

Fight Racist Backlash Against Black Mayor

Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago



The "morning after" Washington has "unity" luncheon with racist pols: (from left) Saul Epton, Jane Byrne, Richard Daley, Jr.

CHICAGO—The second-largest, and most segregated, city in the United States now has its first black mayor. Democrat Harold Washington narrowly snatched victory from a racist mobilization instigated by the Democratic Machine he loyally served for three decades. Hundreds of thousands of black people in Chicago and millions across the country see the Washington

election as their victory. Jesse Jackson proclaimed it "the most significant national event" for blacks since the Selma-Montgomery march of 1965. But the hair's breadth election of this Democratic Party hack is *no victory for the black masses*. The racists have been emboldened, the cops are preparing for the next round and Harold Washington is desperately trying to maintain the



Chicago blacks will still face the same police brutality as these did lining up for temporary city jobs.

status quo. The white racist backlash that whipped through Chicago during the recent mayoral elections reveals the dangerous potential for race war in this depression-ravaged country. But there is also the tremendous potential for class struggle in Chicago, in the industrial heartland of America.

Harold Washington must betray the aspirations of black Chicago. The

Democratic Party for decades has kept labor and minorities tied to their most determined enemies, from Southern Dixiecrats to openly racist Northern mayors like Jane Byrne and New York's Ed Koch. But Washington has as much right to be mayor and exercise the prerogatives of his office as any other capitalist politician. For half a century

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U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam!

APRIL 19—Once again it appears that United States imperialism is trying to crush Vietnam. Over the weekend China, Washington's anti-Soviet ally in Asia, launched artillery attacks against Vietnam for the first time since Peking's 1979 invasion. Meanwhile the U.S. is rushing ultra-modern weaponry—Redeye anti-aircraft missiles, long-range 155-millimeter howitzers and the like—to Thailand. Early this month, U.S.-supplied Thai warplanes dropped napalm on Vietnamese forces in Cambodia (Kampuchea). And then came an ominous report that CIA director William Casey had dined with former South Vietnamese Marshal Ky, the jumpsuited Hitler-lover, at the Philippines presidential palace in Manila. The Chinese border, the Cambodian border, poking around in

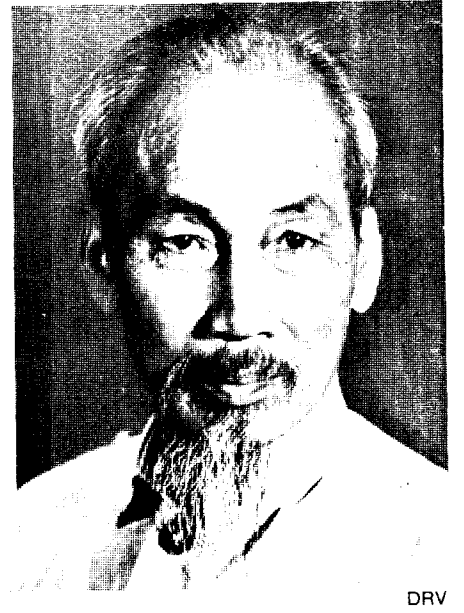
the south... the Americans are orchestrating an attack all around Vietnam and inside as well. The Trotskyists demand: U.S./China—Hands Off!

Even more ominous is the way this onslaught is being presented. "U.S. is Airlifting Missiles to Thailand in Face of Vietnamese Threat" headlined the *New York Times*. What threat? Peking presents a diplomatic note to Hanoi saying that if Vietnam lets "the trend of armed provocations against China's border continue to develop, they must be held responsible for the grave consequences." Earlier the Chinese chief of staff declared in Bangkok, that "if Vietnam dares to make an armed incursion into Thailand... the Chinese army will not stay idle." This is the language of someone who is planning war, like Bismarck's Prussia on the eve of its war against France in 1870. The

U.S. allies are acting provocatively, hoping to draw in the Vietnamese and then claiming some incident as a pretext for unleashing a bloody attack.

Perhaps behind these anti-Vietnamese provocations is a message from Reagan to Andropov: "Get out of Nicaragua and El Salvador and we will let you have 'Nam." But there is a corollary: "this is what we intend to do to the Soviet Union." The Chinese are telling the Kremlin that the price of détente is giving up Vietnam. Vietnam is a long way from Russia and the connection is from Vladivostok through the western Pacific. The Americans could easily interdict those sea lanes, but then they've got World War III. So it depends on what the Soviets are going to do and on how crazy those guys in Washington are.

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Ho Chi Minh

DRV

Women in Sri Lanka

Iowa City, Iowa
30 January 1983

Comrades,

... In *WV* 322, while I have not had time to read the whole paper yet, I did read the item on Sri Lanka among others. Generally the actions of this iSt section seem politically good. However in the slogan (p. 5) on women's issues is included "Abolish night shifts!" This sounds backward and sexist—why can't women work night shifts too? If there are special circumstances there an explanation would be useful, if not the section should reconsider this item.

In solidarity,

Loren Schutt

WV replies: Your observations about the controversy surrounding night shift work for women in Lanka prompted an interesting discussion in the Centre. What is in question at the moment is evidently something called the International Labour Office Convention No. 89, which prohibits night work for women. Ten years ago Sri Lanka's government ratified this ILO agreement. They have now decided to pull out of this convention and to revise their own protective legislation on women workers. The July 1982 issue of Lanka's English-language feminist magazine, *Voice of Women*, says the new codes will permit women workers on night shifts if this is "voluntary," and that the new codes would require such employers to comply with "certain provisions such as transport facilities, maternity benefits and overtime pay."

Voice of Women observes that the capitalist countries which did not ratify the ILO convention are the advanced industrial nations—the U.S., United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan. The only ex-colonial country listed in *Voice of Women* as a non-signer is Singapore, which seems to be the Jayewardene government's model for hoped-for industrialization via "free trade zone" foreign capitalist investment. The new "voluntary" regulations are visibly part of the concessions to employers on working conditions and union rights deemed necessary to attract foreign investors.

It's a safe assumption that protest against the abolition of this form of protective legislation for women in Lanka comes mainly from the social-democrats and other reformists, who of course look toward UN pronouncements and domestic legislation to protect women workers, rather than toward the urgently necessary "illegal" unionization of the free trade zone. Even on the narrow level of legislative



AAFLI

Ninety-five percent of Sri Lanka Free Trade Zone workforce is made up of women without protection of unions or other rights.

reform, our proposals are not the same as those of the social-democrats; we stand for the extension of any necessary protective legislation to all workers, not just women. But our first concrete concern is against the abolition of protective legislation, as we made clear in many of our articles on the early debates over the Equal Rights Amendment in this country.

In other countries, particularly in Britain where the patronizing and puritanical Labourite types often rail against night shifts in general and over night work for women in particular (an agitation of a piece with the archaic, teetotalist, Sunday-blue-law harassments aimed at "protecting" conventional "family life"), sections of the iSt have generally responded by counterposing demands addressing the specific hardships of night work—e.g., demands for "penalty pay" for unpopular shifts, childcare facilities, etc., depending on particular conditions. We have denounced opposition to night shifts in principle as retrogressive and comparable to workerist resistance to automation, for example. A modern industrial nation requires 24-hour capacity in certain industries (e.g., steel plants, oil refineries, sewage plants). If only this were the question in Lanka! What is involved in the Katunayake free trade zone is greedy small entrepreneurs trying to squeeze every last rupee of profit out of the sheds and sewing machines.

Most important, the social overhead for workers involved is by no means comparable to the discomforts of night shift workers in the U.S., where frequently we are talking about a woman who makes \$15,000 a year

and drives to work at a Midwestern factory in her own car. Even in a decrepit advanced capitalist country like Britain, the hazards of night work are essentially trivial. But in the ex-colonial world, essential preconditions for the integration of female labor into the industrial workforce virtually do not exist. To make Lanka a place where a married woman with kids can easily enter the industrial labor force requires an "industrial revolution," which is to say in this day and age a socialist revolution and an international division of labor. To care for a family in Lanka is virtually a full-time job. To prepare a curry, one begins by sitting on the floor grating coconut for half an hour. Thus the very real hardships of night work in Lanka, from the lack of public transport at night to the impossibility of getting much sleep in the daytime in the teeming, noisy cities of Asia, are reinforced by the myriad forms of social inequality, oppression and dire poverty. One cannot dismiss the concern for the women workers as patronizing in this context, even though our fundamental approach to a solution is counterposed to the reformism and ultra-legalism of the Lanka "left" epitomized by the LSSP.

Under Lankan conditions the typical worker in the free trade zone is a young unmarried woman who by law is to have no union protection. Many of these workers live in barracks-type housing provided by the employer at a cost which may be half their pathetic salary. If you find yourself on the road in Katunayake at 5:30 in the morning you will see hundreds and hundreds of young women walking miles to work. One can imagine how many of these workers would risk their jobs by refusing "voluntary" assignment to night shift. Nor can one put much faith in the provisions of the new codes requiring employers to provide "transport facilities" and such, when complaints of violations of all kinds of laws on working conditions are already widespread—above all complaints regarding the free trade zone where the government woos investors with promises of good labor productivity and the legal ban on unions there.

We stand for the integration of women into the workforce in Lanka through a class-struggle fight for the necessary social institutions—e.g., childcare centers, free maternity care, etc. We stand for equal pay for equal work and the organizing of class-struggle unions in the free trade zone and among the agricultural workers. We also stand for the maintenance and extension of whatever protective legislation for the working class there is, however flawed or partial, and against its repeal. Most important, we are guided by the objective conditions and needs confronting the working class. Therefore we must take a different attitude toward the question of night work for women in Lanka than we take in Britain, where protests against it are focused on essentially trivial hardships and motivated centrally by social conservatism toward the disruption of the normal functioning of the bourgeois nuclear family. ■

Class Struggle vs. Communalism in Lebanon

New Haven, CT
March 17, 1983

Workers Vanguard
New York, N.Y.

Comrades,

I have just read sections of the March 11 *Workers Vanguard*, in which you directly imply that the Revolutionary Communist League - (Internationalist) presents a view of the world, and of the conflict in Lebanon, as one in which the opposing sides are composed of "progressive, democratic" "peoples" on the one side, and "reactionary" "peoples" on the other. To my knowledge, we have never used such terminology, which you placed in quotes. We have no sympathy for classless analyses of the world, individual societies, or wars, in this class-rifted world.

We have always sought to advance a consistent class analysis not only of Palestinian society, but of the conflicts and crises in Lebanon, Poland, Afghanistan and elsewhere. It is true that we differ sharply with the Spartacist League analysis of the '75-'76 war in Lebanon. We see that conflict as *in the final analysis* a class war, albeit not a chemically pure one. And we are very critical of views, such as sometimes presented in the *New York Times*, that claimed the civil war in Lebanon to have been primarily one between sects or nations. We are genuinely sorry that the Spartacist tendency, which is part of the workers' Movement,

repeated such shallow views, which are consciously advanced by the bourgeoisie to obscure its actual aims in a class war. We also believe the Spartacist tendency committed a very serious error in taking an abstentionist stance in that conflict.

You may—you do—disagree with our analysis. But in misrepresenting our views, you are doing a disfavor not only to the RCL-(I), your members and readers, but to the entire Movement. We request that you reprint this clarification without delay.

In struggle,
Issam Mohareb
for the RCL-(I)

WV replies: We wrote in Part 3 of our article "From the 'Arab Revolution' to Pax Americana" (*WV* No. 325, 11 March) that "these small-time Marcyites [the RCLI] are expressing the essentially Stalinist concept that if a people [such as Lebanese Christians] is unfortunate to fall under the sway of fascist or other right-wing leadership, then they are condemned to be subjugated, if not exterminated, by the 'progressive, democratic' peoples." The RCLI indignantly denies upholding any notion of "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples. Yet this is in fact the logic of its line on the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war. This quickly became a communalist conflict between the Lebanese Muslims and Palestinians on the one side and Christian

Maronites on the other, though initially there was a potential for social revolution. Mohareb asserts, "We see that conflict as *in the final analysis* a class war," but makes no effort to substantiate this claim. The letter does not address any of the concrete issues raised in our article. What, for example, is the RCLI's attitude toward the massacre in the Christian village of Damur carried out by PLO commandos and the Druze militia of Kamal Jumblatt? Was this class war? Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, with which the RCLI is in general political sympathy (indeed they very much want to join the Marcy Marcyites), applauded this communalist atrocity at the time.

Our position on the Lebanese civil war cannot be
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22 April 1983

WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop Anti-Tamil Terror! U.S. Out of the Indian Ocean!

Spartacist, Tamil Association Protest Sri Lankan Leader

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Some two dozen spirited demonstrators chanting "Smash Anti-Tamil Terror!" and "Stop U.S./J.R. Arms Deal!" picketed outside the National Press Building on Wednesday, April 13 where Sri Lankan prime minister Ranasinghe Premadasa was addressing a VIP luncheon at the National Press Club. Jointly organized by the Spartacist League/U. S. and the Eelam Tamils Association of America, the demonstration focused public attention on the vicious state repression of the Tamil minority under the Reagan-backed regime of Sri Lankan strongman J.R. Jayewardene. The prime minister was hustled into the building amidst cries of "Premadasa/Jayewardene—You have blood on your hands!" and "Stop killing Tamil babies!"

A Spartacist League (SL) statement distributed at the demonstration noted, "Premadasa is a representative of J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party, which recently moved further toward naked dictatorship by ramming through a plebiscite to extend the life of the UNP-dominated parliament which means six more years of his IMF-dictated austerity rule. J.R. has bowed to every dictate of the imperialist bankers, slashing state subsidies on foodstuffs, cutting health care and education, reducing workers and the poor to a life of desperate misery, while joining the schemes of Reagan and his murderous advisers like Jeane Kirkpatrick to further U.S. hegemony in the Indian Ocean." In particular the SL pointed to the U.S. naval base on the island of Diego Garcia and secret arrangements to take over the militarily strategic Trincomalee harbor, a former British naval base in the Tamil area. Demonstrators demanded "U.S. Hands Off Trincomalee and Diego Garcia! U.S. Imperialists Out of the Indian Ocean!"

Premadasa's "unofficial" visit to the U.S. included talks with President Reagan and ex-CIA head, now vice president George Bush. Both American and Sri Lankan officials were visibly discomfited as demonstrators' militant chants "marred" their hoped-for roses-and-champagne luncheon for this bloody butcher. For all the diplomats' complaints, they were only able to get the D.C. police to move the demonstrators across the street. When at the banquet a reporter asked Premadasa for his response to the demonstration



WV Photos



Protest against reactionary Sri Lankan leader in Washington.

outside and the treatment of the oppressed Tamil minority, he cynically replied that the assembled dignitaries no doubt had to deal with "agitators" in their own countries and that "in Sri Lanka, our people are living in peace and harmony."

The "peace" that J.R. is attempting to force on the Tamil areas is that of the cemetery, under the "harmony" of the state emergency regulations by which the North is occupied by the Lankan army. Last month a government crackdown and wave of police brutality was launched against student strikers—both Sinhalese and Tamil—at Colombo University and other campuses. In Jaffna on January 26, students demanding repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act mounted the biggest protest march in recent times. A number of the Tamil participants at the Washington demonstration had themselves been imprisoned, beaten and tortured by the Lankan government.

One participant told WV of his years-long jail term, which began the night the army encircled his house, dragged him into the street and brought him to the offices of the secret police where he was tortured and interrogated. "We were kept under detention, we were never brought before a magistrate, just taken in, kept in prison... Many boys who were arrested like me were murdered and some bodies are missing. Some of my friends who were released were arrested again. We don't know where they are, they have been killed. About five bodies were found in the street, hanging and heads separated, just to show the public that 'this will happen to you' once you start shouting there."

A spokesman for the Eelam Tamils Association charged the Jayewardene/Premadasa government with genocide against the Tamil people: "We have been murdered, butchered, burned

alive. Ceylon is an island with two countries. Tamil-Eelam is occupied by the Sinhalese Sri Lankan army of occupation.... They're killing our babies—it's their final solution to the Tamils." The Tamils Association advocates a separate state of Eelam in the north and east of Sri Lanka.

Spartacist signs at the demonstration called "For the Right of Self-Determination for the Tamils!" "Free Victims of Anti-Tamil Terror!" and "For a Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government in Sri Lanka!" The SL also demanded full citizenship rights for the stateless Indian Tamil plantation workers who face grueling working conditions, pogromist raids and deportation. In the face of the May-June 1981 anti-Tamil army rampage in Jaffna, the newly formed Spartacist League/Lanka raised its voice in protest, while the chauvinist left was virtually silent. Other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) have also actively defended the oppressed Tamil minority. When in August 1981 hundreds of Tamils fled to West Berlin to escape the vicious repression in Sri Lanka, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), Ger-

man section of the iSt, organized a demonstration demanding the right of political asylum.

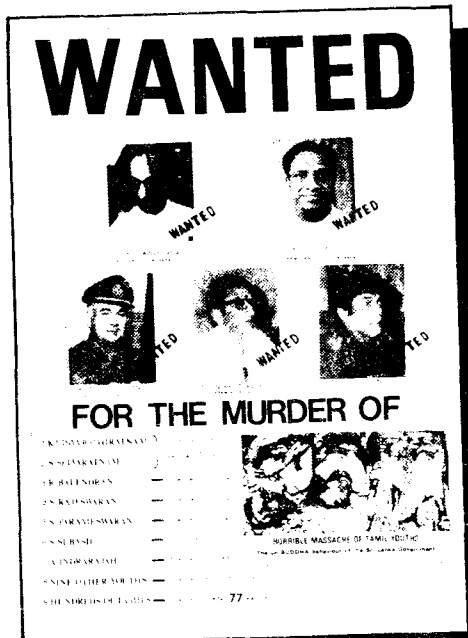
Last fall our comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka denounced J.R.'s phony referendum—"an election to end elections"—to consolidate his dictatorial rule. Both *Lanka Spartacist* (Sinhala) and *Illangai Spartacist* (Tamil) defended the right of militant Tamil groups to organize a boycott against the plebiscite. The SL/L noted that it was under the impact of a worldwide economic crisis that the capitalist rulers of Sri Lanka are compelled to remove the veneer of bourgeois democracy. In a desperate attempt to rescue his crisis-ravaged economy, J.R. has established "free trade zones" where young women live in barracks, work in slave labor conditions and unions are outlawed. The protesters in Washington demanded, "Full union rights for all workers! Equal pay/equal rights for women!" They also pointed to the role of the Sinhala-chauvinist and anti-working-class repressive Bandaranaike popular front in bringing Jayewardene to power. An SL sign proclaimed, "Bloody Mrs. B Paved the Way for 'Yankee Dickie' Jayewardene!"

As the Spartacist spokesman outside of the press club summed up:

"J.R. Jayewardene, you were such a good boy at the Nonaligned Conference. You opposed the motion against the [U.S.] military base at Diego Garcia.... What about the deals, shrouded in mystery, about leasing oil tanks in Trincomalee? What are the U.S. interests in Trincomalee? What about the IMF loans that the U.S. is planning to cut back?... Trincomalee, Diego Garcia are stepping stones in the Indian Ocean to encircle the USSR. Reagan needs allies like J.R. to build his war drive against the Soviet Union. J.R. is willing to squeeze every drop of blood from the Sri Lankan workers and peasants if only Reagan will bankroll his bankrupt capitalist system. We're here to mount revolutionary protest against the sinister link between the U.S. government and J.R. Jayewardene, and for revolutionary defense of the gains of October! For military defense of the Soviet Union!"

The SL spokesman called for internationalist revolutionary struggle against the hated Jayewardene government by the workers and peasants of Lanka, Sinhala and Tamil, men and women: "Tamil workers are a bridge to socialist revolution in the Indian subcontinent."

After his powwow with Reagan/Bush, Premadasa's next stop was London's 10 Downing Street, Monday April 18. But as he arrived to shake hands with British imperialism's "Iron Lady" Thatcher, Premadasa was once again confronted by demonstrators organized by the Spartacist League/Britain, undaunted by torrential rains from raising their internationalist protest. ■



Poster put out by Congress of International Tamil Students.

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Chicago...

(continued from page 1)

the Democratic "primary" had been the real election in Chicago. But after the black candidate won the February vote, the Democratic Machine in effect scheduled another election. Defeated mayor Jane Byrne launched her one-week "white-in" campaign. They tried to reduce Washington's powers of office by rushing through appointments. The Republicans saw their chance. The cops launched Republican Bernard Epton's racist campaign with police chief Brzezczek's threat that the streets would not be safe under a black mayor.

When the "stop Washington" campaign sprang up last month, we wrote:

"Washington has the right to take office with all the normal prerogatives. Blacks have a right to elect whoever they want to office. Byrne and the bonapartist police better keep their hands off. The election of this Machine Democrat (in a fractured Machine) is no victory for black people—it will mean more of the racist austerity, strikebreaking and cop terror blacks suffered under Boss Daley, Bilandic and Byrne. But this is supposed to be a bourgeois democracy, and Byrne lost."

—"Jane Byrne, You Lost!"
WV No. 326, 25 March

Now Washington has won again, and again there will likely be attempts to deprive him of victory or to take revenge against blacks. The danger of a cop riot in the black communities and a cop revolt against the new city administration is very real. Such naked displays of police power must be met with mass mobilization by Chicago labor and blacks.

There was a plot to stop Washington by local Democratic pols determined to hold onto their spoils system. There was another plot by national Democratic Party bigwigs to elect Washington in order to herd the black vote into the anti-Reagan "popular front" in the 1984 presidential elections. Had Washington lost they faced the possibility of an "independent" black candidate. Now Washington is using the euphoria over his election in the black communities of Chicago and around the country to build illusions in a "new Democratic coalition." But just as Washington is now embracing Byrne, Daley and the rest of the racist Machine Democrats who kicked him in the face and unleashed the lynch-mob fury, the Democratic coalition ties blacks and labor to their oppressors.

But while numerous reformist left groups were climbing on the bandwagon of this black Democrat, the Spartacist League (SL) refused to give political support to Washington. As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago he has to

maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job.

Our job is to break through the racial polarization in Chicago which can easily become a race war. And that means racially integrated class struggle against both bosses' parties. Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay! Sit-ins against mass layoffs! Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the unions! Fight racial and sexual discrimination! Not a man, not a penny for the imperialist war machine! To fight for this program requires a revolutionary party of black and white



Horan/Picture Group

Democratic ward heelers built Republican Epton's "before it's too late" racist backlash campaign.

workers whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country out of the capitalists' hands and establish a planned economy.

The Morning After

Now that Washington's won, all the bigwig black politicians are trying to cool out black expectations. Maynard Jackson advised Washington to "temper the extraordinarily sky high expectations of an ecstatic black community. The first black mayor is not Superman incarnate" (*New York Times*, 17 April). Washington never promised to fight for open housing in the first place, but already he's backpeddling as fast as he can on the question of construction of public housing: "...it's not in my purview to pick the sites.... Public housing is not going to flourish; it's a question of dollars and cents." Washington postured as a "reform" candidate, but he has dirty work to do now. The guy who used to visit the prisoners in Cook County jail every Christmas will now be stuffing those jails.

Washington acts as if blacks are just another ethnic group like the Irish, Poles or Italians, and there is a widespread illusion that Washington's victory means Chicago blacks will finally get their chance to make it. "I'm a child of politics," said Washington. "I saw the Irish pick themselves up by the bootstraps...the ballot box was the avenue." But black oppression is deeply rooted in this capitalist society where blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in what Marx called the "reserve army of labor." That's the reason for the astronomical unemployment rates in the ghetto, even in times of relative prosperity. No Harold Washington's going to do anything about that. It took the Civil War to free blacks from chattel slavery, and it will take a social revolution to bring about real black equality.

Black people know something terrible is happening to them. The question is how to fight it. This is not the first mass

black voter registration drive. The civil rights movement did it in the 1960s. So now we have black mayors enforcing austerity on the black masses. The liberal-led civil rights movement of Martin Luther King came to a dead end in Chicago precisely because it failed to address the basic economic oppression of black people. Jobs, housing, education—these are the same problems Chicago blacks face today. Thousands of steel workers have been thrown on the streets, and huge steel mills stand idle or are working at only a fraction of their capacity because the steel bosses can't make a profit. Dilapidated houses and decaying housing projects stretch for mile after mile on the South Side. The El system is falling apart and now they're shutting down service to the black neighborhoods. The teachers haven't had a raise in two years

and the schools may not open in the fall if they can't find the money to pay off the deficit. Just what is Harold Washington going to do about all that? You have to have a program to overturn the boom-bust capitalist system, a program which can mobilize black and white workers to fight their common enemy.

Smash the Racist Backlash!

The Democratic Party, with its 50-year legacy of ethnic-patronage politics, made Chicago Segregation City to begin with. Boss Daley's Democratic Machine ensured that there was never even an attempt to implement busing here. Byrne, elected with the minority vote, infuriated the black population with her high-handed, abusive racism. When she passed over a black for head of the Chicago Housing Authority, that was the last straw—blacks were determined to turn her out.

After Washington's primary victory we wrote, "Harold Washington Takes Over Chicago Machine." Well, he certainly tried, but it wasn't that simple. The Machine's black captains had always dutifully delivered the black vote for the party's candidates, and Washington made it clear he expected the same from the white aldermen. But a number of the ward bosses went into open revolt. No one did more than Byrne to inflame the situation. Her one week write-in campaign, appropriately dubbed a "white-in," was a brazen attempt "to save Chicago" from a black mayor. The Nazis backed Byrne as a "symbol of resistance" and urged a vote for her as "a step in the right direction—white power."

The Republican candidate shamelessly pitched his campaign to the racists with the slogan, "Epton, before it's too late." Ugly racist mobs sporting Epton buttons twice accosted the black candidate as he campaigned in predominantly white neighborhoods. All the hoopla millionaire Epton made over Washington's taxes, in a town like Chicago where millions of dollars of graft flow openly

from City Hall each year, was a deliberate attempt to smear all blacks as shiftless hustlers. It was a cover for the racist vote. In the final days of the campaign Epton proclaimed "bitterness and hatred" are the price of freedom and championed "the freedom to hate." Then Epton refused to sit in the same TV studio with Washington for a debate on "Meet the Press"; Washington responded, "He thinks he's in South Africa."

In fact, Washington's unheard-of (for a Machine-loyal flunky) 36-day stint in jail for failing to file income tax returns for four years, involving a measly \$500 of outstanding taxes, was the result of an "investigation" launched by then-state's attorney Ed Hanrahan, who was infuriated because Washington had raised criticisms of the FBI/Chicago police-organized massacre of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton. That Washington hid this—virtually his only decent act independent of the Daley Machine—during the attacks on his character which eroded much of his liberal support—indicates his willingness to capitulate to the racist status quo rather than be associated with "black militancy."

The notoriously racist and corrupt police department provided the shock troops for Epton's campaign as the "Great White Hope" to stop Washington from taking office. When the cops were told there would be no on-the-job politicking they simply painted their Epton buttons white. Racist propaganda was posted in precincts around the city. The day before the election, news broke of a plot by the white cops to conduct mass arrests of blacks to prevent them from voting. It was an ominous bonapartist display of muscle by the cops, as was the special unit they organized which knocked 2,500 blacks off the voter registration lists. The cops are the racist enemies of blacks and working people and any bonapartist drive on their part to organize as an independent political force or break loose from civilian control must be smashed.

The racist backlash swept through the city. White punks sported T-shirts emblazoned with slogans like "Go get 'em Jew Boy" and "Vote Right, Vote White" on St. Patrick's Day. White fears that gains for blacks will come at their expense were whipped to a fever pitch. One steel worker was quoted as saying,

"You've got to vote racist, there's no other way. They've got nothing, you've got a little something, and they're going to take yours away. Washington said during the primary, 'It's our turn.'"

The ethnic porkbarreling politics of the Democratic Party only fuel these racist fears.

Conservative columnist William Safire cynically alibis the white racist backlash:

"...if it is laudatory for black voters to vote as a bloc for a black candidate, the logic dictates it should bother nobody that white voters are likely to vote as a bloc for the white candidate.... Voting on the basis of race is racist."

—*New York Times*, 24 March

Safire's too "civilized" to get down there on the streets with the mob and put on a "White Power" T-shirt. But it's "White Power"—a fascist slogan—that Safire is really trying to put over with a slick, twisted "logic." His article is a call for more "sophisticated" racists to mobilize "before it's too late." To talk about "reverse racism" in the face of the brutal oppression of black people in this country and the current drive by the ruling class to roll back even the limited gains of the civil rights movement is an obscenity. The cutbacks have been aimed with almost surgical precision to hit blacks and minorities hardest. But the depression has meant that millions of white workers too now find themselves on the unemployment and welfare lines with nowhere to turn. The bourgeoisie hopes to deflect any possibility

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Partisan Defense Committee
Fundraiser

"We Stopped the Klan!"
Labor/Black Mobilization
Shakes
Washington,
D.C.

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CONCERT

featuring

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Martha Phillips for Oakland City Council!

Spartacist Campaign for Labor/Black Defense

We reprint below the brochure of the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee.

Oakland is falling apart. Depression-level unemployment, bad housing, miserable medical care and lousy schools—the poor and working people of the city are being viciously squeezed to pay for Ronald Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. To enforce this policy racist cops terrorize the population, while in nearby suburbs the Ku Klux Klan, with police connivance and participation, runs amok. In Oakland Democratic Party mayor Lionel Wilson presides over the closing of the Carnation plant which is throwing hundreds more workers onto the streets. Meanwhile the largely Democratic Board of Education debates how much more damage in teacher layoffs and cuts they are going to inflict on the Oakland schools and our children's lives. Yet the capitalist politicians all say they're against unemployment and social decay. *They lie!*

Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips, running for Oakland Councilmember At Large, says the truth. The choice facing labor/black Oakland is fight or starve! Phillips, an unemployed ITU Local 21 member, knows from experience: the best time to fight the bosses is while you still have a job. Talk to the 6,000 auto workers from the Fremont GM plant. After a year of shutdown only 12 percent have found new jobs.

The Spartacists say: Sitdowns not Souplines! What's needed are massive strike actions and factory occupations linked to the struggles of the unemployed, not only for immediate demands for relief but for jobs for all. And that means a fight against the boom-bust capitalist system.

The question of unity of the employed and unemployed in this country is the race question. Deep-rooted and vicious racial oppression ensures that blacks suffer twice the unemployment of whites. Black youth unemployment has gone over 50 percent. Under capitalism a whole generation has no future. Racist terror groups like the Klan and Nazis, the last line of defense for the decaying capitalist order, target blacks and Hispanics. This deadly threat must be crushed by mass labor/black mobilizations which can open the road for militant class struggle against the depression conditions these vile race-haters feed off.

Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

Last November 27 in Washington, D.C. this perspective was proved. More than 5,000 demonstrators, overwhelmingly black and many unionists, chased the KKK out of the city. The KKK fascists said they would rally at the Capitol and march in their white sheets to the White House. And the Reagan administration was determined to force this provocation down the throats of the black population of D.C. But at noon on November 27 more than 5,000 angry demonstrators massed near the Capitol waiting for the Klan. The "White Power" terrorists took one look at the Spartacist-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization and didn't try to march. They didn't even put on their hoods. Instead the working people—minorities, unionists, socialists—surged up the hill to where the Klan had gathered, and finding the racists had run away, took over the streets and marched the very

route the Klan had planned to march.

Martha Phillips was one of the organizers of the November 27 victory. She is a supporter of the Trotskyist Spartacist League which has a proven history of successful militant labor-centered anti-fascist struggle. In Detroit in 1979, in San Francisco in 1980, in Chicago in 1982, wherever we could, given the limited resources of a small socialist organization, Spartacists have worked to mobilize labor and minorities to stop the fascists. In San Francisco in 1980, when the Nazis planned to celebrate Hitler's birthday at the Civic

Party. The Panthers were heroic fighters against racial oppression but they proved unable to transcend a nationalist strategy of looking to the chronically unemployed rather than the working class. Fed up with the cringing gradualism of preachers and politicians and despairing of the fight to forge a militant class-struggle leadership capable of mobilizing the power of the organized, integrated unions in defense of black rights the Panthers were set up for murder by the cops. Unable to find the road of militant working-class struggle they mainly drifted into eventual de-

Spartacist campaign for April 19 election launches Labor/Black League in Oakland.

VOTE SPARTACIST!
MARTHA PHILLIPS
for
COUNCILMEMBER AT LARGE

LABOR/BLACK MOBILIZATIONS STOP RACIST TERROR
Build the Labor/Black League for Social Defense

- Sideways not souplines! Jobs for all—30 hour week for 40 hour pay!
- Stop cops terror! Clean the cops! No gun control!
- Stop IRS raids and deportations! Full citizenship rights for undocumented workers!
- Quality integrated public education for all—No cutbacks! No layoffs!
- Break from Carter's Democrats and Reagan's Republicans—for a workers party with a strong black leadership component!
- Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! U.S. imperialism hands off Central America military victory to Salvadoran whites! Bring down Reagan through mass strike action!
- Institute a massive social security program—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages!
- Take industry away from its incompetent, corrupt managers—nationalize it under a workers' general economy!

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408 12th St., Suite 250, Oakland, CA 94612

Center, the Spartacist-initiated April 19 Committee Against the Nazis mobilized to stop them. The demonstration, endorsed by representatives of over 20 area unions, was so successful that the Nazis closed down their office and haven't come back to the city since.

In Oakland in 1946 there was a General Strike that shut down the city and the whole Bay Area for 54 hours. The strike started because the city government tried to bring in scabs to break a Retail Clerks strike. The clerks had voted for a union at Kahns (now Liberty House) and Hastings. When news leaked out on the morning of December 3, 1946 that scabs were going to be brought in to break the union, 110,000 workers—black and white—hit the bricks. *Everything stopped.* Twenty thousand unionists rallied at the Oakland Auditorium. Confronted by a solid and determined strike the City Manager had to come pleading to the unions, promising no more scabs. That's the power the workers and minorities of this city could wield if they had a leadership willing to fight instead of crawling to pro-capitalist Democratic Party politicians.

This city also has a militant history of mass struggle against segregation and racist oppression, from the fights against segregated housing of the 1950s to the struggles of the Black Panther

moralized reconciliation with the Democratic Party. The token legal gains (like busing) won in the mass civil rights struggles are being rolled back in the streets and courts. In today's crisis-ridden capitalist economy, the situation of black people is desperate. But the misleaders of labor and blacks say: "Vote Democratic!" The city of Oakland is itself the best argument against the Democratic Party.

Decaying Oakland is run by Democrats who like to blame Prop 13 and Reagan for all the cutbacks and layoffs. But it doesn't wash. We remember Lester Maddox' buddy, Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter. All over the country big-city Democratic mayors like Lionel Wilson, Dianne Feinstein, Tom Bradley, Jane Byrne, Coleman Young and Ed Koch have been slashing budgets, unleashing cops on the ghetto poor and busting unions to enforce capitalist austerity plans. And millions of jobs have been lost by the pro-boss labor bureaucrats' "Crawl—Don't Strike" program of "Vote Democrat." The Democrats stand shoulder to shoulder with Reagan in his anti-Soviet war drive. Their only dispute is over the pace and type of war preparations.

The liberals, like Cassie Lopez and their fake-socialist pals like Jan Gangel, argue for reshuffling the priorities of the bosses' government. But the workers and oppressed must understand that

capitalism puts *nothing* before its profits. The capitalist state cannot be "reformed" to serve the interests of working people; there is no solution to black oppression under capitalism. Wage slashing and unemployment, KKK/Nazi and cop terror, imperialist war are all part of the logic of crisis-ridden capitalism.

Stop Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Understanding this, Spartacist candidate Martha Phillips is campaigning on a program of mobilizing labor and minorities to struggle for a decent life. Phillips says: *The main enemy is at home!* Calling for not one man, not one penny for the imperialist armed forces, she denounces as a dangerous diversion the "nuclear freeze movement" led by Vietnam War criminals. Imperialist wars will end only when the proletariat takes power, establishing its own class rule.

Phillips demands the complete withdrawal of Israeli/imperialist troops from Lebanon and the Occupied Territories. She also calls for military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador. Unlike the liberals and reformists who urge the Salvadoran workers and peasants to accept a negotiated sellout "political solution," the Spartacists insist that the only road to a real victory lies in the Salvadoran masses seizing power in their own name. Phillips urges American workers to refuse to ship arms to the bloody junta. Joining with union militants from several area maritime unions she is working for a one-day shutdown of all West Coast ports to protest Reagan's escalation of military support to the butcher junta. Phillips' campaign gives Oakland voters a chance to register their opposition to the program and policies of U.S. imperialism.

As a Trotskyist Phillips stands for the *unconditional* defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal capitalist restoration. Today Reagan and his imperialist masters are busy preparing a thermonuclear world war against the USSR. From Nicaragua and El Salvador, to Cuba, to Afghanistan and Poland the capitalists are trying to "roll back Communism."

The Spartacist candidate says the defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! Phillips condemns Wale-sa's Solidarność as a *company union*, the Pope's and Wall Street's hope for capitalist restoration in Poland. That's why Reagan, the PATCO-smasher who hates all unions, loves Solidarność. The so-called Polish "freedom fighters" proved what kind of "freedom" they're fighting for when thousands of them were airlifted from Vienna by the apartheid government of South Africa to take skilled jobs ("white jobs") there. What partisan of freedom would enlist in that racist elite and live off the brutal exploitation of black labor? Reagan's "free world" means the Washington/South Africa connection, which in Namibia and Angola proved its importance to the anti-Soviet war drive.

Vote Phillips! Vote Spartacist!

There isn't much time. Reagan is ready and able to blow up the world. What is needed is a multi-racial revolutionary party whose aim is a workers government that will rip the productive wealth of this country, including all the idle factories, out of the hands of the capitalist class and establish a planned socialist economy. This is key to the liberation of all oppressed minorities. The struggle must begin now to forge such a party. Stopping the Klan, fighting for jobs, the fight against racial and sexual discrimination—victories in these struggles will not be won at the ballot box. Martha Phillips' campaign aims to mobilize the exploited and oppressed against the class enemy. A central part of this campaign is building a new and very needed **LABOR/BLACK LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE. JOIN US!** ■

Khomeini Turns Against Stalinist Henchmen

Tudeh Victims of Islamic Terror

In late January and February the reactionary government of Iran intensified its murderous repression, which has claimed at least 15,000 lives over the last four years. During the five-week period beginning January 22, some 3,800 opponents of Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic theocracy were executed, according to *Iran Liberation*, newspaper of the radical-Muslim Mujahedin guerrillas. There were also more arrests, adding to the estimated 50,000 political prisoners jammed into Khomeini's jails. Significantly, the crackdown fell not only upon critics and opponents of the regime but on its groveling supporters in the left as well. On February 5 in Teheran, squads of *pasdaran*, the so-called "revolutionary guards," picked up a number of leaders of the pro-Moscow Tudeh ("Masses") party, including first secretary Nureddin Kiyanuri. The Tudeh leaders were charged with "forging documents" and "spying" for the Soviet Union.

A statement issued February 7 by the Tudeh party central committee complained that Kiyanuri has been "one of the resolute defenders of the combatant clergy and Moslem followers of Imam Khomeini's line." Indeed, for four years Tudeh has slavishly offered its services to the clerical reactionaries, from supporting the 1979 referendum for an "Islamic Republic" to hailing Khomeini's "egalitarian" program for women (the veil) to backing brutal wars against the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities. When the sordid border war between Iran and Iraq erupted, Kiyanuri ordered Tudeh members to report to their mosques (!) for military duty under the *pasdaran*, and the party denounced strikes as "sabotage" of the "anti-imperialist" struggle. Tudeh cadre were reportedly taken posts in the state apparatus, ostentatiously flaunting their new-found devotion to the word of the prophet. In particular Tudeh has defended every wave of repression ordered by the mullahs against "ultra-leftists."

Tudeh served the mullahs as both a clamp on labor unrest and a pawn in

Iran-Soviet relations. But as we pointed out almost four years ago, even boot-lickers get kicked in the teeth:

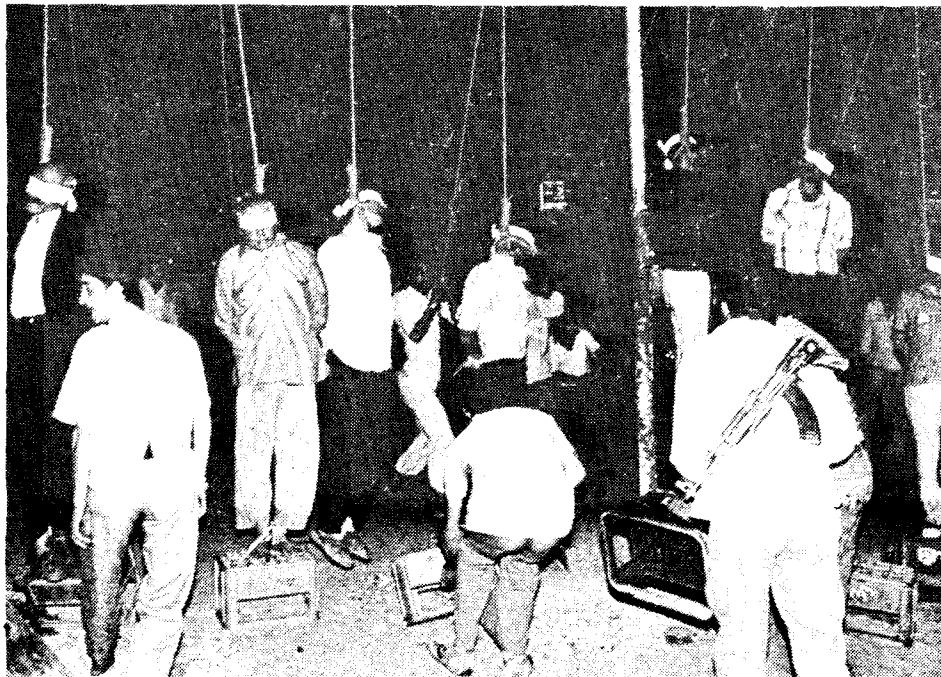
"Détente between Teheran and Moscow will not be enough to save the Tudeh party from Islamic repression.... Can there be any doubt that once Khomeini has succeeded in consolidating his rule and repressing the far left he will also move to smash Tudeh?"

—"Moscow Stalinists Cheer Khomeini's Witchhunt," *WV* No. 231, 11 May 1979

With the recent chill in relations between Iran and the USSR, Tudeh's

stage for intensified repression against the labor movement and what remains of the left. The persecution of Tudeh may signal an overture from Khomeini's Iran to the Western imperialists, including the "Great Satan" in Washington, and their anti-Soviet war drive. As part of the defense of the working class and the oppressed against Khomeini's theocracy Tudeh must be defended against the Islamic reaction it so faithfully served.

Not surprisingly this task is completely alien to the "Socialist Workers Party"



Karim/Al Akhbar

Khomeini's terror against the left was supported by Moscow-line Stalinists. Now they too face the executioner.

usefulness to the "Islamic Republic" has apparently come to an end.

The arrests and executions of January and February came on the heels of Khomeini's "eight-point message," in which he promised democratic rights for all except those who oppose Islam or "devise subversive schemes." This decree, which earned cautious praise in the bourgeois press in the West for its promise to ease up on businessmen, landowners and the middle class, set the

(HKE) of Iran and its mentors and defense attorneys, the American SWP. The HKE has sometimes tried to pass itself off as "Trotskyists" as it competes with the Stalinist Tudeh in groveling before Khomeini's Islamic reaction. Like Tudeh, the HKE has backed Khomeini all the way: praising his *pasdaran* as "brothers," calling the *chador* (veil) a "symbol of resistance" and denying the right of self-determination for Kurds, Baluchis and other oppressed peoples. One HKE spokesman, when challenged by members of the international Spartacist tendency, joined the mullahs in denouncing recently executed homosexuals as "child molesters."

To prove that they are even more devoted "followers of the Imam's line," than Tudeh, the HKE and SWP now attempt to alibi the arrest of Kiyanuri and his comrades by denouncing their inconsistent support for the war against Iraq. In *Intercontinental Press* (28 March), the SWP's Ernest Harsch writes, "Because of its political line, however, the Tudeh Party has left itself open to attack." It "has been calling more and more for 'peace.' Local branches have even opposed entry of Iranian troops into Iraq (echoing Moscow's position on this question)!" Such an attack could easily come from the pen of any apologist for the *hezbollahi*, the clerical-fascist gangs. But it's no polemical "excess." In 1980 the HKE like Tudeh hailed the "brave action" of the armed *hezbollahi* who invaded the universities to drive out the populist Fedayeen in a campaign of

"purification" that left 20 militants dead.

And yet... this past January 17 Babak Zahraie, former editor of the HKE's *Kargar* newspaper (which has been banned), was jailed in Evin Prison in Teheran. We defend even this social-chauvinist from Islamic reaction, with disgust.

Iran's class-conscious vanguard will insure that the working class never forgets that Tudeh and the HKE helped make Iran what it is today. Tudeh's support for Khomeini fit into its Stalinist strategy of blocking with the "progressive" bourgeoisie or even the feudal clergy in the eternal "first stage" of a two-stage revolution. The outcome is a country devastated by a war in which the working class of either side has no stake, with 150,000 dead and two million homeless. The left has been driven underground and the population cowers under the watchful eyes of the *pasdaran* and armed fascistic gangs. The mosques have become the centers of urban life, where one gets ration cards, jobs, entrance to schools and universities, etc. The position of women is summarized by the increasingly visible wall slogan: "Death to the Unveiled!" What kind of "revolution" starts off like this?

The Stalinist two-stage schema is responsible for countless defeats, from China in 1927, to Iran in 1953, to Indonesia in 1965. But unlike Chiang Kai-shek, Mossadeq or Sukarno, Khomeini never pretended to be "progressive." He openly set his sights on driving Iran back to the sixth century. Yet not just the HKE and Tudeh, but the entire left of Iran helped lift Khomeini and the mullahs to power. As we wrote in the aftermath of the "Islamification" of the universities: "But for the East the 1965 Indonesian coup demonstrated on a massive and catastrophic scale, for those even remotely connected to the left, that opportunism saved nobody's skin including their own" ("SWP/HKE: The Blood Is on Your Hands!" *WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980). Today most of these groups are politically at sea, hating Khomeini but unable to come to terms with their own support for him in 1979.

At that time the international Spartacist tendency uniquely fought for the perspective of mobilizing the huge workers' strike wave that struck the death blows to the Peacock Throne into a struggle for proletarian revolution against both the shah and the mullahs. "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs!" we proclaimed as the pseudo-socialists bowed to Khomeini. The proletariat of Iran desperately needs a revolutionary vanguard party armed with the perspective of Trotsky's Permanent Revolution. The grip of imperialism can only be broken, the democratic tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution completed, and the relics of barbaric feudal oppression swept away once and for all, under the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Only such a Bolshevik regime will avenge the thousands who have perished under Khomeini's bloody sword of Islam. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Smash CIA's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua Needs MIGs!

One day in April 1961 the Central Intelligence Agency dispatched boatloads of counterrevolutionaries from Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua heading for a landing at Playa Girón on the island of Cuba. Their mission: to topple the "Communist" government of Fidel Castro and install a "democratic junta" in the name of the "free world." The head of the U.S.-sponsored regime was to have been José Miró Cardona, the first prime minister after the overthrow of bloody dictator Fulgencio Batista by Castro's July 26 guerrilla movement. But the Cuban population hated the Batista torturers and rallied to defend their homeland. The *gusano* invaders were slaughtered like pigs on the shores of the bay of the same name. Ever since, American right wingers have been smarting over their ignominious defeat, accusing liberal Democratic president Kennedy of a "stab in the back" for his refusal to send in the U.S. Air Force.

Now Ronald Reagan is attempting a Bay of Pigs II, as part of his anti-Soviet Cold War II, this time directed against Sandinista Nicaragua. The counterrevolutionary purpose is the same and the Nicaraguan *contras* are even trained in some of the same Florida camps as the Cuban *gusanos* before them. They are using Honduras as a launching platform just as 12 years ago Brigade 2506 took off from Anastasio Somoza's Nicaragua. Now as then the invaders are fantasizing about a domestic uprising against "Communist totalitarianism." This time among the candidates for "democratic" quisling is former Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) comandante Edén Pastora. But the Nicaraguan people will fight to the death against the bloodthirsty former National Guardsmen of the Somoza dictatorship. As one U.S. senator remarked, the CIA and its mercenaries are headed toward a defeat that "will make the Bay of Pigs look like a beach party."

As leftist guerrillas in El Salvador have gained the upper hand against the Washington-backed puppet regime in recent months, the Reagan administration has sharply escalated American intervention throughout Central America. In order to convince a reluctant Congress, they have invoked national security. United Nations ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick arrogantly proclaimed the region a "fourth border of the United States." Reagan told busi-



Former members of Somoza's hated National Guard ("Rattlesnake" battalion) brandish U.S.-supplied weapons.

Sandinista popular militia trains to fight *contras*.



ness executives at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club that "50 percent of everything we import comes through the Caribbean." In Washington he told the National Association of Manufacturers that if rebels win in El Salvador, soon Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica will be threatened—and even the Panama Canal and "ultimately Mexico," currently known in the White House as the "last domino." Conjuring up the spectre of Cuban guerrillas along the Rio Grande, Reagan called for a half billion dollars in aid to prop up his tottering right-wing butchers.

Important sectors of the American ruling class vividly remember the Vietnam debacle, and want to avoid another humiliating defeat for U.S. imperialism. As Secretary of State Shultz bitterly complained, in the middle of the war Congress has cut military aid to El Salvador by two thirds. It has also prohibited the U.S. from financing mercenaries "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras" (the so-called Boland amendment). There are serious tactical differences in the U.S. bourgeoisie over policy in the region. For example,

Carter's ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, declared: "President Reagan is right to concern himself with denying Communism a new foothold in the Western Hemisphere. He is wrong only in his methods" (*New York Times Magazine*, 18 July 1982).

What is standing in the way of Washington's counterrevolutionary plans, however, is not an obstreperous Congress but the tenacious resistance of the Central American workers and peasants. In order to defend Nicaragua from the Yankee colossus it is necessary to complete the revolution, expropriating the bourgeoisie which acts as a fifth column aiding the imperialist enemy from within the country, and extend it up and down the isthmus, from Panama to Mexico, as the Reaganites fear.

Reagan's Not-So-Secret War

Already in the 1980 Republican platform the Reaganites had denounced the "Marxist Sandinist takeover of Nicaragua" and called for its reversal ("we will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government"). This produced a campaign to undermine the FSLN by everything from economic "destabilization" à la Allende's Chile to covert CIA-directed terrorism. The U.S. administration's program of clandestine subversion in Central America was codified in the secret National Security Decision Directive 17 (NSDD 17) approved in November 1981. NSDD 17 was reportedly funded to the tune of \$19.5 million, primarily for operations against Nicaragua. This program was exposed almost immediately, but in recent weeks the press has "leaked" additional details of the administration's attempts to prevent "the proliferation of Cuba-model states" and to "eliminate Cuban/Soviet influence in the region." The *New York Times* (3 April) reports:

• Constant U.S. intelligence reports to the *contra* forces on the movements of Nicaraguan troops and artillery, obtained by Air Force reconnaissance flights (Operation Royal Duke) involving 15-20 U.S. personnel.

• Arming the mercenaries, including "numerous" United States C-130 cargo planes "full of weapons" landed at Puerto Lempira in eastern Honduras during joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises last August.

• More than 50 U.S. military advisers training the Somozaist bands last year, in addition to the regular advisers with the Honduran army.

• Providing underwater explosives to Argentine-trained sabotage teams which infiltrated Nicaragua and blew up port installations at Puerto Cabezas earlier this year.

• An operational plan by the *contras*, "made jointly by Honduran and American officials," to shift the operation from harassment to attempted overthrow of the FSLN. The first aim is to seize either Jinotega in northwest Nicaragua or Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic coast in order to install a provisional government.

• Most recently the U.S. Navy held combat exercises off Puerto Rico and the U.S.'s Guantánamo base in Cuba involving 77 warships including both the aircraft carriers Kennedy and Eisenhower (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 April).

Meanwhile the Somozaist *contras* permitted two U.S. reporters to accompany one of their task forces during the recent invasion from Honduras. A series of articles by Christopher Dickey of the *Washington Post* (3-5 April) reported that the mercenaries are outfitted largely with U.S. equipment, armed

continued on page 8

Spartacist Forum

Nicaragua: Defend, Complete, Extend The Revolution!

Speaker: **Jan Norden**
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee

Friday, April 22, 7:30 p.m.
310 W. 43rd St. (District 1199)
"A" train to 42nd St.

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

with long-range Belgian FAL rifles and M60 machine guns and American anti-tank weapons. They operate in units of several hundred men. One unit leader, "Comandante Suicide," was described as a former sergeant in the *Cascabeles* (Rattlesnake) Battalion of Somoza's National Guard and a "sometime assassin." "They say we are National Guard and that's true," he admits. The main leader of the *contra* political front, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), is former Somoza colonel Enrique Bermúdez. According to James LeMoyné of *Newsweek* (11 April), the FDN is now seeking an alliance with former FSLN leader Pastora, "Comandante Zero," to gain respectability and open a southern front along the Costa Rican border. The *contras* sought this publicity in order to force Washington's hand and obtain open American backing. In the meantime, it knocks holes in Reagan's claim that the recent fighting in Nicaragua was an indigenous rebellion by "disillusioned revolutionaries."

"Kill the Contras, Workers to Power!"

The FSLN leadership initially tried to play down the significance of the invaders' attacks launched over the March 19-20 weekend. The government emphasized that calm reigned in the cities and there was a traditional holiday over Easter weekend with religious observances and recreation. The real danger, they said, was an invasion by Honduran forces along the Pacific coast, not some Somozaist bands sneaking across the border. So far the mercenaries have been met mainly by border guards, militia forces and reserve battalions while the main forces of the

Sandinista army have been held back. The scope of the *contra* operations is sizable. The original Bay of Pigs landing involved 1,400 men, while the present "slow-motion" invasion involves three times that number or more, at least 2,000 of whom are already inside Nicaragua. The latest action by these CIA-linked terrorists was the grisly assassination on April 6 of Comandante Ana Maria (Melida Anaya Montes), a leader of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), in a security zone in the Nicaraguan capital. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Sandinistas can contain and defeat anything short of a full-scale invasion involving U.S. forces.

How can such direct U.S. intervention be prevented? The nationalists of the FSLN have repeatedly looked to the United Nations and the Nonaligned bloc to exert diplomatic pressure on the U.S. But Kirkpatrick and Reagan could care less about newspaper articles on American "isolation" in the glass-house talkshop on the East River. In the U.S., reformists and liberals look to Congress to enforce the "law of the land." A leaflet by the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy distributed at an April 16 Nicaragua protest in New York declared that "the administration is violating the law" and "Congress must respond." Reagan of course claims he is complying with the law, just as he routinely certifies the "human rights" record of his Salvadoran mass murderers. U.S. officials in Central America recently told a Congressional "fact-finding" mission that they regard the Boland amendment as a "legal triviality." And the fact that it is simply ignored, even though passed by a vote of 411-0 in the House of Representatives, proves their point.

The imperialist "doves" have their own strategy for suppressing red revolution in Central America, and that

involves buying off a decisive section of the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas. Robert White, a leading Democratic Party spokesman on Central America, has argued that "Nicaragua could go either way. It could end up totally identified with Cuba and the Soviet Union." But, he maintained, "the majority of Sandinists in positions of power and influence still believe that the peaceful future of Nicaragua depends on establishing close commercial and political ties with the United States" (*New York Times Magazine*, 18 July 1982). The liberals fear that Reagan's hard-line policies will force the Sandinistas, against their will, into Moscow's arms. And they have already been pushed pretty far down that road.

The liberals collectively shuddered when Nicaraguan defense minister Humberto Ortega said that if the Kremlin offered to station Soviet missiles on its soil, "we will examine the proposal..." In fact, while Reagan's spy satellites "discover" Russian helicopters which were used to transport the pope during his visit to Nicaragua, the Sandinista regime needs modern weapons from the Soviet bloc, in particular warplanes for its practically non-existent air force. (Hence the Spartacist League's chant at a recent protest against the U.S.-backed invasion: "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!") Repeatedly in demonstrations over the last several years, the reformists and nationalists have tried to pretend that the struggle in Central America has nothing to do with the Russian question, vehemently objecting to our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" But now comes the moment of truth.

Besieged on both borders, the Nicaraguan revolution must become internationalized to triumph. Yet to date the Sandinistas have adamantly insisted that they are *not* sending arms

to leftist guerrillas in El Salvador (and if the U.S. had the slightest proof to the contrary, with all its sophisticated electronic sensors, you can be sure it would be shown). The FSLN's hands-off policy is derived from its petty-bourgeois nationalism. Yet faced with the onslaught of Yankee imperialism the only adequate defense is to unleash the forces of proletarian internationalism, through workers revolution extending throughout Central America and beyond, to Mexico and within the United States itself. And this requires a social revolution against the class enemy at home, expropriating not only the Coca-Cola capitalists but the entire bourgeoisie and their political representatives. It means driving the pro-capitalist elements out of the petty-bourgeois FSLN regime itself. As the German Spartacist leader Rosa Luxemburg wrote at the time of the first imperialist world war:

"The fearless prosecution of the class struggle has always proven the most effective weapon against foreign invasion.... The classic example of our own times is the Great French Revolution. In 1793, Paris, the heart of France, was surrounded by enemies. And yet Paris and France did not succumb to the European coalition. If, at that critical time France was able to meet each new coalition of the enemy with a new and miraculous... burst of fighting spirit... it was only because of the impetuous release of the inmost forces of society in class struggle... against the intrigues of a dynasty, against the treasonable machinations of the aristocrats, against the scheming of the clergy, against the treachery of the generals, against the hostility of sixty departments and provincial capitals, against the united armies and navies of monarchial Europe."

Today such a struggle can be waged only on the program of permanent revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party of the proletariat, which will sweep away the rapacious landlords and their genocidal armies, the strutting tyrants and their imperialist masters. ■

U.S./China...

(continued from page 1)

The Sino-Vietnamese border has been a potential trip wire for World War III since early 1979 when China, vowing to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson," invaded that nation and ended up receiving a bloody lesson of its own. Perhaps the U.S. is now seeking to really smash Vietnam, using China as its instrument. Two or three million Chinese may die doing it. While the Vietnamese army is vastly superior to the Chinese army man-for-man, the population ratio of the two countries is 50 million to one billion. The Chinese can put more soldiers in the field than the Vietnamese have children. It is possible that Vietnam is on the brink of extinction. *If China does invade, all people everywhere must rally to the defense of Vietnam in all ways.*

Vietnam heroically fought French colonialism and American imperialism for 30 years and *won*. The Vietnamese

army of peasants and workers inflicted the most humiliating defeat the United States has ever suffered. The image of those Marines desperately trying to escape from the roof of the American embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) remains a searing, bitter memory for the men who inhabit the Pentagon, the CIA headquarters at Langley and other corridors of power in Washington. They long to avenge themselves on this small but heroic people.

And in Maoist-Stalinist China, frustrated in its ambitions to become the hegemonic power in Indochina, American imperialism found a ready instrument to attack Vietnam. In late 1978, shortly after Vietnam overthrew the hated genocidal Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which killed at least two million of its own people, Washington gave Peking the green light for a "punitive" invasion of Vietnam, although it didn't turn out that way. We wrote at the time:

"...the Chinese invasion is clearly intertwined with imperialist opposition to the gains of the Vietnamese revolu-

tion, won at the cost of more than a million lives and decades of struggle. Socialists and labor militants throughout the world must demand that China Get Out of Vietnam Now! We call on the workers and peasants of the Chinese deformed workers state to demand an end to the obscene, sinister anti-Soviet Peking-Washington alliance now aimed at bloodying the working people of Vietnam."

—"China Get Out!" *WV* No. 226, 2 March 1979

The Chinese army withdrew at that time with heavy casualties. Ever since Washington/Peking have kept up military pressure on the Vietnamese, mainly through support for the remnants of the Khmer Rouge of the despised butcher Pol Pot and rightist insurgents in Cambodia supplied through Thailand. And it looks like the Vietnamese are finally cleaning up the counterrevolutionary scum in the border enclaves, which naturally causes their imperialist backers to cry "atrocities!"

The Vietnamese must counter the constant military threats at great cost. They suffer the grim consequences of three decades of imperialist war and devastation: per capita income in 1981 was only \$153, ranking them among the poorest of nations. Under pressure from the U.S., most Western capitalist countries have cut off all aid and credits to the Vietnamese. Economic aid from East Europe is due to be cut by some 20 percent as well. It is with bitterness that we view the resources of the Russian collectivized economy being spent to fatten the bellies of clerical-fascist Pilsudskites in Poland, while the heroic people of Vietnam endure grim poverty to stand up to the powerful forces arrayed against them.

By forcing Vietnam to expend massive military resources in Cambodia and on the Chinese border, U.S. imperialism is seeking to starve the Vietnamese people and prevent the government from rebuilding the war-ravaged economy. Another important

U.S. ally against Vietnam is Australia, whose newly elected right-wing Labor prime minister Robert Hawke has aggressively put himself forward as Reagan's man in Asia. In the past few months Washington has evidently decided to step up the all-sided squeeze on Vietnam. When U.S. secretary of state George Shultz visited Peking in February, he and his Chinese hosts agreed to closer military cooperation.

Despite recent frictions disturbing the anti-Soviet Washington-Peking alliance (over U.S. arms sales to Taiwan), China continues to play the U.S. game, especially against Vietnam. Yet if U.S. imperialism succeeds in its ultimate aim of destroying the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China will not long survive. Does anyone doubt that an anti-Communist fanatic like Reagan would like to return China to the heirs of Chiang Kai-shek who now rule Taiwan under American protection? The defense not only of the Vietnamese Revolution but also of the gains of the Chinese Revolution and ultimately of the Soviet Union demand: U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam! ■

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As We Go to Press

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand has organized a demonstration to protest U.S.-backed Chinese aggression against Vietnam. The demonstration has been called for 7 p.m. on Wednesday, April 20 in Sydney where state Labor premier Neville Wran is hosting a state banquet for Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang. Slogans for the demo include "U.S./China—Hands Off Vietnam! Down with Hawke, Reagan's Man in Southeast Asia! Smash the CIA/Thai bloody provocations against the Indochinese people!"

Chicago...

(continued from page 4)

for integrated class struggle against racist austerity by pitting white against black in the scramble for increasingly scarce jobs and resources.

The ugly racist backlash won't be stopped in the voting booth. Working people are under the gun and *something's* going to happen—either powerful class struggles or more racist polarization. The seething racism goaded by economic contraction, makes the city a fertile recruiting ground for race terrorists like the Nazis and the Klan among the white ethnic losers. The Nazis have threatened to march on June 27 again this year. Mobilizing the organized power of labor and blacks can stop them. When they tried it last June 27 the Spartacist League mobilized 3,000 blacks, unionists, Jews, gays and socialists and stopped their "White Power" provocation against the Gay Pride Day march.

The people who brought you Harold Washington did nothing on June 27. When we contacted Lu Palmer, one of the main promoters of the Washington campaign, and asked what he intended to do about the Nazis all he could say was, "Aw, brother, I can't deal with it..." Now that Washington and Palmer are in City Hall, we know they won't want to deal with it. When the Spartacist League initiated and led a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading the streets of the nation's capital this last November, black mayor Marion Barry flew to L.A. for a mayors conference, leaving his cops behind to protect the Klan. Workers and blacks must rely on their own strength to sweep the fascists off the streets.

Whose Turn?

In announcing his candidacy, Washington declared:

"We've been giving white candidates our votes for years and years and years unstintingly, hoping they would include us in the process. Now it's come to the point where we say, 'Well, it's our turn, it's our turn'."

On election night, Jesse Jackson and Atlanta's ex-mayor Maynard Jackson talked on Chicago TV about the 223 black mayors across the country who got "their turn." In every one of these cities, they bragged, since the election of a black mayor there have been no black "riots." Black ghetto upheavals were understandable, if futile, explosions of black outrage in this racist capitalist system. They peaked in the mid-and-late '60s as a result of the deep frustration of inner-city blacks and their betrayed hopes in a civil rights movement that proved impotent in the North. Here the racist status quo could only be smashed by overthrowing the capitalist system in which it was rooted.

The rise of the "BEOs" (Black Elected Officials) was a direct result of the decline and defeat of black struggle in the Northern ghetto. It also occurred at the same time as a rapid deterioration in the conditions of these ghettos which had already become hellholes for blacks. Take Detroit where Coleman Young was elected mayor over a decade ago. Running on his background in the auto plants, and with black nationalists and self-proclaimed "socialists" in his administration, Young's election was viewed with great hope by black and labor Detroit. Coleman Young's contribution to "black power" in Detroit has been the now bankrupt Renaissance Center. Here he hosted the 1980 Republican Convention that nominated Ronald Reagan, after breaking a militant city workers strike. These "black faces in high places" are mainly out for themselves, and they have one-and-all become black front men for the capitalists. As Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), recently said: "I can remember back in 1968 when Andy



Chicago, 27 June 1982—Spartacist League-initiated labor/black mobilization against Nazis shows way to defeat racist backlash.

Young and I were arrested in Atlanta for lying down in front of some garbage trucks during a strike. Today Andy is mayor and in charge of the trucks." The Youngs and Barrys demonstrate the bankruptcy and treachery of those blacks who have sold their political souls to the Democratic Party.

But without a mass-based workers party, black people are going to continue to give their votes to the Democrats. The national Democratic Party figures that black people are the only constituency it can count on. Even when it ran Dixiecrat Jimmy Carter, it captured close to 90 percent of the black vote. National Democratic politicians knew the eyes of blacks across the country were on the Washington campaign, and if after he had won the primary, he were deprived of victory by a racist backlash mobilized by the Chicago Democratic Machine, that might well sour the black vote in the '84 presidential elections. So national Democratic Party bigwigs threw their support behind Harold Washington and paraded to Chicago to campaign for him.

Washington's victory was a victory for revarnishing the image of the Democratic Party which had paved the way for Reaganomics, for anti-Soviet militarism which takes lunches away from school children to help purchase Trident submarines; the Democratic Party which rolled back integrated public housing, busing and many other gains of the civil rights movement and even the Civil War. Washington's demagogic talk of "our turn" in Chicago is the opportunity for another black politician who will betray the hopes and expectations of black working people and poor, just as "our turn" in the White House means electing the Democratic successor to "Ethnic Purity" Carter.

The Democratic "Coalition" as the American "Popular Front"

On election night Washington told his enthusiastic supporters:

"Out of the crucible of this city's most trying election...blacks, whites, Hispanics, Jews, gentiles, Protestants and Catholics of all stripes have joined hands to form a new Democratic coalition and to begin...a new Democratic movement."

In fact, this is the old Democratic coalition that was forged in the Great Depression under Roosevelt's New Deal between Southern Dixiecrats and ethnic minorities, between industrial workers and their exploiters in the corporate board rooms. It is that coalition which today makes it possible for a George Wallace and Harold Washington, for California KKK "Grand Dragon" Tom Metzger and Black Panther Bobby Seale, to inhabit the same party.

In the U.S. the politically backward and racially divided working class has not formed a mass reformist workers party. In the 1930s, the Communist

Party used its considerable influence both within the labor movement and among blacks to tie revolutionary struggle for industrial unionism (represented by the rise of the CIO) and the awakening struggle of the black masses against Jim Crow to the Rooseveltian Democratic Party. This was and is the American version of the popular front. It has shackled struggles for black equality, for working-class justice, for the rights of labor and the oppressed, to a party which represents the mortal enemies of those struggles. The CP in Chicago is so tied to the Democratic Party that it even endorsed Jane Byrne in the last mayoral election. Thus it was not surprising that they worked wholeheartedly for Washington's election this time around.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ran their own candidate, Ed Warren. The SWP downplayed the racist mobilization in Chicago, claiming "racist attitudes among white workers are not spreading" (*Militant*, 22 April). No wonder: the SWP has avoided like the plague the labor/black mobilizations initiated by the SL which have stopped the fascists across the country. Instead the anti-Trotskyist SWP seeks "debates" with Klansmen and Nazis as if race terror and genocide were debatable and fighting the fascists an academic exercise.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

The desperate economic conditions in this country generated by the crisis and decay of American imperialism have turned the Midwest industrial heartland of this country into a wasteland, the so-called "rust bowl" of the '80s depression, and fueled the growth of a fascist fringe. The strident bipartisan anti-Soviet

militarism generates on the fringes of both capitalist parties the shock troops for race war. The Hitler lovers want to transplant here the lesson of the Third Reich: to wage world war against Russia abroad requires race war at home.

The black Democratic mayor of the destitute Indiana steel town of Gary, Richard Hatcher, had the following words of advice for Harold Washington based on his own experience: "Black mayors do not have the power and resources to liberate black people." True. And their job is to see that black people don't get those resources. The industrial resources to rebuild America are there but it is going to take the revolutionary expropriation of capitalist industry by a workers government to open up the plants, put the unemployed back to work, and begin meeting the just needs of working people, the poor, the aged, the oppressed minorities.

If it is to be "our turn" to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers party determined to wage class war for power. Chicago may be the most segregated city in America but it has a powerful working class with an enormous potential for integrated class struggle. That potential was historically exhibited by the militant International Harvester workers. But after a long and bitter strike in which these workers faced down a union-busting campaign by IH management, the plant has been virtually closed! The lesson is that the ordinary, economic trade-union struggle, no matter how militant, is insufficient to beat back the savage anti-labor attacks in this period of profound capitalist crisis.

The struggle in the plants must be linked to the ghetto, to the organization of the unorganized worker and the unemployed worker, to the fight for labor/black mobilizations against race terror as was exemplified by the SL-initiated demonstration in Chicago last June 27. It must be led by a party that can mobilize working people and the oppressed on the picket line and in the streets, a party that fights to extend busing to privileged white suburbs, and fights for a massive public works program including low-cost quality integrated public housing.

The industrial might of this country must be unleashed from an irrational, capitalist system driving toward world nuclear holocaust and placed in the service of the working people and the poor both in the U.S. and internationally. The defense of the gains of the Russian October Revolution, the first and only successful workers revolution, must be an integral part of the program of the Leninist-Trotskyist party of the American socialist revolution. And such a party will find some of its best fighters and leaders from those militant black workers who really want "our turn." ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 2)

dismissed as based on the views of the *New York Times* or other imperialist mouthpieces. In the article cited we quoted at some length from an interview with a spokesman for the "Marxist" Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a major combatant in the fighting, who reported that by the fall of 1975: "The battles ended up in the street, among the ordinary people of Lebanon, between Christian and Muslim" ("Lebanon Explodes: 'Battles for Survival,'" *MERIP Reports* No. 44, February 1976). We also cited a book by two Lebanese leftists who likewise described the fighting as "never going beyond the confessional framework established by the Phalange and accepted by the Muslim bourgeoisie" (Selim Accaoui and Magida Salman, *Comprendre le Liban* [1976]). We will give another unimpeachable source, the Front of Patriotic Christians. Formed in 1976,

this group of leftist and liberal Christians associated itself with Jumblatt's National Movement. Yet its friendly criticism of the National Movement reveals the communalist bloodletting on both sides:

"...there was a tendency to treat Christians as a homogeneous antagonistic block.... This may explain the arbitrary shelling of Christian neighborhoods and other confessional-based operations. It is not a secret that some leftist groups participated in ugly attacks against Christian villages, some of which were under the control of progressive Christian elements."

—"Program of the Front of Patriotic Christians," *MERIP Reports* No. 61, October 1977

To assert that the Lebanese civil war was "a class war" is to identify the entire Christian Maronite community with the capitalist class (transforming them into a reactionary people) and the entire Muslim and Palestinian community with the working class (a "progressive" people). This is, as we wrote, nothing but a pseudo-leftist apology for nationalist and communalist pogroms. ■

Smash GM/Toyota Union-Busting!

UAW Must Back Fremont Workers!

OAKLAND, April 17—One hundred and thirty United Auto Workers (UAW) local presidents and officials representing 28 General Motors assembly plant locals voted unanimously at a UAW sub-councils convention in New Orleans April 8 to hold strike votes across the country to defend the rehire rights of Fremont, California auto workers. In a union-busting bid that has drawn nationwide attention, GM refused to recognize the right of over 5,000 laid-off UAW members to be recalled by seniority when GM and Toyota reopen the idled Fremont plant in a joint venture next year.

"My vote is to shut them down nationwide," declared Benny Burgess, a UAW sub-council president from Wilmington, Delaware. If Fremont Local 1364 is broken, he said, "it can happen here too." A national auto strike and plant occupations are necessary to defeat union-busting and reverse the tide of union concessions. Strike GM—Bust the union busters!

As soon as the strike vote decision went public, the UAW International leapt to deny that the explosive Fremont issue had anything to do with it. Union-busting isn't a strikeable issue, according to Solidarity House. An International spokesman maintained instead that the strike votes would concern only

"production related" issues, like contracting out and a new company-proposed relief system that would wipe out an average 400 jobs per plant.

Of course company man Doug Fraser and his gang have no intention of striking over these issues either. Their plans for the union's \$500 million strike fund came out in a recent *Detroit News* story: since mass layoffs cut the union's income, fully half of the locals' dues money earmarked for the strike fund has been diverted into general International funds and local bureaucrats' salaries!

"The vote on seniority recall rights for the Fremont workers was the first issue," asserted Local 645 president Pete Beltran from Van Nuys, California who made the strike vote motion. "We're going ahead as planned." Beltran and other sub-council officials are feeling enormous pressure from the ranks who have suffered billion-dollar concessions while thousands of jobs went down the drain. Van Nuys will be the last remaining West Coast assembly plant if Ford's Milpitas facility shuts down on schedule next month.

But remember these are the same UAW sub-councils that voted for concessions last year and have enforced layoffs in their own locals. These officials intend the strike votes scheduled between now and the UAW convention

May 15 to serve mainly as a pressure tactic against the International to get it to do something to defuse the members' anger. Solidarity House spokesman Peter Laarman said dryly, "Some local leaders, particularly in California, feel that Doug [UAW president Fraser] has been too slow on this" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 April).

In fact, Fraser and the International have been fast on this. To ingratiate themselves with GM/Toyota, they have been working overtime to sell the companies' line to the Fremont workers that the "new company" has no relationship with the old workers. Despite hot-air statements to the press about "going to war" over Fremont, Fraser makes it clear he is willing to enforce *any* concessions to protect the bosses' profits—even to the point of seeing Local 1364 busted—if only GM/Toyota will recognize the UAW and sit at the negotiating table.

The International and local UAW officials used scare tactics to suppress any fight against the Fremont shutdown in the first place: they led members out of the plant under the threat that a sitdown or any struggle against the closure would cause them to lose their layoff benefits and chances for later rehiring. So far 270 members, many of them black and Chicano with 20 and 25

years seniority, are being forcibly relocated to Oklahoma by May 4 (or lose their benefits under the terms of the concessions agreement) for the chance to be employed—and laid off again—as probationary new hires. Better to stay here and fight!

Fremont workers showed they are willing to fight when they passed a motion February 27 raised by the UAW Militant Caucus, the class-struggle opposition that fought inside the plant for sitdowns against layoffs and plant closures. The motion calls for the union to use "every tactic necessary" to stop any substandard contract deal and to ensure rehiring by seniority.

As the UAW Militant Caucus said in a March leaflet to the membership:

"The UAW and the entire Bay Area labor movement must take resolute action to stop this union-busting attack! Every tactic necessary must be used, from mass picketing to seal off the plant, stopping any non-union labor from going in for any work, to plant occupations.... Our bottom line must be that nothing goes in or out of that plant until GM and Toyota agree that all hiring will be laid-off UAW members, strictly by seniority, with full contract rights on wages and working conditions."

The Fremont workers' fight against union-busting is the fight of the entire UAW and all labor! ■

Patrick Mason...

(continued from page 12)

the bedroom door, and from a distance of three feet shot and killed the defenseless black boy in cold blood. Stanton cops carry .357 revolvers; Patrick was playing with a red plastic toy gun. Killer cop Anthony Sperl claims he feared he was being "set up." But even in a "darkened room," at a distance of three feet you can tell the difference between a red toy and a "set up." Moreover, neighbors told the cop beforehand that Ridge worked and had a kindergarten-age son living with her.

Now the Orange County D.A. has picked an all-white grand jury to investigate charges against the *mother*. Supposedly the grand jury will "even-handedly" probe both Sperl, for failing to "perform his duty with due caution and circumspection," and Patricia Ridge, for placing her son in a "life-endangering situation." This is obscene. Being born black in America is life-endangering. But in a preview of the whitewash to come, Stanton police chief Ronald Johnson declared in advance that a "preliminary investigation" determined Sperl "was not at fault."

This is the single most devastating, heart-rending racist murder in recent

memory. Last week the *Los Angeles Times* (4 April) published a lengthy story about the gruesome death of Patrick Mason. Reporter Maura Dolan's story captures the horror and tragedy. Patrick had been sick for several days and his mother wanted to buy him a toy. So they walked to the local market: "Patrick carefully examined a toy rack and chose a T.J. Hooker plastic gun. It came with a police badge, a nightstick and a holster." It was only two days later that cop Sperl burst into the apartment, flashlight in one hand, drawn gun in the other, and fired the single, fatal shot. "As the child died, his new holster strapped around his hips, he clung to the policeman's leg."

Patricia Ridge, 29, had grown up in a housing project in Chicago. Last August she went out to California where she and Patrick moved in with her sister into the two-bedroom Stanton apartment. Her sister moved out in the fall, taking almost all of the furniture and leaving Patricia to pay the \$450/month rent. They were on welfare; there was no money, but she was proud. In February she got what seemed to her a break—a job charging batteries in a Sears auto shop at \$4.91 an hour. She told neighbors she hoped this would be her escape from welfare. For two weeks after landing the job, she paid a babysitter \$25 a week to watch Patrick. But with the rent to meet she could no longer afford the \$1/hour the sitter charged.

They killed Patricia's little boy and now they're trying to portray her as an "unfit mother," guilty of "child neglect"! But her neighbors tell a completely different story. They talk about Patricia's devotion to her son, how the two seemed inseparable around the apartment complex, walking to the nearby market to buy ice cream, walking to the laundry room together, walking to the mailbox. Patricia walked her son to school every morning and back every noon. Her friend, Patricia Hopper, also a single working mother, with three children, said, "I've seen a lot of kids, but those two had some kind of bond.... I felt she had more than most in terms of being a good mother."

The "investigation" of this tortured, tormented woman is the baldest attempt

to shut her up, or else face a second-degree murder rap. (Patricia Ridge's lawyer has filed a \$20 million "wrongful death" claim against the cops on her behalf.) Meanwhile the police are taking the grand jury through its paces. The 15 April *Los Angeles Times* (Orange County edition) reported how the cops "re-enacted" the murder for the jurors. It noted that "the officer who retraced Sperl's movements Thursday entered with a flashlight...." They didn't mention his heavy-caliber weapon which was drawn to kill.

Every day the papers are filled with nauseating accounts of Sperl's supposed "remorse." He's even checked into a psychiatric hospital—probably on the advice of his lawyer. In fact, he's a cop's cop, a cop from a cop family. His father was an L.A. County marshal until he was convicted on felony charges and thrown off the force for corruption. He was "very ambitious," a guy who "pushed himself"—in his 15 months on the Stanton police at \$24,000 a year, Sperl never took a day off. He dreamed of joining the FBI. And his nickname on the Stanton police force was "John Wayne," whom he apparently imitated regularly.

Well, "ambitious" cops in southern California make it by killing and brutalizing blacks. Even in notorious Orange County, the 40-man Stanton police force was known for its racist brutality: "... the Stanton police in the 60s and 70s had a reputation for being insensitive to minorities and sometimes harsh, overly aggressive treatment of suspects." As for his goal of joining the FBI, maybe Sperl could hook up with infamous FBI informer Gary Rowe, who bombed black schoolgirls in Birmingham, Alabama. Like his idol John Wayne, who grooved on the sadistic murdering Green Berets, racist cop Sperl got his "search and destroy" mission. He "zapped" the "enemy"—little Patrick Mason.

So now they're blathering about "child neglect," in order to get racist killer Sperl off the hook. The papers are filled with sob stories about "latch-key children." They shed crocodile tears about the need for more childcare. What hypocrisy! It's Reagan and the capitalist politicians, Democrat and Republican

alike, who are cutting the budget to the bone to feed the anti-Soviet war drive, who make it impossible for single, black mothers like Patricia Ridge to get day care.

Even more grotesque are the so-called leftists who echo the same refrain in the service of this racist cover-up. Thus the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), in an ad in the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, announced a forum about Patrick Mason, saying nothing about the racist cop child-killer, only that Patrick's death showed the need to "fight for childcare"! At this meeting and in the *Militant* they refuse to call for Sperl's jailing. Instead these "peaceful, legal" reformists reveal their touching faith in the bourgeois justice system by demanding "prosecution... to the fullest extent of the law."

A five-year-old child is dead because he was black, his mother poor, and because the cops are racist killers. There will be no justice for Patricia Ridge in the capitalist courts. Particularly in Orange County. Here, the "prosecution" and defense are one. Not the killer but the bereaved mother is on trial. How can you talk of justice? We demand *vengeance* for Patrick Mason!

Racist killer elites like the Stanton police or the LAPD ride high in the open shop, union-busting bastions of southern California. They and their millionaire bosses need to feel the steel-toed shoes of labor on their necks the next time they try terrorizing a decent black or Hispanic working person around here. They'd learn a little "respect" if they saw their ports shut down, their aircraft plants come grinding to a halt, as they sense the threat of working-class power.

As the Spartacist League call for the April 26 demonstration stated:

"What's needed is mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations to smash racist terror. It's this kind of power—5,000 blacks, workers, socialists—that stopped the Klan cold when they threatened to march through Washington, D.C. last November 27.

"We're calling a demonstration April 26 in downtown L.A. Every decent person sickened by this brutal child murder must be there. Don't let the cops get away with murder! These true friends of Patricia Ridge and Patrick Mason—trade unionists, blacks, Hispanics and poor—will be heard!" ■

DEMONSTRATE!

Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

Jail Killer Cop Sperl!
Stop the Investigation—
No Charges Against
Patricia Ridge!

Tuesday, April 26, 4:30 p.m.
Federal Building
300 N. Los Angeles St.

For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

In Detroit, the newly founded revolutionary-integrationist Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL) initiated by the Spartacist League is putting class-struggle defense into action. At its founding meeting on April 9, LBSL members and supporters from UAW locals at Pontiac Motors, Cadillac, GM Hydra-matic and Ford's River Rouge, as well as students and unemployed workers from Detroit, began planning a militant defense of the Taylor family.

The next day, a 13-year seniority worker at Pontiac Motors, who was one of the organizers of a local benefit for the Taylors which drew 600, presented the LBSL motion to Local 653. The motion called on the local to contribute to the defense fund and to "build a mass labor/black demonstration within three weeks to demand that: 1) all charges be dropped against the Taylor family, and 2) the murderous cops be jailed."

The call for an integrated fight to defend victimized union brothers received enthusiastic applause from the largely white membership. The

Detroit Labor/Black Struggle League Defends the Taylors

local recording secretary, an older black woman, motivated the need for white UAW members to participate on the basis of union solidarity against the anti-union South. But local union officials, while paying lip service to the motion, nevertheless succeeded in killing it with vague promises to pressure UAW regional bureaucrats into action.

The same day at Cadillac, Local 22 officials, reluctant to oppose the LBSL motion, tabled a decision on the proposed action to the exec board. Rank-and-file members, however, volunteered to leaflet the Cadillac plant. From both meetings it was clear that what the UAW bureaucrats fear most is *any* mobilization that would put

large numbers of angry auto workers into the streets.

In Willie Taylor's home Local 594 (Truck and Coach) in Pontiac, there is enormous support for the family: over \$2,000 has been collected inside the plant. Yet for Doug Fraser and the UAW tops in Solidarity House, the solution to all problems, from unemployment to racist police terror, lies with appeals to the Democrats. In a recent leaflet to workers at Ford's massive Dearborn complex, the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) warns:

"To rely on Democratic Party politicians, black or white, to defend the victims of racist cop terror is suicide.... And neither of the capitalist parties will 'protect' us from the bosses' thugs in blue—whether it's on the picket line or even a black

family in mourning."

The caucus leaflet points out:

"What is desperately needed is labor/black action in Detroit and Pontiac to bury this racist frame-up!"

In Detroit on April 19, the Maintenance and Construction unit of UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) passed a motion introduced by RMC spokesman Charles DuBois which called on the union to throw its weight behind labor/black demonstrations to defend the Taylors.

The newly formed LBSL is well aware that justice for the Taylors will not come easy. But they intend to keep publicizing this case, building support for the labor/black defense until Alabama backs down. The charges must be dropped, the racist cops Spivey and Brown jailed, and the state must cough up a million dollars to compensate the Taylor family. As the 1857 Frederick Douglass statement printed on the LBSL membership card states: "If there is no struggle there is no progress.... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

Taylor Family...

(continued from page 12)

Grandparents and children were roused outside, thrown in the mud, handcuffed and beaten amid a stream of racist insults. Now the state which ran this wanton, illegal search and seizure is blaming the victims to cover up its massive, racist crime. Initially, 26 family members were arrested. Eleven were accused of 60 charges including kidnapping and robbery (of the cops' guns). The burly undercover cops Les Brown and Spivey (both over 6 feet and 200 pounds) who shot 5 foot 8 inch, 145-pound Christopher Taylor as he ran from them now claim that Christopher attacked them.

Although many of the phony charges have been dropped, four members of the Taylor family now face charges of *attempted murder*. This charge carries a life sentence—but a much worse fate awaits convicted "cop killers" in Alabama's jails. The four, Willie Taylor, Sr., and Larry Hill of Pontiac, Michigan; Worrie and Albert Taylor of Warren, Ohio, and seven other family members spent ten days in the racist hellhole of the Montgomery city jail. Only after family and friends put up their homes and property to pay the incredible \$400,000 in bonds were the Taylors released. And an Alabama grand jury is now being convened which can continue to hand down indictments.

"Justice" Alabama-style forced "South Africa"-style confessions. Christopher Taylor testified in a preliminary hearing that he had been beaten until he signed. "He [a cop] said they hung niggers three years ago," Christopher stated, "and said he would shoot me and throw me out the window" (*Plain Dealer*, 23 March). Willie Taylor, Sr. stated that while in the Montgomery police station he heard family members

scream as they were beaten and kicked by the police.

As black city councilman Mark Gilmore, Jr. put it to *WV*, "They were put in the city jail. They were beaten. They were stomped. They were kicked." Even ten-year-old David, who was questioned without the presence of either parent, remembered how "they took all of us to jail. A white lady asked me some questions and when I didn't know the answer she told me I was full of B... you know that bad word and that she would send me to the detention place because I was lying... I signed my name a lot."

In a hearing where only whites testified for the prosecution, Willie Taylor's son said that a cop told him: "You're going to burn. If I have to come to Michigan to get you, there's going to be another nigger killing." And then there's Johnny Taylor, who everyone admits was not present at the site of the cops' February 27 attack. He was grabbed when he went to the police station to ask about his family. He spent a week in jail.

Drop the Charges Against the Taylors! Jail the Nightriding Cops!

The Taylors ought to get a medal for their heroic defense against cop terror. And the state of Alabama should be forced to pay at least \$1 million, which can only begin to compensate this family for the horror they've been put through. But Alabama wants to make an example of the Taylor family. And if they can storm a home and pull black people out like that, what is the next step in this land of the Ku Klux Klan and the lynching "party"?

The idea that "Yankee" black auto workers actually defended themselves has the racists on a rampage in Montgomery. The Klan has even trampled on the memory of Annie Bell Taylor as they shot up and ransacked the Taylor family home in Montgomery and painted it with KKK slogans, while it was "under



Auto worker militants organize against fascists in Ann Arbor, 20 April 1982.

surveillance" by their buddies in blue. Hand in hand, the cops and Klan in Montgomery have declared open season on blacks as kill-crazy cops like Spivey and Brown roam the streets.

Already there has been an outpouring of labor and black support for these union men and women particularly in their home areas. In Pontiac on March 25, 600 residents including many from the UAW and the Communications Workers of America (CWA) turned out for a support rally at the Silver Dome stadium. Nine hundred attended a protest in Warren, Ohio the next day where 65 copies of *Workers Vanguard* containing an article on the Taylors were sold in a matter of minutes with the proceeds donated to the defense fund. Hundreds of additional supporters have turned out for other rallies in Warren and Cleveland. In Montgomery, weekly church meetings of 1,000 or more have demanded justice for the Taylors. What is needed now is to bring labor and blacks out onto the streets in the thousands.

Defend the Taylors! Finish the Civil War!

The Taylors can and must be saved. But it won't happen by relying on the capitalist state which is conducting their persecution and prosecution as a vendetta to "teach a lesson" to black people. Each day the lives of black people become cheaper in racist America. Those who rely on the state to save the Taylors must willfully refuse to recognize what is plainly before them.

Nevertheless, even the habits of failure and betrayal are hard to break. And the Taylor case, too, has inspired the usual calls for troops, even for FBI

"investigations." But what could be more graphic evidence of the failure of reliance on the government than the Taylor case itself? Montgomery is where Martin Luther King began the liberal-led civil rights movement. Thousands marched and sat in, heroically stood up to the fire hoses and dogs in the hopes of gaining black equality. But after the bus boycotts and the march from Selma, the fact is, a black family is not safe even in their own home.

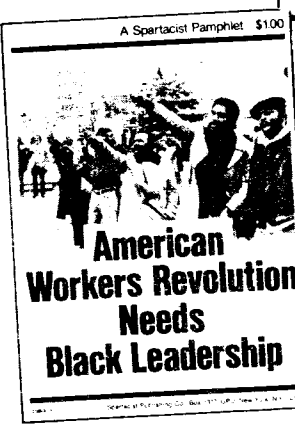
Call upon the FBI for an "investigation" of this racist atrocity? The infamous Gary Rowe who was responsible for bombing the Birmingham church which killed four black schoolgirls was working for the FBI. The "answer" for the Taylors, according to the reformist Socialist Workers Party, for instance, is to uncritically repeat Alabama state representative Alvin Holmes' call on Reagan "to declare martial law in Montgomery, suspend all local police agencies, and send federal troops to maintain order 'until local officials see fit to provide equal protection to all citizens'" (*Militant*, 25 March). When Reagan declares martial law it will be to put blacks, unionists and socialists in jail—calling on the KKK's choice for president to "maintain order" is worse than stupid; it's criminally dangerous.

The gun-toting Montgomery mayor Emory Folmar is such a notorious racist that Alabama blacks voted in large numbers for segregationist Democrat George Wallace to defeat Folmar in the last election for governor. The Confederate flag still flies above the capitol dome and a black family is facing a legal lynching.

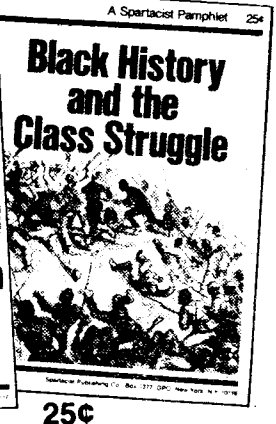
It will take mass demonstrations to free the Taylors from the noose of Alabama "justice." If their case is to be an example for those who want to spill black blood to keep blacks "in their place" then it must become an example of working-class defense as well. Their defense must become a focus nationally of mass labor-centered demonstrations, North and South. Nothing less can win the fight.

Cop terror, from the unspeakable horror of the Orange County, California killer who blew away five-year-old Patrick Mason, to the incredible crimes against the Taylor family, must be met with the power of labor/black mobilizations which can save the lives of the Taylors and put Spivey and Brown away for good. Working-class justice, under a workers government, will have a long memory and a long arm—for what has been done to the Taylors. Racist crimes will not go unpunished.

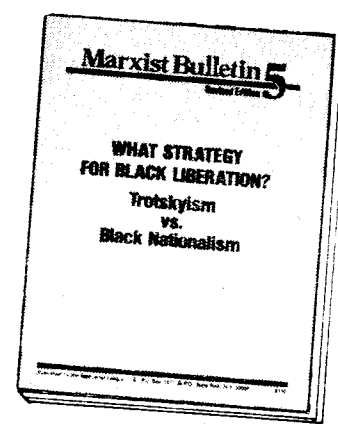
Contributions to the Taylor family's legal defense may be sent to: **Montgomery Defense Fund, P.O. Box 3273, Pontiac MI 48059.**



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Midwest Auto Workers Victims of Southern Lynch Law

Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family!

A CALL TO ACTION

We must act now to save the lives of the Taylor family! After defending themselves and their children from two armed, unidentified plainclothes cops who invaded their home the Taylors and their friends were brutally beaten and tortured by Montgomery, Alabama police. The family, including five UAW brothers from GM Truck and Coach, were in Montgomery for the funeral of their mother, Annie Bell Taylor. And now in a racist frameup the state of Alabama is charging four of the Taylors with attempted murder! The Taylors should get a medal for their courageous

defense against cop terror and \$1 million in compensation for the horror they've been put through! It's the murderous nightriding cops who should be jailed. What happened to the Taylors is a violent attempt to keep blacks "in their place." Any black person who goes down South to visit his family could be next! Auto workers, unemployed, students, black and white, we must turn out by the thousands in Pontiac and Detroit. The defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all. Mass labor/black action is what is desperately needed to stop this racist frameup!

DETROIT, April 18—The state of Alabama has brought out the legal lynch rope for the Taylor family. But in Pontiac, Michigan where members of this courageous family are auto workers, in Warren, Ohio and now in Detroit, black and labor militants are organizing to bring out the powerful, integrated labor movement in their defense. The brothers and sisters of the Taylor family are victims of a nightriding attack by the Alabama cops and a racist lynch-law frameup. They must not be ripped away to face death in an Alabama jail.

Labor/black defense to save the Taylor family from the legal lynchers is rapidly gaining support in the Michigan and Ohio plants because what happened to the Taylors in Alabama is the story of what is really happening to black people

in Reagan's America—particularly in the South where the racists are still fighting the Civil War with the benefit of state power. From Lordstown to Pontiac to Detroit, workers are outraged by Alabama's racist terror and they are moving to take action. Black workers, especially those with direct experience of "Dixie justice," know that what happened to the Taylors could happen to any one of them and their families.

You're black. You travel South to mourn the death of a relative. That's what the Taylors did in February when Annie Bell Taylor died in Montgomery, Alabama. After the funeral the entire family gathered at Mrs. Taylor's home: elderly relatives, friends, children, some still in their choir robes. Suddenly, at this moment of family bereavement, two unidentified white men screaming racist



WV Photos



Defense rally in Warren, Ohio for members of Taylor family framed up for protecting themselves against racist Alabama police attack. Above: The Taylor family of Warren.

epithets break down the door. They burst into the room with guns drawn. The Taylors, thinking they were under KKK attack, disarmed the racist thugs and called the cops. But the racist thugs were the cops. The scene was described by ten-year-old David Taylor in the *Buckeye Review* (25 March): "I heard

my parents say they might be the Ku Klan, whatever you call them, and that they kill black people...I was real scared because I didn't want them to kill me."

More cops arrived in waves as the door of the home was repeatedly kicked
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Patricia Ridge

LA Times

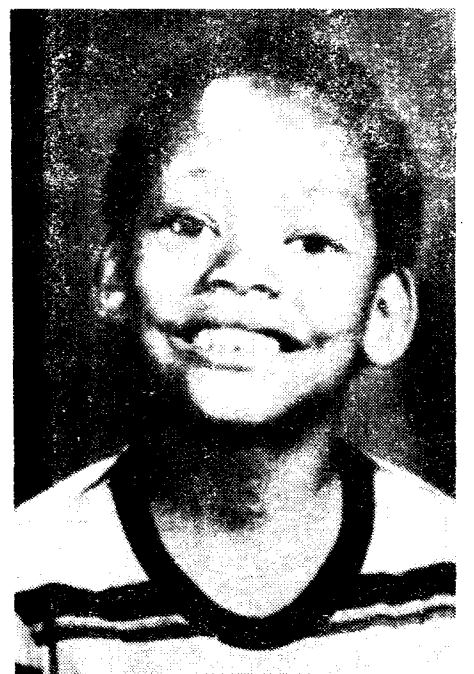
Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

LOS ANGELES—Orange County, California, Reagan Country, U.S.A. The cops gunned down a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his bedroom and think they can get away with it. And now the racist killers with state power are trying to put away Patrick's mother, Patricia Ridge, on charges ranging from "child neglect" to Murder 2! Labor, blacks, Hispanics, all decent people: Stop this racist outrage! The Spartacist League is initiating a

demonstration at 4:30 p.m. Tuesday, April 26 at the Federal Building in downtown L.A. to demand: "Vengeance for Patrick Mason! Jail killer cop Sper! Stop the investigation—No charges against Patricia Ridge!"

At about 5:30 p.m. on March 3, Patrick Mason was quietly watching TV at his home in Stanton while his mother Patricia was away at work. Suddenly, a cop burst into the apartment, kicked in

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Patrick Mason

LA Times

Protest Racist Killer Cop! L.A. Federal Bldg., 4:30 p.m., April 26