

Young Spartacus

NUMBER 103

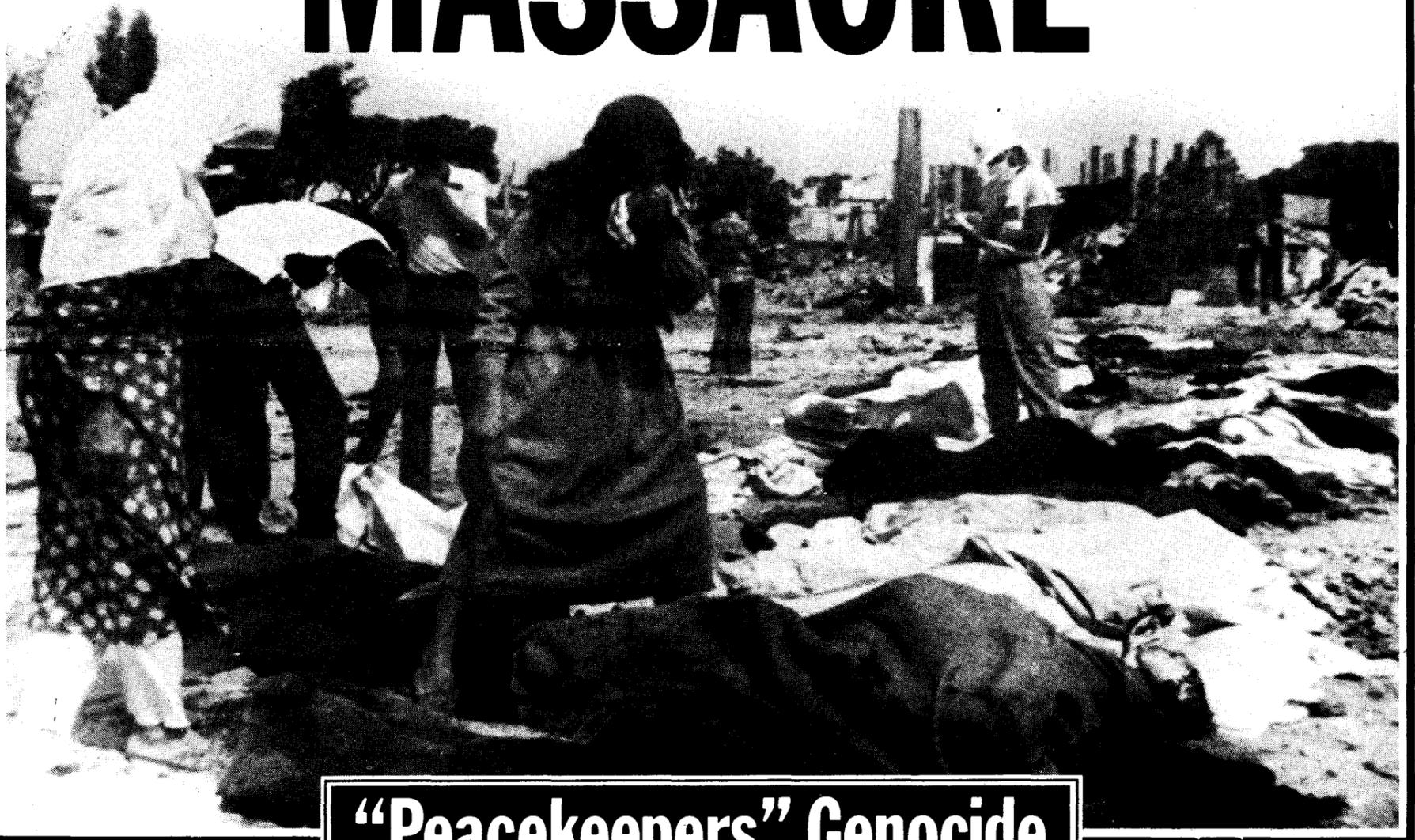
25 CENTS

X-523

OCTOBER 1982

Imperialists, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

REAGAN/BEGIN'S MASSACRE



"Peacekeepers" Genocide

UPI

Smash Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive from San Salvador to Beirut!

In the scenes from the Palestinian refugee camps of Shatila and Sabra in West Beirut are revealed the murderous face of Zionism and the real meaning of U.S. imperialism's "Pax Americana" in the Near East:

"Groups of bodies lay like mannequins dropped from the sky before bullet-pocked walls where they appear to have been executed. Others were... shot as they tried to escape... two matronly women lay like limp sacks of grain on a mound of rubble out of which poked a baby's head, its open eyes glazed in death. Next to them, a baby in diapers, less than a year old, lay face down, its head blown off... two young girls, one

maybe 11, the other not more than a year older, lay on their backs, legs spread apart on the ground...."
—*Washington Post*,
19 September

Lebanese fascists under the direct control of Israel—Major Saad Had-dad's Lebanese Forces and the Israeli-created Damuri Brigade of the Phalange—pulled the trigger, while Israeli troops ushered them into the camps, provided the staging areas, road signs, food rations and checkpoints, and lit flares so that the butchery could continue into the night. The Lebanese Red Cross estimated 1,800 killed, but no one knows how many were buried under buildings or taken off in the scoops of bulldozers.

The stage for the massacre was set by Reagan, whose Marines (along with French and Italian troops) expelled 6,000 PLO fighters from Beirut, leaving the Palestinian refugees defenseless against the fascist marauders. The

evacuation of the PLO forces was engineered by Reagan's special envoy Philip Habib as the Israeli air force rained down American-made phosphorus and cluster bombs from American-made F-16 fighter-bombers. Israel is by far the biggest recipient of U.S. military aid, receiving \$1.4 billion this year alone. As the former deputy mayor of Jerusalem asked, "What's our army if not the product of American aid?" Furthermore, it is the "peacekeeping" imperialists who are responsible for

Lebanon's history of bloody communal strife. It was the French imperialists who in 1943 institutionalized the communal divisions in the "confessional" system, which assures the Maronite Christian minority political dominance over the Muslim majority, and the American president Eisenhower who in 1958 sent 10,000 Marines to Lebanon to safeguard this system against a popular Muslim revolt. In every way, U.S. imperialism is *directly* responsible for

continued on page 4



SL/SYL Emergency Protests Demand:

West Beirut—Never Again! Smash Zionist Terror!

see page 5

Smash Marcos' Bloody Dictatorship!

Below we reprint excerpts from a Spartacist Party Campaign statement, dated 15 September 1982, protesting the visit of Filipino dictator Marcos to the U.S.

The bloody Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, backed by the military and economic aid of U.S. imperialism, must be smashed. Only a workers and peasants government can give land to the peasants, the factories to the workers, secure democratic rights for the working people and liberate the Philippines from the yoke of imperialism.

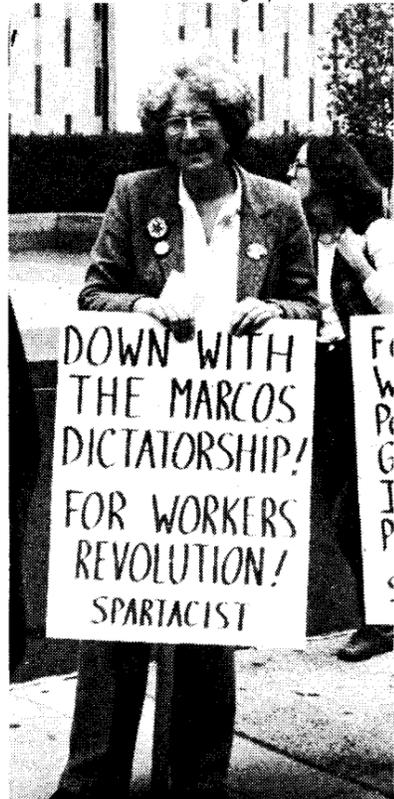
Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman, supported by the Spartacist Party Campaign Committee, are running for S.F. Board of Supervisors. They call for a workers revolution in the Philippines against the Marcos regime. They oppose the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. They call for the formation of a workers party in the U.S. to fight for a workers government.

Unlike the Stalinists of both the Moscow and Peking varieties, Trotskyists have consistently defended the struggles of the Filipino people against the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. imperialism. We tell the truth! Freedom from the yoke of imperialism, freedom for the Filipino workers and peasants, can only be realized through a class struggle which sweeps away not only the bloody Marcos dictatorship but also Filipino capitalism, loyal servant of imperialism.

A vote for Bradley and Coleman for S.F. Board of Supervisors is a vote against the bipartisan budget cuts, the bipartisan tax hikes, and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. It is

a vote against the Marcos dictatorship and all the bloody right-wing dictatorships supported by U.S. imperialism. Workers need their own party to fight for a workers government which will smash the bosses' state, expropriate major industry and institute a planned economy in the interest of all working people. A vote for Bradley and Coleman is a vote for forging a mass workers party to lead a fight for a successful socialist revolution.

Young Spartacus Photo



Coleman protests Marcos.

Defend the Right to Strike! Jersey Teachers Jailed

Young Spartacus Photo



October 1 rally of striking Teaneck teachers and supporters.

TEANECK, N.J.—Surrounded by dozens of hired security guards as well as local cops, the only thing missing from Washington Irving Elementary School here was barbed wire. Striking teachers and other school employees got an object lesson in the class nature of the state when 151 strikers were incarcerated at the school during working hours. Teachers have been fined up to \$750 each, and additional fines and possible firings have been threatened if they don't return to work by the October 7 "deadline."

The Teaneck Teachers Association, along with unionized classroom aides, secretaries and cafeteria workers, went out on strike September 17 when negotiations with the Board of Education reached a stalemate. The Board says it can't afford the 19 percent pay raise the teachers are demanding, but managed to find the bucks to pay scabs almost double the normal rate for substitute teachers.

Parents and students as well as teachers from nearby school districts have rallied behind the strikers despite the Board's heavy-handed anti-union campaign. Police have made videotapes of all rallies in support of the strikers and a mailing to parents warned that children not attending school during the strike would be treated as truants.

Jailing striking teachers is nothing new in New Jersey; it's been done by eight other school districts in recent years. Most notably, Newark mayor Kenneth Gibson, "liberal" black Democrat, jailed black Newark Teachers Union president Carole Graves for 118 days for strikes she led in 1970-71.

At press time, a tentative settlement has been announced, the terms of which are not yet known. We say: No Reprisals Against Strikers! Bust the Union-Busters! ■

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Join the SYL!

SL/SYL Launch
Subscription Drive



WEEK THREE TOTALS				WEEK THREE TOTALS			
Local	Quota (in points)	Week Three	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Week Three	%
Berkeley/Oakland	550	273	50	Los Angeles	400	281	70
Boston	430	354	82	Madison	100	103	103
Chicago	450	262	58	New York	850	490	58
Cleveland	250	133	53	San Francisco	450	231	51
Detroit	280	125	45	National Total	3,760	2,252	60

Subscribe Now!

- \$5/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/9 issues of *Young Spartacus*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes *Spartacist*)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE () _____ YSp 103

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

SPECIAL! A Spartacist pamphlet with one year subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116

Behind the Black Students' Boycott

Smash Jim Crow at Harvard!

Harvard University has once again made national headlines. The call by the Harvard Black Law Students Association (BLSA) to boycott a course on civil rights—jointly taught by two prominent NAACP-affiliated attorneys, one black and one white—has become the focus of intense controversy. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, et al. have carried editorials, articles, heated letters pro and con. Planned as a tactic in BLSA's campaign against the virtually lily-white composition of Law School faculty, the boycott immediately evoked cries of "reverse racism" and even "banal ethnocentrism," "racist, anti-intellectual, anti-civil-rights behavior" from an enraged Establishment.

Despite "bad press," the BLSA boycott attracts such widespread interest for the same reason the case is important: it raises the question of gross racism at the No. 1 think tank and training ground for the U.S. ruling class. Harvard represents an elite microcosm of bourgeois society, including its vile racism. Just across the Charles River, in Boston, busing was killed in the streets by racist mobs. Certainly, Harvard president Bok and his special assistant Robert Klitgaard would never consider joining the unwashed racist hoodlums who smashed black attorney Lansmark in the face with an American (of course) flagpole in 1976. No, Bok/Klitgaard merely suggested that black students are inherently inferior and would be better off at "lesser" institutions where if nothing else they might enjoy a "greater overall perceived feeling of equality."

Jim Crow lives within the ivy walls of

of whom is black. As Marxists, we in the SYL fight capitalist imperialism down the line, from the intellectual pretensions of its haughtiest apologists to its assaults on democratic rights to its long-standing dedication to racial and sexual inequality. Thus, we have a real interest in the BLSA/Law School controversy which poses, albeit in the most academic and tactically impotent fashion, the key question of racism.

For years, BLSA has been fighting the Law School to hire more tenured minority professors as well as to reinstate the full-term civil rights course dropped when professor Derrick Bell resigned in 1980. Harvard has made an art of resisting any attempts to integrate its aristocratic white, male faculty and—as a sop to the students—finally reintroduced the course as an intensive three-week class taught by two visiting professors. One of them is black NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) head Julius Chambers; the other is Jack Greenberg, white Director Counsel for the LDF.

Harvard's response was indeed a provocation—one in a long string of racist maneuvers couched in the rhetoric of "academic excellence." Initially, BLSA's protest focused on Greenberg in particular, not so much because of his politics, but because he was a white teaching a course dealing with black struggle. Certainly, black students would logically be interested in greater numbers in courses dealing with their struggle and this should be (but is not) reflected in the racial composition of the faculty. (Although, in this case, the reinstatement of the course on civil

Stanley Forman/Boston Herald American



Stars and Stripes racism—screaming "kill him," anti-busing thugs attack black Boston lawyer, April 1976.

Harvard as surely as it does in the slums of South Boston. At the Law School currently there are 60 tenured professors, only one of whom is female and one

rights was due to petitions to the Law School by both black and white students.) We oppose racial exclusionism and the assumption that no white has anything or should have anything to say about the struggle against black oppression. You don't have to be a Marxist to know that Eugene Genovese has a lot more to teach than—to take an extreme example—Baby Doc Duvalier. But, BLSA president Muhammed Kenyatta told *Young Spartacus* that he "would not oppose a black Reaganite or Chinese fascist" teaching the civil rights course.

Greenberg is certainly no radical activist for black liberation, as are very few NAACP leaders (in fact the last one known to us left the NAACP about six decades ago, W.E.B. DuBois). But the man has a proven ability to win tough legal fights on behalf of black rights, most notably in his work for the landmark *Brown vs. the Board of Education* case in 1954. Ironically, Greenberg and the NAACP are among the foremost advocates of affirmative action schemes which at best are so tokenistic and shot through with loo-

Boycott Enrages Establishment



pholes as to be terribly ineffective; at worst they are nothing but sophisticated union-busting on the order of Nixon's Philadelphia Plan. Harvard, for instance, has had such an "affirmative action" plan in effect since 1976 and if it has produced even a percentage point more minority and women faculty, it's not obvious. Now Greenberg finds himself a victim of such tokenistic schemes.

The fight against racism at Harvard is essentially trivialized by the tactic of the boycott and the thoroughly academic plane on which BLSA has chosen to fight. Greenberg/Chambers' course on "Racial Discrimination and Civil Rights" is not an appropriate target for any real struggle for racial equality. In fact, the course may very well be one of the few useful offerings for advocates of black rights at the Law School whose principal mandatory courses have always been Property, Contracts, Trusts, Corporations, Evidence, Agency and Administrative Procedures. Protest against Harvard's virulent racism must be aimed at the administration and the Corporation, including their black front men like the widely-despised enemy of radical students, Dean Archibald Epps III.

Nonetheless, there is something more critical at stake than the genuine academic merits of the course or the credentials of Jack Greenberg: the stubborn and arrogant refusal by Harvard to give so much as an inch in the direction of minimal demands for integration. The SYL advocates, therefore, that students honor the boycott; those who break it can only be solidarizing with the administration and the racist *status quo*.

The fight for racial equality in education, let alone for black liberation, certainly goes beyond the call for one more professor in the most prestigious school of the most elite, class- and race-biased university in the country. The ambiance around the Law School's Langdell Hall was aptly described as "chauvinism aggravated by incest" by Enrique Lopez (the first Chicano to graduate from Harvard Law School, and the only for two decades thereafter!) in *The Harvard Mystique*. Harvard BLSA is not likely to provide radical leadership in the fight against black

oppression. Those who make it to Harvard have, in some sense, "made it"; they will not face the grinding poverty and despair of the mass of American blacks. At the same time, they do face a descending racist ceiling on the aspirations of the "talented tenth."

As we wrote in *Young Spartacus* last February ("Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks"):

"We communists believe that racial equality in education will take a leap when, for beginners, elite schools like Harvard are nationalized, admissions are open to all and the administration with its Boks and Epps is abolished once and for all. We have no illusions that we'll see Harvard nationalized this side of the socialist revolution. But one day those ivied walls and mahogany-filled rooms will be available to anyone who can stand it—no matter what their color, last name or neighborhood of origin."

Every manifestation of racism must be fought decisively, and even the integration of Harvard requires a struggle superseding the limits of bourgeois "respectability." Such a fight should be linked with the campus unions, including a struggle to organize the unorganized and the launching of an aggressive, union-run minority recruitment drive. So fundamental to capitalism is racial oppression that only through working-class revolution will the democratic tasks of the Civil War be completed. It is to that struggle that the SYL is dedicated; students seeking to fight racism from Cambridge to Los Angeles should join us. ■

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus (ISSN 0162-2692) is the newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. The Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League, is a socialist youth organization which intervenes in social struggles armed with a working-class program, based on the politics of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Editorial Board: Bonnie Brodie, Dorothy London, J. Marlow (editor)
Production manager: Dorie Reed
Circulation manager: Irene Gardner

Nine issues yearly; published monthly except December/January and June/July/August, by the Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7867 (Editorial, Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008. Domestic subscriptions: \$2.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Marxist Bulletin 5

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

\$2.50

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Reagan/Begin Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

the massacre in West Beirut. We say: Never again! Not one bullet, not one plane to the Israeli butchers! With the Marines joining the Israeli army in Lebanon, the Phalangist government is reportedly "considering a plan to oust all but 50,000 of the more than half a million Palestinians in the country" (*New York Times*, 3 October). Imperialist "peacekeeping" means the "peace" of mass graves and a new diaspora for the Palestinians: Imperialists, Israeli troops out of Lebanon!

Fifteen years ago anyone who considered himself even mildly "progressive" knew that the Marines were synonymous with mass slaughter. The Vietnam War made graphically clear to hundreds of thousands of student youth that the role of the imperialist armed forces is not to "keep peace" but to perpetrate bloody war crimes against whole peoples. But today the man in the White House hails the slaughter of a million Vietnamese as a "noble cause" and there is for the most part a deafening silence on the campuses as Reagan sends the Marines to Lebanon for an "indeterminate" stay. We remember the role of the Marines in overthrowing nationalist governments and suppressing social revolution and colonial revolt from the Philippines at the turn of the century to Nicaragua in 1932 to Guatemala in '54 to Santo Domingo in '65 to Vietnam: Marines out of Lebanon!

The presence of the Marines just a few hundred miles from the Soviet border must be seen in the context of U.S. imperialism's larger anti-Soviet war drive. From El Salvador to Beirut, Reagan is waging an unholy war against "Soviet influence." Especially following the fall of the shah in Iran, the U.S. has aspired to forge an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East, establishing bases in Oman, Egypt, Somalia, Morocco, Sudan, Kenya and elsewhere in the region. The Camp David agreement and the sale of AWACS jets to the Saudi monarchy are part of the same design, to pull the Arab capitals into an anti-Soviet alliance with Tel Aviv. No U.S. troops or bases in the Near East! No U.S. strike force targeted on the Near East! U.S. Navy out of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean!

Begin and Sharon have tried to sell each new act of Zionist expansionism and genocidal terror to Washington as the spearhead of the anti-Soviet war drive in the Near East, casting the PLO and Syria in the role of Soviet surrogates. The Israeli government's threats to go to war with Soviet-armed Syria and the September 15 seizure of the Soviet embassy in Beirut, an incredible provocation against the USSR, are an

attempt to win Washington's support for Begin's annexationist plans. But each of Begin's provocations against the Arab sheiks and colonels—from the bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor to the expansion of Zionist settlements in the West Bank to the repeated violation of cease-fire agreements during the Lebanese invasion—has undermined the stability of the Arab regimes and hence their ability to join with Israel in the anti-Soviet alliance. As a result the U.S. is more or less openly courting the Zionist "Labor" Party, which has endorsed Reagan's "fresh start" proposal for a Palestinian bantustan on the West Bank, linked to Jordan.

The "Labor" Party, the traditional party of the Zionist establishment

the hands of the Zionist rulers. The Israeli economy is increasingly dependent on militarism for its very survival. With technology generously supplied by U.S. imperialism, Israel is now the world's seventh largest arms supplier. From 1978 to 1980 the value of Israel's arms exports rose 340 percent, and the noted Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak estimates that arms exports accounted for 40 percent of Israel's export revenues for 1980 (*Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression*, 1982). The list of Israeli weapons clients reads like a Who's Who of sadists and torturers so tyrannical that (for public relations reasons) they cannot be supplied in sufficient quantities by the U.S. The list includes such notoriously anti-

Neveu-Gamma/Liaison



U.S. Marines, blood-soaked enemies of the world's oppressed, shock troops of the anti-Soviet war drive from Vietnam (right) to Lebanon (above) are not "peacekeepers"! Marines out of Lebanon!



Wide World

dressed up in the bourgeois press as the voice of reason and humanitarian values in Israel, was baptized in the blood of the Palestinian people. The Zionist state was founded on mass murder and terrorism: Israel's closed capitalist economy could not have been created otherwise than through the forcible expulsion of the Palestinians from their homeland. This was carried out by the "Labor" Zionists in alliance with forces like Begin's terrorist Irgun, which murdered 254 Palestinian civilians in the village of Deir Yassin. It was a "Labor" government which occupied the West Bank and Gaza, instituting a regime of police terror over the conquered Arab masses. It was even the "Labor" Party which brought in Sharon as chief military adviser under Prime Minister Rabin after he had built his reputation as head of the Israeli army's special terror units, which in 1953 massacred 69 civilians in the Palestinian village of Kibya on the West Bank. Subsequently the "Labor" government of Ben-Gurion acquitted itself of the massacre in an "investigation" such as is now being conducted by Begin. And as Sharon revealed in an address to the Israeli Knesset (parliament) September 22, former Defense Minister Shimon Peres (now "Labor" Party head) engineered the 1976 Tel Zaatar massacre in cooperation with the fascist Phalangist.

But it is not the blood of the oppressed Palestinians alone that is on

Semitic regimes as Argentina and Paraguay. Israel also maintains the most cordial diplomatic, economic and military ties with apartheid South Africa. Eighty-three percent of the Salvadoran butcher junta's weapons are supplied by Israel, which also supplied Somoza with 98 percent of his arms imports during the last year of his bloody rule in Nicaragua. In supplying such regimes Israel acts as a proxy of U.S. imperialism and the most important subsidiary of its worldwide anti-Soviet Murder, Inc.

Break with PLO Nationalism!

Yasir Arafat claims that the PLO's catastrophic defeat in Lebanon was a great "political victory." From the standpoint of appealing to imperialist public opinion, perhaps he could say that the massacres at Shatila and Sabra are an even bigger diplomatic "victory." The PLO leadership's goal is not social liberation for the Palestinian masses but the establishment of a state in which they will be the masters. This is why Arafat hails Reagan's proposal for a Palestinian bantustan on the West Bank as a possible "basis for a negotiated settlement of the Mideast conflict" (*New York Daily News*, 9 September), and calls for the return of the imperialist "peacekeepers." The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO have always seen Palestinian national liberation as coming through international pressure, not social revolution in Israel and the

surrounding Arab states.

The PLO's strategy seemed to meet with some success when, at a meeting of the Arab League in Rabat, Morocco in 1974, the Arab regimes appointed the PLO "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." After the Rabat conference, Arafat appeared at the UN with an olive branch and the PLO came out with a new "Program for Palestinian Political Action" which effectively endorsed the idea of a Palestinian "mini-state" on any part of the occupied territory Israel was willing to give up. This was a conscious betrayal on the part of the PLO leadership, which had earlier explicitly declared that "any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question" (*Free Palestine*, April 1971). As we warned in January 1977 (*Young Spartacus* No. 50):

"...any Palestinian 'mini-state' under PLO leadership would soon become a 'bantustan' for the nearly two million Palestinian refugees and client state of one of the surrounding regimes. Israel would agree to a Palestinian state on its borders only if the Zionists were convinced that the 'mini-state' would be firmly controlled by one of the 'moderate' and 'responsible' Arab regimes—in particular, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan."

That today Yasir Arafat looks with favor on Reagan's plan for a "homeland" federated to Jordan is a striking confirmation of this warning and a measure of how Arafat "represents" the Palestinian people. When Palestinian refugees rose up in rebellion against the Hashemite monarchy in Jordan following its defeat in the 1967 war, King Hussein massacred 10,000 in what came to be known as the "Black September" of 1970. The PLO's nationalist strategy paved the way for Black September and left the Palestinians defenseless in the face of Hussein's slaughter. All wings of the PLO, including those which had engaged in armed clashes with Hussein's army, posited a nationalist struggle against Zionism in which the Arab bourgeois regimes were seen as natural allies rather than mortal enemies. At its base Hussein's army was composed of Palestinians who had lived under Hashemite rule since the 1920s. But because the PLO accepted the dogma of "non-interference in internal Arab affairs" they addressed the army not as Palestinians whose national struggle required class struggle to overthrow the Hashemite monarchy, but as *Jordanian patriots*—and were slaughtered.

It was this same nationalist doctrine of "non-interference" that, in Lebanon in 1975-76, led the PLO to assist the Muslim clan chiefs in diverting an incipient social revolution based on the Lebanese Muslim/Palestinian toilers into a sectarian communal conflict in which both Muslims and Christians engaged in indiscriminate killing.

The PLO's nationalist strategy writes off the Hebrew-speaking workers as hopelessly wedded to the Zionist state at a time when, under the pressure of Zionist military expansionism, Israeli society is becoming unstuck. Following the slaughter at Shatila and Sabra, demonstrations exploded day after day in Israel. The police moved in swinging their batons at Jews as well as Arab youth. On September 25 nearly 400,000 people—over a tenth of Israel's total population—took to the streets of Tel Aviv to demand an investigation of the massacres, and many of them called on Begin and Sharon to resign. Arab workers in the occupied territories responded to the massacres with a general strike. But the upheavals in Israel remain under the leadership of the "Labor" Party, while for the petty-bourgeois Arab leadership in the occupied territories the strikes are mere symbolic protests. Arafat may congratulate "pacifists and democrats" in Israel but he will never fight to break the Hebrew-speaking proletariat from Zionism. A Trotskyist vanguard party is desperately needed to unite the power of

continued on page 8

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

Bay Area

Friday: 5:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street),
Oakland, California
Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday: 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tuesday: 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Saturday: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.
near Church St.) New York, N.Y.
Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Saturday: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario
Phone: (416) 593-4138

SL/SYL Emergency Protests Demand:

**“West Beirut—Never Again!
Smash Zionist Terror!”**

September 18: the stench from the Zionist Holocaust in West Beirut sickened and angered millions around the world. Despite Begin/Sharon's stonewalling, a torrent of outrage swept Israel, culminating September 25 as 400,000—over a tenth of Israel's population—poured into the streets of Tel Aviv in protest. As proletarian internationalists, irreconcilable opponents of Zionist genocide, defenders of the PLO militarily and partisans of the national struggle of the Palestinian people, the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated emergency protest demonstrations. Chants of “Deir Yassin—Never Again! Tel Zaatar—Never Again! West Beirut—Never Again! Smash Zionist Terror!” rang out at city-wide rallies in New York and San Francisco on September 20, and at SYL-organized demonstrations on campuses in Boston, New York, Madison, Oberlin, Berkeley and Los Angeles during the next few days. As communists in America we had a particular responsibility to rip the “peacekeeping” mask off the face of our “own” imperialist bourgeoisie—whose arms, Marines and bloody billions make massacres from El Salvador to Beirut. Signs and chants demanded, “No Imperialist Troops to Lebanon!” As comrade Alison Spencer stated at our September 21 rally at Harvard University:

“We protest tonight on behalf of the victims of these imperialist troops—the victims of the bloody Marines and Foreign Legion, who can't speak from the mass graves in Vietnam, Algeria, El Salvador. No U.S. troops to Lebanon! Israel out now!”

U.S. imperialism—whose Marines set the stage for the massacres by expelling the PLO fighters from West Beirut—officially “deplored” the genocide in the Palestinian refugee camps. And the lie that U.S. imperialism is somehow blameless—a widespread misapprehension among American students—is fostered by the reformist U.S. “left,” who have either ducked the question of U.S. intervention into Lebanon or condoned the deployment of troops. In the same way that the reformists call for a “negotiated settlement” between the U.S.-backed butchers and the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, and look to the Kennedy wing of imperialism to pull the U.S. out, so they urge a “progressive” U.S. policy in the Near East. Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America are even worse: they parrot *Begin's* alibi that the Zionist genocide was merely a by-product of an “anti-terrorist” operation by condemning “the continual reckless use of the civilian population as shelter by the Palestinian combatants” during the bombing of Beirut (*Democratic Left*, June 1982). In fact the PLO, which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian population, was also the only military defense they had—as Shatila and Sabra demonstrated.

One of the most pathetic statements on the U.S. role in the massacre was contained in a leaflet issued by the General Union of Palestinian Students in Madison:

“When the mass murders took place, there were no PLO fighters to protect the civilians. This was because of the evacuation of Beirut that took place after American promises to guarantee the safety of West Beirut civilians.” [emphasis in original]

American promises! Reagan promises



Young Spartacus Photos

SYL protests in San Francisco (top), New York (left). Below (left to right): Madison, Oberlin, L.A.

but one thing: no slaughter is too filthy, no butchers too bloody to join the war drive against the Soviet degenerated workers state. The more than 1,800 dead at Sabra and Shatila were as much victims of the anti-Soviet war drive as of the Zionists and their Phalangist henchmen. The Zionists seek to justify their every genocidal act as part of the crusade against “Soviet influence” in the region. As one of our chants proclaimed, “Anti-Soviet Cold War tie means Reagan/Begin genocide!”

By seizing the Soviet embassy in West Beirut September 15, Israel hoped to humiliate the Russians and drive home to its U.S. sponsors its unswerving devotion to U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. Some of our signs read, “Protest Israeli Atrocity Against Soviet Embassy!” An SYL spokesman at Los Angeles Community College explained:

“Defense of the USSR goes hand in hand with defending the Palestinians against extermination. The Israeli occupation of the Soviet embassy is an atrocity—the invasion of Lebanon threatens to plunge the world into a global nuclear holocaust.”

Seizing an embassy is an act of war that even Chile's Pinochet didn't try during

the bloody, CIA-backed right-wing coup in 1973: those who sought refuge in foreign embassies that would take them were allowed to do so.

In Berkeley's Sproul Plaza, where 75 gathered in response to our call to action, the question of the U.S. role was once again the decisive political dividing line. The local Committee for Academic Freedom in the Israeli Occupied Territories responded to the massacres by calling for U.S. troops to “keep the peace” in Lebanon, reversing their previous position. Berkeley SYL member Bob Zimmerman counterposed our call for U.S. troops out:

“The U.S. should get all of its troops out of the Near East, beginning with the troops in the Sinai. The U.S. should get out of the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans, which have been used as staging areas for imperialist aggression throughout the area.”

In opposition to the reformists' perspective of pressuring imperialism, a member of the Militant Action Caucus of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 put forward a strategy of working-class action to defend the Palestinians:

“Workers in this country have a side in this war. Palestinians must be defended.

That's why in my union, the ILWU, we have called for hot-cargoing all goods to and from Israel until the Israeli army withdraws from Lebanon.”

Overwhelmingly, the best response to our calls for protest came from Palestinian and other Arab students—particularly at the City College of New York (CCNY), where some 25 members of the Arab Students Association (ASA) joined in a 40-strong picket line on September 23. Rumors of a possible attack on the CCNY demo by the proto-fascist Zionist Jewish Defense League circulated the morning of the protest (consistent with a national pattern of Zionist threats on our rallies). ASA members agreed to work jointly with the SYL to defend the September 23 picket line, and no Zionist attack occurred.

Both at the CCNY protest and at an SYL forum September 30, lively debate took place on the revolutionary Marxist strategy for workers revolution in the Near East. When a Spartacist League spokesman at the demonstration attacked the PLO for its reliance on imperialism to “protect” Palestinians in West Beirut, the ASA was politically polarized—some ASAers wished to

continued on page 8

Defend the Gains of the

We print below the concluding part of an edited version of SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour's presentation at a May 1-2 Bay Area Spartacist educational. The previous portion, which focused on the 1917 Russian Revolution and the later Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet workers state, appeared in Young Spartacus No. 102 (September 1982).

Below comrade Seymour contrasts the 1956 Hungarian Revolution to Solidarność' counterrevolutionary power bid in 1981. The pro-socialist Hungarian workers who rebelled against the oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy made it clear that they were not fighting to restore the old Hungary of the landlords, counts and Cardinal Mindszenty. A quarter-century later however, Stalinist suppression, mismanagement and corruption drove masses of Polish workers into the arms of the CIA, NATO and pope Wojtyla.

When Poland was on the brink of civil war, before the December 1981 Stalinist counter-coup, we demanded "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" Waleśa & Co.'s attempt to make Poland the front line of Reagan and NATO's anti-Soviet war drive had to be stopped. Today on the 26th anniversary of the crushing of the Hungarian workers, the continuing crisis in Poland points to the burning necessity of constructing Trotskyist vanguard parties in East Europe and the USSR. Armed with the Trotskyist program of workers political revolution, they will lead the Eastern European workers—and their Soviet class brothers—to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic castes and establish workers democracy and proletarian internationalism.

PART TWO OF TWO

Despite all the anti-Communist propaganda about Soviet "imperialism," the creation in 1944-48 of a Soviet sphere of influence in East Europe was a defensive military act. The Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev, who is very hostile to Stalin and quite hostile to Great Russian chauvinism, has written recently: "In 1944-45 there was a unanimous feeling in Russia that the strategic frontiers of the USSR must be pushed a long way back...." ("The USSR and the Arms Race," *New Left Review*, November-December 1981). In doing so, the Kremlin bureaucracy was also forced to carry out a deformed social revolution from above, that is, the establishment in East Europe of states institutionally similar to Stalin's Russia.

But the different historical process by which the East European bureaucratically ruled workers states came into being and their different role in world politics has produced a very different political consciousness among the masses of those countries. This is quite apparent in the present Polish crisis when all bourgeois journalists, even the most anti-Communist, report that the typical man-in-the-street in Moscow or Leningrad has no sympathy whatsoever for Polish Solidarność.

What's involved is not that the Stalinist system is popular in Russia and unpopular in East Europe. In fact, in the late 1940s it's very possible that the Polish, Hungarian and Czech working classes had more illusions in Stalinist "socialism" than the Russians, who had

Hungary 1956 (right): Insurgents topple Stalin statue.

Keystone



Above, Stalin's henchman Matyas Rakosi (seated), liberal Stalinist Imre Nagy (standing). Inset: Martyred Communist Laszlo Rajk was honored by Hungarian workers and radical intellectuals.



Photoworld

Unlike the pope in Poland, Hungary's Cardinal Mindszenty (below) had little influence over Hungarian workers.

Jean-Claude Lattes



lived with it for many a year. But in Russia the system has a certain national legitimacy. Millions of Russians have parents or grandparents who fought on the Bolshevik side in the 1918-21 civil war. Millions of Russians fought and died defending what they regarded as "the socialist fatherland" against Nazi Germany. In East Europe, by contrast, the system was imposed from without and therefore has shallow roots in those societies. So when the masses turn against the bureaucracy, they turn with the added force of nationalism.

Another important difference concerns the popular attitude toward Western, especially American, imperialism. Although the Russians lost 20 million people defending themselves against German imperialism, they did not achieve real peace afterward. The U.S. A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki not to defeat Japan—it was already defeated—but to intimidate the Soviet Union. In the late '40s-early '50s Washington officials openly proclaimed "the American century" based on a monopoly of nuclear weapons. They routinely threatened a pre-emptive nuclear strike against Russia. The Soviet masses lived with the acute knowledge that any day Moscow, Leningrad or Kiev could be turned into another Hiroshima. The working masses of East Europe found themselves in a somewhat different

situation. They could entertain the illusion that somehow they could opt out of the Cold War polarization, that they could become neutrals between Russia and the U.S.

For these reasons the East European Stalinist regimes have been more brittle, more unstable—for both good and ill—than the Soviet Stalinist regime. As a result one has seen in East Europe both an incipient proletarian political revolution in Hungary in 1956 and a counter-revolutionary mobilization in Poland which was checked for the time being last December. We have written much on the Polish crisis, but the 1956 Hungarian Revolution is no doubt unfamiliar to most of you.

Formation of Stalinist Hungary

When Stalin's Red Army took over Hungary in 1944, the bourgeoisie was not immediately expropriated either economically or politically. In 1945 the Stalinists allowed a more or less free election. Given that Hungary was then a largely peasant country, over 50 percent of the vote went to the Smallholders Party, a bourgeois clericalist party. The urban working class and more radical petty bourgeoisie split their votes about evenly between the social democrats and Stalinists. Since the Stalinists had the real power, they imposed a coalition

government called the Patriotic People's Front or People's Patriotic Front, something like that.

It was not until 1947-48 that the bourgeoisie was politically and economically expropriated. Only then were leading bourgeois politicians like Smallholders' leader Ferenc Nagy forced into exile and the arch-reactionary Cardinal Mindszenty arrested. Industry was then nationalized, and the first five-year plan was begun in 1950.

The 1945-48 "popular-front" period had a significant effect on the attitudes of the Hungarian working masses. No one wanted to go back to the pre-1944 Horthy regime. It was universally hated. However, to many people the "popular-frontist" interregnum of 1945-48, at least on its political side, looked like the good old days compared to what came afterward.

The relatively lengthy "popular-frontist" period also created certain left/right tensions among the Stalinists themselves. Some of the Stalinist cadre and ranks felt impatient with the slow pace of the social transformation, what party boss Matyas Rakosi called "salami tactics." This incipient left opposition crystallized around the minister of the interior Laszlo Rajk, head of the national police—the hard cop in the "popular-frontist" regime.

Rajk had perfect credentials to



Political Revolution vs. Solidarność C

The Russian Revolution!



on, Hungary 1956 Counterrevolution

become a corpse in Stalin's East Europe. He had fought in the Spanish Civil War. And whereas the other leading Stalinists, Rakosi and Imre Nagy, had spent World War II in Russia, Rajk was the leader of the Communist underground in Horthy's Hungary. He was by all accounts, including those of non-Communists, a man of personal moral rectitude, rather austere and dedicated to the communist cause as he understood it. He was therefore something of a hero figure to the younger Hungarian Stalinist workers and intellectuals, who saw in him the best of their generation.

In 1949 Tito's Yugoslavia broke from the Kremlin. This sent Stalin into a murderous frenzy, seeking to kill every potential Tito in East Europe. Rajk was arrested and tortured. Reportedly they threatened to kill his baby daughter unless he confessed, which he did. At his show trial the main charge against him was that he was planning to enslave Hungary to "Yugoslav imperialism."

In the early 1950s, Titoism with its "workers self-management" postured as a more national, more democratic, more authentic form of socialism than Stalin's Russia. Among East European Communist oppositionists there was a tendency to idealize the Yugoslav "road to socialism" as an alternative to Stalin's terror-state, on the one hand, and

Western bourgeois democracy on the other.

The "New Course": 1953-56

Of all the Stalinist regimes in East Europe, Rakosi's Hungary was unquestionably the most bloody. More Communists were killed under Rakosi than under Horthy. The political police, the AVH, constituted one percent of the entire population of Budapest. They were not motivated primarily by ideological fervor—they were basically high-paid gangsters with incomes ten or twelve times that of the average worker. When they were killed during the revolution, it became a ritual to pin their pay slips to their corpses.

The post-'53 crisis of "de-Stalinization" had a particular impact on Hungary, where the Kremlin knew the pressures were building up for an explosion. To forestall this the Soviet leadership forced Rakosi to step down as prime minister, and he was replaced by Imre Nagy, who had a reputation as a liberal Communist. Nagy proclaimed the New Course, sort of an early version of Dubček's "socialism with a human face." But Rakosi, rightly fearing the vengeance of his legion of enemies, hung on to power and by 1955 managed to oust Nagy.

Thus, between 1953 and 1956 the

Der Spiegel



Left, veteran Communist Pal Maleter, popular hero of the Revolution: "We don't mean to go back to capitalism. We want socialism in Hungary."



Bullets of the Hungarian Revolution were reserved for AVH secret police murderers.



Left, Khrushchev's tanks roll into Budapest.

Hungarian Stalinist bureaucracy was ripping itself apart through a severe polarization between the bloody Rakosi clique and the mass of Communist Party members who supported the national-liberal Nagy. Rajk's widow, Julia Rajk, was released from prison under the New Course and in the summer of 1956 here is how she addressed a group of Communist oppositionists:

"I shall never rest until those who have ruined the country, corrupted the party, destroyed thousands, and driven millions into despair receive their just punishment. Comrades, help me in this struggle."

—quoted in Bill Lomax,
Hungary 1956 (1976)

Behind the Communist opposition stood, passively for the moment, the working masses of Hungary.

As a concession to this opposition in early October a small item appeared in the party press announcing that Laszlo Rajk would be rehabilitated. Two hundred thousand people in a city of one million showed up for this ceremony. The mass turnout for Rajk's rehabilitation foreshadowed the revolutionary explosion just two weeks later. By way of historical comparison, one can say that the event which foreshadowed the eruption of Solidarność was pope Wojtyła's visit to Poland in the summer of 1979. The political distance

between Hungary in 1956 and Poland in 1980-81 can be measured by the political distance between Laszlo Rajk, a hard-bitten left Stalinist, and Wojtyła, who even within the framework of the Catholic church is a reactionary.

The Revolution

The Hungarian Revolution lasted only two weeks, from the anti-Stalinist demonstration of October 23 to the re-entry of the Soviet army into Budapest on November 4. The revolution began with a largely student demonstration solidarizing with the victory of Gomulka in Poland—he was considered the Polish Tito—and calling for the reinstatement of Imre Nagy as head of the Hungarian government. Erno Gero, who replaced Rakosi after Khrushchev's "secret speech" in February, denounced it as a counterrevolutionary mobilization, and when the unarmed demonstrators marched to the radio station to protest, the AVH opened fire on them.

Hungary then exploded. While the initial agitation was student-based, once the fighting started in most areas it was carried out by workers councils and workers militias. There were also more socially amorphous "revolutionary committees" and the so-called "freedom fighter" groups. But the core of the insurgency in Budapest and the other main centers were the workers councils.

The Hungarian army immediately ceased to be an effective force. Some sections of it went over to the insurgents; many soldiers turned their weapons over to the workers militias or "freedom fighter" groups. Outside of Budapest the Soviet army tried to remain neutral, so most of the fighting was between the insurgent workers and the hated security police. Only in Budapest was there significant fighting between the revolutionary forces and Russian soldiers.

Militarily the turning point of the revolution was the attempt of the Soviet army to capture the Kilian barracks, the main stronghold of the Hungarian army within Budapest. The commander of the barracks, Colonel Pal Maleter, a veteran Communist, went over to the revolution and repulsed the Soviet attack. This setback caused the Russians to withdraw from Budapest though not from Hungary.

It's important to emphasize that this was a period of revolutionary anarchy. The Stalinist apparatus had disintegrated, but there was no centralized, nationwide revolutionary authority or organization. There were local workers councils, local revolutionary committees, local groups of "freedom fighters." When the Soviet army withdrew from Budapest, one saw the embryo of an effective revolutionary authority in the newly established National Guard under Maleter's command. It was composed in about equal parts of soldiers who had joined the revolutionary cause and of workers militias. But its authority remained limited to the capital.

The Nagy government, which it must be emphasized again lacked control over events, tried to pacify the workers, telling them to lay down their arms. The Nagy regime moved successively to the right, bringing in bourgeois politicians from the "popular-frontist" period of the late '40s. Nagy also declared Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and appealed to the United Nations to defend Hungarian neutrality.

After the Soviet army intervened, the amorphous revolutionary committees

continued on page 8

Cold War CIA-connected U.S. labor bureaucracy sent money to Lech Walesa's Solidarność. Below, Walesa oversees Catholic confession ceremony at Lenin Shipyards.



Der Spiegel



go the way of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution.

This *objectivist* argument is presented clearly in the first paragraph of the main Marcyite document, V. Grey's "The Class Character of the Hungarian Uprising" (*SWP Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 1, January 1957). It begins:

"On October 23 the students and workers of Budapest demonstrated for a liberalization of the totalitarian Stalinist regime. Contrary to their own desires, the demonstration was swiftly converted into a full-scale, nation-wide counterrevolution throughout Hungary." [emphasis in original]

If the workers and intellectuals in the decisive battleground of the uprising were against a counterrevolution, then how did it come about despite their desires? The Marcyites offer three reasons. One, "It was due to the relation of class forces inside and outside Hungary." This was obviously *objectively* given at the time. Two, "It was due to the universal reaction against the crimes of Stalin."

The third reason appears to stress the subjective factor: "It was due to the fact that there was no Marxist (party) leadership to direct the struggle." But how could a Trotskyist party develop in the Hungary of Rakosi, who in the most bloodthirsty manner crushed any form of political dissidence? The Marcyite position is a kind of Catch-22. In the absence of Trotskyist leadership, they assert, any popular upheaval against a Stalinist regime must become a counter-revolution. But in normal circumstances the Stalinists run a pretty effective police state. For a Trotskyist organization to be formed and to grow, the repressive apparatus of the Stalinist regime must be paralyzed by a deep-going political crisis (e.g., the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, "the Prague spring" of 1968).

The Reds Will Be Back

It is this perspective which has guided our position from the onset of the Polish crisis with the Gdansk-centered general strike of August 1980 through the present. Although we fully recognized the clerical-nationalist, anti-Communist character of the leadership around Walesa, we nonetheless conditionally supported the Gdansk Accords which legalized Solidarność insofar as this also provided an opening for the development of a Trotskyist vanguard. As long as the situation remained relatively fluid, we oriented toward the formation

of a revolutionary opposition which could fight and overcome the reactionary Solidarność leadership *from within*. It was only when Solidarność consolidated around a clear program for "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution at its first congress last September and the question of civil war was posed that we said Solidarność' bid for power must be stopped, if necessary even by Stalinist bureaucratic suppression.

It's been stopped for the time being and in about as good a way as we could have expected. It was stopped by the Polish army, not the Russian army, and fairly bloodlessly. The conditions of repression are not at all severe. At the same time, as comrade Norden put it, for the mass of the Polish people this has been something of a cold douche, that is, a very powerful and sudden psychological political shock. Tens of thousands of Poles must be asking themselves, what went wrong? And there are probably not a few Polish workers and intellectuals who are open to a new road, not the road of clerical-nationalist counterrevolution but the road of proletarian political revolution. This is a very favorable time to construct underground Trotskyist propaganda in Poland to work for such a revolution.

While the East European Stalinist regimes—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia—are more unstable than the Russian, it is hard to imagine a political revolution in these countries lasting more than a few months unless it extends itself to the Soviet Union, the dominant military/political power in that area. And when you consider the Soviet Union, the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution looms very large and remains very deep in the popular political consciousness.

So I'll end with an anecdote current in Russia in the 1960s after Brezhnev took over the reins of power from Khrushchev. Brezhnev, who comes from a poor background and was a metal worker in his youth, is taking his old mother around the Kremlin. He shows her the silverware which the tsars used. He takes her down to the garage and shows her his collection of foreign cars. When Nixon visited Moscow he brought a Cadillac or Thunderbird; when Willy Brandt visited Moscow he brought a Mercedes or Porsche. Brezhnev then turns to the old woman and says, "Mother, haven't I done well for myself?" She replies, "Yes, Leonid, you have, but what happens if the reds come back?" Well, we're the reds and we'll be back. ■

Reagan/Begin Massacre...

(continued from page 4)

the Hebrew-speaking workers with that of the Arab workers in Israel and the occupied territories to bring down the Zionist state.

Palestinian national liberation cannot be achieved without coming to terms with the whole question of the relation of the Arab regimes to imperialism and the relation of the Palestinian struggle to the Hebrew-speaking working class. The Arab regimes which mouth anti-Zionist rhetoric, whether Ba'athist colonels or Bedouin sheiks, are inextricably linked to imperialism no matter how "radical" their verbiage. They are neither willing nor able to struggle against the artificial national divisions created by imperialism, which constitute the very foundation of their existence. Today Arafat seeks to carve out his own state under imperialist sponsorship, a "Balfour Declaration" like the one granted by the British for Zionist settlement in Palestine. But it is only the alliance of the Hebrew-speaking workers with the Arab proletarians throughout the region which can achieve national justice for all the geographically interpenetrated peoples of the area by sweeping away the Zionist state and the precarious Arab regimes in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East.

It is only the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League which fights for this Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution. The rest of the U.S. left is busy as usual tailing the PLO, hailing the events in Lebanon as a "victory" and pushing Pax Americana. At their

Mingam/Gamma



Butchers Begin and Haddad.

August educational conference in Oberlin, Ohio, Socialist Workers Party spokesman Malik Miah congratulated Yasir Arafat for "placing the PLO in the strongest political position for the next phase of the struggle." But probably the most active cheerleader for the PLO has been Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, which initially called for "effective U.S. action" to achieve Israeli withdrawal. Only as the U.S. Marines were going in to disarm the PLO did the Marcyites call for U.S. troops out. Subsequently they issued a leaflet in the name of their front group, the People's Anti-War Mobilization, which picked up Arafat's argument that the Marines should never have been withdrawn:

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

But it was not the "guarantee" and the withdrawal of the Marines that led to the slaughter, but the entry of the Marines into Beirut to *disarm the PLO*. As over El Salvador, the Marcyites want to pressure U.S. imperialism to do the impossible—carry out a "progressive" foreign policy. Meanwhile the pro-Moscow Communist Party calls for a "peacekeeping" force supplied by the UN—the organization that partitioned Palestine and has since provided the border guards for every act of Zionist expansionism.

In opposition to these fake-lefts, the

SL/SYL has initiated and organized demonstrations on campuses around the country around the slogans: Protest Zionist Holocaust! No Imperialist Troops to Lebanon! Our struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East is a struggle to *smash* Zionism and imperialism. This requires political struggle against PLO nationalism and its treacherous reformist tails—forces which, because of their reliance on imperialism, can only betray the national aspirations of the Palestinian masses. It is through the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, that the victims of the Zionist Holocaust will be avenged! ■

SYL Protests...

(continued from page 5)

leave immediately, others argued to remain. An ASA spokesman finally took the mike to express their position of unconditional support for the PLO. At the forum, an ASA spokesman replied to our criticisms of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism by proclaiming the existence of "true communists" in the PLO. But as the SL speaker pointed out, the "Marxist" factions of the PLO push the Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" theory of revolution—first a "secular, democratic," i.e., *bourgeois*, Palestine, then (in reality, never) class struggle for socialism. This "strategy" simply subordinates the "communist" PLO factions to Arafat and consequently to the imperialists on whom he relies. Ostensible communists who have embraced this strategy have helped to place in power so-called "anti-imperialist" bourgeois regimes which then proceed to slaughter leftists—as those leftists who supported Khomeini in Iran have belatedly and tragically discovered.

Citing the anti-Semitic terror bombings of Jewish establishments in Western Europe, SYL spokesman Sharon Beagles pointed out at the CCNY rally that "Begin's blitzkrieg and Nazi-like massacres in West Beirut inflame anti-Semitism." The Zionist regime's claim to speak for all Jews provides grist for the propaganda mills of anti-Semites and creates a climate in which fascist terrorism can thrive. As the comrade pointed out, "Labor must mobilize to crush the fascist scum!" Signs at our demonstrations pointed out that the fate of Jews is "indissolubly linked with the emancipation of the international proletariat," quoting Leon Trotsky in opposition to Zionism.

Voicing outrage at the slaughter in Shatila and Sabra, opposing the bloody imperialist troops, championing the national rights of the Palestinian people while opposing the PLO's treacherous nationalism—the SYL-organized demonstrations were in many cases the *only organized protest* against the Zionist Holocaust in West Beirut. This is not simply because we are activists, but also because our Trotskyist political perspective equipped us to respond in a way that none of the nationalists and reformists—placing their hopes in the "peacekeeping" imperialists—could. Smash Zionist Genocide! Israeli Troops, U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon! ■

SYL Forum

**No to the Anti-Soviet Draft!
Not One Man,
Not One Penny for the
Imperialist Army!**

Speaker:
Sam Price,
SL Central Committee

Thursday, October 14, 12 noon
2408 Ackerman Union
UCLA

For more information call (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Racist Terror!

Jail the Killers of UW Nigerian Student Sani Tela!

The following statement was distributed as a leaflet by the Spartacus Youth League in Madison, Wisconsin. Over 900 copies were given out on the first day of distribution, Monday October 4.

Racist "justice" has been the order of the day in Menomonie and Stevens Point, Wisconsin. Race terrorists have been given virtual *carte blanche* following the brutal murder of Sani Tela, a Nigerian student attending the University of Wisconsin at Stout. On June 19, Tela was beaten by racist thugs, run over by a car and left unconscious in the alley of a local tavern. He had been there earlier with a white woman. Now, four months later, no one has been arrested or charged with Tela's murder. An autopsy released by the Nigerian consulate revealed that he had suffered "multiple widespread blunt injuries." Menomonie police chief Wayne Heikala claims Tela's death was "apparently" the result of a hit-and-run accident! Jail the killers of Sani Tela!

Also the scene of racist terror this summer was Stevens Point, another rural Wisconsin town at which the University has a campus. On July 3, four Nigerian students were viciously beaten at the "Outer Limits," a bar owned by ex-sheriff Henry Duda. Tony Isua was pulled to the ground and kicked; he has been hospitalized twice for operations on his smashed kneecap. The injury is permanent. Police reports contain not a *single word* to indicate a physical attack had taken place or that any injuries had been sustained. Two men have been charged in the Stevens Point case. Michael Stremkowsky has just received 21 days in jail, a year's probation and... 96 hours volunteer work with the International Student Association! How warmly the ISA must welcome their new "volunteer." Paul Wojtalewicz has yet to be sentenced and is free on bail.

A reporter for the campus newspaper at Stevens Point and friend of one of the Nigerian students attacked last July, Joe Stinson, broke the black-out on the case. While blatant racist and cop killings of scores of black youth typically go unreported in the press, are whitewashed by the cops and so forth,

the Nigerian students' government did send an Embassy representative, Mahmud Bauchi, to Wisconsin. Initially, Bauchi contributed to the cover-up and was quoted on the front page of the *Stevens Point Journal* (17 July) as saying, "this is not a racially motivated incident." He did not long hold that position; a photocopy of a letter from Bauchi to Stevens Point Police Chief Hucke obtained by station WWSP reads in part, "You are no doubt aware that Nigerian students are so scared of the police that they could not report any incident of racial prejudice by the community." Subsequent hearings held by the NAACP have brought forth story after story of racist intimidation, degradation and the constant threat of violence faced by the small minority and foreign student population. Testifying at such a hearing this August, Ezieme Anyaogu reported that police have told

UW students; Stevens Point is 85 percent Polish Catholic. In an interview with *Young Spartacus*, Stinson told us "There's a big Solidarity [Solidarność] movement up here which is backed primarily by the American Legion and the VFW." As we have previously reported, hundreds of "freedom-loving" supporters of the anti-Communist Solidarność have emigrated to that "beacon of liberty," apartheid South Africa. The convergence of Cold War and racist reaction is all too real in Reagan's America. Most ominously, if such acts of violent racist terror are allowed to go unanswered, fascist movements like the Klan become emboldened, recruit and grow. The KKK/Nazis thrive on atrocities such as occurred in Menomonie, just as they fed on Greensboro. The neo-fascist Posse Comitatus won 16,000 votes for its Wisconsin senatorial candidate in 1980.

organizations of the workers and oppressed. Who runs the state? The likes of Chief Hucke and Ronald Reagan. But, the racist thugs would definitely think twice about so much as looking cross-eyed at a black person if they were "educated" by integrated teams of UW students, workers from Milwaukee, Racine and Chicago who made it their job to stop the racist attacks.

Over 3,000 black and white workers, youth, gays, socialists turned out in response to the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's call for a mass anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago last June. The Nazis did not get away with their planned provocation against a Gay Pride demonstration; the only protection the fascists had from the wrath of the protesters was the Chicago P.D. The killers of Sani Tela must be jailed, but real justice can only be accomplished through workers revolu-

Workers Vanguard Photo



Chicago, June 27: 3,000 at Spartacist-initiated anti-Nazi mobilization.

black students to stay away from the bars. "I stay in my apartment," he said. "It is not a personal choice. It is to try not to have a problem with anybody—a problem of fighting or being discriminated against." (*Wisconsin State Journal*, 4 August)

Small Town, USA: stark, brutal and murderous racism. Both Stout/Menomonie and Stevens Point are lily white with the exception of some of the

These racist outrages must be stopped cold! Who's going to do that? Not the cops, certainly. Not the courts or the phony "investigatory" committees or the professional whitewashers from the state. In its letter of September 1 to the *Cardinal* [UW Madison newspaper] Progressive Labor/International Committee Against Racism demands that "the KKK be outlawed." No! Those "laws" will only be used against the

tion against the whole sick, racist capitalist system. Labor/black mobilizations such as the Chicago anti-Nazi demonstration are critically necessary and effective against racist terror on the road to the only ultimate solution: revolution. Protest Racist "Justice"! Jail the Killers of Sani Tela! Smash Racist Attacks from Menomonie to Greensboro Through Labor/Black Mobilizations! ■

Spartacus Youth League Directory

SYL National Office: Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008

Ann Arbor: SYL, P.O. Box 8364, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or call (313) 662-2339

Berkeley/Oakland: SYL, Box 273, Civic Center Station, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (415) 835-1535

Boston: SYL, Box 188, M.I.T. Station, Cambridge, MA 02139, or call (617) 492-3928

Champaign-Urbana: SYL, P.O. Box 2009, Champaign-Urbana, IL 61820

Chicago: SYL, Box 4667, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680, or call (312) 427-0003

Cleveland: SYL, Box 6642, Cleveland, OH 44101, or call (216) 621-5138

Detroit: SYL, Box 32028, Detroit, MI 48232, or call (313) 961-1680

Houston: SYL, c/o SL, Box 26474, Houston, TX 77207

Los Angeles: SYL, Box 29115, Los Feliz Station, Los Angeles, CA 90029, or call (213) 663-1216 or 1217

Madison: SYL, Box 2074, Madison, WI 53701, or call (608) 251-3398

New York: SYL, Box 444, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 267-1025

San Francisco: SYL, Box 11685, San Francisco, CA 94101, or call (415) 863-6963

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto: Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8, or call (416) 593-4138

Vancouver: Box 26, Station A, Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2L8, or call (604) 681-2422

Spartacus Youth League Class Series

BOSTON
Basic Marxism
Harvard University
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 6, 20, November 3
Philips Brooks House

UMass Boston
Alternate Wednesdays, 2:30 p.m.
October 6, 20, November 3
Harbor Campus 2-1-415
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
The ABCs of Marxism
Dates and time to be announced
University of Illinois, Circle Campus
For more information: (312) 427-0003

MADISON
The ABCs of Marxism
Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 7, 14, 21, 28, November 4
Memorial Union, UW
(See "Today in the Union" for room)
For more information: (608) 251-3398

OBERLIN
The Fight for Socialism
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m.
October 7, 21, November 4
Oberlin College
For more information: (216) 621-5138



Spartacist Candidates...

(continued from page 12)

League and this campaign as a real alternative.

YSp: Ritchie, you witnessed the Mahwah Ford plant closure, and *Workers Vanguard* reported 43 companies have shut down in the last year in San Francisco. Unemployment among American youth is over 20 percent and over 50 percent among black youth. What do you have to say to youth who want jobs and a decent future?

Bradley: What the American working class needs and what youth in this country also need is a party that will fight for the interests of the working class and that will fight for the interests of youth, that would create jobs and fight for open admissions on college campuses so that youth could receive the kind of education that you need.

Five thousand workers lost their jobs in the Mahwah plant. It was closed down, and the union leadership's response was that the workers should not do anything to jeopardize their [severance] benefits. And the next thing was that we should write to our Congressmen. Well, the workers wrote to their Congressmen and they got nothing. They lost everything—their jobs, their homes and some of them even lost their families. My experience from all this is that you should fight. We must fight for sit-down strikes against plant closures, against layoffs and fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

The caucus that I was involved in at Mahwah put forward a program calling for sitdown strikes. And I'm saying this too to the members of the CWA [Communications Workers]: You still have your jobs, fight for your jobs. It is very important. And sitdown strikes are the most effective way to fight to save your jobs.

YSp: Ritchie, you were involved last spring in protesting the stabbing of Doris Collum, a black student at San Francisco State. Over the summer her assailant, Richard Moss, was acquitted by an all-white jury. How do you interpret this verdict?

Bradley: First let me say this, [in 1979] there were five people shot down on national television in Greensboro, North Carolina for protesting against the Klan and Nazis. And this was all under a Democratic administration. Jimmy Carter was the president who was responsible for the acquittal of these Klansmen and Nazis who shot down five people in Greensboro.

Today [Klan leader] David Duke has said that the Reagan program could have been written by Klansmen in the country. If Richard Moss were a black man who had stabbed a white woman, you had better believe that he would be in jail today. The verdict was very disgusting and could only have come about because Jimmy Carter paved the way for Ronald Reagan. And this is the type of thing that's happening under the Reagan administration. I think that Richard Moss should be jailed.

Coleman: Only in San Francisco do you have eco-freak racism. In most parts of the country they're just straight-out racists, but in San Francisco they tell that they stabbed a black woman in the chest with a knife because they were concerned about smoking, air pollution. We have said for a long time that this kind of petty-bourgeois frenzy for ecology could go to the right as well as the left.

YSp: Communist Party member Angela Davis, who is a professor at San Francisco State, is probably the best-known "communist" candidate in this country. In what ways does your campaign differ most sharply with her previous campaigns?

Bradley: On this bill that the Communist Party has been pushing, do you really believe that Ronald Reagan is going to ban the Klan when David Duke has said that Reagan's program could have been written by any Klansman or any Nazi in this country? The working class is very aware that the state is not going to defend them from the Klan and Nazis. What is really needed is a mass mobilization of the working class to stop the Klan and Nazis. The Communist Party also has a history of voting for the lesser evil. So under Reagan the Communist Party would vote strictly Democrat. That has been their history back to Roosevelt.

Coleman: Angela Davis is seen by many people in this country as the best-known Communist. But, in fact, when she was best known really, right after her trial, they did not run her for office because they were worried that it would take votes from the Democratic Party. Their campaigns are essentially stalking horses for the Democratic Party, because if you don't place any confidence in the working class to fight in their own name and to fight for power, then you rely on the "lesser-evil" bourgeois candidates.

In her last campaign [in 1980] Angela Davis, whenever she was asked about the Soviets going into Afghanistan, said: "You're just redbaiting me. I'm not going to answer that question." This is counterposed to the Spartacist League's very up-front defense of the Red Army in Afghanistan. We said: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan. We very clearly felt that the Red Army moving into Afghanistan to support the left-nationalist government there was the best thing that ever happened to that country. It was a progressive move for the women, for the working class and peasantry. If that country were pulled out of religious obscurantism, where the women have to wear the veil and are bought and sold as cattle, that was all to the good. So we took the question head on.

But the Communist Party combines the worst elements of everything. They defend the Soviet bureaucracy, where we call for proletarian political revolution to overthrow them. They support the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy, pushing the idea that there can be détente between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. This is not true. U.S. imperialism is on an anti-Soviet war drive. They want to return the Soviet Union to capitalism. They see this as a way out for the very degenerate capitalist regime that we see today in the United States. This is what Reagan's talk about nuclear war against the Soviet Union means. We call for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

It is this war drive that determines the domestic situation in this country. Those who don't fight the anti-Soviet war drive are not going to fight the class struggle at home. We see this with the Democratic Party. They basically support the anti-Soviet war drive. So they support the budget cuts, will support union-busting and so on. We see this with the labor bureaucracy. These guys are Cold Warriors from way back. They were fighting Communism when Ronald Reagan was making *Bedtime for*

Bonzo. They support the anti-Soviet war drive and they don't fight the class struggle at home.

YSp: The nuclear freeze initiative is on the ballot here in California. Please explain your position on this.

Coleman: The nuclear freeze initiative is no answer. It is a bourgeois diversion from the real class struggle that must go on in this country. Although many young people have participated in the recent demonstrations because they are worried about getting atomized, nevertheless, this initiative and the movement is no answer. In fact, the people running this movement are certifiable war criminals from the Vietnam era. I remember them. They were the ones pushing dropping napalm on Vietnam, Agent Orange all over that country, and they were the ones who saw almost two million people killed in Vietnam. These are not pacifists, these are warmongers. They have a different strategy than the ones in the White House. They want to do it by conventional weapons, but they want to continue the anti-Soviet war drive just the same.

The nuclear freeze initiative talks about national security, that it is for national security. We are not for the national security of the United States. We are for defending the Soviet Union from imperialist attack. These people are interested in getting the Soviet Union, but by slightly different methods. So we say that there can be no peace except by disarming the bourgeoisie of this country, and the only way that working-class people can do that is by taking state power in their own name. There is no way to change the imperialist war aims of this government, of a capitalist government except by assuming state power in the name of the working class.

YSp: What does your election program have to offer the students and youth of America?

Bradley: Revolution and sex.

Coleman: The Spartacist League is America's last best hope. The choices posed to us are socialism or barbarism. Go see the movie *Road Warriors* and you will see what the future is if there is a nuclear war. This is what Reagan is very directly putting forth. Every day you can hear Reagan talking about how he wants a "limited nuclear war," "protracted nuclear war," a small nuclear bomb dropped on Europe just for "demonstration" purposes. The future for students and young workers is the unemployment line and ultimately being atomized in the service of Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union. We say that you had better struggle. You better look to a revolutionary party, which is the Spartacist League and is not to be found anywhere else. And you better fight for your future because there isn't going to be one if you don't fight.

Bradley: The militancy of the students does exist. But it must be linked to the labor movement. The students must realize that the labor movement has the power to bring about a workers party in this country. That's what the Spartacist League stands for and that's what Coleman and Bradley are pushing in this campaign. The workers need their own party to represent the interests of the working class, not the Democrats or the Republicans.

Coleman: When I was doing civil rights work in Mississippi in 1965, one of the important things I saw there was the power of the labor movement. I was a student and many of the people working in SNCC were also students. We went down and we integrated lunch counters, held demonstrations and so on. The word came from the International Longshoreman's Association in Gulfport, Miss., which was mostly black or all black, that if any of us were arrested, if any of us were hurt, they were going to call a strike and shut down the docks. And, believe me, none of us were arrested and none of us were hurt.

So I saw in a concrete way that the power of the labor movement meant something. It meant that youth and students who were fighting in a good cause, when they were backed up by the labor movement, had the power to change things. If you don't see the labor movement behind [you], no matter what good ideas you fight for, there's not going to be change in this country. We say that the labor movement has the power to fight in this country and to overturn that capitalist system which has oppressed all of us. ■

Dellums...

(continued from page 12)

right now involved in a genocidal attack on Palestinians in West Beirut.... The people who you politically vote with, your organization [the DSA], has been pushing a country which stands for racist genocide! Which is why it allies with South Africa. You're also a member of the Democratic Party and I say that if you hang out with this kind of scum... you are part of the problem of nuclear armaments. And the only thing that's going to disarm and stop the arms race is when the workers rise up and make a revolution and destroy the profit system which is based on it."

Rattled, Dellums could only sputter:

"I think it's bullshit. I'm extremely angry about what you said because I let [!] you engage in a diatribe that has challenged my person, that has challenged my integrity...."

Becoming more hysterical, Dellums left while calling one of our black comrades "a Nazi punk"! This is pure irony—a leading pol in the Democratic Party (which ran a Klan Grand Dragon for Congress in southern California) denouncing a supporter of the SL (which has organized successful anti-Nazi/Klan actions from San Francisco to Detroit to Chicago) as a fascist!

But the day wasn't over for Mr. Dellums. Later that afternoon, at a rally in predominantly black East Oakland, the SL greeted Dellums and his special guest Teddy Kennedy with placards including "You can't fight Reagan with Democrats—Build a workers party!" and "Democrats—party of Hiroshima, Bay of Pigs, Vietnam!" A scowling Dellums walked past our comrades, while Kennedy chose to sneak in the back door to give his pitch for electing more Democrats.

The SL/SYL will continue our exposure of the Dellums and the Kennedys who seek to keep the down-trodden black masses and working people chained to the capitalist system via the Democratic Party. The Spartacist campaign for Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley is part of the effort to break the working class and oppressed from illusions in the twin parties of capital. For a class-struggle workers party! ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00



**American
Workers Revolution
Needs
Black Leadership**

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116

\$1.00

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.,
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

SYL Forum

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!

Featuring:
**Diana Coleman and
Richard Bradley**
Spartacist Party Candidates
for S.F. Board of Supervisors

Tuesday, October 19, 12-3 p.m.
Student Union
S.F. State University
For more information call (415) 863-6963

SAN FRANCISCO

Young Spartacus

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!

Spartacist Candidates in S.F. We Need a Workers Party!

Workers Vanguard Photo



Diana Coleman campaigning at SF State University.

Below we print an interview with Spartacist candidates for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley. Coleman, an active union militant for ten years with experience in the civil rights, antiwar and women's liberation movements, received 7,000 votes in the 1980 Supervisor elections. Bradley was an activist in the southern civil rights movement; in 1967 he was among the embattled black students who were the first ever admitted to the University of South Carolina. It was while working on the assembly line at Ford in Mahwah, New Jersey that Bradley was won to the revolutionary views of the SL, particularly as opposed to the reformist schemes of the Communist Party. When the Ford plant faced total shutdown, Bradley led a fight for factory seizures and an industry-wide strike.

YSp: Recently it was reported that 75 percent of the voters in San Francisco are registered Democrats. How are you trying to reach voters with your aggressively anti-Democratic Party program?

Coleman: We're trying to reach people on the basis of what people know, that Reagan is fighting a war against labor and minorities in this country and if

Reagan is fighting that war, then the field marshals of the war have been the big-city Democratic mayors, and [San Francisco mayor Dianne] Feinstein is right in there with the rest of them, from breaking the city workers strike in 1976 to pushing gun control here in San Francisco. And as we said at the hearing on the question, if guns are banned, only the cops and the Klan will have guns. So the Republicans are trying to take away working people's jobs and the Democrats are trying to take away their guns.

As for the fake lefts, who have supported the Democratic Party or are in the Democratic Party, Harry Britt is on the Board of Supervisors and is in the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). He ran as a gay Democrat. When gays came down to city hall complaining of police violence against gays and the [anti-gay] violence in general, Harry Britt's solution was to send more cops into the Castro, presumably to protect gays. But cops in this city, like in every other city around the country, haven't protected gays or any of the oppressed.

In campaigning so far we have found that when we say that the Democrats are no answer to the Republicans, we have not found anyone who disagreed with us. We haven't found one black person, one working-class person who stood up for the Democrats and said, "Yes, these people really represent my interests." Not one. What they basically said is that they're not sure that our solution will work. We want to combat that apathy and passivity and the pessimism that people have and that is what this campaign is about.

Contrasted with two years ago when I ran for Board of Supervisors, one difference is noticeable and that is the receptivity from the rank and file of the labor movement is much greater. People are much more interested in this campaign and much more interested in what a workers party would mean. And [they] want to struggle in their unions. And the corresponding interest from the workers is reflected in hatred from the labor bureaucracy. These guys are on the defensive. They're supporting the Democratic Party 100 percent and they're very defensive about anyone who stands as an alternative to that. I think that their hatred is a measure of how much they see the Spartacist

continued on page 11

Workers Vanguard Photo



DSA Democrat Dellums confronted by Spartacist candidate Richard Bradley (right).

Spartacist to Dellums: "You're Part of the Problem"

Running for re-election on the slogan, "Time to take up the challenge," liberal black Democrat and Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) member Ron Dellums got a challenge he couldn't meet—the communist criticism and exposure by supporters of the Spartacist League (SL). At a September 25 discussion on the California "nuclear freeze" ballot proposition held in Richmond, Dellums was nailed by Richard Bradley, Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Commenting on Dellums' recent lament that the black Democratic Party hustlers haven't been able to get out the black vote, Bradley stated:

"Recently at the Congressional Black Caucus there was a comment made by Congressman Dellums and I hope he responds to this. He said, 'Black people in this country over the last two years have been docile to the point of embarrassment.' What I have to say about it is that black people have seen what the Democratic and Republican parties have done to blacks in this country, what they have done to the working class...and what they are going to continue to do. 'For instance, the big cities in this country all have Democratic mayors—San Francisco: Feinstein; Detroit: Coleman Young; back to Chicago: Byrne; then go to Atlanta and you have Andrew Young. These are the people who have laid off the working class and cut back long before Reagan came to power. They just laid the basis for Reagan, and they continue to do the same thing.'

In his response, Dellums in his own way confirmed what the SL has been saying for some time—that the bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war

buildup ties the Democrats to Reagan's racist budget slashing. Dellums moaned:

"One of the frustrations that I have as a black man in the Democratic Party is that at this particular moment... one of the tragic realities is that we are not posing a significant alternative, have not posed a significant alternative."

In fact the Democrats have gone along with both the Reagan killer cuts and the massive increase in the war budget. Bradley pointed out that Dellums' "alternative" to the \$269 billion Reagan proposal was a "mere" \$200 billion! Dellums tried to justify this by saying that "the overwhelming amount of money is in the personnel side." Indeed! Money for example which is used to send the U.S. Marines to Lebanon—which Dellums and the pro-Zionist DSA proudly support. As for the liberal Democrats' sponsorship of the "nuclear freeze," the SL and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have stressed that this represents only a tactical difference with Reagan on how most efficiently to pursue the anti-Soviet war drive—a leaner military including, but not limited to, thermonuclear weapons.

DSA: Zionist Front Men

Dellums knows that there is little sympathy among blacks for the Israeli butchers and their fascist Lebanese Phalangist allies—and a lot of sympathy for the oppressed Palestinians. He thus went through the ceiling when another Spartacist spokesman said:

"You are a member of DSA which has historically supported Israel. Israel is

continued on page 11