

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!

Anti-Soviet Nut vs.



Downing/Newsweek



Der Spiegel

Cold War Hawk

OCTOBER 8—Every morning, it seems, Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale get up and ask, "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who's the biggest warmonger of them all?" At this game, Reagan has a distinct advantage. If he loses a debate, with the resources of the Pentagon at his disposal, he can stage another bloody provocation to rally people 'round the flag. He got his missiles into Europe with the dead bodies of the KAL 007 passengers. Now the U.S. Navy is parading warships only eight miles off Nicaragua, they're using napalm in El Salvador, and another blast in Beirut could be a tripwire for the U.S. to launch a "preventive strike"

mercenary forces of the CIA and the Pentagon are already concentrated in the areas bordering Nicaragua in Honduras and Costa Rica. Also ready are the U.S. forces that would be used for bombings, troop landings and direct incursions into Nicaragua.

Will it be an "October surprise," as Ortega warns, or a "December surprise" as the Democrats say? We don't know. But they're already digging trenches in Havana and Managua.

Ronald Reagan has a lot of people scared, and rightly so. In his rap song "Re-Ron," Gil Scott-Heron expresses the fears of many black people at the chilling prospect of "four more years":

"It's the neutron bomb for Lebanon,
it's the gladiator invader of Grenada.
It's millions more for El Salvador,
he's up to his kiesters with the Sandinista.
Would we take Fritz with our grits?
We'd take Fritz the Cat.
Would we take Jesse Jackson?
Hell, we'd take Michael Jackson.
We don't need no re-Ron, we've seen all
the re-runs before."

Cold Warrior Mondale

It isn't easy to compete with Ronald Reagan ("We begin bombing Russia in five minutes") as a Cold War militarist, but Walter Mondale is giving it his best shot. In his latest TV ad the Democratic contender pretends he's General MacArthur. As he inspects military bases in the Philippines and runs around U.S. aircraft carriers, the voiceover drones: "An army veteran, a solid leader, Mondale's defense plan calls for real growth in military spending, combat readiness...." Perhaps upset that Reagan is winning the "gender gap" as a "man's man," the colorless Mondale is out to prove his prowess as a Yankee imperialist pig.

In recent weeks he retrospectively endorsed Reagan's rape of the tiny black West Indian island of Grenada, reaffirmed his opposition to "no first use" of nuclear weapons and voiced support for

the deployment of the first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe earlier this year. In a major foreign policy interview with the *New York Times* (18 September) Mondale joined in the U.S. war on the Nicaraguan revolution, under attack by CIA-directed *contras*, by threatening to "quarantine Nicaragua if it uses any force outside of its borders." Asked how he would respond if the radical nationalist Sandinista government acquired Soviet MIG jet fighters, which they need to defend their country against American attack, he replied, "the Soviets [would] have to get out of there and it means we have to take such steps as to bring about that result." For some time the Sandinistas looked to the Democrats to stop, or at least moderate, Washington's war against them. But now a pro-Sandinista paper in Managua headlines its editorial: "Reagan, Mondale, It's the Same Thing."

In the Near East—a volatile region which could easily be the spark for World War III—Mondale is even more hawkish than Reagan. Sensing that Jewish voters are disturbed by Reagan's close association with Christian fundamentalist demagogues like Jerry Falwell, he is playing the "friend of Israel" line for all it's worth. Unlike the present administration, he promises to recog-

nize Jerusalem as "the capital of that good country," thereby officially underwriting the Zionist rulers' seizure of the Arab West Bank. More generally, he promises "through a strategic cooperation relationship to strengthen Israeli confidence" (as if the Zionist generals are too docile!) Meanwhile, over the latest bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, presidential buck-passing has escalated rapidly, with Mondale accusing Reagan of "letting these terrorists humiliate us and push us around."

It might be funny, except that "combatting international terrorism" is now the code word for U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. And that is deadly business indeed. Mondale's recent statements clearly show to anyone not willfully blind the *bipartisan* nature of the anti-Soviet war drive. What fundamentally unites Republicans and Democrats is their shared conviction that the U.S. must "prevail" over the USSR, and that the spread of "Communism"—social revolutions against imperialist capitalism—must be crushed from Central America to the Soviet Union itself. The workers and oppressed peoples of the world must defend the gains of the Russian October Revolution, despite

continued on page 8



AP
U.S. forces in Honduras poised for invasion of Nicaragua.

against "Soviet surrogates" at any time. Speaking at the United Nations on October 2, Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega warned that the United States was preparing new aerial and naval attacks:

"The military offensive is ready to begin October 15th of this year. The

**Zionism's
Fascist Shock Troops
Polarize Israel /6**

Zionist Israel Divided /7

Victory to Yale Workers!

On October 5, a phalanx of New Haven cops moved in and arrested 190 striking Yale University clerical workers for staging a "non-violent, silent witness for equality" in front of Yale president Giamatti's mansion. Who does Giamatti think he is, some patrician back in the Roman Empire who can have ungrateful plebes thrown to the lions? Drop the charges against the Yale 190! The Spartacus Youth League, which has been actively involved in building support for the strike, calls on Yale students to take a stand for the rights of labor: *Boycott all classes, walk the picket lines, and shut Yale down tight!*

The clerical and technical (C&T) workers, organized by Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees, set their pickets up against the ivied walls of Yale University on September 26 after more than a year of negotiations for their first contract. A key issue for this predominantly female workforce is equal pay for equal work. Yale's fat cat administrators sitting on top of a \$1.1 billion endowment claim they can't afford the union's wage demands! As striker Lucille Dickess noted, "it would appear they want to starve us out."

Last week, members of the IBEW showed up at Yale to make a donation

New Haven, October 5—Striking Yale campus workers face line of cops outside president's mansion before mass arrest of 190. Drop the charges!



Riggs/NY Times

to the strike fund, returning the next day with a squad of 25 pickets to bolster the lines. Yale's maintenance and dining hall workers in Local 35 of the Federation of University Employees (whose contract expires next January) have been honoring the lines of their union brothers and sisters in Local 34. This action by Local 35 has forced the administration to shut down all but one dining hall. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 October) chortles that the "rising Yuppies and Yuppities" of the student body are "underwhelmed" by the strike. In fact, Yalies are groomed to be

capitalist bosses, not just professionals. For students who reject this future as a Yale-trained ruling-class prig, the Spartacus Youth League has something to offer: commitment to the cause of the working class, beginning at Yale with a boycott of classes, to shut the campus down.

Last year, students who ostensibly support Local 34 formed "Students for a Negotiated Settlement" (SNS), and their game is as lousy as their name. Strictly "neutral," they cross picket lines with their "Settle!" buttons gleaming and circulate wimpy petitions stating,

"We, the undersigned, have been forced to cross Local 34's picket line to attend essential academic activities.... We resent being forced to choose between our conscience and our education." SNS members and sympathetic faculty have moved over 100 classes off campus. This token gesture of support for the strike serves only to continue the normal business of the university with a minimum of disruption. The SYL says: No business as usual! A strike affords students an opportunity to get an education in the class struggle. As the old miners' refrain goes, "There are no neutrals here—which side are you on?" Against the impotent moralism of SNS, the SYL has called on Yale students to get out of the classroom to join the workers on the street. Picket lines mean don't cross!

Yale University wanted this strike. The administration thinks it can weather the largest strike in its history and bust the union. But not if labor plays hardball with the Ivy League. The Yale administration will not be moved by moral "witness" and by a "graduated" campaign of pressure tactics. What's needed is militant action, *now*. Mass picketing could quickly seal off the campus, stop all University activities and *win this strike*. And that means solid action by the campus unions, backed up by the local labor movement, faculty and students, to shut Yale down tight! ■

New York Court Lets Lynch Mob Cops Walk

Put Away Racist Murderers of Michael Stewart!

In an outrageous and unprecedented decision on October 6, New York Supreme Court justice George Roberts threw out the manslaughter indictments against three white NYC transit cops involved in the brutal murder of Michael Stewart. Dedicated grand jurors had refused to go along with a D.A. cover-up and insisted on digging

up the truth about the murderous TA police lynch mob.

In the early morning hours of 15 September 1983, Stewart, the black 25-year-old son of a retired NYC transit worker, was arrested and beaten unconscious for allegedly scrawling graffiti in a 14th Street subway station. He was admitted to Bellevue Hospital hog-tied,

handcuffed, with his ankles bound together with surgical tape and with more than 60 wounds on his body. Stewart never recovered consciousness and within two weeks he was dead. A family doctor observed massive hemorrhaging of Stewart's eyes, a symptom of strangulation. Yet when Stewart died city chief medical examiner Elliot Gross claimed the cause of death was a "fall" down stairs and had Stewart's eyes *secretly removed!*

This ghoulish cover-up of police murder has been reinforced by the courts, the prosecutors and the grand jury system. Manhattan district attorney Robert Morgenthau dragged out a grand jury investigation into the Stewart murder for eight months. Eyewitnesses testified that eleven cops, all white, pummeled Stewart during and after his arrest. But only three were charged, and with manslaughter, not murder. Further, the indictment was so legally defective that lawyers for Stewart's parents called it "not worth the paper it is written on; the cover-up must be exposed."

Now even this slap on the wrist has been dropped. Why? At the request of the Transit Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, the cops' "union" which is defending the executioners-in-blue, Justice Roberts ruled that the "integrity of the Grand Jury had indeed been breached" by one of its members, Ronald Fields, a courageous Manhattan schoolteacher. Fields conducted a personal investigation including visiting the murder site, taking photographs and circulating them along with press clips to jurors. As a result, three other jurors visited sites mentioned in the testimony.

The justice said Fields "repeatedly alluded to a 'cover-up' and suggested that the grand jury was not getting all of the evidence." That is the truth! Grand juries are supposed to have complete independence in their investigations. In fact they are rubber stamps for the D.A. Against leftists and black and labor militants, grand juries rubber-stamp witchhunting star chamber proceedings. Against racist killer cops they are rubber stamps for a D.A. cover-up.

Morgenthau attempted to have Fields removed from the grand jury for



Amsterdam News

MICHAEL STEWART

carrying out the ostensible mandate of a grand jury, for conducting the "fair and impartial" investigation the D.A.'s office refused to do. In August Fields went to the state Supreme Court to demand a hearing into the real misconduct of the D.A.'s office which "dominated the grand jury and interfered with its independent functioning." Among other charges, Fields accused Morgenthau's assistants of hindering the jurors from bringing more serious charges against Stewart's killers.

Lawyers for all sides including the Manhattan D.A.'s office have said that after extensive research they could find no other case in the United States in which an indictment was dismissed for grand juror "misconduct." Attorneys for the Stewart family and Fields have called on Governor Cuomo to appoint a special prosecutor. But in this racist capitalist society where the lynch mob murderers of black transit worker Willie Turks are turned loose to roam the streets again, there's no justice for the oppressed in the bourgeois courts.

The heavily integrated Transport Workers Union (TWU) should take the lead in mobilizing the social power of NYC labor to demand vengeance for Willie Turks and Michael Stewart. Put the lynch mob murderers and racist killer cops in Attica and throw away the key! ■



TROTSKY

New Deal "Liberalism" and Yankee Imperialism

The founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1938 recognized that behind the "democratic" rhetoric of Roosevelt's New Deal lay the predatory aims of U.S. imperialism. Then as now Democratic Party "liberalism" meant bloody repression and colonial exploitation for the Latin American masses.



LENIN

The Roosevelt administration, despite all its bland pretensions, has made no real alteration in the imperialist tradition of its predecessors. It has emphatically reiterated the vicious Monroe Doctrine; it has confirmed its monopolistic claims over Latin America at the Buenos Aires Conferences; it has given the sanctification of its approval to the unspeakable regimes of Vargas [in Brazil] and Batista [in Cuba]; its demand for a bigger navy to police not only the Pacific but also the Atlantic is an example of its determination to wield the armed force of the United States in defense of its imperialist might in the southern part of the hemisphere. Under Roosevelt, the policy of the iron fist in Latin America is sheathed in the velvet glove of demagogic pretensions of friendship and "democracy."

—Fourth International Founding Conference, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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12 October 1984

Bradley, Coleman Campaign in S.F.

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

SAN FRANCISCO—Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman are the Spartacist League's candidates for SF Board of Supervisors. Their campaign is a platform for the SL's revolutionary program. Richard Bradley was hailed by Bay Area working people of all races for twice ripping down the Confederate flag, vile banner of slavery and Klan terror, which Democratic mayor "Dixie Dianne" Feinstein had flying at SF Civic Center. Bradley and Coleman say it will take a working-class revolution in America to fulfill the Civil War's promise of black equality: "Finish the Civil War!—For black liberation through socialist revolution!"

Candidate Diana Coleman presented the Marxist perspective—in contrast to the bankrupt reformism of anti-Soviet, pro-Democratic Party "pressure" politics—when she spoke from the floor at an election forum September 26 at SF State sponsored by Socialist Action (SA), which is running Sylvia Weinstein

ly oppressed masses are courageously resisting the brutal apartheid state. Declaring Polish Solidarność "magnificent," she snarled at Coleman: "So don't give me any crap about what you think of the Polish members of Solidarność who are going to South Africa, or would probably go to any other country, to escape the prisons and the oppression of the Soviets and the Stalinist bureaucracy of Poland"! For Weinstein, credentials in "anti-Stalinism" apparently cancel out anything. But indeed, thousands of Solidarność members emigrated not from Poland, but from Vienna where they were already in exile! They chose to live in South Africa, where there is privilege and luxury... if you are white and prepared to support the racist torturers' regime. You can bet these stalwarts of CIA "trade unionism" in Poland aren't championing the South African black unions' fight against apartheid slavery.

The British *Economist* (9 January 1982) put it bluntly:

"Polish refugees have escaped with little more than their skins, but those skins are white.... Recruitment of immigrants is a soft option for companies which might otherwise be forced to expand their black training programmes."

The imperialists and their labor agents, the AFL-CIO Cold Warriors, hypocritically manipulated the Polish workers' disaffection with the incompetent, repressive Polish Stalinist bureaucracy. They seek to turn the masses toward Western "democracy"—i.e., capitalist restoration for imperialist profit, making Poland into NATO's Eastern Front, thereby taking a giant step toward nuclear war, and turning the Polish masses over to wage slavery, mass unemployment and the tender mercies of the anti-Semites and the pope.

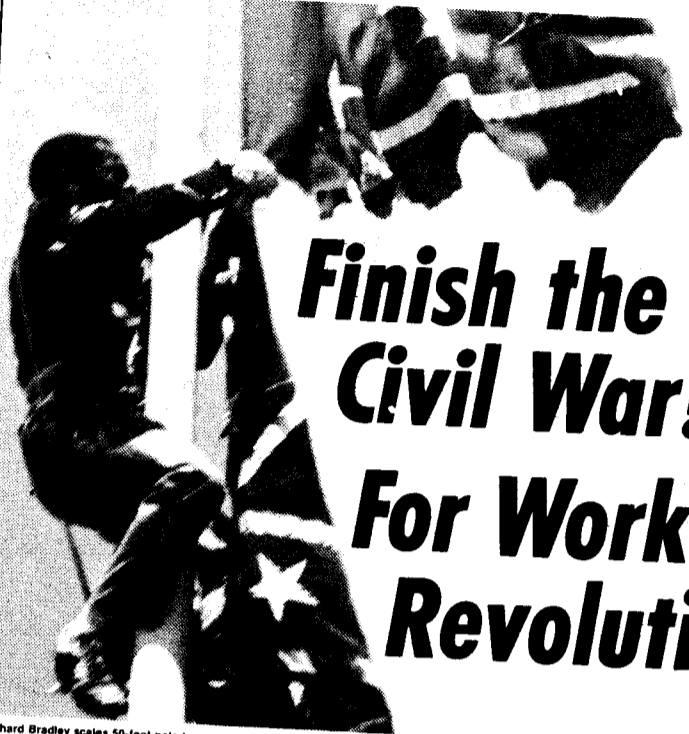
To recover the historically socialist traditions of the Polish working class from the Stalinist pretenders who drive the people into the arms of NATO and Catholic reaction, what is required is a Trotskyist party, struggling against Solidarność clerical reaction, to fight for workers political revolution against the bureaucrats and in *defense* of the historic gains of the Russian October Revolution and all its extensions. Sylvia Weinstein and SA stand on the *other side*. In December 1981 Nat Weinstein and others marched for Solidarność alongside the Libertarian Party, anti-Communist fans of Milton Friedman's free-market starvation "shock treatment" on behalf of Pinochet's Chilean junta.

At that moment, when all the Cold Warriors were weeping for Solidarność, New York's *Amsterdam News* (2 January 1982) felt obliged to point out that the poor starving Poles eat better than a lot of people in Harlem, or Haiti:

"Who can say that they have seen in Poland any conditions that approach what is commonplace in Haiti? Who can honestly assert that living conditions or political liberty is anywhere as bad in Poland as they are in Haiti?... 'The Haitians—and the Black South Africans are another example of America's hypocritical concern with political liberty—are not abused by a Communist tyrant. They are Black, unskilled and illiterate.'"

While the *Amsterdam News*, for years the mouthpiece of the most conservative section of the black "establishment," tries for credibility among its restless readership, comrade Sylvia Weinstein is sensitive to another constituency. SA's campaign is geared to the petty-bourgeois rad-libs who have fallen in line behind the anti-Soviet crusade of both war-crazy Reagan and the

"We Tore Down the Flag of Slavery!"



Richard Bradley scales 50-foot pole to remove the Confederate flag of slavery and the KKK in San Francisco's Civic Center April 15.

Finish the Civil War!
For Workers Revolution!

Vote Spartacist

Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman

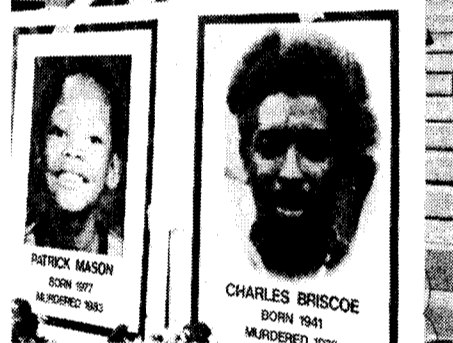
For S.F. Board of Supervisors

• Smash Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!
• Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

• Smash Taft-Hartley—Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

• U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off Central America!
• Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign-Born Workers!

Spartacist Party Campaign Committee Suite 421, 55 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94104 863-6964



WV Photo

Diana Coleman at 1983 Oakland rally for victimized phone workers.

for Supervisor. Weinstein—who was a frequent candidate of the Socialist Workers Party until the SWP's massive bureaucratic purge of oppositionists—now represents the social-democratic SA group. Coleman confronted Weinstein over SA's fulsome support for anti-socialist Polish Solidarność:

"We condemned Solidarność as a company union; the pope and Wall Street's hope for capitalist restoration in Poland. That's why Reagan who smashed PATCO loves Solidarność. I think it is revealing that Solidarność activists who have tired of trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, the bastion of the 'free world.' So let me suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask the anti-apartheid militants of South Africa who are fighting the repressive regime there what they think of Polish anti-communists who go to South Africa to live off the superexploitation of blacks."

Weinstein, typically, rose to the defense of the émigrés, at a moment moreover when South Africa's hideous-

Democrats.

In contrast to SA's anti-Soviet, low-level reformism campaign—whose slogan is "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need and the Navy has to hold a bake sale to buy a ship"—Spartacist candidate Coleman explained from the floor that the capitalist state cannot be "reformed" into working on behalf of the toiling masses. The tasks of American revolutionists are to lead the working people to establish their own class rule:

"Our program is the program of socialist revolution, something which I notice is never mentioned in your brochure.... We know that capitalism can't be changed at the ballot box. Unlike you, who are running to 'bring working-class representation into city government,' we fight for a *workers* government that will expropriate all major industry and establish a planned socialist economy. Social-democratic politics are a disaster for the working class. As for reforms, which we are in favor of, they are a by-product of the struggle for revolution!..."

"You gave as your qualification that you helped organize the Greyhound strike solidarity committee. Well, let's be more blunt about these things: Socialist Action, as waterboys for the trade-union bureaucracy, gooned with the bureaucrats and sometimes the San Francisco police to protect the Greyhound bus station against hundreds and thousands of workers who were chanting 'Pickit lines mean don't cross!' and who wanted to stop scabs and stop scab buses. You accused the Spartacist League of trying to give leadership to that struggle. Damn right! We will do our duty as proletarian revolutionists and attempt to give leadership to the coming wave of class battles and the coming American revolution."

"And unless the American revolution coincides exactly with international proletarian revolution, we workers may need a Red Army and a Red Navy, and they won't be funded by bake sales."

SA supporters' gooning for the sellout bureaucrats against militant workers at Greyhound is a direct continuation of the class-collaborationist role they all learned to play so well during the SWP's "leadership" of the right wing of the antiwar movement during Vietnam.

Following the forum, Weinstein could only cry "Never!" to Coleman's proposal that the two candidates hold a formal debate. And when Diana rejoined, "Is this a continuation of the SWP's policy of debating Klansmen like Metzger but not the 'commies'?" Weinstein stormed out of her own meeting. Of course, if Weinstein really hopes to avoid political debate with the Spartacist League (for now, anyway), she can join her Polish friends in South Africa.... ■

Spartacist Forum

Meet the Candidates!

Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors

Friday, October 26, 7:30 p.m.
Ella Hill Hutch Community Center
1050 McAllister St.

For more information: (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Please send further information on the campaign.

I endorse the campaign of Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman for SF Board of Supervisors.

Enclosed is \$ _____ contribution to the campaign.

Help build the campaign! Call (415) 863-6964.

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55 Sutter St., Suite 421, San Francisco, CA 94104

Australian Dockers Hot-Cargo Ship to South Africa

MELBOURNE, Australia—Labour action in solidarity with South African black miners and black townships fighting bloody apartheid terror is continuing in ports around Australia. On October 7 the *Safoccean Mildura*, a Dutch-registered ship with cargo bound for South Africa, was blacked ["hot-cargoed"] for 24 hours by waterside workers (longshoremen) in Melbourne. This action followed earlier bans initiated in Sydney by maritime unions against shipping to South Africa in protest at the state terror coming down against the current explosive upsurge of black struggle against the apartheid regime.

On September 6, in the wake of murderous repression of mass protests against rent hikes in black townships like Sharpeville, the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) blacked the *Safoccean Nederburg*, a South African freighter on the Safoccean service. As soon as the watersiders lifted their ban the tugmen in the Firemen and Deckhands Union of New South Wales slapped on their own ban, which kept

the ship idle for another 48 hours. According to the Melbourne WWF's 11 September *Official Branch News*, 24-hour bans hit the *Safoccean Nederburg* in every port the vessel visited. Stan Clarke, acting secretary of the Melbourne WWF, indicated that the *Safoccean Mildura* would get the same treatment when it visited the Port of Adelaide in South Australia and Fremantle on Australia's west coast.

Australian maritime unions have a long history of solidarity with black struggle against apartheid, and were known internationally for their political strikes and actions against the Vietnam War. These traditions continue to have a real base on the waterfront. At times of sharp social struggle like right now in South Africa, international labour action is crucial. To strike a blow against the apartheid rulers, the recent bans against the *Nederburg* and *Mildura* ships must be extended to all cargo bound to or from South Africa. This kind of class-struggle action must be taken up in ports around the world! ■

Freedom and Asylum for Durban's Six Anti-Apartheid Fighters!

western union

Telegram

7 OCTOBER 1984

TO: SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ
STATE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER LOUIS LE GRANGE
PRETORIA, SOUTH AFRICA

FOR THEIR COURAGEOUS OPPOSITION TO PRETORIA'S NEW RACIST CONSTITUTION, WHICH REINFORCES APARTHEID DISENFRANCHISEMENT AND ENSLAVEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK MAJORITY, SIX MEMBERS OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS AND UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WERE FORCED TO SEEK REFUGE IN BRITISH CONSULATE IN DURBAN. NOW THREE OF THEM WHO LEFT THE CONSULATE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED UNDER SOUTH AFRICA'S DRACONIAN DETENTION LAWS WHICH REQUIRE NEITHER CHARGES NOR TRIAL AND WHOSE VICTIMS ARE FREQUENTLY TORTURED AND MURDERED. THE REFUSAL OF U.S. AND BRITAIN TO GRANT ASYLUM TO THESE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID TERROR AGAIN CONDEMNS THE REAGAN AND THATCHER GOVERNMENTS AS GUARDIANS OF PRETORIA'S BRUTAL APARTHEID REGIME. PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE DEMANDS BOTH A GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY FREE THE THREE AND GRANT SAFE CONDUCT TO THESE SIX FIGHTERS FOR ELEMENTARY CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY. WE DEMAND U.S. GRANT THEM POLITICAL ASYLUM.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Class Struggle Can Topple Rightist Strongman Jayewardene

Victory to Women Textile Strikers in Sri Lanka!

For the past three months, workers in the industrial town of Ratmalana near Colombo, Sri Lanka, have waged a solid and determined strike against Magnum Garments Ltd. The strikers are young Sinhalese women. *WV* has received an urgent appeal from the Magnum strikers, members of the All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, signed by the union's general secretary, S. Siriwardene. "The strike now enters the 60th day," wrote Siriwardene on September 12. "Our members are determined to break the intransigence of the Management. We need your support to sustain this struggle.... We make this appeal in the spirit of international solidarity with the struggling workers of the world." The strikers are demanding payment of a 100 rupee wage increase (U.S. \$4 a month) won after a strike last February, which the arrogant bosses are now refusing to pay. Currently the Magnum workers earn a maximum of 23.5 rupees a day, the equivalent of 94 cents!

This summer, a militant six-month strike at Polytex Garments Ltd. came to an end with an agreement between management and the workers, who belong to the Industrial Transport and General Workers Union. Among the provisions was a substantial wage increase and the reinstatement of seven women dismissed for union organizing. The Polytex victory was particularly important because the plant is one of the Jayewardene government's pet projects, the Greater Colombo Economic Commission Area, established for the benefit of foreign capitalists. Here, as in the so-called Free Trade Zones, sweatshop conditions prevail while union organizing is made all but illegal. The Polytex victory was a victory for all the thousands of young Sinhalese women, like those at Magnum Garments, brought in from the rural areas, living in barracks conditions far from their families, to be worked practically to death and then discarded, their health ruined, after an average of five years work.

At the request of the union leadership at Polytex, the Spartacist League of Lanka had initiated an international

Young Sinhalese women at Magnum Garments have been on strike since July.



solidarity campaign. Telegrams were sent from unions and other organizations in England, France and Canada. In Australia, Spartacist comrades collected the equivalent of more than 8,700 rupees for the strikers. About two dozen Polytex strikers attended a support demonstration built by Spartacist comrades at Colombo University; most of the students who turned out for it were women undergraduates, many of whom donated funds for the strikers.

These outbursts of courageous class struggle by oppressed Sinhalese women workers at Polytex and Magnum occur against the backdrop of deepening poverty of the masses and draconian repression by J.R. Jayewardene's rightist government. Strongman Jayewardene is trying to sell the country to the imperialists for unrestrained economic exploitation and military convenience. His most brutal blows have fallen on the Tamil population, who are mainly Hindus, a national minority of about 3 million in a country of 12 million mainly Buddhist Sinhalese. Army terror in the Tamil north and government-orchestrated mass pogroms against the Tamil minority in the south and on the upland plantations—aimed in part at securing strategic Trincomalee harbor on the historically Tamil east coast for U.S. imperialist military aims in the Indian Ocean—have resulted in exodus of Tamils into

the north, where a low-level insurgency resists the Sinhalese military occupation. In August in the northern region around Jaffna, the government launched another military campaign of terror: hundreds were killed or rounded up as "suspected terrorists" while thousands were left homeless as villages were razed to the ground.

The Tamil youth of the north, facing the full fury of J.R.'s bonapartism, aim by their militant resistance to the army occupation to break the north and east away and establish a Tamil nation of "Eelam." Marxists defend the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. And recognizing that the pogroms have forcibly separated the island's peoples, we support the right to Tamil Eelam. We understand why the Sinhalese population—abandoned to chauvinist "leadership" when the class-collaborationist "left" (with very honorable exceptions) capitulated to Sinhalese communalism in the late 1950s—as one seamless reactionary mass. But the Sinhalese masses are not South African whites living in luxury by participating in racist superexploitation, but impoverished workers and peasants mercilessly ground down by their strikebreaking government and starved by the capitalists and the imperialist plunderers of the IMF. They are scarcely different from their Tamil cousins.

The Sinhalese women striking the textile sweatshops show the potential for class struggle throughout the island against J.R., as did the strike last spring of the hideously oppressed but economically strategic plantation workers. Several hundred thousand workers on the tea "estates"—mainly women and overwhelmingly Tamils who are "stateless" in their own country—held out against vicious intimidation and won their demands. The Jaffna militants struggling for their national liberation must look toward a fighting unity of all the class enemies of J.R.'s capitalist tyranny, or their "Eelam" will be an enclave of impoverished refugees in the barren north, totally dependent on capitalist India's Mrs. Gandhi—brutal oppressor of her own national minorities—for support against bloody Sinhalese reaction holding sway over the rest of the island. Sections of the Tamil nationalists and their bourgeois leaders hope eagerly for a massive Indian intervention to reverse the terms of communalist oppression on the island, as has happened more than once in Cyprus. This is what the Sinhalese fear, and what drives many into the arms of the racist rulers.

Only the perspective of international class struggle in defense of the Tamils and all the exploited and oppressed offers a way forward. Today the courageous women at Magnum Garments need international support. Victorious proletarian struggle can squash Jayewardene's plans to make the island a haven for the U.S. military in the escalating war drive against the Soviet Union. It can bring down Jayewardene and his regime of genocide. It can open the door to the revolutionary organization of the oppressed masses of Lanka, as a staging area for socialist revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent.

We urge our readers to send contributions and telegrams of support for the Ratmalana strikers to: All Ceylon Commercial and Industrial Workers' Union, 457, Union Place, Colombo 2, Sri Lanka. Victory to the Magnum Garments strikers! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Moscow Says "Nyet" to Honecker Trip

East Germany's Dangerous Flirtation with Bonn

Defend the Soviet Union and DDR!

Not this time, anyway! The West German bourgeoisie is disappointed. They would have been only too happy to see DDR [East German] state council chairman Erich Honecker come begging to West Germany. After Christian Democratic politician Franz Josef Strauss slipped billions in loans to East Germany, Honecker's projected visit was seen as one more step in the strategy of tying the DDR more closely to the West, making it economically dependent and thus systematically undermining the socialist foundations of the DDR. The bait was to be an inter-German "Marshall Plan," so that the bourgeoisie could reconquer the eastern regions lost in the Second World War.

That is how the "peaceful" policy of German imperialism plays a key role in Reagan's mounting anti-Soviet war drive. But Moscow's "nyet" threw a

ABRIDGED FROM SPARTAKIST
NO. 51, SEPTEMBER 1984

monkey wrench into their counterrevolutionary plans. We Trotskyists say: Stop Honecker's dangerous flirtation with West German imperialism! Only revolutionary reunification can overcome the division of Germany, in the framework of a United Socialist States of Europe. The nationalist "alternative"—whether decked out in revanchist red-white-black [imperial] colors or cloaked with social-democratic/Stalinist claptrap about a fictitious "neutral Germany"—means bloody counterrevolution. Any attempt to form a capitalist Fourth Reich would unleash a Third World War—and this time not only Germany but all of humanity would be destroyed in an atomic holocaust.

Aware of German imperialism's increased economic, political and military strength, the German bourgeoisie is increasingly frank in bandying about its



Above: East German Stalinist Erich Honecker (left) pursues detente with Bonn chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) even after first-strike Pershing 2 missiles, aimed at Soviet Union, are deployed in West Germany.

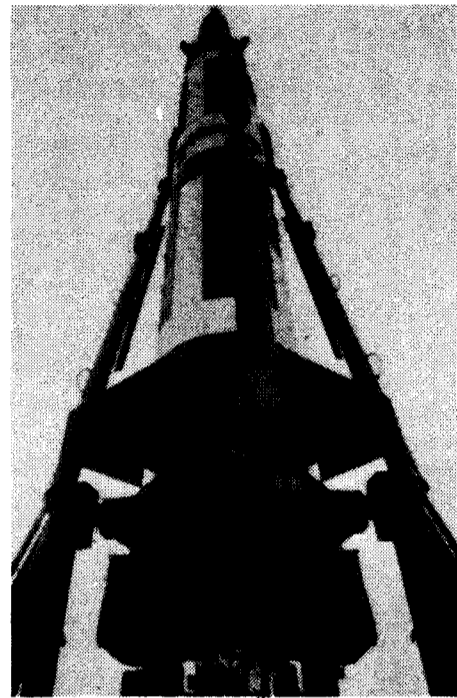
revanchist appetites. To date, it still hasn't recognized the DDR as a sovereign state and it still claims to speak for the populace of the DDR. The "Minister for Internal German Relations," Heinrich Windelin, engages in rabble-rousing at "Exiles Conventions," and Helmut Kohl talks of "overcoming the unnatural line... which not only divides Germany: on the other side of the Wall are not just old German cities and provinces—Weimar, Leipzig, Dresden, Eisenach; on the other side of this dividing line also lie Prague and Bucharest and Budapest, and of course Warsaw and Cracow too." It's all Europe he's after! *Pravda's* July 27 headline incisively characterized the goals of German imperialism: "Revanchism Blooms in the Shadow of American Missiles."

The tactical differences with their American NATO partners and President Reagan—whose "voice test" remark, "We begin bombing in five minutes," was no joke (like the KAL 007 provocation in September 1983, it was the expression of concrete war preparations)—don't make German imperialism the least bit more peaceful. There's a joke in NATO circles that a "tactical nuclear weapon" is one that explodes over Germany. The German bourgeoisie doesn't want a war that it can't win here and now. But it is armed to the teeth, and with the lifting of the West European Union's ban on it producing strategic bombers and long-range mis-

siles, West Germany has become the full-fledged and strongest bulwark of Europe. And its road to taking back "Pomerania," "Silesia" and "East Prussia," Saxony, Thuringia and East Berlin is through economic blackmail and undermining of the DDR and the East European workers states.

When the scab union Solidarność, that willing instrument of the CIA and the West German banks, attempted to seize power in Poland, the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands [TLD, German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency] warned that Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland would also endanger the foundations of the East German workers state—and wouldn't stop there, of course. Capital still dreams of a victory parade through Moscow. West German businessmen used to joke that if the Poles couldn't pay up, they should take out a mortgage on "Silesia" and "Pomerania." Nothing doing! Against the German bourgeoisie's revanchist appetites, their bloody *Drang nach Osten* [drive to the East], we counterpose the revolutionary mobilization of the German proletariat.

With the rising unemployment, mass layoffs and factory closures in the West, it's not hard to see that the smashing of private ownership of the means of production, the planned economy and the state monopoly of foreign trade are historic gains of the workers states, which must be defended by the workers



Reininger/Contact

of the world despite the usurpation of power by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

SPD Nationalism: An Anti-Soviet Weapon

When Honecker canceled his visit under Soviet pressure, the SPD heaped scorn on the Bonn government. In a *Spiegel* interview, opposition Social Democratic Party leader Willy Brandt boasted that he represented the better national party and castigated Kohl as a dilettante. Brandt humorously recounted how former CDU economics minister Ludwig Erhard once asked him how many billions it would take to buy back the DDR. Brandt knows that money alone can't buy the DDR, that it will also take a political agency of counterrevolution in the workers state.

The SPD poses as the truly national party with a greater distance from American imperialism. According to Brandt, "Even given my loyalty to the Atlantic alliance, no one has ever told me that the current alignments are history's final verdict." Thus the SPD waged its "missile election campaign" in 1983 as a loyal party of NATO and the Bundeswehr [West German army]. The nationalist "left" and the petty-bourgeois Greens are tailing along in the wake of the SPD, supporting its carefully groomed image of a "social-democratic alternative."

Based on its tradition as a reformist party, and as the "left" flank of nationalism, the SPD exploits the yearning for peace and the national sentiment of the working masses in West and East Germany. But a peaceful counterrevolution in Germany, a peaceful reunification on a capitalist basis, is a social-democratic illusion that even the SPD leadership doesn't believe. A Fourth German Reich means barbarism and atomic holocaust.

Honecker's Dangerous Flirtation with the West

It wasn't so much the desire for new loans that was drawing Erich Honecker to Bonn, but his attempts to keep an inter-German detente alive in the midst of imperialist preparations for war against the Soviet Union. In an interview with *Neues Deutschland* (20 August) Honecker declared: "In view of

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Camera Press

Left: At Yalta conference in February 1945 Stalin (right) agreed to divide Germany with Western imperialists Churchill and Roosevelt. Right: Soviet Red Army liberates Berlin from Nazi rule, May 1945.



Yevgeni Khaldei

Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops

Polarize Israel

Arabs, Jewish Protesters Drive Kahane Out of Town

Riding a wave of right-wing agitation for a genocidal "final solution" to the "Arab question," Zionist fascist Meir Kahane was recently elected to the Israeli parliament (Knesset). But when Kahane, using his parliamentary immunity, announced he was going to march on the Arab village of Um El Fahm in northern Israel to "register" Arabs for forcible deportation, he was opposed by a rare demonstration of Arab-Jewish unity. On August 29, more than 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters mobilized together to stop Kahane and three busloads of his armed thugs from their murderous provocation. Under a hail of stones, the Kahane thugs were held off and finally escorted away by the cops.

The Hitler-like rabbi called Um El Fahm "a nest of vipers and Jew-haters" which has "no right to exist," because "there are no Arab towns, only Jewish towns occupied by Arabs." Kahane was threatening to carry out inside Israel proper the same kind of anti-Arab terror that is commonplace in the occupied West Bank. This was seen as a threat to Israel's internal equilibrium, with its pretense of democratic rights for the Arab minority. Anti-Kahane Jewish demonstrators came from throughout the country to join residents of this town in the predominantly Arab region of Galilee. They gathered at the entrance to the town and lined the main road to Um El Fahm, many wearing yellow stars with the Hebrew words for "Racism Won't Pass."

Today, the main political currents of the Zionist establishment, "Labor" Alignment and Likud, have united in a coalition government. And the government is deeply intertwined with ultraright terrorist organizations like Gush Emunim. This interpenetration is being revealed daily in the trial of 25 members of the Jewish "underground." These Zionist terrorists are responsible for planting bombs that crippled two West Bank Palestinian mayors. They threw hand grenades and machine-gunned students at Hebron's Islamic University, killing three. They also planned to bomb five Arab buses and blow up two of Islam's holiest shrines in East Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aksa Mosque. Yet the *New York Times* (17 September) reports that their trial is conducted in a "picnic atmosphere" with police guards and spectators warmly greeting the murderous defendants.

The extreme rightward polarization of Israeli Jewish society in the aftermath of the 1982 Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon has turned notorious mass murder-



Bar-Am/NY Times

Um el Fahm, Galilee, August 29: 20,000 Israeli Arabs and 2,000 Jewish protesters repulse Zionist fascist Meir Kahane and his murderous henchmen.

ers like Ariel Sharon, the butcher of Sabra and Shatila, into heroes among large sectors of the population. This growth of fanatical ultraright Zionism and especially its clerical fascistic stormtroopers has shocked many secular Jews of European (Ashkenazi) origin. They themselves are threatened: remember Emil Grunzweig, murdered at a 1983 "Peace Now" demonstration in Jerusalem by a hand grenade as Begin/ Sharon supporters, mainly "Oriental" Jews from Arab countries, chanted, "We shall kill you. . . . We shall give you a holocaust." At Um El Fahm, a Kahane supporter threatened, "When we finish with the Arabs, we intend to deal with the Jewish leftists and doves."

Kahane, a Brooklyn-born rabbi who for years tried to pass as a gentile, "Michael King," became notorious in the U.S. for building the ultraright terrorist Jewish Defense League, which attacked black militants and bombed Soviet diplomatic offices. Emigrating to Israel in the early 1970s, he built a fascist cult called the Kach party. Openly campaigning for the expulsion and genocide of Palestinian Arabs from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, Golan, Gaza and southern Lebanon as well as the 600,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens, Kahane's armed thugs, often Jews from the U.S., have terrorized Arab communities and schools.

"Labor" Zionism Produced Sharon

Kahane is a convenient lightning rod for a Zionist establishment no less dedicated to the repression and extermination of the Palestinian Arab people and possessing the sovereignty of armed state power. Jewish support for the Um El Fahm demonstration came not only from Israel's left and its large liberal Zionist "peace" movement, but also from Labor Alignment. In fact the keynote speaker at the Um El Fahm protest was Jerusalem's "Labor" mayor Teddy Kollek, who rules over annexed Arab East Jerusalem where brutal beatings by the infamous Border Police

are a daily occurrence. Kollek presents the liberal face of Zionism, talking of Jewish-Arab coexistence while selling tax-deductible Israel Bonds to American Jews to finance Sharon's murderous exploits.

Not coincidentally, both Sharon and Kollek had the same mentor, David Ben Gurion. A kibbutznik, leader of the Jewish settlement in Palestine and Israel's first prime minister and defense minister, Ben Gurion played at being both a "socialist" visionary and ruthless exponent of Zionist expansionism. His vision was that of one of his favorite Bible quotes, from "Exodus": "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land." Needless to say, for the Zionists, the Canaanites of the Bible are the Arabs of today.

In the early 1950s, while fortifying an Israel flush with the conquests of 1948-49 and ruled by "Labor" Zionists, Ben Gurion sought another dimension to his Bible-inspired plans. Ariel Sharon was selected by Ben Gurion to form "Unit 101," a secret military force to stage "retaliatory" raids on neighboring Arab countries. One of Sharon's major operations was an attack on the town of Kibyah where 69 Arab residents, mostly women and children, were blown up in their homes. Unit 101, whose members were rigorously selected, came mainly from the kibbutzim. As Israel Shahak has noted: "Sharon knows well, as Begin does not know, that the kibbutzim and the moshavim (the 'working settlements') produce the best available murderers in Israel."

While today some elements of "Labor" take fright at the growing respectability of fascist terrorist gangs in Israel, this coalition of thoroughly bourgeois and Zionist parties created Israel through bloody expulsion of the Palestinian Arab nation. In 1948 they got rid of practically all Arabs along the Mediterranean coast (Haifa, Jaffa, Acre,

etc.). And where a few large concentrations of Arabs remained, such as in Nazareth, the Zionists embarked on the "Judaization of the Galilee." Upper Nazareth, overlooking Arab Nazareth, was created by settling Ashkenazi Jews there, assuring a surrounded and "pacified" Arab population.

But after the 1967 "Six Day War" in which they took the West Bank, Gaza, Sinai and the Golan Heights, Israelis could no longer pose as enlightened Jews making the desert bloom through "socialistic" experiments. The Zionists' "Greater Israel" subjected a million and a half Arabs to the systematic terror of colonial rule. No longer was it "conquest of labor" and "conquest of land"—expelling Palestinians while exploiting Hebrew workers. While Israel is not South Africa, its economy has become increasingly dependent on the superexploitation of Palestinian Arab labor. The result was the rise of kill-crazy religious sects and a new generation of bloodthirsty "sabras" who revel in keeping Arabs under the Zionist jackboot.

Even under the right-wing Likud governments of Menachem Begin and his even more fanatical successor, Yitzhak Shamir, Kahane's terrorist pronouncements and acts have been denounced and he has received an occasional light sentence. But as a former Israeli paratrooper told the *New York Times* (14 August) at an anti-Kahane protest during the opening of the Knesset: "Kahane did not just come from the sky. He says brutally what a lot of Israelis say quietly. He's a fruit of the occupation." A poll conducted on the eve of the recent elections showed that 15 percent of Israeli Jews supported deporting Palestinian Arabs from the occupied territories; another 43 percent supported an apartheid solution in which they could stay only if deprived of all political rights.

Shamir has not forgotten his own days in the terrorist underground as a leader of the Stern Gang which together with Begin's Irgun murdered 254 unarmed Palestinian villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948. He now claims that the acts of the present Zionist "underground" are not terrorist but merely "unauthorized military activities." Moreover, a number of Gush Emunim supporters of this modern-day "underground" are army officers high up in the military administration of the occupied West Bank. Another recent poll of Israeli Jews showed that almost a third supported the actions of these genocidal terrorists.

As the courageous Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak noted in a recent interview with *Workers Vanguard*: "Israeli Jewish society is being more polarized and about half of it is being rapidly Nazified. The more the U.S.A. supports Israel, the greater and more rapid will that Nazification be." The Zionist Hitlerite Kahane represents not only a broadly supported genocidal campaign but the fact that ultraright Zionism, which is increasingly becoming "respectable" in Israel, is fueled by cadres and money from the U.S.

Zionist Fortress in Crisis

The Zionist fortress is in deep social crisis. Israeli expansionism, especially the ruinous Lebanese war and occupation, has ravaged the economy, generating a 400 percent a year inflation rate. A restless working class has seen its real wages fall 15 percent under Likud. And the armed forces are demoralized by the prolonged occupation of southern Lebanon in the face of stubborn Arab

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Jerusalem: Trial of Zionist terrorists conducted in "picnic atmosphere."

Israel Shahak on: Zionist Israel Divided

Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, is a renowned fighter for Palestinian rights and a perceptive and scathing critic of Zionism. He is a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp who immigrated to Palestine in 1945. Like the best of his generation of Jewish immigrants, Shahak is acutely sensitive to the parallels between Zionist Israel and Nazi Germany, especially in the aftermath of the 1982 Israeli blitzkrieg into Lebanon and the Israeli-sponsored anti-Palestinian holocaust at Sabra and Shatila.

Shahak, along with many liberals and reformists, looked to Reagan and the bourgeois Zionist "Labor" Alignment to tame Begin/Sharon. Nevertheless, Shahak has been relentless in exposing the hypocrisy of "Labor" which created and ruled Israel for 28 years through first the expulsion and then the oppression of the Palestinians. Of even greater importance for the American left has been his insistence that support for Israel from both the U.S. government and the U.S. Zionist movement has fueled the growing Nazification of the Israeli state.

Workers Vanguard expresses its gratitude to Dr. Shahak for his informative and insightfully annotated mailings of translations from the Israeli press which served to enrich the article "Zionism's Fascist Shock Troops Polarize Israel," which appears on page 6. And for the interest of our readers we reprint with permission the following article by Israel Shahak which appeared in the 10 August 1984 issue of Middle East International (London).

Israel is proverbially and actually the most written about country, but despite this, it is in my opinion the most misunderstood and the most unknown society in the world, and I mean the Israeli Jewish society, not the Palestinians, about whom there is quite a lot of more or less accurate knowledge. In fact ignorance of Israeli Jewish society outside Israel is perhaps the most important single political fact of the Middle Eastern situation. The famous "cocktail circuit" in which diplomats, foreign journalists and gullible visitors tell each other what they want to hear is spreading misleading information about Israeli Jewish society just as it did about Iranian society in the last years of the shah's regime.

Why is this so? There are, in my opinion, two reasons which reinforce each other. There is the "myth of Israel" (and of Judaism too) which brings many people to Israel on a secular pilgrimage in exactly the same spirit as pilgrims from the West had their belief in the Chinese "cultural revolution" confirmed by visits to Mao's China. But there is also the fact that Israeli Jewish society has for some years been in a process of rapid polarisation. By now there are, for all intents and purposes, two Jewish nations in Israel which hate each other, and in many ways the situation now is more frightening than it was during the 1981 elections, precisely because of the absence of the physical violence so prevalent then. Now one can talk with the "second nation" without risking more than verbal unpleasantnesses.

During the recent election campaign I used to go, about every other afternoon, to the corner of King George and Yehuda Halevi streets in Jerusalem, where political parties distributed their written material and where people gathered to talk politics. I will try to describe some of my experiences and conclusions, which are fully supported by the best reporters of the Hebrew press.

First some definitions. On the popular level all those who oppose the Likud government are treated as one bloc by their enemies. For Likud people Navon is a communist; Rabin wants to deliver Israel (not merely the occupied territories!) to the Arabs; Peres is an agent of the PLO, and so on. These things are really believed and if one expresses disbelief there is an immediate verbal explosion of abuse. But all this is really of little importance. When a person asserts that Navon is a communist in the

pay of Moscow, as frequently happens, he does it calmly and the audience is not aroused unless there is disagreement. There are however in my experience four questions, very frequently raised, which immediately heat up Likud supporters and even more so supporters of the more extreme parties such as Tehiya or the religious parties, and provoke debate even within this camp. Two of them are of a sexual nature and two of an existential nature. All are



Rubinger/Time

politically more important than the questions the diplomats talk over with each other.

The first sexual question is: "Do you want an Arab to marry your daughter (or your sister)?" The less polite use another word for "marry." Likud supporters have no doubt that this is the greatest danger to Israel, but more important, they know that everyone will be united on this point and aroused to vocal passion. However, I have a long experience in arguing with my people (of both nations) since I have no illusions about them. It is possible to answer this question with another, in the traditional Jewish manner: "And do you want your wife to commit adultery with a Jew?" On this basis it is possible to hold a discussion, but I must regretfully report that it leads nowhere. After a short time the opinion builds up (even among the very pious) that however regretful or sinful adultery between Jews may be, it is nothing compared with fornication between a Jewess and an Arab male. Exactly as with anti-Semites and anti-black racists, it is far less shocking if the Jew is male and the

Arab is female.

The second sexual question concerns Jews only, and is much more divisive for the Likud camp. I first heard it when Ariel Sharon visited Jerusalem on his own campaign. Several young people close to him shouted: "Arik, lead us to rape the women of Ma'arach (the Labour alignment)!" I hope I will not be suspected of playing the devil's advocate by reporting that Sharon was visibly shocked and shouted to them: "Shut your mouth." Several others reported similar exchanges, and I have heard this question gravely discussed by groups of Likud supporters, with no unanimous conclusion reached. The discussion has however an important political implication: a significant group, more extreme than all the Likud leaders, is rising, represented at present by such parties as Tehiya. One should not be surprised at this development.

The existential questions which are discussed are, first, "Who has the right to kill Arabs—the government or individual Jews?" and second, "What is the 'nature' or the 'mentality' of the Arabs?" The first question is of course connected to the Jewish terrorist underground. Perhaps the most important divide between the "two nations" in Israel is the completely different attitude to the question of whether the killing of an Arab by a Jew constitutes murder. All Likud supporters (especially those

be present on the buses to be blown up. But Nazis, of all nationalities, have an answer to everything. This is the reason why discussion with them leads nowhere. The answer in this case is either "kill them while they are still young" or the famous Talmudic quotation "Kill the best of the Gentiles, smash the brains of the best snake." The only question which remains to be discussed, and indeed is discussed by those who agree with such slogans, is how and when and by whom, and of course the famous old question of whether "this is good for the Jews." I interfered on one such occasion with an old joke: someone goes into a synagogue and exclaims: "There has been a flood in China and a million Chinese have been drowned!", and is asked in return: "Is this good or bad for Jews?" But the joke was received in all seriousness and I was asked: "Really, is this good or bad for the Jews?"

The last question widely debated is about the supposedly fixed "nature" or "mentality" of all Arabs. It is extremely significant that the more ancient or mythical the "examples" of the supposed "Arab nature" are, the more eagerly they are believed and discussed. The 1929 Hebron riots are much more important as "evidence" than all the Israeli wars, including the Lebanon war, but the "image" put together of Ishmael as described in the Book of Genesis and its commentaries is the most important



Rubinger/Time

Israeli society polarized. Left: Liberal "Peace Now" Zionists protest Begin/Sharon's massacre of Palestinians at Shatila/Sabra camps in Beirut, September 1982. Above: Fanatical Zionist settlers from the Israeli-occupied West Bank demand bloody terror against Arabs.

of the religious parties) assert flatly that it does not. They are backed up on this point by the prime minister, Mr. Shamir (who defined Jewish terror as "unauthorised military action"), by many other politicians and by all Israeli rabbis. On the other hand all the Ma'arach leaders take a very firm view that a crime is a crime, no matter who commits it or against whom it is committed, and they are supported in this by their "nation." It is instructive to watch literature being distributed and admirably absorbed among "the other nation," which justifies the murders in the Islamic College in Hebron on the ground that each Palestinian student is a paid-up PLO member. The placing of explosives in Arab buses is justified by the argument that since Palestinians don't themselves kill the "PLO terrorists," they all become guilty and thus deserving of death. Again, a sort of discussion is possible here but it leads nowhere. It is possible to ask from what exact age the Palestinian children are supposed to catch and kill "the terrorists" and how the Jewish terrorists could have known that Arab babies would not

of all. Again, one can dispute it but it leads quickly to the question: "Do you deny the Word of God which described Ishmael as a wild man?" or: "Do you deny what our ancestors believed?" The nature of Israeli education over the last few years rather encourages such questions.

One can assume that 40 per cent at least of Israeli Jews support such opinions or at least do not oppose them, but at the same time an equal or slightly larger number abominate them. The contrast between the "two nations" covers many other social areas, for example the theatre (one considers it in principle a poison, the other is a passionate theatre goer) or buying of books (one of the Hebrew papers polled the participants in the recent "book market" held in the main Tel Aviv square: 80 per cent were for Ma'arach and 20 per cent for Likud). There are some in the middle, and for their votes the whole campaign was waged, since the two camps themselves do not change. This is the main fact which emerged from the election campaign of 1984. ■

Nut vs. Hawk...

(continued from page 1)

its degeneration under the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, against the bloody rulers of Wall Street and the Pentagon.

"Liberal" Face of Imperialist Militarism

While the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, directly under the gun of the Yankee imperialists and their *contra* mercenaries, may be shedding some illusions, their self-styled supporters on the American left are out electioneering for the man who threatens to "quarantine" the Nicaraguan revolution! From the "State Department socialists" of Michael Harrington's DSA to the Moscow-line Stalinists of the Communist Party to the ex-Maoists of the Communist Workers Party, *Line of March* and the rad-lib *Guardian*, Walter Mondale is presented as a champion in the fight to "dump Reagan."

A sophisticated version of this "lesser evil" line comes from radical journalist Alexander Cockburn. Cockburn admits:

"They keep saying that the best reason to vote for Walter Mondale is Ronald Reagan. But since Mondale filed to change his name and political identity to Reagan halfway through September, this argument doesn't carry quite the weight that it once did."

He goes on to enumerate Mondale's agreement with Reagan on (1) Nicaragua, (2) El Salvador, (3) Grenada,

century was begun under a liberal Democrat, not a right-wing Republican: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman and Vietnam under Kennedy and Johnson. This is no coincidence. The Democratic Party, which poses as the "people's party" of U.S. capitalism, has a broader base than the Republicans, widely viewed as the party of big business. Thus the Democrats can better mobilize labor, blacks and ethnic minorities, and liberal intellectuals for the necessary wartime sacrifices, on behalf of imperialism.

Celebrating the triumph of the right at the Republican convention in Dallas, "neo-conservative" Democrat Jeane Kirkpatrick paid homage to the Democratic Party founding fathers of Cold War anti-Communism: "These were the men who developed NATO, who developed the Marshall Plan, who devised the Alliance for Progress" (*New York Times*, 21 August). America's Madame Chiang Kai-shek would have people believe that Mondale & Co. have abandoned the aggressive anti-Communist militarism of their forebears, Truman and Kennedy. Not so. The difference between the Reagan gang and its Democratic opponents is one of rhetoric and tactics, not goals.

Mondale occasionally appeals to the widespread fear that Reagan is nuclear trigger-happy. Speaking at the American Legion convention (of all places) early last month he sounded almost like an anti-nuke peacenik, saying there will be "no winners" of a third world war,



Sygnma

Cold War hawk Mondale supports Reagan's rape of black Grenada a year ago; endorses U.S. plans to crush Nicaraguan revolution.

(4) the missiles in Europe, (5) increased military spending, and (6) the Near East. Nonetheless, Cockburn concludes, "...we must pray that the Democratic ticket does as well as possible, since anything that slows Reaganism, particularly in Congress, is a plus."

So will the Democrats keep the U.S. out of war? Remember that in 1964 radicals from the CP to the New Left supported Lyndon Johnson (SDS' slogan was "Part of the Way with LBJ") against the darling of the Republican right, Barry Goldwater. Johnson won a landslide victory, promising there would be "no wider war in Asia." In a matter of months, however, LBJ began bombing North Vietnam and increased the U.S. forces in South Vietnam from 20,000 to 150,000. In fact, every war by American imperialism in the 20th

"no free world—only a poisoned, lifeless world." But the real purpose of this speech was *not* to push for a nuclear weapons freeze, but for a buildup of conventional warmaking capacity: "I will make a fundamental shift of resources toward readiness and sustainability of our conventional forces." These plans are just as dangerous as Reagan's fantastic "star wars" schemes, especially when linked to NATO's plans for a new generation of "smart" weapons designed to take out the Soviets' rear echelon forces. Nuclear holocaust is just as likely, if not more so, through the escalation of a conventional war as through an insane attempt at a first strike against the USSR.

This is not the first time the Democrats have emphasized conventional weapons for conventional wars. In the 1960 elections Kennedy and his

Cuban children digging trenches on Isle of Youth. Cuban people remember Bay of Pigs, are prepared to defend revolution against renewed threat of Yankee imperialist invasion.



Orris/NY Times

whiz-kid advisers like Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy criticized the prevailing NATO doctrine of "massive retaliation," i.e., to immediately launch its arsenal of nuclear missiles if NATO forces were losing on the ground (as was expected). Instead they wanted a "flexible response," requiring a massive buildup in U.S. conventional forces. This, of course, did not prevent John Kennedy from almost blowing up the world in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

The Democrats' "flexible response" to the "Communist threat" was to be tested above all in Vietnam. The U.S. war machine dropped more bombs on that Southeast Asian country than all the tonnage of all the combatants in World War II! But the Pentagon planners had not counted on the incredible heroism and fortitude of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Vietnam became the greatest defeat in history for American imperialism. That long, losing, dirty colonial war sapped popular support at home for foreign military adventures and anti-Communist crusading. Gravely weakened by the Vietnam debacle, in the late 1960s/early 1970s America's rulers had to maneuver for advantage through "détente" with the Soviet Union.

The so-called "human rights" campaign of the Carter/Mondale administration served as the bridge between the post-Vietnam détente and Cold War II. It was intended to restore America's tarnished credibility as leader of the "free world." We wrote at the time:

"Not only has this sinister campaign met with the eager approval of professional anti-communist liberals and reactionaries, including most importantly the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but it has also gathered wide support from previously disaffected layers of the petty bourgeoisie.

"...the Spartacist League has stated repeatedly that the Carter 'human rights' crusade is not merely hypocritical but is aimed at whipping up chauvinist, anti-Communist sentiment in order to strengthen the hand of the U.S. to act as gendarme of the 'free world' and put the Soviet Union on the defensive."

—"The Main Enemy Is at Home." *WV* No. 163, 24 June 1977

Having served its purpose, Carter's "human rights" campaign is today denounced from the right not only by the Reagan gang but also by Mondale: "we did not emphasize enough the times when there was tension between other security interests and human rights" (*New York Times*, 18 September).

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Mondale squawks like a hawk, but he could be a dead duck electorally. Conventional wisdom has it that Reagan is riding the crest of the "new patriotism," and that no amount of flag-waving by the "wimpy" Democratic candidate will convince voters that he's better at the war game than rootin'-tootin'-shootin' Reagan. Moral Majority ayatollah Jerry Falwell boasts that the only way Reagan can lose this election is to bomb Great Britain. But the "new patriotism" is a very superficial mood. What is Reagan's great triumph

in reasserting American global power? Columnist Russell Baker recently noted:

"If this were to be believed, patriotism had flared last October when, on the island of Grenada, 5,000 American ground troops with combat air support and an American fleet of 10,000 sailors whipped the bejabbers out of 700 Cubans, most of whom were construction workers."

—*New York Times Magazine*, 23 September

Where the odds are a little more even, the American people have shown no enthusiasm for foreign military adventures. Look at Lebanon: after one man drove a truck bomb into the center of Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, killing 241 U.S. troops, the popular reaction in the U.S. was to "get the hell out before more soldiers get killed for nothing." Reagan's ignominious withdrawal from Lebanon was his biggest foreign policy defeat to date.

And invading Nicaragua will be no Grenada-style walkover, either. There American combat troops, many of them poor black and Hispanic youth with little desire to fight for Yankee imperialism, will encounter a people in arms defending their country and their revolution. As Sandinista junta coordinator Daniel Ortega said at the UN:

"If peace does not come and the war continues, and with it, the likelihood of a U.S. military intervention, we want the world to know that the Nicaraguan people—barefoot, ragged, and with empty stomachs—are going to fight to the end, until we achieve peace, by either defeating the invaders or immolating ourselves if imperialist aggressiveness leaves us no other choice...."

"We are certain that our sacrifice would not be in vain and that all three million Nicaraguans could be annihilated, but our example would triumph and multiply among the peoples of the world and among the people of the United States as well."

As American revolutionaries we have a special responsibility to stop U.S. imperialism from unleashing the full force of its war machine against the Central American masses. Beneath the surface of bourgeois electoral politics there exists a widespread hatred in this country for everything Reagan stands for, among trade unionists who remember how he destroyed the PATCO air controllers union, among blacks and Hispanic poor who have seen their children starved to pay for MX missiles and Trident submarines, among women infuriated by the rise of Moral Majority bigotry. And memories of Vietnam have hardly faded.

The bipartisan war drive *can be defeated* through class struggle. Workers in transport unions must boycott arms shipments to the Central American butchers and *contra* mercenaries, to the South African racist regime and all the other "free world" despots. If the United States invades Nicaragua, there must be a mass mobilization of organized labor, blacks and Hispanics, students and other sections of American society to deal the imperialist war machine a defeat *at home*. This means above all breaking the working class and oppressed minorities from the "liberal" party of Yankee militarism. For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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Fight New FBI Witchhunt!

The capitalist state's campaign to unleash its secret police has taken a new and ominous turn. *Espionage* laws are now being used against journalists to cut off "unauthorized" information from government sources. On October 2, the FBI arrested a U.S. naval analyst, Samuel Loring Morison, for providing satellite photographs of a Soviet ship to the authoritative British publication, *Jane's Defense Weekly*. Mr. Morison is the United States editor of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, the standard reference work. This is a dangerous outrage, and a big step toward an "Official Secrets Act" to throttle press "leaks." It is only the second time espionage laws have been used in such cases—the first was over the Pentagon Papers.

Who the feds are going after is also significant. Mr. Morison is the grandson of naval historian Samuel Eliot Morison, author of the definitive 15-volume *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*. Moreover, every secret service in the world routinely keeps *Jane's* informed about everyone else's armed forces. Morison was just doing his job, following the rules of the game. But the Reagan administration wants to change the rules.

Meanwhile, the court system is enthusiastically backing the government's "terror" scare directed against perceived political opponents. In August the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled that the FBI could spy on organizations simply on

the basis of "advocacy," overturning a 1981 agreement reached by the Alliance to End Repression and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) with the FBI that it would *not* conduct such investigations. Chastising the FBI for its earlier "improvident" agreement, the court premised its ruling on "public concern with domestic terrorism" and stressed the need to investigate groups which "may [!] be engaged in the long-range planning of terrorist acts."

Even before this chilling ruling, FBI director William Webster reassured right-wing Senator Jeremiah Denton's "Terrorism" subcommittee that even a decision upholding the agreement in the Alliance/ACLU case would have no effect on the FBI's spying activities, as there is "not going to be any situation... in which advocacy is the only thing involved" (Hearing before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 14 March 1984). Anyone familiar with the FBI knows that such "things" can always be invented.

In another assault on American citizens' rights, the Supreme Court recently upheld Reagan's 1982 ban on travel to Cuba (except for relatives and certain kinds of professional research and journalism), justifying this by "weighty concerns of foreign policy," namely the administration's ludicrous assertion that tourists' holiday rum-and-coke tabs would be used by Cuba to buy bullets for terrorists. Emboldened by this ruling the government has subpoenaed the records of Marazul

Tours, Inc. in order to investigate the "legitimacy" of 2,000 trips to Cuba by journalists, researchers, lawyers and other professionals. The targeted records contain the names of 13,000 Americans who have traveled to Cuba since 1982. Those found in violation of this draconian travel ban face potential sentences of *ten years* in prison and a \$50,000 fine.

The FBI has already stepped up its harassment of liberal protest groups such as CISPES. According to the CISPES newspaper *Alert!* (September 1984), FBI agents have told CISPES members, their employers, landlords and friends that it is a "terrorist" organization, while church groups aiding refugees from Central American death squad terror have been interrogated for supposedly shielding guerrillas. Last August a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) returning from Nicaragua had all his literature seized by U.S. Customs, alleging that it was potentially "seditious."

In a series of lawsuits stemming from the Watergate era of exposure of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program, the government is hardlining it, repeatedly asserting that any and all of its secret police activities were perfectly legal. Both in suits brought by the SWP and the National Lawyers Guild the government maintains every one of its crimes is wholly justifiable by the need to combat the supposed domestic terrorist threat to the security of the

United States. In the case of Muhammed Kenyatta, a civil rights activist driven off the campus of Tougaloo College in Mississippi in 1969 by COINTELPRO "dirty tricks," the government's legal brief asserts that even fabricated threatening racist letters were a necessary part of the FBI's "law enforcement responsibilities" (*New York Times*, 11 June).

This sweeping attempt to reassert the state's terror/spy apparatus' unlimited right to probe and harass political opponents and to label them as "terrorists" was codified in the FBI's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" announced in March 1983, which falsely painted Marxists and other political opponents as criminal, terrorist enterprises. Recognizing that these Guidelines are nothing but a set-up for the legal murder and wholesale destruction of the left, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League instituted a lawsuit against the FBI's "Terrorism" Guidelines and their application to our organization, in order to defend not only ourselves but the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement.

As the anti-Soviet war drive heats up, our organization sticks way out as defenders of the Soviet Union. Ask the Black Panthers what it means to be labeled "terrorist" by the state. As we have said, we do not intend to be blown away in the dead of night, as nameless, faceless victims. A workers party has the right to organize! Fight the new McCarthyism—Support the SL's suit against the FBI Guidelines! Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Freedom for Salvadoran Trade Unionists!

On September 15, some 9,000 militant trade unionists and families of political prisoners marched to the presidential palace in San Salvador, defying army threats, to demand freedom for imprisoned trade unionists and other victims of junta terror. The demonstration had been called in opposition to the official government Independence Day march by the leftist MUSYGES labor federation (Movimiento de Unidad Sindical y Gremial de El Salvador) and the Mothers Committee of the Disappeared. The previous Sunday, 4,000 coffee and sugar refinery workers had marched to the government center of the capital protesting anti-working-class decrees. This resurgence of working-class action is an extremely important development in El Salvador, where the present civil war resulted from brutal repression of the explosive labor struggles of 1979-80.

The phony Salvadoran elections last spring, in which the CIA spent over \$2 million to install José Napoleón Duarte in power, were designed to impress Congressional liberals and world opinion. Since then, while the activities of the death squads are down, the army is maintaining the level of terror by indiscriminate bombing of the rural population. However, there has been an opening for a limited revival of the urban labor movement which the combative unions have rushed to fill, beginning with the bold march of several thousand people through the streets of San Salvador last May Day, in defiance of the state of siege. This was soon followed by a series of strikes, notably the six-week strike by postal workers in June-July, which sparked sympathy strikes by other government workers.

The U.S. labor movement has an internationalist duty to aid their broth-



UPI
San Salvador, September 15: 9,000 unionists and families of the "disappeared" march demanding freedom for imprisoned workers' leaders and other victims of right-wing terror.

ers and sisters in El Salvador struggling in the face of incredible repression. During the 1979-80 wave of terror, not a single union hall in the capital escaped being dynamited or firebombed. According to the trade-union federation FENASTRAS, 8,239 trade unionists were either killed, abducted or wounded in bursts of machine-gun fire.

Today, hundreds of trade-union prisoners are being held in Duarte's jails, principally at Mariona Prison on the outskirts of San Salvador. Many of these labor militants were in the vanguard of the struggles of 1979-80—the fight for their freedom is at the heart of the struggle for workers revolution in El Salvador. The present campaign is focused on the electrical workers of STECEL, including its president Héctor Bernabé Recinos, who is also general secretary of FENASTRAS. STECEL led off the 1979 strike wave with its dramatic bold occupation of the Río Lempa power plant, turning off the lights of the whole country and protecting themselves against the army by

electrifying fences around the plant! STECEL was at the head of every mass march, but in August 1980 on the eve of an ill-planned general strike, the bloody junta of Duarte & Co. arrested the entire union leadership and clapped them in jail, putting the plant under military occupation.

The STECEL leaders were held for 70 days at National Guard headquarters where they were beaten and tortured. In 1982 Héctor Recinos' wife and 13-year-old daughter were seized in their home by the army and have never been seen again. To date the STECEL leaders have been in prison more than four years without a trial and without ever being charged. In a message for May Day 1983 Recinos said:

"However, comrades, despite the institutional violence and the covering up of our real condition as prisoners for whom there are presently no possibilities of a trial, we will not falter in our revolutionary vocation, which is being put to the test in these unjust circumstances.

"It is a duty of all revolutionary workers

to undertake common efforts aimed at strengthening our struggle, which is the struggle of all oppressed peoples, and to block the interventionist plans of the common enemy of humanity: American imperialism, the principal support for the internal enemies of our people. Only the unity of all workers can become a barrier stopping the escalating intervention in which we are already immersed. We must multiply our efforts to confront it, united as one unyielding fist."

—Guazapa, 11-20 February 1984

While the bulk of the "solidarity movement" in the U.S. has devoted itself to getting Congressional Democrats to put empty "human rights" riders on Reagan's bills, it has generally ignored the imprisoned trade unionists and in some cases refused to defend them at all, as in the case of the left-wing FSR prisoners (see "Free Salvadoran Unionists!" *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984).

Conditions in the country are so bad that some social democrats in the U.S. labor bureaucracy have been shaken out of their usual torpor to mount a campaign for the Salvadoran unionists. Even so, "AFL-CIA" chief Lane Kirkland grotesquely dismissed the threat to these workers' lives, because under the new Constitution "no official execution can take place" (*Village Voice*, 29 May). Kirkland called only for a "fair trial," while condemning power strikes such as that carried out by STECEL as a "danger to public health and safety"!

Resolutions and telegrams are not enough to save these endangered class war prisoners. The Spartacist League and class-conscious workers in the U.S. have fought to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) military goods to El Salvador. Now is the time to raise a worldwide cry of protest backed up by powerful union action to free the imprisoned Salvadoran unionists! ■

E. Germany...

(continued from page 5)

the increasing tensions in the international situation, the DDR more than ever considers that securing and consolidating peace is the primordial question. This is particularly true for the two German states and their relations with each other. I stressed this to Federal [West German] chancellor Helmut Kohl right after they began installing the NATO missiles." In order to achieve a "coalition of reason" with the German bourgeoisie, Honecker even publicly declared, concerning the [Soviet] SS20s stationed in the DDR as a counter-measure [to the American Pershings and cruise missiles], "We don't want those fiendish things here."

The growing nationalism extends even into the top levels of the party bureaucracy, a petty-bourgeois layer based on proletarian economic foundations, where social democracy still has a great attraction (as shown by the Bahro case). Although the bureaucracy of the East German deformed workers state is subordinated to the Kremlin, it is subjected to the objective pressure of the most highly developed capitalist economy of West Europe. Stalinism can't just brush aside this pressure, nor does it dare to overcome it through revolutionary struggle on this side of the Wall [West Germany]. We seek to expropriate the industrial wealth and power of West Germany on behalf of the poorer nations of East Europe.

As the counterrevolutionary echo of West Germany's nationalist "peace" movement, among high school and university students in the DDR a pacifist movement has emerged which even in the face of the imperialist warmongering against the DDR and the Soviet Union calls for unilateral disarmament of East Germany. The Stalinist bureaucracy has proved itself completely incapable of effectively countering this movement. Erich Honecker himself received the West German Green members of parliament, including anti-Communist Solidarność-lover Petra Kelly and General Bastian (who last dealt with the Soviet Union as a volunteer on Hitler's Eastern Front), and concluded a "private peace treaty" with them. A mini-"peaceful coexistence," which the DDR along with Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria would like to achieve on a larger scale, even at the cost of the defense of the Soviet Union.

Yet Honecker is no Green, nor a closet social democrat. The son of a Saarland miner, he joined the Communist Party at the age of 14; he rotted for ten years in Hitler's prisons, from which he was freed by the Red Army. As a faithful Stalinist, he opposed the anti-bureaucratic uprising of the East German working class in 1953. In 1961 he

supervised the construction of the Berlin Wall, a bureaucratic measure aimed at defending the DDR's economy against the constantly increasing loss to the West of skilled workers. Erich Honecker is a prisoner of Stalinist politics in class-divided Germany, where the status quo is untenable in the long run. And so he opens the DDR to the West.

The only way out is a solution directed against the bureaucracy itself: the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. This is the perspective of 17 June 1953, when the East German working class rose up against its political oppression, polarized the bureaucracy and incited the West German working class toward the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The DDR bureaucracy tried to win time, to catch its breath, through deals with imperialism, yet with this strategy it became a victim of imperialist power politics. The only real road to defending the revolutionary conquests in the DDR is to build revolutionary Trotskyist parties in East and West, to lead the socialist revolution in West Europe and the political revolution to oust the bureaucratic parasitic caste in the Soviet bloc. The powerful industrial proletariat of East and West Germany is the key to the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe.

Stalinist Status Quo Politics: No Weapon Against Imperialist Threats

Pravda quite rightly warned Honecker against starting down the path of selling out to the West. But the idea of a separate German détente policy is by no means some brilliant invention by Honecker. The recipe comes from Moscow's kitchen. For example, during the 1983 parliamentary elections, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko hurried to West Germany specially to give moral support to the opposition social-democratic "peace" forces. Right up until the installation of the American medium-range missiles, the Soviet bureaucracy saw inter-German détente as being in its own interest. And one inevitably recalls Stalin's 1952 offer to give up the East German planned economy in favor of a "nonaligned" Germany.

Stalinism finds itself in a dilemma from which it cannot escape. Since it fears world socialist revolution, which would strip it of its own privileged position, it attempts a difficult (and ultimately hopeless) balancing act between imperialism and the proletariat. Stalinist politics are continually seeking "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, in order to protect so-called "socialism in one country" (or even half a country!). Yet the Soviet bureaucracy is hardly blind either to the American or West German plans for aggression. Quite the contrary: the latest West German offer of billions in loans to the



Spartakist

Denouncing social-democratic "peace" movement, German Trotskyists say "Defend East Germany/Soviet Union!" and "For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany!"

DDR must have given the Kremlin an acute sense of déjà vu, painfully recalling the Marshall Plan with which U.S. imperialism tried after World War II to strengthen the capitalist economies of West Europe and to undermine the East European "People's Democracies."

Of course, it's a good thing that "the lights are still burning late in the Kremlin," but all the Kremlin has to say to Honecker's affair with the West is "Back to Yalta." As *Pravda* put it in its above quoted commentary:

"At the same time, during the Stockholm conference U.S. secretary of state Shultz talked of 'non-recognition of the division of Europe' which was supposedly carried out in 1945. Add to that the May NATO meeting in Washington, which endorsed Bonn's formula demanding the 'restoration of German unity' and also discussed plans to move U.S. divisions stationed in West Germany up to the DDR border, and it isn't hard to recognize what place West Germany is assigned in the strategy of the 'crusade'."

"Overthrow Yalta" has indeed become the battle cry of all the Cold Warriors, from Shultz and Reagan to Mitterrand and Solidarność. Their slogan means preparation for a new imperialist war, just as Hitler's slogan "Down with the Versailles Treaty" was a call for the Second World War. For imperialism, rolling back Yalta, refusing to accept the division of Europe, means reversing the overthrow of capitalism in the East European workers states. Yet the Kremlin's clinging to the status quo is a policy doomed to failure.

The Yalta [and Potsdam] accords between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union brought the Red Army, victorious over Hitler fascism, to a grinding halt after rolling westward; forced the Stalinist-dominated workers movements in Italy and France to adopt a policy of "national reconciliation" with

capitalism at a time when the working class could have seized power; strangled the revolution in Greece and divided Germany instead of creating a socialist German workers state. And all that despite the fact that it was the Red Army and not the Western Allies which decisively crushed Hitler, the Russians who freed all Berlin. Yalta opened the opportunity for imperialism to unleash a war drive against the Soviet Union from 1947-48 on, and thus as a self-defense mechanism induced the Soviet Union to establish the East European bureaucratically deformed workers states.

As we wrote at the time of the European Security Conference in Helsinki nine years ago:

"However much Stalin's epigones may dream of permanently locking up a division of Europe, seeking to contractually prohibit revolution and counter-revolution, in the final analysis two Europes are as impossible as the reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."

— "From Yalta to Helsinki: The Diplomacy of Betrayal," *WV* No. 77, 19 September 1975

Neither the Berlin Wall nor deals with imperialism can truly defend the land of the October Revolution and the other deformed workers states. This requires the Bolshevik policies of Lenin, who insisted that the German Revolution must come to the aid of the Russian; the October Revolution must be defended by extending it; capitalism must be destroyed worldwide through a strategy of international proletarian revolution. A Trotskyist world party must be built to lead the struggle for socialist revolution in the capitalist world, and to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. At stake is the defense of the DDR and the Soviet Union through international proletarian revolution; at stake is the future of humanity. ■

Zionist Fascists...

(continued from page 6)

resistance.

The Labor/Likud grand coalition is dedicated to solving the Israeli economic quandary through even more savage cuts in the living standards of the working people. The Israeli rulers will also hold out their hands for more largesse from Washington: this blood money provisions the Zionist fortress in the front line of U.S. imperialism's drive for nuclear war with the Soviet Union. In the meantime they may try to create some more "established facts." The last time these parties joined together in a "National Unity Government" it was a prelude to the 1967 war, which marked the transition of Israel from a settler state into a would-be colonial power,

from expelling Palestinian Arabs to exploiting cheap Arab labor. Now after the West Bank has come the "North Bank": Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon. But Israel's vast imperial appetites are limited by its narrow social resources: three million Jews cannot conquer 100 million Arabs, and every square foot of new Arab land Israel seeks to absorb heightens lethal contradictions for the "Jewish state."

Zionist Israel is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. If they are to have a future, the Hebrew working class must be broken from their Zionist rulers and exploiters and won to the cause of Palestinian national justice. The anti-Kahane protest at Um El Fahm, uniting Arabs and Jews, shows the real potential for a binational revolutionary party dedicated to the right to self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrew-speaking people with a Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

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Phone Union Militants Demand:

Fight AT&T Layoffs!

OAKLAND—Thousands of phone workers, many of them with high seniority, who thought they had a lifetime job, were stunned when AT&T announced August 27 the layoffs of 11,000 workers nationwide, the bulk of them in job categories covered by the Communications Workers of America (CWA). In typical phone company bureaucratized AT&T declared a "broad timeframe" in which "surplus" employees who will be "impacted" by the layoffs will first be notified, on September 17, and after being offered "available options" will be taken "off payroll" on November 30. The "available options" range from various paltry lump sum cash buy-outs to forced transfers and downgrades, including to other cities, bumping lower seniority workers in the process. Some 4,900 CWA phone installers alone are slated to go, along with long distance operators, communication technicians and clerical workers. In the former Western Electric division, workers with up to 15 years of seniority face the ax.

The layoffs come in the wake of the court-ordered "divestiture" of AT&T, whereby local Bell phone companies were severed from AT&T to "increase competition." Given a green light by Reagan's destruction of PATCO and the passivity of the treacherous labor tops, employers in the airline and trucking industries have used similar "deregulation" to go on a union-busting tear, slashing wages and benefits and putting thousands on the unemployment lines. Together with vicious speed-up, constant harassment and firings of union stewards and militants, and widespread "contracting out" of jobs to non-union outfits at substandard wages and conditions by Pacific Bell, the impending AT&T layoffs signal an across-the-board offensive aimed at smashing the CWA and the other unions in the phone system.

Faced with this, any union leadership worth its salt would respond with nationwide mass action to bring the arrogant and widely hated AT&T to its knees: hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying support from unionists across the country. This is the strategy being called for by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the CWA. A September 11 MAC leaflet issued to members of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco declared: "The only way to stop these layoffs is to make the unions one big fist with thousands of workers sitting in and locking the bosses out. It's not a question of 'legality,' it's who wins. Play by the bosses' rules and we lose."

But from national CWA president Glenn Watts on down, the union misleaders have been working overtime to prevent a fight by union members. Forced on strike by Ma Bell last year, Watts & Co. rammed through a rotten contract that gave the bosses a free hand for layoffs and speedup—after refusing to do anything to win the strike, letting scabs routinely cross deliberately small picket lines. We warned then that the contract "won't prevent a single layoff or forced downgrade or transfer. There's nothing to prevent subcontracting to scab firms" (*WV* No. 337, 9 September 1983). In early 1982 when MAC blew the whistle on secret company/union meetings where the company's mass layoff plans were discussed, then-president of San Francisco Local 9410 Jim Imerzel flatly denied that layoffs were coming and launched a year-long McCarthyite witchhunt trial in an attempt to expel MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami for telling the truth.

The day after AT&T's August 27 announcement, national CWA president Watts—who is a member of the "Labor Committee" of the Democratic Party—issued a press release in which he attempted to conceal the union misleadership's treacherous collaboration, claiming the layoff announcement "was dropped virtually out of the blue." There is, of course, no proposal to fight the layoffs—especially not in an election year with Democrat Mondale worried about charges of catering to "special interests." Besides, as the main component of the CIA's AIFLD "labor" front, the CWA leadership is best at advising how to break strikes, not call them. Watts' only complaint, echoed by the local misleaders, is to whine that they weren't "consulted" before the announcement.

The San Francisco Local 9410 leadership under Imerzel successor Marie Malliett called a special union meeting for September 12 "to keep the membership informed." (The nervous bureaucrats apparently feared a spontaneous reaction from angry members at the regular union meeting scheduled for September 18, one day after those being laid off were to be notified.) Union members told a *WV* reporter that having informed the membership of the layoffs, a pathetic "action program" was proposed: to "petition" management and set up "informational picket lines" at the Public Utilities Commission (not even at a phone company location) to protest subcontracting.

This do-less-than-nothing "action" proposal had been unanimously adopted by the Executive Board, which includes two members of "Members United for Workers Rights" (MUWR), a sorry collection of ostensible leftists and would-be bureaucrats. The MUWR won six of the ten local delegate spots to the recent CWA National Convention on a program that said they would support any proposal that opposed layoffs. As there were none made (MAC member Kathy Ikegami couldn't run for delegate, having been suspended from the union for warning of layoffs), the MUWR delegates kept their mouths shut. Now they form a common front with the in-bureaucrats against the membership, revealing their true colors.

When Kathy Ikegami counterposed a real action proposal, "This union will immediately call effective action—sit-down strikes—to stop layoffs, subcontracting and to rescind the firings," MUWR spokesman and Freedom

Socialist Party supporter Constance Scott, playing lawyer for the bureaucrats, replied that while MAC was "absolutely right," sitdowns are "not realistic."

The MUWR was formed in 1983 after Kathy Ikegami had been put on trial. Sensing that the Imerzel/Malliett leadership would get its hands dirty with the layoff issue and Ikegami's trial, and hoping the MAC would be creamed in a bureaucratic purge, they opened shop as the "respectable opposition." In fact, the phone company has fired four MAC members since the strike in August 1983, including strike militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, who were saved from a stretch in state prison only by a vigorous labor-centered defense campaign by the MAC-initiated Phone Strikers Defense Committee and a lot of work by the Spartacist League.

The MUWR's are part of the "new school" of aspiring bureaucrats who look to the Department of Labor to install them in office, with the usual strings attached. Last March, in a belated "defense" of Kathy Ikegami, they issued a leaflet quoting the so-called "freedom of speech" provisions of the reactionary Landrum-Griffin anti-labor act, a not-so-veiled threat to take the union into the bosses' courts. In all political respects they mirror the present misleadership. They are merely opportunistic "outs" who want "in."

In contrast, the MAC, with its action

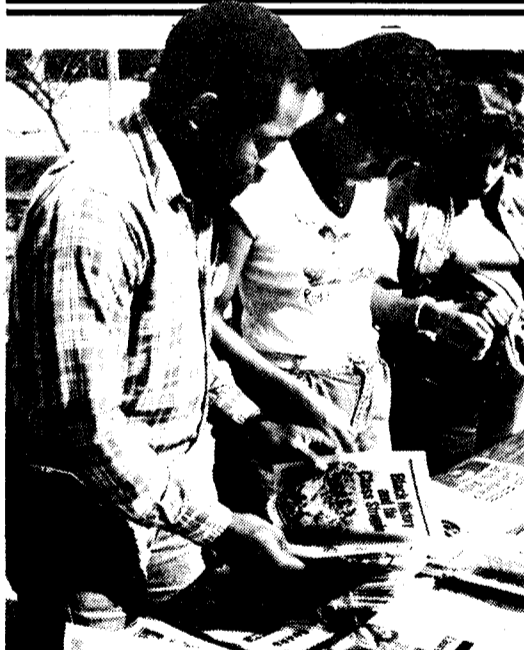


WV Photo
San Francisco: The Militant Action Caucus campaigns against phone layoffs, April 1982.

program of hard class struggle, independent from the bosses' courts, government and political parties, is the only strategy that can bring the power of labor to bear against the phone bosses' union-busting layoffs. They put it well in their September 11 leaflet:

"But look at the U.S. coal miners' strike in '77-78. 'Friends of Labor' Carter and Mondale tried to shove Taft-Hartley down their throats. The miners hung tough and made Carter eat his injunction. And in Britain today, the coal miners have held out for 26 weeks, battling it out against Thatcher, her army of cops and scabs. Everything they've done is 'illegal.' Screw the bosses' rules! The miners are fighting like hell against heavy odds to stop mass layoffs. We must do the same thing here." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Company Cop Bieber Gets His Payoff

GM Workers: To Hell with this Sellout! For a Real Auto Strike!

For an Elected National Strike Committee!

OCTOBER 8 GM workers aren't buying this giveaway contract. A week ago, General Motors, Wall Street, Walter Mondale and United Auto Workers (UAW) president Owen Bieber figured they were home free. The company and UAW tops had just negotiated what the business press called the deal of the century: GM, flush with over \$6 billion in profits, got off with a 1.3 percent wage increase for most assembly line workers in the first year, and *no* wage increase for the rest of the contract. Mondale didn't have to worry about a long strike that could sour his election campaign. Solidarity House pushed it through the GM council in St. Louis easily enough. Van Nuys went for it. Bieber was so confident that he arrogantly announced *his* payoff from his buddy Iacocca: the Judas' seat on the Chrysler board, formerly held by Doug "Giveback" Fraser.

But now they're sweating. One after another, key locals across Michigan have thrown the contract back in Bieber's face: Saginaw, Lansing, Kalamazoo. Lordstown turned thumbs down by a 3-to-1 margin. Bieber admitted he was "concerned" and "uneasy." And the UAW tops are really putting the screws on the smaller locals. *Never* has a GM pact been turned down by the ranks, and it won't be easy to get a "no" vote past the UAW bureaucracy. Remember what happened in the '73 Ford pact: they just stopped counting, forced re-votes at key plants, pulled guns on dissidents in the Local 600 exec board and even shot a militant protesting the re-votes. But auto workers know they're in a good position right now to wring some real concessions from the greedy auto barons—if they fight for it.

Angry auto workers know Bieber's "job security" talk is a lie—the GM contract will grease the skids for tens of thousands of layoffs. At a meeting Saturday of the largely black Fleetwood workers in Detroit, Local 15 members booed and hissed the international reps and local officers pushing this crap. They cheered when one worker denounced these flunkies for GM: "The only job security we have is our *job*, and



Pickets outside Chevy Truck Assembly plant, Flint, Michigan, September 19: "Nobody goes in, nobody goes out," strikers vow. Bureaucrats are now sweating as the big UAW GM locals are voting down sellout contract. WV Photo

you're here to sell us this contract for a \$180 payoff." Every day now auto workers are uncovering new giveaways in this rotten deal:

- the union is split with "tiered" wage hikes,
- COLA is siphoned off to pay for GM's \$1 billion layoff plan,
- union dues are jacked up,
- foremen seniority is restored.

The contract lets the company change work rules (speedup) like crazy, which is why local bargaining is going so easy: there's nothing left to negotiate.

This contract is a license for GM alone to destroy 100,000 union jobs. But, for the crisis of U.S. capitalism which put hundreds of thousands of workers on the dole the AFL-CIO tops and their presidential candidate Mondale have only one solution: poisonous protectionism which sets U.S. workers against their class brothers abroad and breeds vicious racism at home as demonstrated by the brutal murder of Vincent Chin.

Auto workers: *now* is the time to take on the Big 3 auto bosses, while they are caught with a short supply of cars, heavy demand and billions in the bank! Bieber's threat to the heavily black locals in Detroit, Pontiac and Flint which have yet to vote is a long losing strike run by his gang of class traitors in "Sacrifice House." To hell with Bieber! A *real* auto strike, a strike to *win*, won't be led by the fakers who told 13 GM locals to go it alone. The powerful action by Toledo Jeep and AP Parts workers last May showed that the UAW ranks are ready, willing and able to fight. What they need is a fighting leadership. Shut down every last GM

plant, and take out Ford and Chrysler as well! A national strike committee of elected delegates from every local, with a program of militant class struggle, could lead an auto strike which would reverse the years of givebacks and layoffs, rallying the rest of labor and the black masses of the industrial Midwest.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership

It's not just Bieber, the UAW's GM council overwhelmingly approved this stinking sellout. There wasn't a peep of protest from local officials over Bieber's appointment to the Chrysler board—which makes him *officially* a company cop. And the handful of local bureaucrats who have criticized the contract, like Pete Kelly, president of the GM Tech Center, were quick to take down the picket lines before the ink was dry on the settlement. Housebroken "oppositionalists" like Kelly, who was appointed by Bieber to the National Negotiating Committee, will never fight to unleash the power of labor/black Detroit against the auto bosses.

Auto workers looking for leadership won't find it in the reformist Communist Party (CP) or Socialist Workers Party (SWP). These pseudo-socialists are so subservient to the bureaucracy that they can't bring themselves to utter the word "sellout" no matter what. The SWP's misnamed *Militant* (5 October) doesn't even bother to call for a "no" vote, much less a strike against GM. The CP's *Daily World* (22 September) reluctantly squeezed out some of its endless Mondale and Ferraro photos to cover up for Bieber, quoting a Pontiac local official saying "our people are very

delighted" with the contract. These fakers are covering up for the Solidarity House gang in order not to embarrass the Democrats' anti-Reagan "coalition." But you can't fight Reagan with Democrats, and you sure as hell can't beat GM by keeping cool for Mondale.

Seats on government and company boards, support for "friend of labor" capitalist politicians only undermine the unions. To fight effectively labor must be completely independent from the bosses and rely on its own power. The pro-company labor bureaucracy cannot be reformed, it must be ousted and replaced with a class-struggle leadership, one which fights to forge a workers party as a vanguard of all the oppressed. A fighting workers leadership will be built in class struggle, and a solid auto strike that breaks the cycle of givebacks and sellouts would go a long way.

GM workers know they have to shut the auto giant down tight to win. At the Fleetwood contract meeting October 6, workers demanded that the union take out all the GM locals as in 1970. But even in '70, UAW president Woodcock kept 27 General Motors plants working before he sold out that long, bitter strike. Woodcock (who got his reward as Carter's ambassador to Peking) hung GM workers out to dry, as Bieber will try to do if he is forced by a contract rejection to call a strike. Auto workers: don't leave it to Bieber! For an elected, national strike committee to shut down GM and the rest of auto! Stop GM's layoff plans with a fight for jobs for all, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Screw Mondale—oust the bureaucrats, break with the Democrats, for a class-struggle workers party! ■