

## Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!



Salvadoran guerrillas are not fighting to give up military victory for a "political solution" with the junta.

Granma

# High Noon in Central America

Two "free world" pseudo-elections in Central America last month backfired in the face of their American sponsors, marking a turning point in the radicalization of the guerrilla struggles in the isthmus. In Guatemala General Anibal Guevara ballot-stuffed his way to the presidency March 7 only to be uncereemoniously deposed two weeks later in a coup led by General Efraim Rios Montt, a "born again" religious nut who says god told him to do it. In El Salvador,

where the State Department had hoped to lend a little democratic luster to the U.S.' puppet junta, ex-Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, labeled a "pathological killer" by the last American ambassador, emerged as the man most likely to forge an ultra-rightist coalition government.

Faced with threats of U.S. intervention, the Salvadoran guerrillas, Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Cuban Stalinists have been trying to buy a little peaceful

coexistence from Reagan and Haig. But Central America is on the front line of the U.S. imperialists' Cold War offensive against the Soviet bloc. General Haig has proclaimed that the Salvadoran insurgency is "a global problem" originating in Moscow" (*Washington Post*, 14 March). And if the perspective of a negotiated "political solution" to El Salvador's civil war and Sandinista-State Department détente was a treacherous illusion before, now it has become

a naked call for suicide by the leftist forces. The lurch to the right as a result of the March elections poses pointblank the real alternatives in Central America: social revolution throughout the region or a peace of the graveyards.

### "Tropical Fascism"

In El Salvador last month Roberto ("Major Blowtorch") D'Aubuisson tried a novel twist on the common Latin

*continued on page 4*

## American Impotence Bared

# War Over the Falklands?

ADAPTED FROM  
SPARTACIST BRITAIN  
NO. 41, APRIL 1982

If it had happened one day earlier, many people hearing the news would have thought that it was just an April Fool's Day joke. Argentina has invaded the British colony of the Falkland Islands and now Britain is dispatching a fleet of 40-odd ships halfway around the world to salvage its tattered imperialist pride and maybe try to seize the islands back. "It's War!" screams the banner headline in the *Sun*. Hastily scrawled

blackboard messages at London tube and rail stations call on the Third Parachute Regiment, butchers of Derry's Bloody Sunday, to report for duty immediately. An unholy parliamentary alliance of the Labour Party and Tory backwoodsmen bays for Argentine blood. The xenophobic hysteria is real and dangerous but ought to take the prize as an example of capitalist irrationality.

Viewed from the White House it must seem positively sacrilegious. Just when you're trying to line up all of the righteous nations of the "free world" for holy war against the Soviets, they

all turn around and start to poke each others' eyes out. The Chinese have been sulking ever since Reagan tried to do the decent thing and ship in a few new modern arms to his old Kuomintang friends on Taiwan. Alexander Haig wants the Arabs to see that the Soviet Union is the biggest threat to peace in the Middle East. But they keep saying, "No, it's not. It's the Zionist expansionists" (as well as fighting among themselves). Now their best friend in Europe and one of their staunchest allies in Latin America are threatening to blow each others'

*continued on page 5*

Re: The March 27  
El Salvador  
Demonstration in  
Washington, D.C.

## The Main Enemy Was the Spartacist League



Pages 6-9



## Toni Randell Memorial

[Australia]

March 11

I just read the tribute to Toni Randell in *WV*. It was beautiful. So moving. When I first heard of comrade Toni's death I wondered, what can be said when a comrade dies? But so much more can be said of someone who lived in the only way possible. Most of the comrades here have of course never met Toni. They will benefit from reading about her. Some of us, funny, mostly amongst the women, wanted to put something in the last paper—not so much for anyone else, but for *our* comrades. We will in the next issue, and it will mean more for SL/ANZ comrades after they've read *WV*.

I didn't know Toni. But I'd met her several times, and I remember [a comrade] saying on a tape that it was hard to imagine how the PDC [Partisan Defense Committee] would continue when she was transferred to the coast. I remember her speaking on the same tape. I'd forgotten about the Logan trial... But what I remembered best was from when I first came into the party. Comrades, who like Toni, I met then, though never got to know seemed to me, and I guess still do, as people who would be there always, at the heart of the party's life. It must be true for every comrade that their impressions when they first join are never forgotten.

There is something in a book about Marx's youngest daughter that struck me when I read it a couple of years ago. Engels' wife had died. A strong woman, Irish, a worker. He loved her. Marx sent only a formal note of condolence. Engels was deeply hurt, so much so according to this book, that the wound in their friendship never quite healed. For Engels "condolences" meant nothing; he had expected the unique warmth and solidarity of comradeship.

N.C.

## Cries and Whimpers

March 29, 1982

Editors, *Workers Vanguard*:

The report of the Toni Randell memorial meeting in California (*WV* No. 300) states "the observation that comrade Toni had nothing but contempt for quitters actually triggered a walkout by some of the ex-members present." This is completely untrue. No such walkout occurred.



Toni Randell

I inquired of CC member Foster when the alleged "walkout" transpired. He said "after the Internationale was sung." Those who attended the California meeting will recall that after the Internationale was sung, everyone was invited to stay to socialize. Anyone familiar with Spartacist functions knows that the singing of the Internationale marks the formal closing of an event. People remain at socials or leave as they choose. In fact, fully one hour was given over to socializing at the California memorial before the testimonials actually began.

I came (and I assume others did as well) to pay my respects to a comrade who had given her life to the cause of revolution. I left after the formal closing of the memorial, marked by the singing of the Internationale.

As to Robertson-Foster-Randell despising so-called "quitters": while the SL can correctly maintain that continuing non-membership represents a difference on the party question, the blanket statement of hostility to comrades a number of whom devoted years to the SL and remain sympathizers is self-defeating. The SL's attitude stands in marked contrast to the patience with which Trotsky tried to regroup subjective revolutionaries from around the world during his years in exile. It also contrasts with Cannon's assessment of Lenin that part of his genius lay in his ability to build a party with the human beings at hand, imperfect though they were.

I urge you to retract your false reportage of the California "walkout."

Comradely,  
B.M.

*WV Replies:* The sniveling self-centered spirit of your letter shows that indeed we understood your gesture.

## Letter

### Israel Shahak: I Congratulate You.

21 October 1981

Dear friends of International Spartacist Tendency,

First I would like to congratulate you on your articles about "Solidarity." In addition to the brilliant analysis, you are here for me and my friends (of various opinions) the sole source of *important facts* about what really happens there—for example the connections with AFL-CIO was quite unknown here to everybody\*, until you have brought this fact to our attention. Together with my congratulations to you, I must reflect very adversely on so many groups here calling themselves by fancy names (like the "Matzpen") which are not only obsessed by "Solidarity," but systematically omit in their Hebrew publications about it every single fact that may open the eyes of their readers!

I would like to point out two things in those collections which in my opinion are specially important:

1) The spread of the settlements, by the Jewish middle class into the West-Bank. There was a lot of additional information about this in the last few weeks, which could not be included, and it is quite clear, that this is a strong tendency. Also, since the prices of such land are rising fast, speculation is developing.

2) The collection on the revival of the myth of the 'Jewish race.' Together with rapid increase of the Jewish fanaticism, this is a very important, and sinister, development!

Sincerely yours,  
Israel Shahak

\* for I am sharing your articles with several friends!

## PDC Fund Appeal

## Pro-Solidarność Vandals Deface Haymarket Monument

In 1886 four men in Chicago went to the gallows because they championed the rights of labor. A fifth died in his cell, either driven to suicide or killed by prison guards. Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer and Lingg—they were the Haymarket martyrs. They were leaders of the eight-hour day movement which was sweeping the country and which gave birth to May Day. In an attempt to drown that movement in blood the capitalist class, its courts and cops, framed and legally lynched these men. But as he stood before the hangman with the black hood pulled over his head, August Spies declared: "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today."

Their martyrdom was an inspiration to the burgeoning movement for the self-organization and unionization of labor. May Day, the holiday of the international working class, has become their memorial. On 25 June 1893, six years after their lynching, a monument to the martyred labor leaders was unveiled in the Forest Home Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois. This monument has often been a rallying place for May Day demonstrations in Chicago.

Supporters of Polish Solidarność chose to demonstrate their "Solidarity" by defacing this monument in December. In a vile anti-working-class exhibition white paint was poured over the head of the bronze statue marking the graves of labor's martyrs and "Solidarity" was spray-painted across the granite base in red. The link between the robber baron murderers of the Haymarket martyrs and the supporters of Poland's CIA-backed company "union" could not be more vividly portrayed. This act is in keeping with Solidarność' worship of Polish dictator Pilsudski, its appeal for membership in the imperialist bankers' International Monetary Fund, its praise for union-busting Reagan's America. Their brothers in Solidarność flee the "tyranny" of Poland for the



WV Photo

"freedom" of South Africa where their white skins entitle them to gorge on the spoils of the superexploitation of enslaved black labor.

Haymarket martyr George Engel, as he stood to be sentenced, said: "I hate and combat, not the individual capitalist, but the system that gives him those privileges. My greatest wish is working men may recognize who are their friends and who are their enemies."

We appeal to all those who stand by the elementary rights of labor and against Reagan's war drive for capitalist "rollback" in East Europe to aid in the restoration of the monument to the Haymarket martyrs. Contributions marked "Monument" should be sent to the Illinois Labor History Society, 20 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois 60605. ■

## Spartacist Educational Weekend

Topics:

From El Salvador to Detroit—  
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Break with the Democrats—  
For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

**Defend the Gains of the Russian Revolution!**

Political Revolution, Hungary 1956 vs.  
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## Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

# Begin's Annexation by Terror

Passover leaves canceled, reservists called up to replace regular soldiers on the Lebanese border, troop movements north. Israel is preparing for another invasion of southern Lebanon, using the pretext of its slain diplomat in Paris. While the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) disclaims responsibility for this act, it is the mass of Palestinian refugees in southern Lebanon who will pay. It's what the British used to call "collective reprisals" when they administered the Promised Land. Today the Zionists apply it to an entire people.

From the Israeli standpoint the time is propitious to strike. Syria is bogged down suppressing the Muslim Brotherhood and half a dozen other internal oppositions. Iraq is still tied down in its interminable war with Iran, and now it's losing. Egypt's president Mubarak will do nothing to seriously upset Begin, thereby giving Israel cause to delay its final pullout from the Sinai scheduled for April 25. And just as Israel annexed the Golan last December while everyone was watching Poland, now the Zionists are looking to invade Lebanon while the world is entertained by the British blockade of the Falklands.

It certainly hasn't been a good week for American imperialism. As he basked in the Caribbean sun, Reagan must have felt mighty frustrated that all his squalid reactionary allies won't quit fighting one another and unite in a holy war against Russian Communism. Still the Near East picture is not all black for Washington. The Pentagon has quietly slipped its Rapid Deployment Force into the Sinai as part of the "peace-keeping forces" to replace the Israeli army. U.S. imperialism thus has its armed forces right where it wants them, across a narrow strait from the oil fields of Saudi Arabia.

### Israeli Protests Against Zionist Terror

It is not however external, but rather internal conditions that are driving Zionist Israel toward war. Like the Argentine junta, the Begin regime needs to restore the "spirit of national unity." For a good portion of the Israeli population is deeply disturbed watching night after night of video clips of Israeli soldiers gunning down unarmed Palestinian youth while fanatical Zionist vigilantes armed with automatic weapons rampage through Arab villages. Late last month Israeli authorities and so-called Jewish "settlers," that is, kill-crazy psychopaths in prayer shawls, went on a reign of terror, killing at least six Palestinian youths and wounding dozens of others.

Then on April 11 an Israeli soldier, Alan Goodman (like "Eli the Wolf" an immigrant from the USA), shot his way into one of Jerusalem's holiest mosques, the Dome of the Rock, and sprayed it with machine-gun fire, killing at least two and wounding as many as 40. Israeli police and riot troops then moved in and attacked the Arabs who were trying to capture the mass murderer Goodman.

The rising wave of Zionist terror—of which the Dome of the Rock massacre is only the latest, most spectacular instance—and the prospect of imminent annexation have provoked the most massive protests on the West Bank since 1968. Perhaps more importantly, these protests have spread to Israel itself, even among elements of the Hebrew-speaking population. Israeli Arabs called a one-day general strike in solidarity with the West Bank Palestinians, and the predominantly Jewish and traditionally pro-Zionist "Peace Now"

movement brought 50,000 into the streets of Tel Aviv on March 27.

This was the largest demonstration by Hebrew-speaking Israelis against Zionist militarism in over two decades. Although the "Peace Now" demonstration was endorsed by a number of parliamentarians from the main Zionist party, the so-called Labor Alignment,

ments" like Shiloh, north of Jerusalem.

Tawil, along with fellow Palestinian West Bank mayors Bassam Shakaa and Kharim Khalaf, is an outspoken supporter of the PLO. The three mayors were targets of Zionist bomb attacks last June. While Tawil escaped unharmed, Khalaf lost a foot and Shakaa both his legs. When Israeli soldiers barred



Hebrew-speaking people and Palestinians protest Begin's terror on West Bank. "Peace Now" demonstration in Tel Aviv, March 27 draws 50,000 (top).

the slogans raised went beyond what passes for liberalism in today's Israel. Among them were "No to Occupation," "Begin Go Home" and even "Golan is Syrian," the latter actually being illegal in Zionist Israel. Furthermore, at both demonstrations the PLO flag was unfurled, an act of unprecedented daring for Israeli Arabs.

The protests on the West Bank began in March when Israeli authorities dissolved the town council of El Birch and replaced the elected Palestinian mayor, Ibrahim Tawil, with an Israeli army officer. The pretext was Tawil's refusal to meet with a newly established "civilian administration" which had replaced the military one, clearly a prelude to extending direct Israeli rule over the West Bank. The dismissal notice was delivered by a squadron of Israeli army officers who charged into Tawil's office and marched him out at gunpoint. This provoked the traditional West Bank protest: Arab merchants shuttered their shops and students boycotted classes. The Israeli army responded by forcing merchants to reopen their shops and shooting into crowds of stone-throwing youths. Backing up and egging on the soldiery were armed Jewish fanatics from "settle-

Shakaa from the Nablus town hall they mocked the crippled mayor for being "half a man." He retorted, "You have lost your head" (*Newsweek*, 5 April).

The West Bank mayors were elected to office when the occupation was run by the Labor Alignment, which despite its name was for many years the main bourgeois Zionist party. The denial of the Palestinian right of self-determination and the creation of Zionist settlements on the West Bank as "accomplished facts" is very much a *bi-partisan* policy. Labor differs from Begin's supporters in proposing to ring the West Bank with settlements, avoiding for now the densely populated Palestinian areas. Begin and his superhawk defense minister Ariel Sharon, on the other hand, are moving to implant groups of armed Zionist fanatics right next to the major West Bank cities and towns, ultimately to drive the Palestinian population out through terror.

### For Proletarian Internationalism

There is no questioning the just anger and courage of the Palestinian youth—subjected to every humiliation and outrage by the Zionists—who attacked armed Israeli convoys with nothing but rocks. And it certainly took courage for

the Israeli Arabs and "Peace Now" demonstrators to display PLO flags in the heart of Tel Aviv, an act of "sedition" in Begin's Israel. Yet without a proletarian revolutionary perspective this kind of courage can produce only martyrs, not victories.

The limitations of the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the PLO were clearly seen in the two-week West Bank general strike, which was restricted to schools, shops and small businesses. The 80,000 West Bank Palestinians who commute daily to jobs in Israel and who are increasingly a strategic, if super-exploited, part of the Israeli labor force, continued to work throughout the strike. Even Palestinians who work for Israeli construction companies building settlements in the West Bank did not, by and large, down tools. Therefore the strike, limited to the Palestinian communities, starved itself out without throttling the Israeli economy.

The Arab general strike within Israel was led by the pro-Moscow Stalinist Rakah, a genuinely bi-national party with some roots in the Israeli proletariat. Yet due to its reformism and nationalism (more precisely bi-nationalism, both Palestinian and Zionist), Rakah made no effort to spread the strike beyond the Arab communities, made no appeal to Israeli Arabs as workers and also no appeal to the Hebrew-speaking proletariat. The result was that the Stalinist-led general strike of Israeli Arabs was just as middle-class as the West Bank pro-PLO protests.

Significantly, however, the West Bank general strike in response to the Dome of the Rock massacre for the first time included Arab migrant workers who work in Israel proper. As for the petty-bourgeois "Peace Now" movement, it is traditionally pro-Zionist and has not generally opposed the Israeli presence in the occupied West Bank so long as this occupation is peaceful. Yet the militant slogans carried in its demonstration (e.g., the illegal "Golan is Syrian") indicate a certain radicalization in this milieu as Begin threatens the entire Near East with disaster.

What is needed in both the West Bank and Israel is a bi-national workers party to break both the Arab and Hebrew-speaking proletariats from the dead end of nationalism and mobilize them for common class struggle. Such a revolutionary party would demand: Imperialist troops out of the Sinai! Israel out of the occupied territories! For the right of self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew-speaking peoples! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 303

16 April 1982







# Falklands...

(continued from page 1)

respective navies to pieces over a collection of barely inhabited islands and rocks in the South Atlantic.

Certainly the international proletariat may take some grim satisfaction if the Argentinians and British did succeed in destroying a good part of each others' fleets. Especially the toiling masses of Central America who will recall that Thatcher and Argentine dictator Galtieri are among the handful who backed the junta's election of Friday in El Salvador by sending observers; that the British task force will include ships that have just finished taking part in NATO provocations against Cuba and Nicaragua in the Caribbean; and that the Argentinians have been pushing for a role in Central America, including in covert counter-revolutionary operations in Nicaragua.

In the two weeks that it will take the British armada to reach the Falklands a more peaceful solution may well be found. But both Margaret Thatcher and General Leopoldo Galtieri have considerable domestic prestige staked. Both governments are likely to be made sharply aware, if they have forgotten it in the heat of the moment, that in this part of the world it is the U.S. which calls the shots. The Americans will get the bases they need whichever way and whatever murmurs of sympathy may come from the White House at Britain's discomfiture.

The painful memory of "cousin's" disapproval at the time of the Suez fiasco still haunts the Tory party 26 years of imperial decline later. And what decline. John Nott declared for the Cabinet that the "British armed forces do not surrender." But even taking into account the thinness of the red line, they didn't seem to hold out very long at all.

As some Tory backbenchers are at pains to point out Britain does not have the military capacity to defend indefinitely, or even in the present conditions in the short term, a group of islands some 8,000 miles away. Hence, British diplomacy has been attempting for several years to get rid of the Falkland Islands problem. For the Argentinian junta to use the military hardware so willingly provided by British and U.S. imperialism for any other purpose than the legitimate oppression of the working class, however, just wasn't cricket.

Western bankers, meanwhile, are quite upset over the payments freeze decreed by Thatcher, particularly because Argentina's \$34 billion in foreign debts far exceed her assets abroad. And the Americans complained that the Common Market nations' quick action against Argentina contrasted with their reluctance to impose sanctions on Poland. The Russians, for their part, have had an essentially trivial pro-Argentina tilt. Not because of the Kurile Islands or some other tertiary issue, but because they are glad to see two American allies at each others' throats. By and large, the Soviets tend to have



Pettingill

"Anti-imperialist" objective? 650,000 Falkland sheep. Thatcher says the British don't surrender. British marines on the ground after Argentine invasion of Falklands (right).



Agencia ILA

more respect for "international law" than do the Americans (witness their cool attitude toward the Khomeinists' seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran).

The Falkland Islands—Islas Malvinas to the Argentinians—with a population of 650,000 sheep, probably the world's biggest colony of penguins and 1,815 English-speaking fishermen and sheep farmers, are hardly the jewel of anyone's empire. In an imperialist world it is too much to expect that they could be left alone to fish, graze sheep and entertain the occasional genuine sci-

entific expedition. Besides reportedly rich fishing waters there are now unconfirmed reports of vast oil reserves in the area, though the technology to tap this is still not perfected. As well the islands have some strategic importance. Witness the major naval engagements fought in the vicinity in both world wars.

In a sense the islanders are the victims of the situation but their problem is that they want to be part of the British Empire, an empire that no longer exists. Were it the case that the Falklanders simply wanted the right not to be part of Argentina then there is no reason why they should be forced to be. But their belief in the virtues of British sovereignty has turned into a cruel joke at their own expense.



Somos

Buenos Aires, March 30: Bloody junta represses mass labor protests at home, then whips up a "national unity" diversion over Malvinas.

Nor is the Argentine attack a matter of Argentina's self-determination or of its national consolidation. Throughout the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans are hundreds of uninhabited or sparsely populated islands which were seized by major European imperialists and later the U.S. These safe anchorages, coaling stations and staging posts changed hands as the respective powers' influence ebbed or grew. With the decline of the European empires local powers developed their own ambitions. Across the world, in the Maldives for example, the native populations must be wondering whose troops might come wading ashore on their beaches.

The vague anti-colonial question involved in the Falkland Islands dispute is generally misplaced. As is the question of "self-determination" for the Falkland Islanders: 1,800 sheepherders do not a people make. In general, the

right of self-determination becomes attenuated when either the area or the population density becomes very small. Do the sparse inhabitants of the Gobi Desert have the right to self-determination? The desires of the dwindling population of the Falklands are a real factor, but marginal. Some provision should certainly be made for those who wish to return to Britain. For the Argentinian junta under General Galtieri the Falklands invasion is a vital focus of national unity in the face of developing internal unrest over the catastrophic state of the economy. Just a few days before the attack there was a 15,000-strong demonstration organised by the General Confederation of Labour in Buenos Aires with large-scale arrests. Besides his efforts to get involved in El Salvador, Galtieri earned his reputation butchering left-wing guerrillas and wants a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation with South Africa. Nationalist fervour in Argentina is undoubtedly being fueled by the memory of being treated as an economic colony of Britain before World War I. But Galtieri may also soon turn his attention to settling the dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel. Those

still alive among the thousands of leftists and trade unionists who have disappeared under the junta may well find the first fruit of taking the Malvinas is the establishment of an Argentinian Robben Island on one or more of the barren outcrops. The Argentinian proletariat must oppose the generals' nationalist appeals and get on with the struggle to smash the bloody junta.

But if the Argentine invasion is being used for national unity purposes in Buenos Aires, so too the Labour Party in Britain is milking the issue to make despicable patriotic propaganda in league with the most warmongering Tory backbenchers. Over the weekend Parliament held its first such emergency sitting since Suez. There that "inveterate peacemaker" Michael Foot combined with the worst Tory Colonel Blimps to denounce Thatcher's betrayal of the Falkland Islanders. Naturally the revolting display of jingoism that united left and right in the Labour Party (Tony Benn was reportedly to be seen in Parliament sporting a tie of the Royal Naval Reserve) was cloaked under the call to defend the Falklanders' "right to self-determination" against the "tinpot dictators" of Argentina.

Ever since "poor little Belgium," social democracy has covered its support for imperialist militarism with the same demagoguery. Already Tory backwoodsmen are shrieking that the seizure of the Falkland Islands proves the need for increased defence expenditure and minimally no cuts in the Royal Navy, a line which will no doubt find its echo in the Labour Party as the social chauvinists plead for nuclear disarmament on the grounds that it undermines Britain's conventional defence. We demand that Britain get out of all its colonies from the Falklands to Hong Kong. We say not a penny, not a man for the imperialist armed forces, and we emphasise that it is the duty of the British working class to oppose, lock, stock and barrel, any British military adventure in the South Atlantic. ■

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# The Main Enemy Was the Spartacist League

## Letters, Exchanges, Statements and an Editorial Reply

As the world is plunged deeper into this second intensification of the Cold War between the power blocs headed respectively by the United States and the Soviet Union, so correspondingly the tasks of proletarian revolutionists become more obviously urgent and their organizations more evidently important, and correspondingly precarious. Particularly since in this second round of international confrontation the Americans have lost blanket hegemony within their own camp; the Soviet Union has acquired a rough parity in weaponry; the international capitalist economy is currently experiencing a severe recession; and the semi-colonial sector of the world appears to be in the grip of endemic upheaval.

The view from the Kremlin is also grim: the loss of China as an ally, now turned into a potential military junior bloc partner of the Americans; the festering sores of a bureaucratically administered nationalized economy, which have grown to the point where they sharply diminish Soviet economic capacity overall, in the face of the American-instituted vastly increased arms race; the peoples of the Soviet Union desperately eager to enjoy something of the always promised, but minimally delivered, enhancement in their standard of living. In East Europe these mass economic appetites reinforce a nationalism sharpened by the keen realization that bureaucratic incompetents keep them from enjoying the good life (which they imagine that all the masses of the West enjoy, not just privileged sectors). In Poland, given the uniquely strong role of the Roman Catholic church and the enlistment of the bulk of both the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie in the now-suppressed Solidarność, martial law has but frozen into temporary immobility a full-scale social crisis in which counterrevolutionary elements had come to predominate.

Surely the objective basis exists for working-class social revolution throughout the capitalist sector, and political revolution by the working masses in the degenerated/deformed

workers states to destroy these ruling bureaucracies—the source of economic deprivation, egregious inequality and political and cultural suppression—in favor of the introduction, and for Russia the reintroduction, of soviet democracy. From time to time and from country to country the perceived need for such revolutionary victory occurs. Such subjective potential is now building in the United States as the ostentatiously reactionary Reagan administration seeks, somewhat utopianly but with overt viciousness, to transfer its contradictions and crises onto the backs of the mass of the people. As Trotsky reiterated endlessly, a revolutionary party seeking to further the class struggle to victory has been that single, indispensable missing element. Thus the duty of any real Marxist is to center his activity on building a conscious and organized vanguard capable of preparing, recognizing and carrying through proletarian revolution.

This, then, is the context in which the Somoza family dictatorship was overthrown in Nicaragua by a petty-bourgeois guerrilla army backed by mass support and supported (at least initially) by those remaining sectors of the bourgeoisie who had not yet been consumed by the Somoza family. In El Salvador a bloody and more classic civil war rages pitting the mass murderers and mercenaries of the local oligarchy (increasingly backed directly by U.S. imperialism) against a coalition of five autonomous guerrilla forces—less wholeheartedly embracing the middle classes but surely rooted amongst the largely landless peasants for whom the slogan "Revolution or Death" is for many a statement of simple fact—lately united around a program of seeking negotiated settlement. The Reagan administration, and notably key policy maker General Alexander Haig, the Secretary of State, sees the whole thing as a Communist plot with control of the leftist insurgents going back to Moscow by way of Managua and Havana while supposedly the guns flow the other way. Meanwhile a more rational, i.e., "liberal," wing of the bourgeoisie wants "no more Vietnams." They even can recognize that just because the Soviet Union is the main obstacle to making the world safe for capitalism, that doesn't necessarily mean that Iranian hostility to the U.S., British problems with Argentina and in Ulster, Israel's curious difficulties with even her most reactionary Arab leaders, are all part of a commie plot.

### American Left Moves Right

In the 1960s the great bulk of the American left was fundamentally impaired as a force for revolutionary change, but at least toward the end of the decade there were a lot more of them and they sounded pretty radical. The New Left at best never got beyond their model of the old left, the worn-out old Stalinist Communist Party of the U.S., although an awful lot of the New Left substituted Peking for Moscow. The end of the American presence in Vietnam and the passing of ten years took far more than a decade's toll of these radicals. The Chinese government piled not just atrocity upon atrocity but pro-imperialist policy upon pro-imperialist policy. Anyone of that



Washington, D.C., March 27: Awesome display of police power used to seal off the left.

generation who still today is a Maoist has to be feeble-minded, clinically deranged, or looking for a free trip to China. Radicals outside those three categories have been on a general slow drift toward and into the left wing of bourgeois politics, or out of politics altogether. Numerous organization initials supplied on request.

None of these leftists ever had much reason to like the Spartacist League. We pointed out that the Russians threw away billions in high-grade armaments sent to the corrupt Egyptian capitalist government while keeping the Vietnamese, who were fighting a revolutionary war, in short supply of obsolescent weapons. (For their part, the Chinese obstructed their overland delivery after the Sino-Soviet break.) We pointed out that the massacre of Communists in Indonesia in 1965—for which the Chinese Maoists were co-responsible—ended any semblance of realism to imperialism's domino theory in Southeast Asia. We also noted, shortly after, that objectively the Vietnam war had therefore lost any rational purpose from the American side and that the foundation had been laid for a Sino-American rapprochement. They didn't love us for all this.

They didn't love us any better when in Europe we sneered at the idea that students were going to be the new vanguard of the proletariat, or when we roundly denounced those radicals who followed Bernadette Devlin in her call for British troops to Ulster. We were quick to point out when various radical groups engaged in backhanded and not-so-backhanded scabbing; when they enthused over trade-union out-bureaucrats like Miller and Sadiowski and the rest, where the only real difference was that the outs thought it was their turn at the trough; and when these same radicals justified taking unions to court.

There are many kinds of oppression in America, based upon the underlying system of capitalist exploitation. If you're black, Latin, Asian, female, old, Indian, crippled, Jewish, off the sexual norm, an undocumented alien or literal-

ly dozens of other conditions of being or circumstance, this society is consciously and unconsciously viciously cruel, stunting and deforming. Mainly because the CPUSA ("old left") abused the party principle over and over again in the service of class and social betrayal, the New Left rediscovered pre-Marxism. In particular they denied the Leninist conception of the workers party which is simultaneously the tribune of the people, i.e., the spokesman for all of the oppressed. We struggled against sectoralism and for Marxism the best we knew how, earning thereby particularly the hatred of black nationalists and lesbian feminists, while winning to our banner militants from such backgrounds.

Getting ever closer in time, think about the Ayatollah Khomeini. In America and Europe all the radicals granted him effusive support and any one of the tens of thousands of overseas Iranian students who didn't do likewise risked being called a SAVAK agent—as indeed a good many were. Today it's pretty hard to find an Iranian student abroad who freely admits he used to support Khomeini. Without going into details such as the daily kill rate of leftists, the abuse of women and the like, it's pretty hard to uphold the Khomeini regime. But only we said at the time of the Shah's fall, "Neither Shah nor mullahs, for workers revolution."

So, gentle reader, over many years we have managed to be in flat opposition at one point or another to every other current calling itself leftist—and to be proved right. One is not loved for this.

### Anti-Spartacist Popular Front

This leads us to the present. The social-democrats in and out of the labor movement hate us all to pieces for our exposure of Polish Solidarność as arriving at a socially counterrevolutionary program, and for our uncovering some of its direct ties to Western capitalist circles.

Central America: not "No More Vietnams" but Che Guevara's fighting slogan, "2, 3, Many Vietnams." More

continued on page 8



Those who murdered Trotsky first slandered him as an agent of the Nazis and the Mikado.



# SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

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

2 April 1982

Alexander Cockburn  
Village Voice  
New York

Dear Mr. Cockburn:

Your "Press Clips" column is generally interesting and informative. But it is necessary to make most urgent objection to several of your sentences dealing with the Spartacist League in your column of 6 April 1982, not because they are merely hopelessly disoriented but because they also contain the basis for justifying continuing serious threat against us.

You wrote: "The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, but their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes. After all, most of the demonstrators on the main march probably espouse victory for the FDR/FMLN too."

You have managed to invert perfectly the political issue posed in D.C. on 27 March. We don't know whether a majority of the marchers support victory to the left, but a lot surely do. The organizers, speakers and endorsers of the main march were strongly and centrally united in favor of a negotiated settlement to the war. And you, of course, have never before heard of a situation where the needs and desires of at least many of the participants conflict sharply with that of "their" leadership? Or that this sharp gap encourages violence and bureaucratic suppression, not to mention malicious libel of those who would seek to organize the opposition from below? We "assholes" [your word] sought in every way we knew how to give coherent political expression to the desire for leftist victory, and we also made repeated adamant efforts at technical coordination with the organizers of the main coalition. Instead we got lies and slander, goon squads and massive use of the police against us.

Thus you ignore the driving force behind the multiple harassment that the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent was subjected to in Washington, substituting instead words like "Bonkerism" and "assholes," implying that we brought it on ourselves. For a man of your evident political suavity and historical knowledge to write falsely impugning those who share your own declared political position—to repeat your own quote about the SL, "their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable"—is to compel one very seriously to wonder what you are about.

Sincerely,

*Helene Brosius*

Helene Brosius  
Central Committee,  
Spartacist League

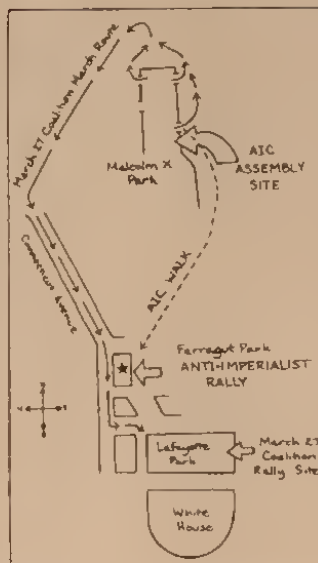
enclosed documentation: 1. Letter to the March 27 Coalition, 16 March  
2. Anti-Imperialist Contingent leaflet, 27 March  
3. *Workers Vanguard* No. 302: "At Bidding of Rad-Lib Democrats, Cops Seal Off Left"

cc: *Workers Vanguard*

## Join With the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

# Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

2-4 pm Today Farragut Park



### —Speakers—

Tom Janota, last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador  
"Eyewitness to Junta Terror"  
Jorge Ramirez, Latin Marxist  
"¡Por el Triunfo de los Insurgentes de Izquierda!"  
Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*  
"The Global Class War—  
Vietnam, Poland, Central America"  
Arlon Spencer, Spartacus Youth League  
"Why U.S. Rad-Libs Sell Out Salvadoran Struggle"  
Ed Karsen, black union militant  
"For Labor Action to Smash the Nazis/Klan  
and Bring Down Reagan!"

Music • Refreshments  
Bathrooms

Defense of Cuba and USSR  
Begins in El Salvador!  
Break With the Democrats—  
For Workers Action to  
Bring Down Reagan!

## Letter to March 27 Coalition

16 March 1982

National Coordinating Committee  
March 27 Coalition  
Washington, D.C.

To the Coordinating Committee:

At this critical stage in the El Salvador civil war, the Spartacist League-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent and the March 27 Coalition will be demonstrating in Washington on March 27. The AIC and the March 27 Coalition share a common opposition to Reagan's increasingly ominous threats of U.S. military intervention in the region. At the same time, we differ sharply in our understanding of the solution—you call for a negotiated peace, we for victory to the leftist insurgents.

In recent months, organizers of CISPES/PAM-initiated demonstrations in Chicago, New York, Boston

and Los Angeles have sought to exclude Spartacist-led contingents. Sometimes the police have been invoked. In any case, sharp physical clashes among marchers can well provoke police intervention, placing all the demonstrators in danger of violence or arrest, and such confrontations put non-citizens at particular risk.

Despite the profound political gulf between our groups, we believe it behooves both parties to avoid unnecessary physical clashes in the face of a police presence and the possibility of extra-legal Reaganite provocation, e.g. the mobilization of ultra-rightist emigres against left-wing demonstrators as also happened at particular points during the Vietnam War period. We therefore propose that our respective steering committees should make contact to acquaint each other with the

plans, in the hope that such coordination in advance and on March 27 will enable us to avoid unintended clashes. We make this proposal in the interest of protecting the rights and safety of all protesters. We propose such discussion at our earliest mutual convenience.

Fraternally,

Liz Gordon  
National Secretary  
Spartacist League/U.S.

encl.: Clipping from *Granma* (weekly English-language organ of the Cuban Communist Party), 28 February 1982, "Protest Marches in Several U.S. Cities Oppose U.S. Aid to Salvadoran Government"

copies to: local March 27 Coalition and Anti-Imperialist Contingent groups

I went down to Washington with dear friends in the F.L.O.S.S. affinity group and had a thoroughly good time. The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, but their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes. After all, most of the demonstrators on the main march probably espouse victory for the FDR/FMLN too. The Spartacists do have catchy banners. I particularly liked the one reading "Long Live the Party of Luxemburg/Jogichesa/Warski and Wera Koszewska/Spartacist."

the village

# VOICE

## PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

—6 April 1982

13 April 1982—

## Editorial Reply: So What Makes Cockburn Run?

We comment elsewhere (see facing page) on the compelling political reasons for the urgent appetite of the soft left to strangle the life out of our outspoken revolutionary socialist organization by any and all available means (other than the Marxist one of political confrontation).

But Alexander Cockburn's contribution genuinely perplexes us both as to his content and tone, as should be obvious to any reader of these exchanges with him. He is not known to us except through his *Village Voice* column "Press Clips" in which many of his responses to topical political events rather parallel our own. Certainly, reading the exchange on its face shows him to be rude, intemperate and generally projecting the sort of character that he would label us as. And relatedly, it's doubtless no accident, as they say, that he didn't quote a single sentence from comrade Brosius' sober letter to him which he used for his reply "Assholes Revisited."

Rude and intemperate, self-evidently. How about truthful? Cockburn says: "*Workers Vanguard* has a

ludicrously mendacious account of the march in its latest issue...." We say *WV* contains a multiply verified and continuous chronology of that day's events as concerns the Spartacist League, which is supplemented by the April *Young Sportacus* with its different emphasis and later follow-up coverage. I.e., we told the truth.

Fortunately light can be cast on who's lying, Cockburn, you or us, by your sentence immediately preceding the one already quoted: "What did happen was that the Sparts tried to break into the main demonstration with low-level violence being used to that end." So "we tried to break into the main demonstration"? On this page is the reprint of a leaflet with a map showing our independent walk to our own demonstration. The information in it was given by us to CISPES on Thursday evening, 25 March, after it was agreed to by the D.C. police the same day. The leaflet was given to Cockburn by Jan Norden the next day, Friday. On Saturday some 15,000 were passed out to one and all. Then, surprise,

## Assholes Revisited

I've had a letter from Helene Brosius of the central committee, sorry, Central Committee, of the Spartacist League, taking grave exception to my ascription of Marxist-Leninist-Bonkerism to their group and also to my injunction that they stop behaving like assholes.

Actually, I thought I was being nice to the Sparts. A tougher, and more accurate portrayal would have taken them to task for unremitting sectarianism taken to the level of active sabotage of left efforts to press towards the good, the true and the beautiful. The day before the March 27 march in Washington, partially organized by CISPES, Jan Norden, the editor of the Spartpaper, *Workers Vanguard*, came by the *Voice* office to suggest that "700 baseball bat-wielding thugs" were set to attack the Spart contingent in Washington DC. Evidence for such intention? "Phonecalls." How many phonecalls? "Two." Whence the phonecalls? Norden didn't know. But he still kept talking about the threat of "deadly force".

It struck me at the time, and I suggested as much to Norden, that he was plodding round the newspapers with this idiotic atory just to get publicity for the Spart counter-demo. He denied all, of course. And in Washington there was no sign of these mythical 700 baseball bat-wielding thugs. What did happen was that the Sparts tried to break into the main demonstration, with low-level violence being used to that end. *Workers Vanguard* has a ludicrously mendacious account of the march in its latest issue, with a proud reprinting of an AP photo of their hanoers. For Marxist-Leninists, they sure love the bourgeois media.

that's what we did. The reason was that with all the talk of violence about, we wanted to minimize physical contact with the main march, while maintaining political interaction, all as noted in our 16 March letter to the Coalition, also here reprinted.

The "low-level violence" occurred when CISPES formed a chain to try forcibly to keep demonstrators from joining the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The

continued on page 8



# Letters

[received 6 April 1982]  
Baltimore, Md.  
The Spartacist League  
Comrades,

Please let me congratulate you on the exemplary manner in which you led the Anti-Imperialist Contingent this past Saturday in Washington, D.C. Despite the exclusion, provocation and police pressure your positions and program reached the masses and you stand today as the *only* visible revolutionary communist force in this country. Was also rather a sterling way in which you had the entire demonstration pass in review. If you can't join them out smart 'em.

Having been thinking, these past few days, of the significance of the exclusionary tactics of the pop-front anti-war coalition. These are extremely reactionary times. Fascist and Klan activity are on the increase throughout the country (with some recent blatant acts being carried out

in this area). The present administration in Washington is flexing their brain cells trying to figure out more ways to steal from the workers and poor so as to build up their military might for thrusts against the workers states. Unions are biting the bullet or rolling over and playing dead. And now the entire left (CP, SWP, YAWF, RCP, CWP, etc., etc.) has blocked with the so called left bourgeoisie to both pressure the ruling bourgeois sector and exclude the communists from their activities. These are the same people who condemn martial-law in Poland, police state tactics in the USSR and the bourgeoisie's anti-democratic methods. However, March 27, 1982 will forever remain in my memory as the day the left in this country declared war on communists. It sets the working class up for possible defeat at the hands of an ultra reactionary fascist bourgeoisie....

Yours for a socialist world,  
Charlie Minster

March 28, 1982

Dear CISPES,

I am writing out of concern over the relationship between CISPES and the Spartacist League. I have attended the May 3 and March 27 marches on Washington as well as the two New York CISPES marches and have been deeply troubled by police intervention. Whatever contradictions I have with the Spartacist League, I have deeper contradictions with the police. I cannot condone CISPES calling in the police to form a wall between two left groups. I feel that you are creating a false sense of fear in people's minds by creating the spectacle of police in riot helmets protecting 75,000 demonstrators from 100 Sparts. I also feel that rumors of violence are much exaggerated. I have personally viewed confrontations between CISPES and the Sparts that I later heard reported in a distorted manner portraying the Sparts as having caused violence

when none occurred. Also, it has been my experience with the Sparts that they rely exclusively on rhetoric and analysis. They are not one of the left groups that uses violence and physical disruption as a tactic.

Secondly, on the issue of exclusion because of political platform—the Spart line “Military Victory to Left Wing Insurgents” is a reasonable perspective in the spectre of support for the El Salvadoran left. I found the equally large contingent of Palestinians chanting “Zionism is Racism” to be more simplistic. I found the presence of Catholic Left anti-abortionists to be more threatening and I found the presence of the anti-gay Revolutionary Communist Party to be more offensive.

I will continue to support your events, but as a feminist, I am deeply troubled by the over-reaction of CISPES to the Sparts.

Sarah Schulman

[12 April 1982]

Dear Editor:

On March 27 I travelled via MAD bus [Mothers and Others Against the Draft] to Washington, D.C. to participate in the demonstration against U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Before leaving the bus, a spokesman entered and warned everyone to stay away from the “obnoxious Spartacist League” who would try to force us to march under their flag calling for military victory to the leftist insurgents.

Throughout the morning, I collected many leaflets and pieces of literature. One of the flyers contained a letter the Spartacist League had written to CISPES asking that all the various contingents march together in unity. While I was reading the letter a man walking by told me, “That letter is bullshit.” He told me

the “real letter,” issued previously, told everyone to “bring beer bottles and start a riot.” I asked him if I could see this letter. He then informed me he had actually not seen the letter, but had been told about it by many “informed sources.”

What happened when I tried to join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was quite different from what I had been told by the “informed sources.” Instead of being forced under the Anti-Imperialist flag by those “obnoxious Spartacists,” I found myself face-to-face with police and men linked arm-in-arm who would not let me join. The aggressive and repressive force was not the Spartacist League, but was instead the organizers of the demonstration who would not let me demonstrate for what I believe in.

S.M.  
Garden City Park, L.I.

call for “No sellouts—Break the popular front—For military victory to the leftist insurgents.” We point out that a lot of these Salvadoran peasants think they are fighting for communism just like their grandfathers in 1932, and that if they lose imperialism will be both strengthened and emboldened against the Soviet bloc. So this gores the ox of both everybody with a Stalinist appetite to make a deal with anything from Hitler to Churchill and Roosevelt and

those often inside the same skin who want to be part of a new Democratic Party coalition to rule America.

Finally, and relatedly, America is in a deep recession: companies going bankrupt, massive demands for “givebacks” being placed upon unions. This slashing of wages and conditions hits all sections of public employment (except for the Pentagon). It is not easy to win economic struggles in the middle of a sharp downturn. It is, however, the responsibility of any labor leadership to resist as hard as they can, to fight when and where necessary and to employ means appropriate to the struggle. You can't strike against mass layoffs but you can damn well seize their factories, at least for a while, and extract more from them. Instead, the hideously overpaid American labor officialdom sat by and let a complete union, PATCO, be destroyed, intimidating the whole of the class when any one or two or four or five unions could have turned the whole thing around and made Reagan eat it.

Our role and weight in the labor movement is modest but we have sought at every critical juncture to pursue the class struggle by any and every feasible means. Thus we have not been backward in denouncing these miserable sellout labor bureaucrats. We know, and the trade-union bureaucrats know, that it is above all the black workers who are paying the heaviest price. Meanwhile the trade-union tops, along with their liberal Democrat chums, preach “Ignore the Klan and the Nazis, don't stop them,” as the fascists seek to mobilize frightened white workers against their much more desperately worse-off black brothers as scapegoats.

## The Spartacists

So that's why they're coming after us sixteen different ways. When the government tries to libel us as terrorists one way or another, we fought them off pretty well in the courts. When the liberals call us FBI agents, again we want to avail ourselves of legal processes against such infamous libel—and libel means they know it's a lie, but they could care less. We have 17 volumes from FBI files through the Freedom of Information Act which document, we estimate, only about one-fifth of what the FBI has done to us in the last 18 years. But that couldn't matter less to those who want El Salvador safe for imperialism, who want the pope and the bankers running Russia and a Kennedy in the White House. They're running point for repression against us.

Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were held accountable by the German social-democrats and their allies, all the way up to the German general staff, for a lot of Germany's troubles, not least the defeat of the fatherland and the associated popular revolution. (Luxemburg in particular—a woman, a foreigner and a Jew—was also accused of having taken enemy money.) Most of the left in Germany was united in the opinion that in any case the Spartacists led by Luxemburg and Liebknecht were crazy, irresponsible wild men, who if not stopped cold would block Germany's road to progress and, in orderly due course, socialism. On 13 January 1919, *Vorwärts*, the principal daily newspaper of the German Social Democracy, carried the following poem:

Many hundred corpses in a row,  
proletarians!  
Powder, iron and lead don't ask  
if to the right or left it's a Spartacist,  
proletarians....  
Who sent force into the streets,  
proletarians?  
Who first took weapons to hand  
and burned for a showdown?  
Spartakus!  
Many hundred corpses in a row,  
proletarians....  
Karl, Rosa, Radek & Co.,  
Not one of them is there, not one of  
them is there,  
proletarians.

Within days, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were butchered. The Communist Party of Germany was defeated, and in due course, a decade later, Germany got Hitler.

In Russia, Lenin and Trotsky had a party, a mass workers party. And in due course, Paris nightclubs got authentic Grand Dukes as doormen.

As James P. Cannon never tired of saying, the United States is the most powerful country on earth. Barring nuclear holocaust, a revolution here must carry the balance of the world with it, not least wiping away the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies should they still be around then. The truism still holds: in Russia the revolution was (relatively!) easy, but in isolation the sequel was long, hard and uncertain. In America the reverse is true: hard to dislodge the rulers, but a great advanced country, ideal for a planned economy and satisfaction of the people's needs. No Paris for General Al Haig, not even if he gets a fifth star; maybe in their measured compassion the world's workers would make him doorman in Tripoli outside Qaddafi's cafe. ■

## Cockburn...

(continued from page 7)

evidence is clear and complete, Cockburn—you did not distort, you lied in this particular matter. The courts hold that the rest of such a person's testimony is rightly suspect, at best.

And it's a particularly nasty lie for you especially. Presumably you agree that those who have the same kind of political position in such a demonstration should not be kept forcibly apart. But you claim to have that very position of military victory yet defend those who did their level best—by themselves and then backed by the police—to block such assembly. To liar, one must add hypocrite.

It is idle to speculate on your motives, e.g., maybe a Spart ran off with your lover; maybe you are a congenital political centrist now smoked out (i.e., “centrism” defined by Lenin as “revolutionary in words, reformist in deeds”); maybe you are not your own master; maybe; maybe; maybe.

There is another kind of consideration, too. Cockburn is a well-known columnist; doubtless he sees the Spartacist League as a tiny, pariah group which he can do to as he sees fit. Well, he's not entirely wrong. But in this country we don't have a seamless set of “old boys” networks and it's not clear he's part of much of one, anyhow. And this country hasn't (yet) gone whole hog on an official secrets act, nor the mutual self-protection racket which lies behind it, either. Finally, the SL has been around for eighteen years. Eighteen years in which we've worked hard to build and maintain a reputation for veracity (which is why *WV* prints not only a lot of corrections, but also, as in this case, the relevant texts of opponent material). Just now it looks like half the country wants to get us as crazy, violent KGB/FBI-CIA agents and communists. So Cockburn can blithely think he can't help but get away with it. Well times change and not everybody loves a frame-up, not by a long shot.

In any case, for whatever reason, you are now locked in as a publicist for those who would strike a deadly blow against revolutionary Marxism in this country.

One more maybe: maybe just too much Malraux has gone to your head: ...as I wandered Malcolm X park I found an old, blind Spartacist chanting the Wera Kosirzewa as he twanged a primitive guitar. What better personification of Spartacism, of this circle of sectarianism, could I have found than that old saboteur whose bonkerist strains had ceased to interest any but the Sparts as they squatted around him partaking of human flesh, an unfortunate Cispie having wandered into their midst.... ■

## Main Enemy...

(continued from page 6)

concretely, rather than hail the established Nicaraguan leadership and present FDR/FMLN proposals for a sheer sellout, as expounded by one Guillermo Manuel Ungo, a vice-president of the Second International and chief spokesman for the fighters who do face “Revolution or Death,” we



# Witnesses' Statements

Statement on Washington March 27, 1982

My name is Wilfred M. Thomas and I participated in a demonstration in Washington in support of U.S. out of El Salvador.

I experienced at the demonstration two separate struggles and intervention of students and police to separate and censor people from involvement in the Spartacist group.

—Wilfred M. Thomas  
4-7-82

\* \* \* \* \*

April 8, 1982

On March 27 I had participated in the demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. At this demonstration I had attempted to participate in a demonstration held by the Spartacist League. At this point I was detained and stopped from crossing over to partake of the speaker's viewpoint. This detention took the form of police with an overenthusiastic sense of duty and CISPES marshals. I feel this type of harassment was unnecessary.

—Eugene Segreda

\* \* \* \* \*

4/8/82

CISPES joined hands with the police on March 27th to exclude and censor the stand of the Spartacist League of "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists." As a marcher in the Washington rally, I was physically denied access to the Spartacist gathering at Farragut Park by a line of police and CISPES supporters when I tried to join the Sparts to listen. CISPES people tried to hustle me along urging to "Never mind" and "Don't bother listening" while police made a pushing match of any attempt to cross the line. I was forced to proceed around the police line and back against the flow of the rally to listen to

what the Spartacist League had to say.

—Michael McHugh

\* \* \* \* \*

I am a sympathizer of the AIC of Central American background.

About 11:30 I tried to enter the AIC. There wasn't a very concentrated line of thugs—they were just one man deep—and there were fewer police on the southeast side of the AIC, on the side of the park where there were literature tables. The police were interspersed along the line of the thugs. So I tried to enter from that side. Two thugs came up to me and said, "No, there's no entrance here." A policeman nearby said the same: "There's no entrance here."

I went up to the line of goons on the northwest side of the AIC and asked, "What's going on here? Why do you have a line separating the AIC from the demonstration?" One of the women goons answered me, "They [the AIC] are provocateurs." I started arguing with her and accused them of being reformists. I said, "I don't belong to any political party, but I have read and known the different newspapers of the leftist groups and I have discovered that excluding the AIC is ridiculous. It's carried out by CISPES and other left groups. I see the AIC's slogans, and they seem to me to be the best. Their slogans have a working class perspective. They're in solidarity with those who are fighting in El Salvador. I don't understand why the reformist groups want to hide these slogans." She had few words to explain what the AIC was, and in the end, to justify their reformist political line, she told me, "They're CIA agents." Then she drew back. She didn't want to continue the argument because it was hard for her to explain their reformist politics as well as the exclusionary actions carried out against the AIC that I had seen at this and other demonstrations.

Jose

**VOICE**

—13 April 1982

## LETTERS

### Rallying Cries

Dear Editor:

Teresa Carpenter, oh-so-wide-eyed and bewildered, stumbled along the edges of the March 27 El Salvador protest with only an ill-informed and equally lost lamb to guide her [Voice, April 6]. Apparently, she had never heard of coalition politics, and wondered at the "curiously diffuse" collection of organizations represented—a "trade fair" for "partisan goods," she concluded. Of course, by her own admission, she did not listen to any of the rally speakers, many of whom related repressive U.S. foreign policies to social problems at home and emphasized the need for coalitions.

Between bouts of whining indulgence, Carpenter interspersed inaccuracies, smugly discrediting the "new activism" she so successfully avoided that day. For the record: CISPES supports Salvadoran self-determination by military victory or negotiation, and the Spartacists were never "denied permission to assemble and march" by the rally organizers. Had she investigated the "fracas" she missed she would have discovered that in this "bit of street theater," the Spartacists were armed with billy clubs and sent three CISPES demonstrators to the hospital. The police did not act as a "barrier," did nothing to prevent the assault, and made no arrests.

The demonstration had nothing to do with assassination theories, Moynihan's feet, Amtrak, or Carpenter's taste for "pleasant martyrdom." The characterization of participants in progressive politics as mere travelers on a "protest circuit" or "passing marks" for political hawkers is exactly the kind of misrepresentation promoted by the right. Her coy quips from the fringe—deceptively headlined as a report on the march—effectively silenced the 50,000 voices raised in solidarity with the Salvadoran people.

—Vincent Brevetti and Fay Hansen  
East 13th Street

Editorial comment re: "the Spartacists were armed with billy clubs." Thus Ilars Brevetti and Hansen implicitly call for the use of weapons against Spartacists. One can be sure it matters not at all to B. and H. that, among other video tapes made of the skirmlish, ABC News ran it network-wide. And lots of photographs taken, witnesses present and the cops moved in. Not a weapon seen or found. But that just puts you right in there with Al Halg.

### THE RUMOR MILL

•• A forum for the Antioch Law School Community, produced by student volunteers ••  
Thursday, April 1, 1982  
Volume 5, Number 53  
Items for publication must be signed and dated; submit them to Box 277 by noon Friday

**DEMONSTRATION PROVOCATION:** "On Saturday, at the El Salvador demonstration, we witnessed the unprovoked attack on demonstrators by members of the Spartacist League. It was clear that the purpose of this planned attack was to try to provoke a violent altercation that would require police intervention. The League's apparent objective was to instigate violence which would discredit the demonstration. Violent disruption of progressive demonstrations appears to be the favorite tactic of the League. In evaluating this organization, we should not be fooled by their socialist rhetoric. Their actions on Saturday showed them to be violent provocateurs rather than progressive activists. It is perplexing to us that an institution like Antioch would make its facilities available to this group [They had a table set up and passed out literature last week...ed.] We must recognize that by allowing this group to use our facilities, it is perceived by the community that we support their activities."

James A. Yancey, [Box 448] & Jonathan Zucker [Box 202]

CALENOAR CALENOAR CALENOAR

APRIL 1: National Lawyers Guild Meeting. APRIL 6: Discussion on squatting. 1:15 p.m.

## Exchange

Antioch School of Law  
Washington, D.C.

April 6, 1982

Spartacist Publishing Co.

Dear Friends,

I enclose an item from the Antioch School of Law's *Rumor Mill* ("Demonstration Provocation," 4/1/82), and my response, which will run in the same newsletter next week.

In struggle,  
Rich Rubenstein  
(Academic Dean)

In last week's *Rumor Mill*, two Antioch students claimed to have witnessed "an unprovoked attack on demonstrators by members of the Spartacist League" at the March 27 El Salvador demo. The alleged purpose of this "attack" was to provoke police intervention and discredit the demonstration. The students demand that the Spartacist League be excluded from using ASL facilities.

I suggest that the students either did not understand what they saw on March 27 or do not care to understand it. I suggest further that their attack on the Spartacist League is slanderous, and that their demand that the SL be denied the use of Antioch facilities is repressive, if not Stalinoid. Save us all from such "progressives."

The confrontation on March 27 was the direct result of attempts by some of the groups involved in the demonstration—in particular, the Workers World Party and YAWF—to exclude the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent from Malcolm X Park. The "unprovoked attack" witnessed by the students was an attempt to break through an exclusionary goon squad. When it succeeded, the cops were called to cordon off the communists of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, and to keep the demonstration safe for the Democratic Party.

All over the country, the Spartacist League is being violence-baited, accused of being CIA agents, etc., by "progressives" who do not want

communists at anti-war demonstrations. They especially do not want demonstrators or the public exposed to the SL, a Trotskyist organization which openly calls for *military victory to the Salvadorean Left*, not "peace talks," and which asserts that Reagan's war drive in Central America is part of a general offensive against Cuba and the USSR. The SL believes that Unco's F.D.R. in El Salvador and the liberal-pacifist CISPES coalition in the U.S. are inviting disaster—in fact, inviting a holocaust—with their promises of "pluralism," their advocacy of "negotiations," and their refusal to adopt a frankly pro-working class position in the Salvadorean class war. The Spartacists deny that Democratic Party "doves" or Reds masquerading as liberals can mobilize the American people against imperialism. Only a movement which draws the class line can do that.

THAT is why the CISPES organizers don't want the SL at their party—not because the Spartacists are violent, but because they are—horror of horrors!—revolutionary socialists. That is also why, when it was announced that Tom Janota of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent would speak at Antioch on March 26, the law school was deluged with phone calls threatening that, if Janota spoke at Antioch, there would be "trouble." The meeting was moved to another location in order to avoid exposing unwary students to a goon attack. Thanks to "progressives" like these militant phone-callers, Antioch students were deprived of the chance to hear Janota and to see the great film, "Revolution or Death."

In response to those who would bar communists like the men and women of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent from using Antioch facilities, I say: either this school is open to all political tendencies on the Left or it is open to none. And I ask this question: who are *you* working for? The Democrats who brought us the Bay of Pigs and the Indochina War? It's time to tell the truth, folks, not to hide behind Bella Abzug's skirts! The choice in El Salvador, and ultimately in the United States, is "Revolution or Death."

## Spartacist Pamphlet

Class war in El Salvador:  
From La Matanza massacre of 1932 to the front line of Reagan's Cold War. Articles from Workers Vanguard, Young Spartacus.  
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## DSOC Becomes DSA

# Harrington's Giveback Socialists

To cover its real program of "realigning" the Democratic Party of Kennedy and Carter, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) has always boasted of its ties to labor. Like prominent DSOCer "Wimpy" Winpisinger, the head of the Machinists union. This "seat of the pants socialist" more than any other union (mis)leader stabbed the PATCO strikers in the back by refusing to shut down the airports last fall. Or their support to *Time* magazine's "man of the year," Lech Walesa. This led DSOC to make common cause with Pilsudskiite anti-Semites and Ronald Reagan when Polish Solidarność counterrevolutionary bid for power was checked in December. Now the Harringtonites are trying to sell the mammoth auto givebacks by packaging them in "socialist" wrappers.

At a conference last month in Detroit DSOC swallowed the New American Movement, an organization of aging New Lefters, and changed its name to Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). The conference, which was devoid of political discus-

**Doug Fraser (left) and Michael Harrington: The sellout artist and his lawyer.**



sion, did manage to make one clear-cut political statement however: on opening night a special "Award for Social Justice" was bestowed upon Ray Majerus, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Even some DSAers reportedly fretted over this, since Majerus' special contribution to "social justice" these days consists in ramming through givebacks in American Motors.

As if to answer the doubters in his own ranks, the following week Harrington brought his "giveback socialism" to the *New York Times* (30

March) Op-Ed page. Harrington listed UAW president Doug Fraser's \$5 billion concessions among the "alternatives" to Reagan's "cruel and unworkable policies"! (He also took up Fraser's "yellow peril" rhetoric, warning against "importing Japanese capitalism.") Harrington excused the bonanza for the auto bosses by claiming that "the UAW also has pushed for a say in decisions—pricing, plant closings, subcontracting—that used to be considered the sacred prerogative" of the companies.

Some "say"! In 1979 Fraser was

given a "say" in the Chrysler boardroom in return for \$1 billion, paid out of the workers' paychecks. For three years he has had his "say" while the Chrysler capitalists have destroyed more than 40,000 jobs! Harrington calls this the "democratization of corporate control." We call it betrayal. Such schemes to improve capitalism serve only to derail union struggles and to divert the working class from its real aim: socialist revolution to replace the boom-bust system of capitalism with a rationally planned economy.

Recently Harrington's group has eclipsed the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party as the hegemonic social-democratic formation in the U.S. Over the years these pseudo-socialists have certainly earned Trotsky's description of the labor aristocracy: junior stockholders in imperialism. Harrington was titular head of the Socialist Party for years while the SP supported the U.S. war in Vietnam. Now his DSA works to prevent another "Vietnam tragedy," (i.e., the overthrow of capitalism) in El Salvador. "State Department socialists" abroad, they are "giveback socialists" at home. Ties to labor? Harrington supports the Fraser wing of the American union bureaucracy, not against the companies but against their own ranks. We Trotskyists, in contrast, stand with the 105,000 UAW members who voted against the Fraser/Harrington GM sellout.

## GM...

(continued from page 12)

"Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," August 1940). A political struggle must be waged, starting from the basic needs of working people and minorities, for a *transitional program* which can lead the fight to the only real solution: a workers government which institutes a planned economy, of production for social need rather than capitalist profit.

**For Sitdowns Against Layoffs/Concessions**—All wings of the UAW bureaucracy accept layoffs as "necessary," and only argue that cutting down the size of the workforce should be done "rationally." The fruits of this no-fight policy are the loss of over 600,000 jobs (including the auto industry suppliers) and concessions now amounting to \$5 billion at Chrysler, Ford and GM. In announcing the ratification on April 9 Fraser noted that the highest votes for the sellout contract came from plants with big layoffs or facing shutdown. The refusal to fight layoffs creates these conditions in which concessions can be squeezed out of the workers by

blackmail.

The downward spiral of concessions and layoffs can only be halted by militant labor struggle. In February at Ford's enormous River Rouge plant in Dearborn the Rouge Militant Caucus called for a two-day sit-in demonstration, to "turn things around and put us on the offensive against the bosses and their concessions drive." By holding plants like the Rouge hostage for 48 hours, auto workers could rally broad sections of the working class and the ghetto poor into common action, while attacking the "principle" of private ownership of the factories.

**For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop the Nazis/Klan**—The "SS Action Group" that was run out of Ann Arbor on March 20 now threatens to march in the heart of labor/black Detroit in May. As the economy slides downward, fascist groups find fertile ground for convincing frustrated middle-class whites that blacks, unions, leftists and Jews are the sources of their problems. Isolated fascist terror attacks are already occurring. If these small groups are permitted to gain confidence and support, they will eventually target powerful organizations like the heavily black UAW.

Detroit is a segregated city. But the auto plants are integrated: black and white workers work together and struggle together against the bosses. It's here, in the plants, that the social power

resides that can be mobilized to smash the fascist menace. A key element in the success of the March 20 Ann Arbor mobilization was the work of the Spartacist League and Local 600 militants to bring this working-class power to the fore.

**For International Working-Class Solidarity**—After years of cultivating an image as a socially progressive union, the UAW has become the rabid advocate of protectionism. Love the American auto bosses, hate Japanese auto workers is Fraser's poisonous message. In his speech to the Cleveland City Club tycoons Fraser said that democratic values were "foreign to the culture of Japan" and complained that Japan was undermining the anti-Soviet campaign by selling pipe-laying equipment to the Russians. Besides leading the racist anti-Japanese chorus, Fraser expressed satisfaction that the U.S. has "the means to devastate the Soviet Union."

Such gung-ho support for American imperialism is common to every high-placed union official in the country, from Reaganite reactionary to social-democratic. Beating the drums for imperialist trade wars only paves the way to shooting wars in the future. Only those who are willing to fight the capitalists' attacks on workers abroad can wage an effective fight against the concessions.

**Break With the Democrats—For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan—**

Trotsky wrote that the labor aristocracy and the reformist bureaucrats are required by monopoly capitalism to "become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class." For decades the union bureaucrats have peddled their alliance with the capitalist Democratic Party by obtaining crumbs for the masses of workers, minorities and poor. Today, though, there are no crumbs to be had. Democrats and Republicans alike vote to burn up social programs as fuel for the trillion dollar anti-Soviet arms buildup, and the Fraser/Kirkland bureaucracy go along.

The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight for a workers party forged in the struggle to oust misleaders like Fraser from the unions, a party that can lead the working masses in struggle to bring down Reagan. Such a party would organize sitdowns against layoffs and concessions. It would lead massive labor/black mobilizations to smash fascist terror. It would initiate labor action, boycotting military cargo, to aid leftist insurgents in El Salvador. A class-struggle workers party would fight to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution—planned economy, state monopoly of foreign trade—from attack by the imperialists. Only a revolutionary workers party can successfully lead the working masses and oppressed minorities in the fight for a workers government. ■



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# Michigan Daily Howls Over Nazi Defeat

We publish below a letter submitted to the Michigan Daily.

\* \* \* \* \*

11 April 1982

To the Editor:

March 20th marks an important victory: the day the Nazis were run out of Ann Arbor. Some 2,000 workers, students, minorities, heavily supported by area labor unions, responded to the call for action of the Spartacist League-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20th. But for those who did not want to see the Nazis stopped, March 20th was a shameful defeat. So the *Michigan Daily* is howling about "violence." In your editorial on March 23, titled, "Placing the Blame," you blame not the Nazi storm troopers who came with their brownshirts and swastikas to terrorize decent citizens, but the militant anti-Nazi demonstrators who organized to stop them.

"On Saturday they caused trouble," editorializes the *Michigan Daily*, siding with the Nazis against their enemies. The ubiquitous "they" refers here to "revolutionary groups." For the *Michigan Daily* "nothing could be more reproachable than the methods of these groups." Stopping the Nazis seems to be just about

the worst thing the *Michigan Daily* editors can imagine, calling "the whole scene [on March 20] a horrendous spectacle unmatched in recent Ann Arbor history." With insulting arrogance unmatched even in recent college newspaper editorials, the *Michigan Daily* applies the lessons of the McCarthy school of journalism suggesting that the anti-Nazi demonstrators were comic dupes: "They [the revolutionaries] manipulated the anger of the crowd...." In fact all of the left groups lagged woefully behind the spontaneous action of the crowd, which needed no "manipulation" to stop the hated Nazis.

Unlike the *Michigan Daily*, which weeps over the "Constitutional rights" of the "innocent" Nazis, the 2,000 Ann Arbor residents who stopped them know what they are. The survivors of Hitler's death camps know that "free speech" is not the issue with these terrorists, who are looking for an "American Hitler to gas the niggers and kikes." And Cynthia Steel, the black Michigan woman who had her hand blown off by the Klan, knows that the genocidal terrorists are not just a threat in the future and the dim past. A Nazi lynch mob is not a debating society.

Why has the *Michigan Daily* so obviously lined up with the Nazis against

those who fight them? Because they are smarting from the political defeat they suffered along with the Nazis on March 20, when the mayor's diversionary "let's ignore the Nazis" rally flopped. Despite the *Daily's* incessant campaign of violence-baiting the Committee rally in an effort to keep away demonstrators, hundreds of University of Michigan students made the clear decision to stop the Nazis, not ignore them.

That is why the *Daily* is hopping mad at the Spartacist League and the Committee to Stop the Nazis. And that is why they are now spoiling for an anti-red witchhunt. So while the cry has gone up for "free speech" for Nazis, the Spartacus Youth League has become the victim of gag law on the University of Michigan campus, as the cops slap the SYL with multiple summonses for passing out leaflets!

But more than mere hypocrisy is involved in blaming the left for the violence of the fascists (although there is plenty of hypocrisy). The *Michigan Daily* is a crude collegiate reflection of the big-time capitalist press. After the Greensboro massacre in which the KKK/Nazis gunned down anti-fascist demonstrators in broad daylight, the *New York Times* called it a "shootout" between two equally violent groups. The

*Daily* wants to go the *Times* one better portraying the communists as more violent than the Nazis. Behind this journalistic campaign of witchhunting the left and covering-up for the Nazis is the ominous fact that the fascists in all of their forms are becoming more acceptable to an increasingly desperate capitalist class. The racist union-busting scum are seen as the future shock troops needed to save decaying capitalism in crisis.

The *Michigan Daily* was particularly irritated by the SL's "banners [which] flew at the City Hall rally proclaiming an end to the Reagan war drive." For the *Daily*, such a program is "completely out of place in protesting the Nazi threat." But in fact the alarming and increasing growth of the fascist groups is taking place in the fringes of the anti-Soviet war drive. It is the Cold War and racist policies of both capitalist parties that have given the green light to the KKK/Nazis. And they are helped out considerably by the capitalist press. It will take the SL program of mass labor/black mobilization to stop them. That's what stopped the fascists here—not the courts, police or the bleating of liberal sheep.

Michele Lubke  
Spartacus Youth League

## Ann Arbor...

(continued from page 12)

about violations of the Nazis' "free speech": "Mob Clashes with Nazis at Rally," was the front-page headline of the campus *Michigan Daily*, while the *Ann Arbor News* (23 March) wrote that "the reaction to the Nazis Saturday was Nazi itself." A *Michigan Daily* editorial ranted against leftists organizing "a horrendous spectacle unmatched in recent Ann Arbor history" (see our letter in response, above). On the contrary, this was the best moment of recent Ann Arbor history! The 2,000 demonstrators who surrounded the Hitlerites and pelted them should be proud of their service to humanity.

The denunciations of "mob violence" are a smokescreen to hide the class standpoint of the bourgeoisie. Violence is fine with the bosses, as long as it's directed at the exploited and oppressed. But when working people mobilize independently on the picket lines, in the streets or factories to defend their interests, the ruling class goes nuts. Today they single out the SL for persecution in Ann Arbor because we led the mass labor-centered mobilization that sent the fascists hightailing it out of town. Seven union bodies endorsed the call of the Committee to Stop the Nazis, along with a number of labor officials. The Committee also gathered broad support from students, relatives of holocaust survivors and from Ann Arbor's small Slavic community. It is this spectacle of organized labor and minorities united in action led by socialists, by "reds," that gives the ruling class the shivers.

The cops and University of Michigan administration are not only vilifying the SL—they are treating us as criminals. On at least five separate occasions supporters of the Committee and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) have been issued summonses by the Ann Arbor police. Our "crime": passing out leaflets and posters on campus. It's obscene: the Nazis get cop protection and the bosses shed tears over the so-called violation of their "free speech" while socialists and working people who organized to stop these racist terrorists are busted for distributing literature!

The accusation that the Committee was for denying rights is pure bunk. March 20 was not about preventing civil rights, hut stopping murderers before

they could kill. The hypocrisy of the campaign for "free speech" for Nazis (who after all are not talkers but terrorists) was captured quite well by a letter writer to the *Ann Arbor News* (28 March):

"In my day I have seen Rap Brown run out of Maryland for attempting to express his viewpoint; Huey Newton left California for pretty much the same reason. The Black Panthers are gunned down in Chicago, in the West Coast for attempting to express a viewpoint. Malcolm X and Martin Luther King



Ann Arbor, March 20: Cops rush in to protect Nazis from mass outrage.

were assassinated for self-expression, and not one time during this era of repression was the First Amendment invoked ever. But when it comes to trash and garbage like the Nazis and the Klan, every law-enforcing agent in the country lends a hand to protect this riff-raff."

Nevertheless the clatter about "violence" and "non-violence" continues in the press and on campus. It is not motivated primarily by pacifism but by a desire to see the anti-Nazi demonstrations stop. At bottom it is a strategy of reinforcing the capitalist state. Another letter in the same issue of the *Ann Arbor News* is typical: "If and when they [the Nazis] threaten society with violence, only then should they be stopped, through the courts—not through the aggressive action of a group of citizens." But the capitalist courts don't stop the fascists, they go after the potential victims who seek to defend themselves.

While the Ann Arbor city fathers, the cops and press campaign against the Committee to Stop the Nazis, they receive plenty of help in this dirty anti-communist business from the profes-

sional anti-Spartacists who inhabit the area. At each point the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) have taken their cue from the liberals' hatred of the revolutionaries. The RWL-RSL "Coalition" wanted to "protest," not stop the Nazis because they thought that militant slogan would "alienate people." When the SL-initiated Committee was being violence-baited, they joined in. Never did they on their own seek to mobilize anyone, except a handful of cam-

pus leftists. They completely ignored the labor movement. And the RWL even refused to print a telephone number on the "Coalition" leaflet saying they were afraid the Nazis would find them.

Even though the "Coalition" tried to sabotage the effort to stop the Nazis at every step, they were offered speakers at the rally. But they contemptuously refused any united action. And then on March 20 they showed up with their own competing sound system, hoping to drown out the labor-backed rally. We scratched that. And now with the media screaming about leftists provoking "mob violence" the RSL-RWL are chiming in, denouncing the SL as "political gangsters" and "thugs." They have spent far more time protesting our refusal to allow them to disrupt the demonstration than they ever did building anything. They are doing the dirty work for the bosses.

### Stop Nazis in Detroit!

The Nazis were routed in Ann Arbor so their tinpot führer Ted Dunn wants to

stage a "successful" racist provocation to overcome the demoralization of his little gang. The "SS Action Group" claims they are coming to Detroit to demand freedom for Rudolf Hess, convicted Nazi war criminal. Undoubtedly made edgy by the mobilization in Ann Arbor, the first response of the Detroit city council was to refuse the Nazis a permit. But working people better not place any reliance on the bosses' government. As Spartacist League spokesman Don Andrews emphasized in addressing the council on March 31:

"This government is not neutral. Neither the city council nor any other agency of government has any business taking up the question of a permit. The power to regulate or censor political activity will be used by the council against labor and minorities.... This council can be a big help to those of us who recognize the Nazis for what they are, architects and instigators of mass murder. Give the police force a day off on May 9th or whatever day they are going to march. Surely one day off won't bankrupt the city. Then the Nazis can be confronted by the legitimate anger and outrage of their victims and intended victims."

"The Spartacist League initiated the Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20 which brought together over 2,000 demonstrators, blacks, Jews, auto workers from Ypsilanti who drove the Nazis, the Hitler-lovers, out of Ann Arbor, and Ann Arbor residents are safer for it. If they show up here in Detroit, they should be met by tens of thousands of workers, black people, Jewish people. Otherwise a lot of people here, including people on this council, might get first-hand experience of what fascist terror means. That need not happen and that must not happen."

What the fascists really want is to establish a foothold in urban Detroit. They want to set up their race-terror and labor-hating operation in the midst of heavy unemployment and seething discontent. The KKK threatened to hit Detroit in November 1979 to "celebrate" the Greensboro massacre. But the SL and trade-union militants organized a 500-strong demonstration, including many black auto workers, which made certain "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" The Nazis hoped that Ann Arbor would be a staging area for Detroit. But 2,000 stopped them in their tracks on March 20. Now they are running with their tails between their legs. Labor and blacks of Detroit have the power to finish the job. Sweep the Nazis off the streets for good! ■



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Liberal Backlash in Ann Arbor Because...

# We Stopped the Nazis!

### Now Stop Them in Detroit!

ANN ARBOR—When 2,000 angry citizens drove a gang of Nazi punks out of town on March 20, it was a badly needed victory for working people. The anti-fascist demonstrators were responding to a call for action issued by the Committee to Stop the Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL). Saddled with the nation's highest unemployment, hit with pay cuts and concessions, subjected to increasing racist attack, the workers, minorities and students of southern Michigan were not going to let the Nazis stage a provocation in Ann Arbor. So after their humiliating defeat here, the fascists are threatening to goose-step into the black proletarian center of Detroit next month. The SL says: We stopped the Nazis in Ann Arbor, now stop them in Detroit!

The local bourgeois establishment in Ann Arbor is in a state of vindictive frenzy because the mayor's diversionary "ignore the Nazis" rally on March 20 fell flat on its face. So now they are wailing

*continued on page 11*



Ann Arbor, March 20: 2,000 respond to Committee call to stop the Nazis.

WV Photo

## GM Concessions Split UAW

# Fight Fraser's Giveback Unionism!

Doug Fraser finally got his \$3 billion General Motors giveaway deal ratified last week—by the paper-thin margin of 9,000 votes out of 220,000 cast. Over 105,000 United Auto Workers (UAW) members—48 percent of those voting—turned thumbs down on a deal that was backed by 95 percent of the union's GM bargaining council. The results took the pro-company UAW tops completely by surprise and revealed deep-going anger against the giveback offensive by Fraser and the capitalists. Those who voted against the GM deal knew that rejection would mean a bitter fight when the current contract was to run out in September, and they were willing to take the corporation on.

The massive outpouring against Fraser's deal was a largely spontaneous rank-and-file repudiation of the UAW officialdom, from the local level on up. Virtually every local president in the country backed the agreement, including some who had led the short-lived Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC) lashup in January. Ron Murray, a former LOCer and head of UAW Local 735 at Hydra-matic, told the *New York Times* (26 March) that the contract "made sense in the current economic

climate." Another, Don Douglas of Local 594 in Pontiac, predicted 60 percent of his local would agree to concessions.

Nevertheless, both of these locals rejected the concessions package. Lordstown UAW Local 1112 president Marlin Ford was on the 11-member negotiating committee and recommended adoption, but his local clobbered the contract by four to one. (Speaking in Cleveland to a collection of City Club capitalists right after he announced ratification of the GM sellout, Fraser replied to a questioner, "Jeez, I'm trying to forget Lordstown.") But some contract opponents don't intend to let Fraser forget. In Linden, New Jersey where Fraser's sellout was buried by a five-to-one margin, Local 595 leaders announced they would challenge the nationwide election results.

Auto workers have been backed into a corner by speedup, job combinations and heightening shop-floor harassment. Layoffs have pushed Michigan's unemployment rate to over 16 percent at the same time that Reagan's austerity cuts have removed what little buffer there was to keep laid-off workers from



Douglas Fraser

WV Photo

sinking below the welfare line. Supplemental Unemployment Benefits funds are practically dry. And now employed GM workers are to join their brothers and sisters at Ford and Chrysler in taking whopping wage and benefit cuts for the sake of capitalist profit. With the labor fakers acting as company cops,

unrest in auto and other industries could erupt into major class battles escaping control by the blatantly pro-capitalist Fraser/Kirkland bureaucracy.

The key to winning these battles is leadership. Recession, austerity, givebacks—these have made it desperately necessary to fight. But for what? And how? More than 40 years ago Leon Trotsky, who together with Lenin led the Russian Revolution of 1917, wrote about the trade unions in this period of decaying capitalism and imperialist wars: "They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms." How true this is today when the labor reformists, who yesterday only called for "more," now are working overtime to force the ranks to accept less, literally taking money from UAW members' pockets to give to the bosses' profits; when wrecking balls are tearing down factories in Detroit while Fraser sits complacently on the Chrysler board of directors.

Trade-union reformism, which accepts the capitalist profit system, is shown to be utterly bankrupt when profits are falling. As Trotsky wrote:

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