said a word about either. So Sadlowski's got two faces, one what he says to the liberals on the North Side, and then what he says down on the South Side to the steel workers.

WV: Rob Persons, who's the appointed secretary of Local 1010's Incentives Committee, spoke too, didn't he? What did he say?

Joslin: He said he was willing to give up the nine cents per hour cost-of-living adjustment that was due November 1, if we could keep the "more important" things. It had just come out in the news that same day that McBride unilaterally



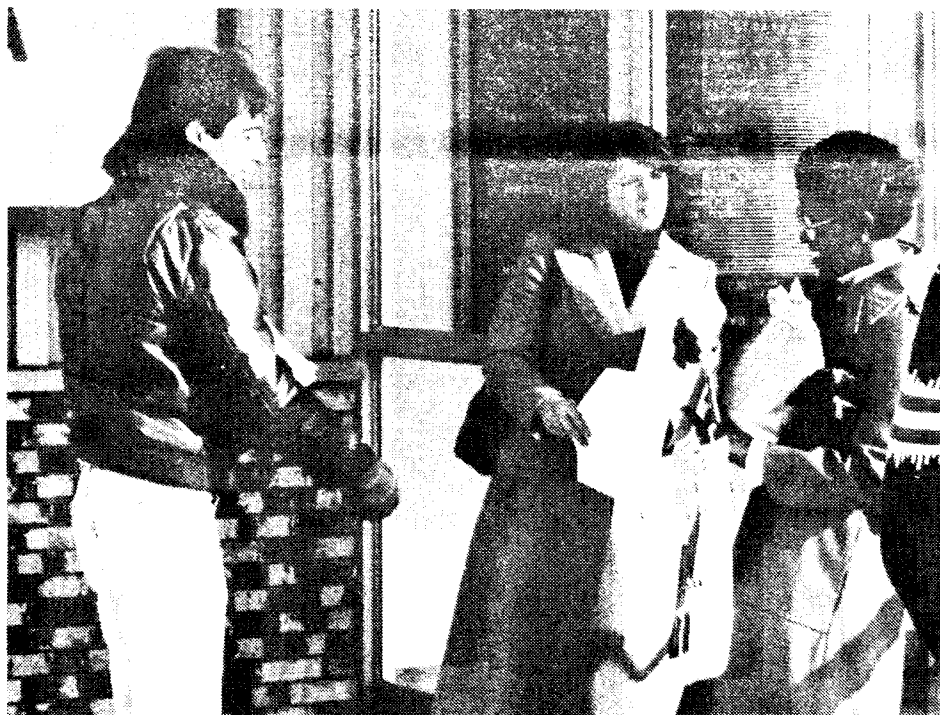
Goon Ed Sadlowski

WV Photo

handed that COLA raise over to the companies. So Persons came out for concessions, too.

Lotz: Sadlowski said after the forum was over that he had been handing out leaflets for the Democrats. Later as we were going downstairs he said something about how we didn't have any original ideas and I said, "You're voting for the Democrats. That's original!?" And when Dorcas asked them what they thought about Keith Anwar's NLRB victory in the picket line case, that's when they jumped us.

"Oilcan Eddie" Sadlowski and his sidekick Rob Persons ganged up to beat and manhandle two steelworkers on the night of October 28: both members of Local 1014; Bob Lotz, millwright at Gary works-U.S. Steel, and Dorcas Joslin, a woman motor inspector laid off last December. The big bureaucrats' washed-up flunkies are real brave: Sadlowski went for Bob, a 140-pound guy half his size, smashed him into a wall, knocked him down at least twice, opening up a bloody gash on his head—and then tried to stomp him *after he was down*. Dorcas, who is only around five feet tall, jumped right in to try to break it up, then Persons grabbed her, slammed her up against a car, hard, and Sadlowski yelled "bitch" and screamed he was going to "beat the shit out of you too, you fucking cunt!" Plenty of people saw it too, even though fat bully Sadlowski and his buddy picked a quiet street to go after us, outside an evening meeting we went to up on Chicago's Northside to hear Sadlowski and Persons speak on "Labor and the Depression." It was sponsored by the DSA, the "Democratic Socialists of America." Several of these "democrats" and "socialists" just sat there watching; they didn't do a damn thing while we were getting beat



Steel militants Bob Lotz and Dorcas Joslin (center) expose thug Sadlowski at Local 1010 union hall, East Chicago, Indiana.

and mauled (one said "that's enough, Ed," *after* he was about done).

Sadlowski is a disgrace and an embarrassment to the entire labor movement! (Persons is just an appointed hack at Local 1010, who'll do whatever "Eddie" says.) We bet even McBride is smarter than to go around personally jumping steelworkers and beating up women union members. "Oilcan Eddie" used to say he was for "the little guy" during his "Fight Back" days—yeah, so today he gets his kicks *beating up* "little guys" and going after women. That's because he doesn't have the balls to take on the big guys, like McBride, like the sell-out International, like the steel companies who are ripping our union apart. And that's what we said earlier at the meeting: it drove him nuts because everybody knows it's true. He rolled over for McBride to get a crummy appointed office job after he lost in 1977. So it's been *five years*; obviously he's starting to like the position. Sadlowski was part of the negotiating team that came up with the rotten concessions contract for Local 65 last summer, which opened up the

workforce for massive layoffs, as Dorcas said at the meeting. The best the team could do, Sadlowski said then—but that's what they pay him for, to tell workers to shut up and eat it like he does.

Sadlowski's a real loser. What drove him (and Persons) crazy isn't just that they went up to the Northside to peddle fake "fightback" talk to a bunch of liberals, the only friends "Eddie"'s got left, and nobody even *came* (there was only about 20 people there)—and then Sadlowski and Persons got caught out, because we spoke up about how Sadlowski tries to shove concessions and sellouts down our throats at union meetings, or else just slinks around like a whipped dog, like he did at the September convention. Yeah, Sadlowski got caught out playing his schizoid game: "union militant" so long as he's a million miles from a union meeting, but McBride's paid enforcer of sell-outs when he talks to steelworkers. What really got them was when Dorcas went up to Persons and Sadlowski after the meeting and said, "What do you think about Keith Anwar's winning in respect-

ing picket lines?" That's when Persons screamed "fuck Keith Anwar—and fuck you too!" And they jumped us.

Because Keith Anwar, Local 1010 member, just won a victory for militant trade unionism—something Sadlowski *never did and never will*. Anwar had the guts to stand up for the union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," got fired by Inland Steel for honoring the striking USWA Local 8180 line in 1979, fought it—and this September 24 the National Labor Relations Board ruled in his favor. Persons didn't say a word at the October 21 Local 1010 meeting that welcomed Anwar back and unanimously voted congratulations on his NLRB victory. But you better know what he and Sadlowski really think: it's "fuck Anwar!" which means, "fuck union solidarity," and "fuck the union," for that matter, like Sadlowski's done by dragging our union into the bosses' courts every chance he gets, the whole *basis* of his rotten career.

So they tried to beat us up where the union wouldn't see the attack. But there were a lot of witnesses to this ugly business. We've worked for the Keith Anwar Defense Committee from the beginning, and we support *Workers Vanguard*, which has defended and spread the word on Anwar's fight, and generally fights for militant trade unionism, for a workers and black party, and opposes sell-out and lying bureaucrats, like Sadlowski, who stand in the way of the workers' interest.

Every steel local, every union member, should condemn Sadlowski and his hanger-on Persons as cowardly bullies and losers who sell out our struggles—and now even physically attack union members who *do* fight back! We're not going to stop fighting, and we're going to keep working to get our union fighting too! So Sadlowski's a bit "unstable" these days? So let him go off to some DSA/liberal/friendly funny farm and take thiazine until he stops bouncing off the padded walls—we could care less.

Bob Lotz, Local 1014
Dorcas Joslin, Local 1014
November 4, 1982

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Buried along with the thousands of Palestinian men, women and children killed by the Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon is the fiction of "Arab unity" behind the Palestinian cause. The Israeli bombs which exploded over West Beirut also exploded the myth of the "Arab revolution," this most curious revolution aimed *not* at overturning existing Arab governments and ruling classes, but externally against Zionist Israel. Not a single Arab state, not even the most "radical," came to the aid of the Palestinians facing Begin/Sharon's genocidal terror. During the siege of West Beirut one PLO commando exclaimed bitterly to a Western newsman: "You see where the Israelis are. Well, behind the Israelis is King Fahd and Hafez el-Assad and King Hussein. They are all in this together...."

Summing up the effect of the Lebanese war on the politics of the Arab world, the *New York Times*' man on the spot, Thomas Friedman, writes with scarcely concealed malicious glee:

"The alliance between hard-liners, held together for years by revolutionary bluster and the fiction that Arab states actually had a military option vis-à-vis Israel, is coming unglued. The so-called steadfastness and confrontation front, made up of Syria, Algeria, South Yemen, Libya and the P.L.O., can hold together no longer, due largely to its failure to be either steadfast or confrontational when the P.L.O.'s life was on the line in West Beirut."

—*New York Times*, 15 October

Faced with the impotence and betrayal of the so-called "hard-line" as

PART ONE OF TWO

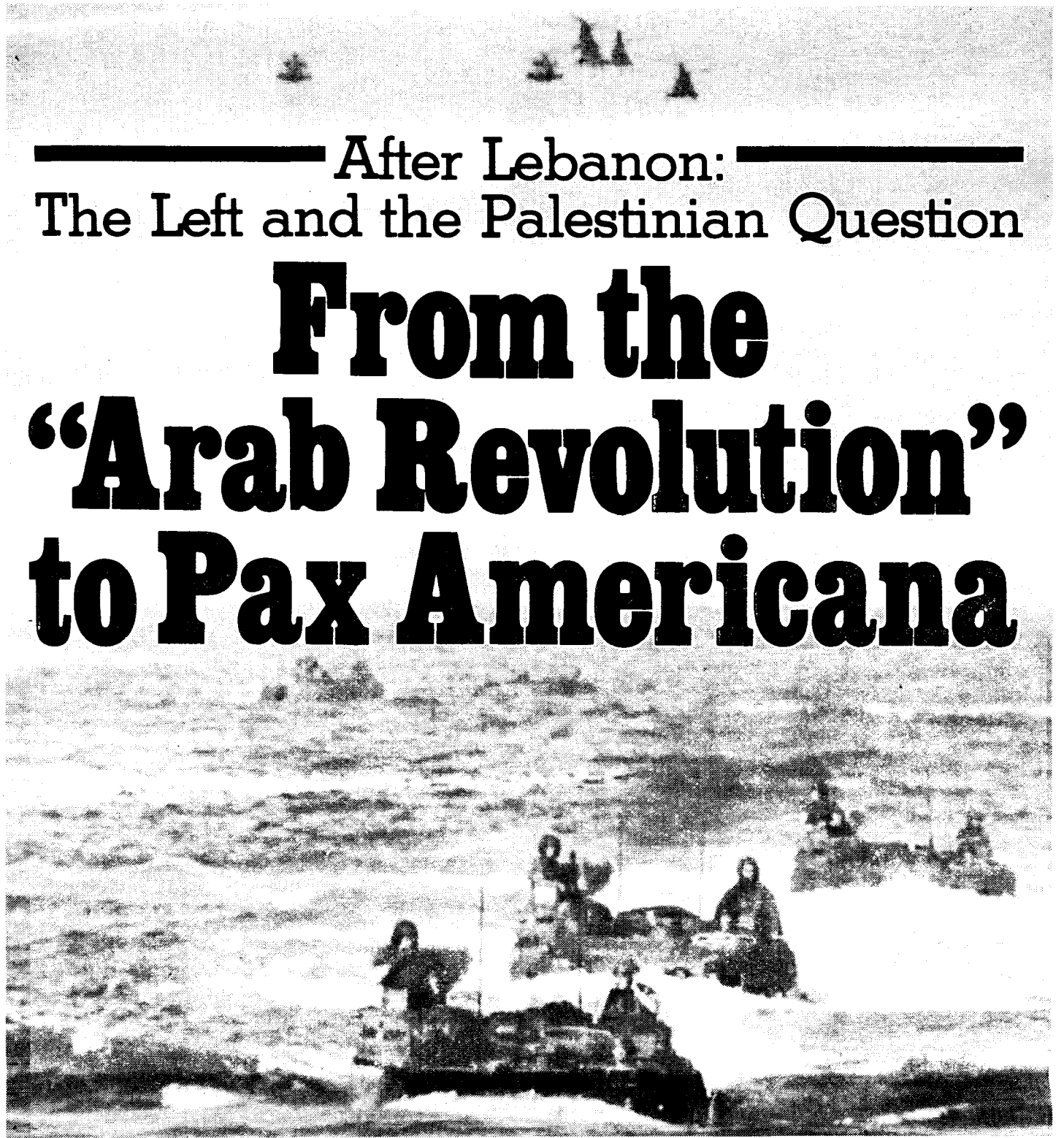
well as "moderate" Arab states, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership of the PLO has turned to U.S. imperialism as its last possible "savior." Arafat agreed to allow the U.S. Marines and French Foreign Legion to disarm the 6,000 PLO commandos guarding West Beirut and escort them into another exile, thus setting up the Shatila/Sabra massacre by Begin/Sharon's Lebanese fascist henchmen. And when Reagan announced his "peace plan," Arafat responded that there were "some positive elements" in it. The Reagan plan would create a South African-like bantustan for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza in which the Zionist occupation would be replaced by subjugation to King Hussein's Jordan, a regime even more dependent on U.S. military and economic aid than Israel.

To explore the "positive elements" in the Reagan plan, Arafat met with Hussein in Amman, the first time in 12 years the PLO leader had been in the Jordanian capital. In 1970 Arafat, disguised as a woman, had to flee Jordan for his life, barely escaping Hussein's Black September massacre of 10,000 Palestinians. But the PLO leader and the erstwhile mass murderer of PLO cadre apparently decided to let



WV Photo

Reformists tail PLO into U.S. camp.



UPI

U.S. Marines land in Beirut in October: Zionist butchers, Arab rulers, Arafat's PLO all welcome U.S. global policeman for counterrevolution.

bygones be bygones and discovered they were now much in agreement. According to the well-informed, conservative London *Economist* (16 October), "The Jordanians and the PLO are agreed that the fine words of the Fez [Arab summit] agreement are just fine words.... It is also agreed that American action alone can bring change." The PLO's turn toward Pax Americana is not a sudden, unexpected change in line. It has been prepared by a decade-long strategy centering on securing diplomatic recognition and pressuring the great powers.

U.S. Left for Pax Americana

The agreement between Arafat and his new friend King Hussein extends to the reformists, centrists and petty-

bourgeois radicals on the U.S. left who for years hailed the mythical "Arab revolution" amid chants of "Long Live PLO!" The same self-styled leftists who ten years ago attacked Israel as nothing but an outpost of U.S. imperialism are today calling upon Reagan's Marines to protect the Palestinians from the Israeli army. The pseudo-socialists who ten years ago defended the PLO's acts of indiscriminate terror, who denied that the Hebrew-speaking people had any right to national self-determination, are today making common cause with Zionist "doves" who believe that Begin/Sharon's policies weaken and endanger Israel's "security."

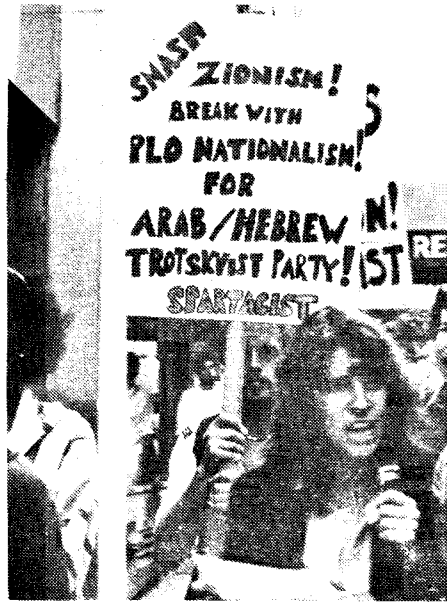
When Begin came to deliver his warmongering harangue to a UN disarmament (!) conference last June, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, Third World nationalist cheerleaders *par excellence*, organized a protest which called for "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." This at a time when Begin solemnly proclaimed that the Israeli army would withdraw from Lebanon if and only if a U.S.-led multinational force took over the job of suppressing the Palestinians and securing Israel's northern border.

In July, when the proposal to send the Marines to Lebanon was being hotly debated in Washington, the November 29 Coalition, basically a lash-up of the Marcyites, pro-Moscow Stalinists and PLO, called for a demonstration in Washington based on just two demands: Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and cessation of U.S. aid to Israel. The Coalition march on September 11 finally did call for "No U.S. Troops to Lebanon"—after they had gone in, supervised the departure of PLO fight-

ers and withdrawn!

The major groups on the American left accept the U.S. imperialist military presence in Lebanon either tacitly, by not opposing it (the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party), or by explicitly endorsing it (the fake-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party [SWP]). The July 16 front-page headline of the SWP's *Militant* proclaimed, "No U.S. Troops to Lebanon!" Yet a few months later, the *Militant* (8 October) explained why Reagan's Marines were *necessary* to save the PLO from an even greater catastrophe:

"Since the Palestinians were not in a position to force a pullback of Israeli troops, they proposed an international force that would interpose itself between their forces and the Israelis as the



WV Photo

Proletarian revolution is the only road to Palestinian liberation.



Palestine

Shatila/Sabra massacre (right) served the same Zionist purpose as the Deir Yassin massacre (above) by Begin's Irgun in 1948.

UPI

only way to ensure that they would not be slaughtered during the withdrawal."

This is, of course, the same line as the U.S. State Department, one of whose spokesmen boasted, "We saved Arafat's skin in West Beirut" (*New York Times*, 15 October).

The SWP's change of line was very consciously made. Immediately after the Shatila/Sabra massacre in September, the SWP and its French and Italian colleagues in Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat issued a joint statement retrospectively opposing the sending of the Marines, Foreign Legion and Italian troops to Lebanon ("Imperialist 'Peace-keeping' Force No Protection for Palestinians," *Intercontinental Press*, 4 October). This statement said correctly that the imperialist force "dismantled the Palestinian defense lines in West Beirut" and so left the Palestinian population "defenseless against the Zionist army, the Phalangist militias, and the butcher Maj. Saad Haddad's mercenaries."

But two weeks later the SWP said it had never signed the statement, and sharply attacked it:

"If it were true, as the joint French and Italian statement implies, that the agreement the PLO accepted for the withdrawal of its troops, rather than the U.S.-Israeli onslaught, was responsible ... for the dismantling of PLO defense lines—then it would follow that the PLO was in large part responsible for the massacre in Sabra and Shatila."

—*Intercontinental Press*,
18 October

Exactly! Shatila and Sabra was the first fruit of the PLO's turn to Pax Americana.

The clearest expression of Pax Americana on the U.S. left comes, predictably enough, from that weathervane for the shifting winds of petty-bourgeois radical opinion, that "independent radical newsweekly" *The Guardian*. The 1 September *Guardian* argues:

"In this country, our tasks are clear enough: ... build a mass movement that can pressure the U.S. government to rein in its ally [Israel] before it starts a new round of slaughter in Lebanon."

And its 13 October issue respectfully advises Reagan that if the Marines are truly to bring peace to the Near East, he must do right by the Palestinians and PLO: "The history of the last 20 years has shown that the U.S. will never broker a permanent settlement in the Mideast if it continues to shun the PLO."

Cooing with the Zionist "Doves"

The erstwhile enthusiasts for the "Arab revolution" are now coming together with Zionist "doves" who believe that Begin/Sharon's policy of unlimited military expansionism will overtax Israel's limited resources, leading to an eventual collapse. Thus, the *Guardian* (15 September) recently published a friendly interview with Shimon Lerer, spokesman for the avowedly Zionist Israeli Peace Now movement, who declared: "We say that

Israel's security can only be achieved and made permanent by coming to terms with all our Arab neighbors." And what country is better situated to broker a settlement between Zionist Israel and the Arab bourgeois states than the U.S.?

Unfortunately lending his authority to some degree to the notion of Pax Americana in the Near East is Israel Shahak, an Israeli defender of Palestinian rights and in the past a scathing critic of the Zionist "Labor" Party and the Peace Now movement. Yet in response to the Spartacist League's opposition to American troops to Lebanon, Shahak stated in his recent U.S. speaking tour:

"... I would strongly suggest that Israeli troops in West Beirut are worse than the troops of America, France and Italy, and that [as] the lesser evil (for a time I would say that) the troops of those states are in my opinion preferable."

While Shahak motivates this "lesser evil" position by humanitarian concern for the Palestinians, he is at bottom expressing the widespread concern among Israelis about getting sucked into the bloody vortex of Lebanese politics. Unlike the U.S., Israel does *not* have the economic and demographic resources to police the warring feudal clans that make up Lebanon. The two-month, one-sided war in Lebanon cost Israel as much as 10 percent of its gross national product. The number of casualties taken by the Israeli army may not seem great in absolute terms, but given the small size of the Hebrew population they are comparable to the level of American casualties in Vietnam.

However, the Pentagon did not send its forces into Lebanon simply or primarily to "save Israel from itself," in the words of liberal imperialist brain-truster George Ball. The U.S. believes that Israel's conquest of Lebanon, humiliation of the Arab states and military destruction of the PLO have fundamentally altered the balance of power in the Near East, creating an opening for a major power play. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 November) points out that:

"With little fanfare, the U.S. is establishing a substantial military presence in the Mideast. There are 1,200 American peacekeeping troops in Lebanon and 1,000 in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. Smaller U.S. military teams are elsewhere in Egypt and in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Oman. These forces, encircling the region, steady U.S. allies and add leverage to U.S. diplomacy."

There is no greater danger in the Near East than the presence of imperialist forces in the region. Lebanon has become a front line of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, threatening mankind with a global nuclear holocaust.

The aftermath of the Lebanese war demonstrates in the clearest way that "anti-imperialist" petty-bourgeois nationalists and their left cheerleaders will unite with imperialism to betray the struggle for genuine national liberation. Only the international Spartacist tendency, which has always fought for a proletarian international solution to the

Arab-Israel conflict, today stands against Pax Americana and for the genuine national liberation of the dispossessed Palestinians in the only way possible—through a socialist federation of the Near East.

Birth of the Zionist State

The Zionists' holocaust against the Palestinians in Lebanon is but the continuation of the genocidal terror used to create the Zionist state in 1948. The Shatila/Sabra massacre by Begin's Lebanese fascist henchmen served the same purpose as the Deir Yassin massacre by Begin's Irgun 35 years ago: to terrorize the Palestinians into fleeing ever further from the borders of Eretz Israel. The Arab-Israel wars of 1967 and 1973 were but a continuation of the 1948 war between the Arab League armies and the Zionist Haganah, wars over the *division of Palestine* between Israel and the Arab sheiks and colonels. There will

supported the Zionists as a cynical maneuver to weaken British imperialism in the Near East.

However, the British, exhausted and bankrupt after World War II, were rapidly being displaced by the Americans. And Washington's policy in the Near East was different than London's. The Truman administration's support for a Zionist state in Palestine was partly a result of pressure from the American Jewish community. But the Jewish lobby, strong as it is, does not dictate the fundamental policies of U.S. imperialism. The U.S.' main interest in the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine lay in balkanizing the Near East and *diverting* the aroused national and class aspirations of the Arab fellahin and proletariat away from the Saudi family, the Hashemites, Farouks and the rest. "Divide and rule" has always been a basic axiom of imperialist policy.

Under the sponsorship of Truman's



Der Spiegel
Begin addresses Irgun in 1948 before portrait of Vladimir Jabotinsky. Emblem claims "Eretz Israel" as all of Palestine mandate, including Transjordan.

be no national justice for the Palestinians until the Zionist state and surrounding Arab bourgeois states are smashed through the united revolutionary struggle of the Hebrew proletariat and Arab toilers.

The creation of a Zionist state in the Near East arose out of the intersection of the effects of the Nazi holocaust with the dissolution of the British empire. As the Nazi power expanded in Europe in the 1930s, many Jews fled to the small Zionist colonies in British Palestine. After the war the survivors of the Holocaust—tens of thousands of "displaced persons"—were prevented from settling in the U.S. or Britain by racist immigration restrictions (which the Zionists did not oppose). Thus many Jews who were not ideological Zionists were forced to go to Palestine.

However, the creation of Israel was not determined simply by the balance of forces within and around Palestine. It was a product of cynical great power politics on all sides. In order to preserve their waning influence in the Near East, British imperialism, which earlier had encouraged Zionist colonization in Palestine, now took the Arab side. Israel, in turn, found its first godfather in Stalin's Russia, a chapter of history the Kremlin and its supporters would very much like to bury. During the 1948 war the Haganah received most of its small arms from Stalinist-ruled Czechoslovakia. The Communist parties of the day and their numberless front groups hailed the Zionist cause as a "progressive national-liberation struggle" against British imperialism. Josef Stalin, it hardly needs saying, was no friend of Jewish nationalism, but

America and Stalin's Russia in November 1947 the UN voted to partition the British mandate along lines highly favorable to the Zionists. Although the Jews constituted only a third of the population of Palestine, they were allotted 55 percent of the territory, including all major cities except Jerusalem. The Zionist state was to encompass 540,000 Jews and almost 400,000 Arabs, while the Arab state would contain 800,000 Arabs and only 10,000 Jews.

But neither the Zionists nor the Arab rulers were to allow the Palestinian Arabs even this limited and deformed expression of an independent national existence. Immediately after the UN vote the intercommunal violence in Palestine greatly intensified. The Jews with their superior organization and higher technical/cultural level soon gained the upper hand. In the spring of 1948 the Palestinian Arabs were systematically driven out of the Zionist state-to-be.

And here the Deir Yassin massacre played a large role. In April 1948 the right-wing terrorists of Begin's Irgun killed 254 defenseless men, women and children in the small Arab village. The terrified survivors were then dumped into trucks and paraded through the Jewish section of Jerusalem. While the mainstream Zionist establishment dissociated itself from this atrocity, Deir Yassin was widely publicized and so had its intended effect. Three hundred thousand Palestinian Arabs fled from their homes *before* the proclamation of the state of Israel in May 1948.

While the Arab League naturally claimed it was fighting for a "United

continued on page 8



Palestinian Question...

(continued from page 7)

State of Palestine," the Arab rulers were in reality fighting for their own territorial aggrandizement. And the Zionist leaders were well aware of this fact. In November 1947 Jewish Agency leader Golda Meyerson (Meir) had secret negotiations with King Abdullah of Transjordan, who informed her of his plans to take over eastern Palestine:

"I want to annex the area to my kingdom. I don't want to create another Arab State that would ruin my plans. I want to ride, not to be ridden!"

—quoted in Dan Kurzman,
Genesis 1948 (1970)

After a war to determine the exact borders Abdullah and Golda Meir and her colleagues did, in fact, divide Palestine between them. The main force on the Arab side was Abdullah's Arab Legion, commanded by the British officer John Glubb (Glubb Pasha). The major fighting occurred over Jerusalem, which under the UN plan was to be "internationalized." The Hebrew nation and its fledgling state were never seriously threatened. The 1949 armistice, negotiated by American diplomat Ralph Bunche, created an exclusionist Jewish state on the one side and an expanded Hashemite monarchy on the other. This conformed to the war aims of both sides.

The left enthusiasts for Arab nationalism would do well to recall that for almost 20 years (from 1949 to 1967) the "occupied territories" (the West Bank and Gaza) were occupied by Arab states, Jordan and Egypt respectively. And during this period the Palestinians had *less autonomy* and fewer democratic rights than have been promised them under the Carter Camp David and Reagan plans! In 1950 Abdullah decreed that all Palestinians in Jordan were henceforth Hashemite subjects, that is, feudal vassals. And when in 1970 the Palestinian *majority* in Jordan was on the verge of a revolt, Abdullah's grandson, King Hussein, restored his authority with the Black September massacre, killing 10,000.

Pro-PLO leftists have long denounced Hussein as the epitome of pro-imperialist Arab reaction (though they may now revise this characterization). But remember, for more than a decade the 300,000 Palestinians in Gaza (almost one fourth of the entire Palestinian diaspora) were ruled by the very personification of the "Arab revolution," Gamal Abdul Nasser. Yet the Gaza Palestinians were *not* given citizenship rights in the United Arab Republic, were *not* permitted to work or move freely in Egypt and were confined to the refugee camp hellholes. The political life of the Gaza Palestinian community was strictly controlled by the Egyptian government, and any Palestinian militant who refused to toe Nasser's line was summarily deported, among them one Yasir Arafat.

The Trotskyist Position on the 1948 Arab-Israel War

At the time of the 1948 Arab-Israel war the American left in general was strongly pro-Zionist, arguing that Jewish people were exercising their legitimate right to national self-determination. To this the then-revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party replied:

"Haven't the Jewish people the right to self-determination and statehood as other peoples? Yes—but even if we abstract this question from its aforementioned social reality, the fact remains that they cannot carve out a state at the expense of the national rights of the Arab peoples. This is not self-determination, but conquest of another people's territory."

—"The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine," *Militant*,
31 May 1948

But in opposing Zionism the SWP did *not* go over to the camp of Arab nationalist revanchism:

"Neither are the Arab rulers conducting

a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. They are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and utilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule."

—*Ibid.*

One can trace the degeneration of the SWP from Trotskyism to revisionism by comparing this revolutionary internationalist position on the 1948 war with its tailing of Arab nationalism from the 1960s on, leading it to endorse Reagan's marines in Lebanon today.

The SWP in 1948 was, however, unable to translate its correct analysis into a clear line on the war, and its propaganda on the question remained somewhat abstract. The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist League in Palestine, who had a better grasp of the realities of the situation, did take a clear position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides:

"This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character. The war does not release progressive forces or do away with social and economic obstacles in the path of development of the two nations. Quite the opposite is true. It is apt to obscure class antagonism and to open the gate for nationalist excesses. *It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps.*..."

"*The only way to peace between the two peoples of this country is turning the guns against the instigators of murder in both camps!*" [emphasis in original]

—"Against the Stream," *Fourth International*, May 1948

The Spartacist tendency originally considered that "in 1948 the central issue in dispute was for the right of the Hebrew nation to exist," and consequently held that the correct position for Marxists would have been military support to the Haganah against the Arab League forces (see "Arab-Israel Conflict—Turn the Guns the Other Way!" *Spartacist* No. 11, April-May 1968). However, in the early 1970s the Spartacist tendency undertook an extensive examination of the national question as applied to geographically interpenetrated peoples, particularly in Palestine and Northern Ireland. One result of this discussion was to change our position on the 1948 Arab-Israel war, a change codified in an SL/U.S. Central Committee motion of 16 March 1974:

"The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism (and exercise of self-defense by specific villages and settlements when under attack) because:

"1) the democratic issue of self-determination for each of two nationalities or peoples who geographically interpenetrate can only conceivably be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power;

"2) concretely in 1948—the Zionist-led Jews possessed the social/military organization to achieve and expand their own nation state. The Palestine Arabs were disorganized, ineffectual and betrayed on all sides. With the exception of the battle for Jerusalem, the Trans-Jordan (and British-inspired and backed) war aims were to compete with the Jews for the partitioning of the Palestinian Arabs' lands. The role of the other foreign Arab armies was essentially to posture, seeking to deflect discontent within their own states."

Self-Determination and Interpenetrated Peoples

Our position on the complex question of interpenetrated peoples was first elaborated in the article, "Birth of the Zionist State: Part 2" in *WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974:

"It was clear that the establishment of an independent nation-state, either by Palestinian Arabs or the Jews, would occur in Palestine only at the expense of the other nation. When the national populations are geographically interpenetrated, as they were in Palestine, an independent nation-state can be created only by their forcible separation (forced population transfers, etc.). Thus the democratic right of self-determination becomes abstract, as it can be exercised only by the stronger national grouping driving out and destroying the weaker one...."

"Under capitalism, the right to self-determination in such a context is

strictly *negative*: that is, against the abuses of national rights of either the Arabs or the Hebrew-speaking population. Thus, had there been an independent armed force of the Palestinian Arabs in the 1948 war, Marxists could have given it military support in the struggle against the expansion of the exclusionist Zionist state and the onslaught of the Arab League armies, which together suppressed the national existence of the Palestinian Arabs. Likewise, had there been an irredentist onslaught of the Arab states which threatened the survival of the Hebrew nation in Palestine, Marxists would have taken a position of revolutionary defensism of the survival of that nation."

These words were written during the high tide of Western leftist enthusiasm for the "Arab revolution" and its self-proclaimed vanguard, the PLO. It was then near universal in the U.S. left to deny that the Hebrew-speaking people had any right to an independent national existence in the Arab East. For example, the SWP wrote in its 1971 conference resolution, "Israel and the Arab Revolution" (*International Socialist Review*, December 1971):

"The Israeli Jews form an oppressor nationality of a settler-colonial character vis-a-vis the Arab peoples...."

"From the point of view of the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination, the key fact is whether the given nationality is an oppressed nationality or an oppressor nationality. Revolutionists call for the right of self-determination for the *oppressed* nationalities...."

This position was fully shared by the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the 57 varieties of Maoists, the Marcyites, black nationalists and all manner of New Left radicals. It was no abstract question either. The doctrine that the Hebrew nation had no right to exist served as the ideological apology for acts of *indiscriminate* terror by the PLO and its supporters, such as the 1972 Lod airport attack in which visiting Puerto Rican Baptists were gunned down by the Japanese Red Army (allied with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine).

Today, after Lebanon, fire-breathing Arab nationalist rhetoric has become distinctly unfashionable on the left. The PLO and its supporters are now going out of their way to appeal to Zionist "doves" who are opposed to Begin/Sharon. If the Lebanese war has exploded the myth of the "Arab revolution," it has likewise shattered the related notion that Israeli society is one reactionary mass.

The doctrine that an oppressor nation forfeits its right to exist has nothing in common with socialism and democracy; it is ideology of genocidal irredentism. Many, if not most, nations in the modern world were created and consolidated through historic crimes against the original inhabitants. Modern Turkey, for example, was forged over the corpses of a million Greeks and Armenians. But who today would deny the Turkish people of Anatolia the right to national self-determination?

Let us take another example of an oppressor nation, one near and dear to the heart of Jack Barnes' SWP—the Persians. Like tsarist Russia of old, Iran under Shah Pahlavi and his successor Imam Khomeini is truly a prison house of peoples—Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Baluchis, etc. Yet in their slavish support to the Persian-chauvinist Shi'ite "Islamic Revolution," the SWP and its Iranian co-thinkers in the HKS *opposed* the right of the *oppressed* Kurds to self-determination, i.e., to a separate state. Taking a leaf from George Orwell, Jack Barnes' SWP might say, all oppressor nations are equal, but some are more equal than others.

Basic to the Leninist position on the national question, the only consistently democratic position, is that *all* nations have a right to self-determination. In his 1914 pamphlet, *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, Lenin cites with approval the 1896 resolution of the Socialist (Second) International on the question:

"The International's resolution repro-

duces the most essential and fundamental propositions in this point of view: on the one hand, the absolutely direct unequivocal recognition of the full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for *international* unity in their class struggle." [emphasis in original]

Under normal historic circumstances the right of self-determination for nations which have already established states is not called into question. The right of self-determination as applied to oppressed peoples means that they too should have the same right to an independent state as established nation-states, not that "oppressor nations" have no national rights.

However, Israel is not a long-established nation-state and the existence of a Hebrew-speaking nation in the Near East has been and remains historically insecure. Despite their presently overwhelming regional military superiority, many Israeli Jews fear that some day they will be obliterated by the multitude of hostile and vengeful Arabs who surround them. Israel is ruled by men who believe that history is *not* on their side. It is this which gives the Zionist state much of its paranoid destructive frenzy. The Begin and Peres seek to imbue their people with the so-called "Masada complex," named after a fortress where ancient Hebrew zealots committed suicide rather than surrender to the Roman imperial army. There is no surer way to strengthen the ties binding the Hebrew proletariat to their Zionist rulers than to assert they have no right to an independent national existence.

No chauvinism is more intense, no bigotry more blinding, than that of an oppressor people whose privileges and very existence are precarious. Begin appeals to dread of the Nazi holocaust to carry out the Zionist holocaust of Palestinians in Lebanon. His supporters, concentrated in the Sephardic and Eastern Jews, believe that only Zionist concentration camps and genocidal extermination of Arabs will save them from genocide. Unless the Israeli working class—especially its intensely chauvinist though relatively underprivileged (compared to the European-derived Ashkenazi) Sephardic component—is broken from Zionism, there is no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East. Above all this requires an internationalist class-conscious vanguard of the Hebrew workers that will champion the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people, a right that encompasses Haifa and Tel Aviv as well as Ramallah and Nablus, as part of the struggle for an Arab-Hebrew workers party.

How then is it possible for both the Hebrew-speaking people and dispossessed Palestinian Arabs to exercise the right to national self-determination? Through a bi-national Palestinian workers state in a socialist federation of the Near East. To see that this is not some utopian pipe dream, look at post-WW II Yugoslavia. The savage national and ethnic blood feuds between Serbs and Croats, for example, were far older and even bloodier than the hostilities between Jews and Arabs in the Levant. Yet against the background of World War II a largely Serbian and Montenegrin Communist party led by the Croat Tito carried through a social revolution. As an expression of *proletarian state power*, albeit bureaucratically deformed, Yugoslavia laid the basis for the unity of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

The key in the Near East is communist leadership forging a communist cadre of Palestine Arabs and Israeli Jews united in struggle against the Begin and Peres, the Husseins, Assads and Arafats. Only an internationalist revolutionary workers party can lead the way forward to peace and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD

Russians...

(continued from page 1)

that it actually intends to implement its holocaustal threats. A "nuclear exchange" could turn all the cities of the northern hemisphere into irradiated rubble in a matter of hours. Yet the Strangeloves at the Pentagon are planning to keep the nukes flying for six months! In a "Defense Guidance" document last spring, Weinberger ordered that American goals in nuclear war were to "seek the earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the U.S."—in plain English, Soviet surrender. And this doctrine is being implemented through a new generation of super-accurate first-strike weapons whose aim is not only to take out Soviet missile silos, but to "decapitate" their systems of command, communications and control. As arms control expert Arthur Cox noted recently:

"The Pershing 2, scheduled for deployment in Germany early in 1984, is a first-strike weapon that will be able to reach its targets in the Soviet Union in six minutes. The MX is a first-strike weapon and the Trident II (D-5) submarine-launched missile is a first-strike weapon. First-strike weapons run counter to all principles of deterrence. They make unintentional nuclear war more likely."

—*New York Times*, 2 November

Reagan & Co. seem determined to provoke the Soviets into a dangerous "launch on attack" policy. With six minutes to nuclear Armageddon, what choice do they have?

Meanwhile, Washington is actively spreading counterrevolution in Central America with such conventional means as "destabilization," U.S. military "advisers" and millions in "aid" to right-wing army regimes. While seeking to defeat left-wing guerrillas in El Salvador, Reagan has also targeted Sandinista Nicaragua, as the first step toward a showdown with Castro's Cuba. A year ago the U.S. authorized a \$19 million campaign of covert action aimed at toppling the left-nationalist Sandinistas by financing internal bourgeois opposition groups, fomenting attacks by exiled mercenaries of the former Somoza dictatorship and preparing an outright counterrevolutionary invasion. Recently *Newsweek* (8 November) published an exclusive report on this creeping Bay of Pigs under the title, "America's Secret War—Target: Nicaragua." The article revealed that all raids from Honduras were approved by the U.S. ambassador, and quoted one of the mercenary officers:

"Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua."

The "Human Rights" Stink

"Human rights" Reagan-style is another adjunct of the anti-Soviet war drive. On the same day it reported on the State Department conference on exporting counterrevolution, the *New York Times* carried a story about the administration's new "human rights" tsar, Eliot Abrams. Reagan's first nominee for the post, Ernest Lefebvre, went down in flames after it became known that he had rubbed cattle prods with half the torturing despots of the anti-Communist "free world" (see our article "What Next? Lt. Calley for Human Rights Adviser?" *WV* No. 282, 5 June 1981). Now they've dug up a suave Ivy League boy, but they're still having problems.

Recently the president of the Cold War liberal Americans for Democratic Action, Father Drinan, made the charge that "El Salvador is America's Afghanistan." Silver-tongued Abrams shot back a response: "You stink!... 100,000 Russian troops are waging chemical warfare in Afghanistan, and that's the analogy you draw." This is just a Big Lie repetition of wildly false charges dreamed up by General Haig in the State Department john when he was most in control. Question: why would the Russians rain chemical death on the

brown-skinned peoples of Afghanistan and Laos? Answer: only to fuel cynical Reaganite campaigns for "human rights." All the talk about "yellow rain" is a total fabrication to take attention off the U.S.' own use of "agent orange," napalm, nerve gas and myriad other defoliants which the U.S. alone has used for decades, from Vietnam to El Salvador.

The whole idea of Reagan having a "human rights" department is something like the Nazis having a department of Jewish cultural affairs. Twice a year they certify the military butchers of El Salvador as paragons of "human rights," even though the U.S. ambassador now admits that they have murdered 30,000 Salvadorans in the last two years (plus two CIA agents and four American religious workers). "Human rights" are great in South Africa, they claim, and approve billion-dollar IMF loans to the apartheid regime. "Human rights" are up-to-date in China, too, as long as it's the Yankees' running dog. Of course, we recall that Chinese leader Deng Hsiao-ping admitted a few years ago that fully 5 percent of the Chinese population (or 40-50 million people) were in jail! That's more than 3/4 of the countries in the United Nations claim as their entire national populations. But if so much as a single person is killed in Poland, then (tears! sobs!) it's "brutal oppression in the captive nations."

So if it's "quiet diplomacy" for the world's butchers, it's war drums and insulting provocations for the Soviets. Take the Siberian gas pipeline, for instance. Here is a normal commercial transaction, which the Europeans want so as not to be so dependent upon Near East oil sheiks; and the Russians want in order to get some hard cash to buy, among other things, American corn and wheat. Yet Washington goes to any lengths to bust it up, even claiming extraterritorial rights over European companies using American licenses. Why? Because the Reaganites want trade war with Russia, gearing up for the shooting variety, and all other considerations are secondary. Except getting re-elected. And since the grain boycott didn't play in Peoria—with farmers in the worst crisis since the Great Depression and ag-imp companies (Caterpillar, Allis Chalmers, International Harvester and (Canadian) Massey-Ferguson) going down the tubes—last month Reagan offered to sell 21 million tons to the Russians. But the Soviets aren't interested. They're buying their wheat from Argentina, Australia, even France. And they can get their farm machinery from... Japan.

Target: Poland

It is in Poland that the U.S. imperialists see the political weak link in the Soviet bloc and their main chance for a historic anti-Communist "rollback." Poland is the main target for the export of counterrevolution, and the company union for the CIA and Western bankers, Solidarność, is the instrument. And when it comes to Poland, U.S. talk about "aiding their struggle" is not hollow rhetoric. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been funneled to Solidarność through Western sources: printing presses paid for via the AFL-CIO; Solidarity "information bureaus" in NYC, Toronto and Brussels, sponsored by pro-imperialist social democrats; couriers and who knows what else supplied by Radio Free Europe for the anti-Communist underground.

The riots in Poland last month over the banning of Solidarność showed once more the clearly counterrevolutionary character of this pro-Western "union." Strikers in Gdansk painted over the name "Lenin Shipyards" and wrote in Solidarność; in the steel center of Nowa Huta, demonstrators tried to topple the statue of Lenin, leader of the first successful workers revolution in history. Because of the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution, many thousands of workers in Poland today are working in steel plants or shipyards, instead of feeling

the whip of the landlord gentry who ruled pre-war Poland under the fascistic regime of Marshal Pilsudski, now declared a national hero by Polish Solidarity.

The October 8 outlawing of Solidarność is a Stalinist expedient which cannot deal with the underlying crisis in Poland, a crisis which has grown out of years of Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement laying the basis for the wide appeal of pro-capitalist forces today. In calling for "Stop Solidarność" counter-revolution" last fall, we emphasized the need to forge real Leninist-Trotskyist cadres to destroy the Stalinist parasites and perverters. These genuine communists must win Polish workers to the defense of proletarian state power against clerical-nationalist counterrevolution, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution against the narrow nationalist bureaucracy. The only way to defeat the imperialist political and military onslaught, from El Salvador to Poland, is through a program for world socialist revolution.

Defend and Extend the Gains of October!

Reagan's threats of nuclear holocaust and global counterrevolution are no farce. It has now been confirmed that U.S. "ambassador-at-large," former CIA deputy director General Vernon Walters, recently visited pope John Paul Wojtyla and "discussed a range of issues, such as the situation in Poland and in Central America, and explained the Administration's concerns about the Soviet Union, saying they required the threat of the possible use of nuclear weapons" (*New York Times*, 9 November). The American imperialists are gearing up for a showdown. And so we welcome a little straight talk at last from the Kremlin. They had better keep up militarily with the madmen in Washington. As we said last June, following the release of the Weinberger "Defense Guidance" and the U.S.-backed Israeli blitzkrieg against Lebanon:

"It's infuriating to observe the calculated politeness of Brezhnev & Co. to the endlessly demeaning American insults and responses.... Any self-respecting revolutionary leadership of the Soviet workers state would announce: we of course stand on 'no first strike,' but if you maniacal mass murderers go ahead and launch one then let us tell you what our second strike would look like...."

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese, especially since they are annoyed with Reagan now over Taiwan. Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors.... That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland."

Besieged by CIA-armed feudalist reaction in Afghanistan, clerical-nationalist counterrevolution in Poland and threats of nuclear annihilation by the U.S., even the deeply conservative bureaucrats of the Kremlin are forced to face up to mounting direct military threat. While pursuing an anti-revolutionary policy of accommodation with imperialism, the bureaucratic caste is still based on the proletarian property forms inherited from the October Revolution. This gives the Stalinist bureaucracy its contradictory character. Thus back in July Soviet defense minister Dmitri Ustinov warned the U.S. that if it attempted a nuclear first strike, "the aggressor will not be able to evade an all-crushing retaliatory strike" (*New York Times*, 13 July). And Brezhnev in his speech to the Soviet military command called for a "normalization of relations" with China as part of a firm response to Washington's aggressive policy.

But military preparedness and "vigilance" is not a program to defeat rapacious imperialism. Compelled to sustain a radical petty-bourgeois revolutionary effort in Afghanistan, the

Kremlin dispatched the Soviet army against imperialist-backed mullahs. But next door in Iran, the Stalinists support the feudal-reactionary Khomeini—and his mullahs—and Iranian workers be damned! In Africa, Moscow's Cuban ally defends the national independence of Angola against apartheid South Africa; but Castro and Brezhnev also join forces with nationalist demagogue and mass murderer Mengistu in Ethiopia, the butcher of Eritrean and Somali rebels. Since Stalin usurped political power in the mid-1920s from the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, the Stalinists have sold the illusion of "socialism in one country" through international class collaboration. From selling out the Chinese revolution in 1927 to their betrayal of the Spanish workers in the 1930s and their failure to defend the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Salvadoran insurgents today, the Kremlin's illusions of global détente have blocked the road to world revolution.

As we wrote in our June editorial ("Reagan, Begin and Hitler," *WV* No. 308, 25 June 1982), a policy of international revolution "requires a high degree of workers democracy, combining toughness and generosity in defense of the fundamental conquests of the October Revolution. And this cannot be accomplished without a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who only dream of an accommodation with the imperialist West—call it 'peaceful coexistence' or 'détente.'" The defeat of Reagan reaction in Poland or Central America must be linked to a struggle for workers revolution in the imperialist heartland. We, the Trotskyists—who have stood by the Soviet Union in the hour of need, on the eve of World War II and again today—declare that it is not the imperialists' "rudeness" that threatens humanity, but their drive for global counterrevolution. The only answer to the barbarism of thermonuclear imperialist war is world socialist revolution. ■

A Bolshevik Campaign...

(continued from page 3)

Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno. Cynically feeding off the official slogan, IWP signs read "Vote Labor Means Build a Labor Party Now!" But not only was October 24 an election rally for the Democrats, the IWP was literally surrounded by AFL-CIO signs supporting Democrats like Phil Burton and Dellums.

In the U.S. since the 1930s the popular front has meant voting for the Democrats. Today this therefore means support for the anti-Soviet war drive, massive cuts in social programs, union givebacks and passivity in the face of rising racist terror. The reformists and centrists serve to bring up the rear of the popular front parade, talking socialism while giving a left cover to the Democrats.

The Spartacist election night party was attended by black residents from the Western Addition and McAllister Housing Project, several former Black Panther Party members, a dozen phone workers, students and some militants who had been won over from campaigning for reformist candidates. Bradley and Coleman ran in this election to spread the Spartacist communist program, running against the electoral illusions of reforming capitalism by the ballot. They used the campaign as they would use public office—to call workers out to demonstrate, to strike, to fight for their interests. We are proud of the 6,000-8,000 votes for our candidates, but most important, this campaign was a vehicle for reaching new layers and mobilizing new supporters from which must come the leadership, above all black leadership, of the Trotskyist party that can lead an American socialist revolution. By those standards this campaign was a Bolshevik success. ■

At Local 600 Union Meeting

Rinaldi's Goons Attack UAW Rouge Militants

DETROIT—On October 30 United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucrats in Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) mounted a goon squad to drag members of the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) out of their own union meeting. The RMC is the group in Local 600 that has fought for a class-struggle response to Ford's threatened destruction of the Rouge complex and the impending loss of 15,000 jobs. *Workers Vanguard* recently interviewed RMC spokesman Frank Hicks, one of the targets of this blatant attempt to gag union militants.

* * * * *

WV: How come the union tops went after the Rouge Militant Caucus?

Hicks: Ford is openly making plans to close the Dearborn Assembly Plant [DAP]. [DAP unit chairman Hank] Wilson can't fight it, so he's doing his damndest to make sure we file out of there quietly. We say there ought to be a sitdown strike to fight the closing of the DAP. And Wilson's trying to save Ford's ass and get himself a job in Solidarity House. So they met us on Saturday with a goon squad to run us out of there and intimidate the workers who came looking for answers.

WV: What happened at the DAP meeting?

Hicks: Wilson opened the meeting by ordering Local 600 members who work in other Rouge units out of the hall. He pointed to a Rouge tinsmith from our caucus and said, "Charles DuBois, get out!" I protested that the assembly plant is closing, Ford is ripping the guts out of the Rouge and there were union members at that meeting from other Local 600 units who wanted to know what the hell Wilson and [Local 600 president Mike] Rinaldi were going to do about it. Wilson ordered the sergeant-at-arms to shut me up, and then about a dozen goons led by Bob King [Local financial secretary] and Al Puma [a Rinaldi henchman and paid staffer] grabbed me and threw me up against the wall. Then they pushed, shoved and carried me and three other RMC brothers out of the meeting. Some brothers and sisters had brought their kids to the meeting, but King and Wilson didn't give a damn if they were hurt. Charles was bruised, but otherwise we were okay. Some of Wilson's guys made like they were going to pull knives, but with 100 workers there they had second thoughts. Even though DAP meetings have always been open to all Local 600 members, Charles and a black steel division RMC member were excluded—for the first time. And when

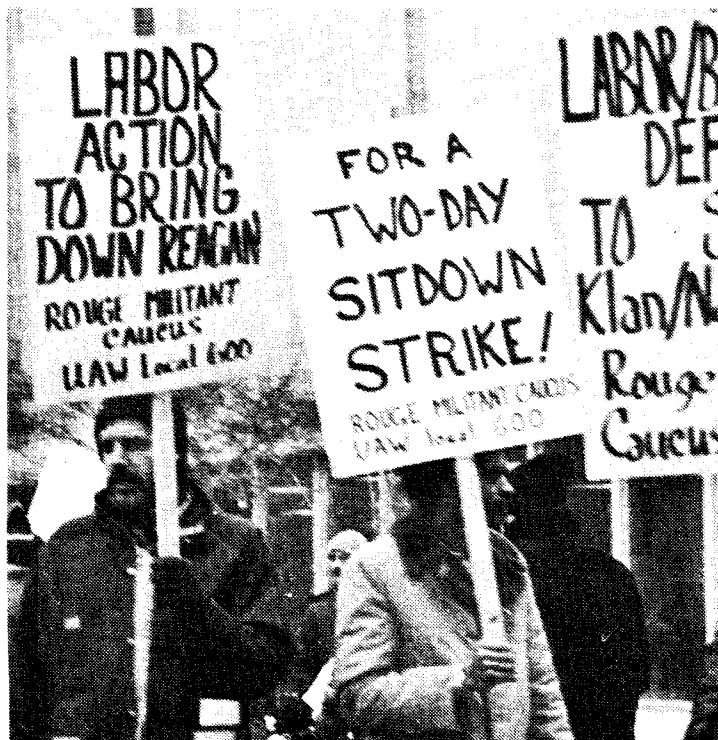
the two of us who work in assembly were able to get back in, we got plenty of threats from Wilson's goons.

WV: How did the membership react?

Hicks: We hit the plant with a leaflet explaining what happened and why. Workers were pissed off. Hell, Wilson and King never organized the defense of anybody in the DAP as well as they organized that goon squad. One of Wilson's thugs was challenged by a sister from Trim in the cafeteria and he changed his tune quick. Suddenly he

was talking about closing Stamping and Frame. The Rouge has gone from 35,000 workers to 15,000 just in the last four years. With six, eight, ten-year layoffs in the trades, they've wiped out all the black workers who fought to get off the line and into the trades. And now they're threatening the assembly plant, the heart of the Rouge. If they're not making cars, you can forget it for the Rouge.

Wilson's running scared. Like we said in our leaflet, the man's got one foot on a



Rouge militants Frank Hicks (left) and Charles DuBois protest Fraser's Chrysler sellout at Detroit's Cobo Hall, February 22.

claimed he was "protecting" us from Wilson's attack. One thing that sure as hell didn't wash was Wilson's branding Charles and the brother from steel as "outsiders" because they work in other units in the Rouge. Charles helped lead the fight to drive out two KKK-hooded foremen three years ago. And nobody in the DAP has forgotten it was Rinaldi and [former DAP chairman Johnny] Vawters who cut the deal with Ford to transfer those foremen to Wixom and Wayne [two other Ford plants]. Every black worker in that plant is safer now for the fight that we made.

WV: What led up to the attack? Why now?

Hicks: I've been at Rouge ten years, and this is the first time I've been gooned at a union meeting. What's happening is that they're closing the Rouge piece by piece. Ford is selling the steel plant and setting us up for more concessions with massive layoffs. They've closed the specialty foundry in the Michigan Casting Center, and they're openly

banana peel and one foot in the grave. He's been on Fraser and Rinaldi's leash for so long, everybody knows he'll try to throttle a fight to save jobs. You reported on the last assembly plant meeting in *Workers Vanguard*, where Wilson jumped in bed with Reagan to proclaim his love for the Polish company union Solidarność, and a brother from our caucus was applauded for exposing Wilson's defense of capitalism. Well, Rinaldi and King were hot after that. At last month's general council meeting they were complaining about the "circus" in DAP. So they planned this attack on us to try to intimidate assembly plant workers who want to fight.

There's no limit on how far they will go to help Ford wipe out our jobs. Rinaldi's latest campaign is a racist boycott against everything Japanese. His people at the general council were openly screaming for another war. Why do they single out the Rouge Militant Caucus? Because we've told the truth, that there won't be a Rouge plant unless we fight. We're fighting for the working-class unity that can win, for joint mass picketing with the Chrysler workers—Chrysler Canada just went out Friday. And for ripping the situation out of [UAW International president Doug] Fraser's hands with elected strike committees. We need a sit-down strike to stop them from closing the assembly plant and turning the Rouge into a corn field—or even if they try to ax an entire shift, which could happen at any time.

Detroit is what counts for auto, and not just auto. We can lead a political fight by workers and blacks that hasn't been seen in decades. We say we don't care how much money Ford and Chrysler and the rest say they have on their books. American bosses have tons of money for their war drive, for milking the companies for their dividends. But every worker in Detroit has got to know that leadership is key. The Local 600 hacks went after us because we are fighting for a class-struggle program that can win.

WV: What was the role of other so-called oppositionists in the meeting? Where did they stand when you were attacked?

Hicks: On the other side. The rottenest ones were those supported by the Revolutionary Workers League [RWL], the CMDUAW and what we call the "United Fraud Caucus." Time and time again they've tried to keep any struggle in our plant from going outside the limits set by Wilson, Rinaldi and Fraser. One of their members from another unit volunteered to leave the union meeting so Wilson could single us out. And when King grabbed me, one of their guys stood off to the side whining that it was "difficult" to defend us. Well, we never expected anything else from a crew that defends the scabbing of their RWL buddies in Ann Arbor on another union. As for the rest of the out-bureaucrats and hustlers, most of them just sat on their hands. These guys have been on the union payroll so long, you wonder if they'd defend their own mother if she got laid off.

WV: Fraser and the Democrats are hailing the elections as a great victory. What do Rouge workers think?

Hicks: We've had some first-hand experience with Democratic Party strikebreakers here in Detroit. [Democratic Congressman John] Conyers and the [Democratic mayor] Coleman Young machine shafted the teachers. And if Chrysler workers go out with their brothers in Canada, like they should, the Democrats will try to cut their throat as quick as Reagan cut PATCO's. But auto workers have got the power to stop them. Wednesday morning after the elections, the brother across the line from me came in really pissed. "George Wallace won in Alabama," he said. "He's the new lesser evil." This brother said he'd marched in Montgomery and Detroit, and asked me "What for?" "Why don't they just make Wallace president, with Bill Wilkinson of the Klan as vice president?" You want to know what being chained to the Democratic Party has gotten us? George Wallace as the lesser evil.

WV: Anything else you'd like to add?

Hicks: Detroit is key. The union bureaucrats, the traitors, are like a paper-thin cover on a pressure cooker. We've been getting it from all sides: layoffs, givebacks and more layoffs. Klan and Nazi firebombing attacks on the West Side. And now with Chrysler the fight is on. Fraser and the Democrats are scared shitless of a victory by any section of this labor and black town. The Solidarity House gang knows that when we have a workers party that fights against the racist capitalist system that's turned our city into a hellhole, they'll be the first to go onto the slag heap. Brothers and sisters who look forward to that day should join and fight with us now. ■

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A Spartacist League/ Workers Vanguard Forum

Detroit Labor Must Fight!

Speaker: **Don Andrews**,
SL Central Committee

Guest
Speaker: **Frank Hicks**
Rouge Militant Caucus
UAW Local 600

Sunday, November 21, 7:30 p.m.
Northwest Activities Center
18100 Meyers Road

For more information
call (313) 961-1680

DETROIT

Spread Canadian Chrysler Strike to Detroit!

Ten thousand angry United Auto Workers (UAW) members struck Chrysler Canada on November 6, determined to take back the givebacks and win wage parity with GM and Ford. With no pay raise since 1979, Chrysler workers are fed up with concessions. No wonder: according to Canadian UAW officials, they have fallen behind their union brothers at Ford and GM in the U.S. by the equivalent of \$7 per hour in wages and benefits! So when Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca flew into Toronto to plead bankruptcy and offer the same takeaway deal U.S. Chrysler workers had turned down, the workers answered him by walking out. Friday morning pickets in Windsor, just across the river from Detroit, torched copies of a letter Iacocca sent to each Chrysler Canada worker threatening that a strike "could put us out of business." One striker told *Workers Vanguard*, "It's been three years too long coming. If Chrysler goes under—too bad!"

But militancy is not enough. UAW sellout artist president Doug Fraser and his Canadian sidekick Bob White have manipulated the situation to isolate the striking Canadian locals from the main body of Chrysler workers, especially the potentially explosive black workers of Detroit. When U.S. workers voted

down Fraser's latest sellout by two-to-one in early October, White postponed the Canadian strike deadline in order to scuttle the possibility of a company-wide strike. This provoked wildcats in Windsor, Ajax and Etobicoke. To split and demoralize the ranks, Solidarity House called an anti-strike referendum for U.S. locals on October 26. Fearing that they could not win a strike saddled with the likes of Fraser, a majority voted to extend the negotiating to New Year's Day.

Only then did White call the Canadian locals out. With its U.S. plants still in operation, Chrysler is naturally hardlining it and says it will not negotiate with the Canadians until January. It will not be easy to turn this situation around. *But it must be done!* Auto militants must act to spread the strike—shut down Chrysler now on both sides of the border! Elect strike committees to launch mass picketing and dispatch delegations to the key Chrysler plants centered in Detroit! A solid company-wide Chrysler strike could spearhead a struggle to throw back all the givebacks, restore the uniform industrywide contract and win a big wage hike.

The Canadian UAW tops made sure that the strikers pouring out of the gates on November 6 got into their cars and



Windsor, Ontario, November 5: Mass picketing at Chrysler van plant. WV Photo

drove off as soon as possible, leaving only a handful of picketers. White and his bunch want no repetition of the militancy in early October, when wildcatters at the Windsor van plant stopped a truck and dumped its load as the driver tried to cross a mass picket line.

The main way in which White & Co. are trying to prevent a company-wide strike is by pushing Canadian nationalism. The Canadian UAW bureaucrats are also doing their best to whip up anti-communism, especially among workers from an East European background. This encourages the worst enemies of the workers movement. Thus, racist English Canadian nationalism emanating from the union brass and the wretched social-democratic New Democratic Party has contributed to the recent growth in Canada of the Ku Klux Klan—imported straight from the U.S. of A. The center of the North American auto industry is in Detroit with its large and combative black proletariat. There can be no major victories against

Chrysler's Iacocca and the other auto bosses unless black Detroit plays an active and leading role.

A fight to take back what Fraser, White & Co. have given back, to restore the uniform industrywide contract and reverse the massive job cuts on both sides of the border will be opposed by these reactionary, chauvinist pro-capitalist misleaders. These basic tasks require an *internationalist* class-struggle leadership which will fight for working-class solidarity across all borders, a leadership that will fight all the protectionist schemes by which the Iacoccas and their ilk set workers against their class brothers in Japan, Europe and elsewhere. A leadership is needed whose starting point is not the limitations of decaying capitalism but the actual needs of the working people, a leadership that is ready to carry the struggles forward to the expropriation of capitalist industry and the establishment of a planned socialist economy under a workers government. ■

Killer Klan...

(continued from page 12)

Fauntroy, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus were there. Mitchell delivered a string of tough-talking one-liners ("Whip the robes off 'em"), and Fauntroy laid on the righteous rhetoric ("Subpoena the conscience of America"). But their real message was "Vote Democratic." Fauntroy welcomed the straggly crowd (some 2,000 total) to Capitol Hill, "which after the election of Tuesday, November 2, becomes a symbol of our nation's hopes."

The infighting between the various front groups was so intense that they barely managed to pull off a single event on November 6 at all. The PARK, dominated by the Moscow-leaning Communist Workers Party (CWP) wanted Marion Barry to deny the Klan a permit. This is suicidal faith in the racist capitalist government, especially from the likes of the CWP whose own members were martyred in Greensboro with the full cooperation and assistance of local, state and federal cops. The NAKN, concerned for the KKK's "first amendment right" to stage racist provocations, originally planned a separate march on the Justice Department calling for enforcement of civil rights legislation. NAKN is a loose coalition of the remnants of the pro-Peking Stalinists of Mike Klonsky/Lyn Wells' disintegrating "Communist Party Marxist-Leninist" with Southern black ministers headed by the SCLC's Rev. C.T. Vivian, who organized in 1979 to provide an "alternative" to the communists in the wake of outrage over Greensboro.

Meanwhile, the APC tried to diffuse anger against the Klan into multi-issue popular-front protests to "roll back Reaganism," with their calls for "money for jobs, not war," while their throw-

away newspaper headlined that Democratic Party gains in the recent election showed an "anti-Reagan shift." The Marcyites ended up doing most of the donkey work for the "unity" coalition. But they all crawled for the Democrats.

What the "responsible" "coalition" leaders feared most was a repetition of the successful rout of the Klan by 1,500 militant protesters when the KKK appeared in Boston on October 16. The leaders of the "unity" coalition feared this as well. Throughout endless hours of speeches, no one ever mentioned the recent rout of the Klan in Boston. It was left to the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League to spread the news. "Klan Run Out!" and "Smash the Klan!" were the headlines of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*. Nearly 800 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold in Washington on November 6.

But the Klan, having successfully rallied in Maryland, has already applied for a permit to march in front of the White House on November 27. A Klan march in Washington, a majority black city, is a mortal threat to all minorities and the entire labor movement. These racist vermin must be driven back into their holes. But it won't be done by Democratic Party politicians in Washington's District Building or on Capitol Hill. It was the party of Jimmy Carter, George Wallace and California Klansman Tom Metzger who paved the way for Klan-backed Reagan.

The forces for victory do exist—in the D.C. labor movement, and more importantly in the heavily-black shipyards, steel mills and docks in the Baltimore/Washington region—to teach the KKK a lesson they'll never forget. In Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor and Chicago, labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League have stopped the fascists cold. It is with such militant labor action, not

hat-in-hand appeals to the Democrats, that the likes of the KKK can be swept off the streets for good. ■

Wallace...

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him ostentatiously to demonstrate that "Mr. Wallace and his supporters are no longer considered disreputable" (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 April 1974). Black Democrat Shirley Chisolm visited Wallace at his bedside. The liberals embraced Wallace as they joined with the racist backlash to kill school integration (busing) in the north.

In the 1982 elections, Wallace the racist populist won the Democratic primaries and faced a genuine right-wing Republican racist gun nut: Mayor Emory Folmar of Montgomery. Even the staid *New York Times* (3 November) captured Folmar's violent mentality:

"Mr. Folmar, a former marine, usually carries a .38-caliber pistol on his hip, drives a car filled with police radios, makes gun-drawn citizen's arrests and has ordered all patrons searched by the police at public events. He is constantly at war with the black members of the Montgomery City Council, and is deeply feared by blacks."

What a choice for black Alabamans! And what a comment on racist America. In a grotesque *In These Times* (27 October) article on the Wallace election, Manning Marable covers up the Democrats' role. Marable is a bigwig in the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) and in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). And both NBIPP and DSA are buried up to their eyebrows in the Democratic Party. So Marable credits Wallace's victory to rhetorical cleverness and his "substantial liberal socio-economic reforms in the state." Of course, Alabama stands near the bottom in state-by-state rank-

ings on all social programs. And Marable never mentions the role of the liberal Democratic leaders like Teddy Kennedy in the "rehabilitation" of Wallace.

Sure, Wallace is a master of right-wing populist demagoguery. Running for president in 1968, he denounced "pointy-headed liberals" in Washington, argued that "there's not a dime's worth of difference" between the two major parties, and pulled ten million votes. But if he's getting black votes today it's not because of populist rhetoric.

Many of the Alabama preachers who mobilized the black vote for Wallace in '82 learned their politics of Democratic Party loyalty from Martin Luther King and the liberal-led civil rights movement. It was King who pushed reliance on the federal government and the Democratic connection. LBJ was his choice against Goldwater, and he turned back the march on Montgomery in 1965 in order to serve the wishes of LBJ and the Justice Department. So it may not be so far from the Pettus Bridge to returning this racist to the Montgomery statehouse after all.

The "black power" SNCC activists of the mid-'60s correctly denounced King's treachery, but were unable to arrive at a working-class perspective and retreated into dead-end black nationalism. As the 1982 elections across the country show, blacks have remained locked into the Democratic Party of racism, strike-breaking and the anti-Soviet war drive. As KKK terrorists train for race war in Alabama gun camps and the Klan threatens to march in Washington, D.C., blacks and labor must mobilize militant mass actions to smash racist terror and bring Reagan down. Both the Republicans and the Democrats, the party of Teddy Kennedy and George Wallace, are greater evils. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Liberals/Reformists Parade for Democrats in D.C.

Killer Klan Must Be Smashed!

Three years after the bloody Greensboro massacre in which leftists, labor organizers and anti-racists were gunned down in broad daylight by fascist killers, the Ku Klux Klan is again loading up their guns, getting their crosses and white sheets and threatening to ride in Washington on November 27. The killer Klan wants to bring their race terror right into the town of Ronald Reagan, the man they endorsed for president. They figure they'll be welcome in this capital of racism on voting rights, tax breaks for segregated schools and anti-Soviet warmongering. They want to come right down Pennsylvania Avenue, at the heart of Reagan's racist, economically depressed America to show that they are the next step to make blacks and minorities really expendable—with the lynch rope. And they can expect to do it with massive police protection.

But Washington isn't Klantown. It's black and nearby are powerful integrated unions. Washington is filled with the enemies of the KKK. The race terrorists must be driven out by tens of thousands of trade unionists, blacks, minorities, socialists and all decent people. Nobody ought to look to the liberals and reformists to run the Klan out. As the recent anti-Klan parade in Washington on November 6 shows, these "coalitions" are above all "concerned" to avoid any "confrontation," while the fascists grab the publicity for their recruitment. So as the leaders of the November 6 march from the Capitol to the Ellipse were congratulating themselves on their "victory," two dozen hooded and robed Ku Klux Klansmen were holding a "support your police" rally in front of TV cameras just a few miles away in Montgomery County, Maryland.

The "Coalition for National Unity Against the Klan," the umbrella group

Remember Greensboro!



Greensboro Daily News

3 November 1979: The message of the Klan is racist murder.

for the November 6 anti-fascist protest, was a squabbling rotten bloc of reformists which has no desire to mobilize the power of labor and blacks needed to

smash the Klan. It included the "National Anti-Klan Network" (NAKN) which advocates "free speech for fascists" to "expose" these terrorist killers through

debate, and "People Against Racism and the Klan" (PARK) which calls on the capitalist government to "ban the Klan." Another component, the "All-Peoples Congress" (APC) wanted to dissolve everything into an all-purpose popular front for the Democrats. And there were still others who wanted to stage adventurist small-group confrontations with the cops protecting the fascists: having done nothing to mobilize local support of any kind, 100 sympathizers of Progressive Labor Party were simply blocked by the police at the KKK site in suburban Maryland.

The day's orgy of class collaboration began in the D.C. suburb of Silver Spring, site of an anti-Klan rally organized by the local "Citizens United Against Hate" and the APC, a front group of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP). APC's "respectable" allies included the Montgomery County Democratic and Republican parties, the Fraternal Order of Police and the Montgomery County Police Association. A Republican Party placard waved proudly in front of APC's banner, "Reagan and the Klan work hand and [sic] hand." while up on stage, Coalition spokesman Barbara Davidson was glad-handing with Maryland Democratic congressman Michael Barnes. Messages were read from U.S. senators Paul Sarbanes and Charles Mathias. But Davidson made the APC message clear: "We are confident. Confident of ourselves, of our neighbors, of the top leaders of our government."

The black Democrats turned out for the rally on the Capitol steps. Although the star attraction of the day, Washington's black Democrat mayor, ex-SNCC leader Marion Barry never showed up, black Democratic Congressman Parren Mitchell of Maryland and Rev. Walter

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The Selling of a Segregationist

George Wallace: Democrats' Racist Overseer

It's as bad as that: Dixiecrat George Wallace, the three-time Alabama governor who started his first term in 1963 with the vow "segregation forever!" was elected for an unprecedented fourth term, sweeping the black vote.

This was the man who presided over Alabama at the height of the civil rights marches of the '60s. He openly denounced his opponents as "nigger-lovers," "pinkos" and "communists." He physically stood in the schoolhouse door at the University of Alabama in 1963 to bar the entrance of black students who were escorted by federal agents—thereby becoming the symbol of diehard Southern racism. He sent the state troopers to gas, club and cattle-prod blacks on the famous

Selma-to-Montgomery march of 1965. Yet the black ministers of Alabama who sang "We Shall Overcome" on the Pettus Bridge in the 1960s today hustle votes for Wallace and denounce Coretta Scott King as an outside agitator. How has it come to this?

The liberal Democrats did it. The fact is that ever since Wallace showed he could command a large racist voting bloc—in 1964, 1968 and 1972—he became a critical factor in the Southern strategy calculations of the Democratic Party. "Good ol' boy" Lyndon Johnson had him into the White House for friendly private chats in the mid-'60s, and later Democratic Party honchos Teddy Kennedy, Henry Jackson and Robert Strauss visited

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A couple of "great white hopes": Liberal Democrats like Teddy Kennedy gave Mr. Segregation bourgeois respectability.

