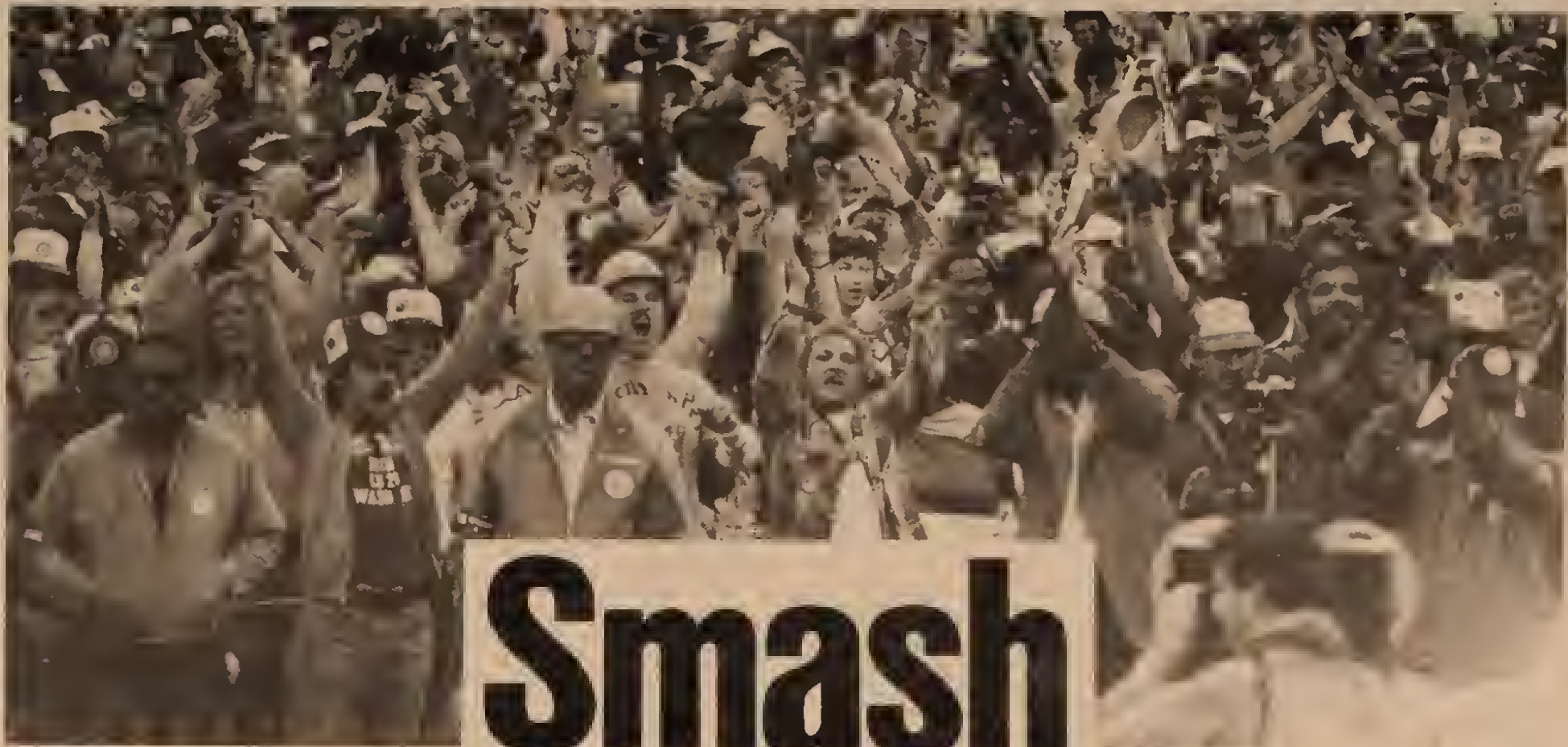


No More Democrat Sellouts! For a Workers Party!



WV Photo

Reagan Reaction!

We reprint below an abridged version of a talk by Reuben Samuels of the Spartacist League Central Committee at recent SL/SYL educational conferences in New York, Chicago and the San Francisco Bay Area.

Just yesterday Reagan's ambassador to El Salvador embraced the newly elected president of the "Constituent Assembly," Roberto "Major Blowtorch" D'Aubuisson. Former ambassador Robert White thought him to be a

"pathological killer," but according to Reagan's man in San Salvador D'Aubuisson's ascent to power is a demonstration of "democracy at work." Meanwhile back in the United States, Congress is quibbling over how to cut a couple of billion dollars more out of a war budget, a budget for imperialist war of \$2.3 trillion—while workers go without work, welfare mothers go without welfare, old people are facing death through starvation and—a new term—"hypothermia," which used to be

called freezing to death.

Reagan reaction, which has generated D'Aubuisson's ascent to power in El Salvador, and cheese lines in Baltimore and the announcement that something called the "SS Action Squad" is threatening to march in Detroit are all part of the anti-Soviet war drive, a war drive to restore one third of the planet to the so-called "free market" by plunging the entire world into a nuclear holocaust. The theme of this talk is "From El Salvador to Detroit: It Is Desperately Necessary to Fight!" And the common thread is the question of the popular front. Or to put it another way, it is the fight for the political independence of the working class and for a workers party—both in El Salvador and in the belly of the beast, here and internationally...

So what's going on when the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] claims that the strength of the antiwar movement lies in its support to rebel victory while it goes for "Stop the War" advocates of a sellout "negotiated solution" in El Salvador? And [columnist Alexander] Cockburn claims our line on military victory is not only "unimpeachable" but shared by most of the participants in March 27, while he attempts a slander and smear job against the Spartacist League in the pages of the *Village Voice*. What's going on here? Why do we have this extremely contradictory behavior on the part of very calculating political people? I think that they are caught up in the following contradiction: that is, our call for "military victory to the Salvadoran leftists" is so patently obvious that they have to pay lip service to a truism—namely, those forces which are fighting for their lives might have a

right to win; but at the same time these people are running scared of Reagan, straight into the popular front.

Now I'm not going to say that with Reagan and Haig and those other maniacs in Washington that fear is a totally irrational response. But what we have here is political panic and cowardice compounded with reformist or centrist appetites. So from the CP [Communist Party] to the SWP to the Marcyites and the RWL [Revolutionary Workers League], the goal of their strategy, whether openly spoken or implicit, is to get the American version of the popular front, the Democratic Party back into the White House. And to prevent anything from standing in the way of that, doing their duty on behalf of the popular front—against us.

So with every rebel victory now in El Salvador, the call for "Stop the War" grows greater—stop the war before they win. The [Salvadoran] FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front] leadership

continued on page 4

13 Million Unemployed



WV Photo

Depression '82: Government statistics for April showed the highest rate of unemployment in 40 years, since before World War II. Over 10 million jobless, 9.4 percent of the workforce. But when "discouraged" workers are included, those out of work so long they have given up looking for a job, it is 13 million unemployed—12.5 percent.

Anti-Spartacist
Smear

The Big Lie

PAGES 6-10

Pinochet Punk Tried to Run Down Communists

Criminal Harberger Set Loose

Paul Harberger must have thought he was a Pinochet storm trooper patrolling the streets of Santiago. The son of a high-level adviser to the Chilean junta, University of Chicago professor Arnold Harberger, he tried to run over with his car 25 protesters picketing the appearance of his father at U.C. International House on January 28. Brought up on the charge of aggravated assault, Paul Harberger was tried in a Cook County court Friday, May 7. Judge Arthur Ellis stated from the bench that the evidence was "consistent," "persuasive," "compelling," leading him to believe that "a crime was committed." But in an outrageous travesty of justice he dismissed the charge on a patently absurd pretext, unleashing this pro-Pinochet thug on society.

The January 28 demonstration had been called by the Spartacus Youth League to protest Arnold Harberger's role, along with his former University of Chicago crony Milton Friedman, as architects of the Chilean junta's economic policies of mass starvation and unemployment known as "shock treatment." This demonstration was part of a campaign by the Spartacist League and its youth organization to expose the "Chicago Boys" as the economic handmaidens to General Pinochet's murderous terror. The January 28 demonstration protested Harberger's appearance on the topic of "Inflation Around the World," or how starvation increases profit. A number of those in the pro-Harberger coterie formed a small counterdemonstration chanting "Pinochet! Pinochet!" revealing the pro-junta scum that attend

such gatherings as well as continuing close ties between the junta and the "Chicago Boys."

At the May 7 trial, witness after witness related how Harberger Jr. drove his car onto the sidewalk and came barreling straight at the demonstrators. Serious injuries were averted only because one of the marchers was able to yell out a warning and push several demonstrators to safety in time. Harberger missed by a matter of feet. A Chicago policeman testified that he saw tire tracks on the lawn only three feet from the concrete walkway where the demonstration was held.

The last witness was a University of Chicago hospital worker who testified that he had seen the accused playing a Pac-Man computer game—Harberger Jr. is a videogame freak—at a bar in Hyde Park where he overheard him bragging to a young woman: "Hi, I'm Paul Harberger, you may have heard of me. I'm the one who tried to run over 20 commies."

During cross-examination Harberger's lawyer was continuously ruled out of order and even criticized as "incompetent" by the judge. Nevertheless Ellis dismissed the case with the specious argument that since the demonstrator who filed the formal complaint also yelled out the warning and pushed others to safety, he was not really part of the demonstration and his personal safety was not endangered! With this incredible reasoning, our comrades wouldn't have had a legitimate case unless they had actually been hit by the car!

Commenting on this scandalous decision, University of Chicago SYL

spokesman Phyllis Chaplain stated: "Judge Ellis' ruling recalls the release on a technicality of the convicted murderers of prominent Chilean exile Orlando Letelier." Letelier, former minister and ambassador to the U.S. of Allende's Unidad Popular government which was overthrown by Pinochet's bloody coup, had been living in exile in the U.S. On 21 September 1976 Letelier and his assistant Ronni Moffett were assassinated as his car was blown to smithereens in downtown Washington, just seconds after it passed the Chilean embassy. For more than a year the U.S. government stalled an investigation which it knew would lead straight to Pinochet's secret police and to the CIA (whose director at the time was George Bush), which if it was not an accessory certainly had guilty knowledge.

In the trials that followed, the ringleader, an American fascist bomb expert named Michael Townley, was given a light sentence for turning state's evidence on his Cuban *gusano* henchmen. And on 15 September 1980 a federal appeals court overturned their convictions despite the court's finding that "on the evidence at the trial [they] were guilty as principals of the murder of Letelier and Moffett." Judge Ellis' decision is an eerie echo of that appeals court action releasing the Pinochet killers to stalk the streets again.

The Harberger case has stirred considerable interest at the University of Chicago. A statement demanding that Paul Harberger be jailed was endorsed by the editor of the student newspaper, the *Maroon*, and by

spokesmen for several campus organizations. On the day before the Harberger trial the Spartacus Youth League held a spirited rally at the U of C campus. In addition to publicizing the assault case and Harberger Sr.'s role in Chile, the rally protested the "election" to the presidency of El Salvador of Alvaro Magaña, another "Chicago Boy" elevated to authority in a Latin American dictatorship. The "compromise" candidate of Washington and the Salvadoran army, for over 17 years Magaña was a crony of the murderous officers who have killed tens of thousands of workers and peasants in that long-suffering country.

The May 6 rally was also addressed by a former secretary of Arnold Harberger, who said this confidant of the Chilean junta used to tell her that "secretaries were part of the free market" and that he was sending his typing to Chile "to save money." She concluded her remarks: "If you guys want to drive Harberger off campus, I'll get the car."

The Spartacist League and SYL intend to explore every legal recourse to reverse Judge Ellis' atrocious and dangerous decision, to continue to protest and expose Arnold Harberger as unfit to hold the academic position that he exploits for training and implementation of his "experiments" in mass immiseration. At the same time we know that real justice for the murderers of Letelier, for the butchers of tens of thousands of Chilean toilers and leftists, as well as for the wretched Paul Harberger, will be meted out only by a victorious proletarian revolution.

Cutback Koch: "It's a Steal!"

TWU Mugged

On April 29 Mayor Koch's "impartial" arbitrators socked 35,000 transit workers with a new contract that resurrects virtual open-shop working conditions. The elimination of the cost-of-living clause, and the tiny wage increases (amounting to 6-7 percent annually over three years) ordered by the Office of Collective Bargaining (OCB) will mean a substantial *cut* in real pay. Even so, the Transit Authority bosses are threatening a 35 percent fare increase now, so they can blame it on the heavily minority union members. Meanwhile the labor-hating *New York Times* hailed the pact for "unzipping" transit work rules. The TA and Mayor Koch couldn't be happier with the "deal." According to the *Times* (1 May), "it was all that administration officials could do to refrain from gloating" over the arbitrators' decision.

Responsibility for this abominable contract lies squarely with the John Lawe leadership of Transport Workers (TWU) Local 100, which pushed for binding arbitration as an alternative to the union's tradition of "no contract, no work." If Lawe gets his way, Local 100 members won't even get a chance to vote the contract down: union officials have

announced that there will be no ratification vote for the first time in the union's history and in violation of both the TWU constitution and the Local 100 bylaws. "It's binding arbitration, all right," commented one TWU member to *WV*. "Lawe binds us hand and foot, while the arbitrators give us three years on a chain gang!" Union members should demand a special meeting to vote this giveback contract down!

Under Lawe's arbitration setup, transit workers were *guaranteed* to lose—and they did. For the first time in several decades the TA will have unchallenged control over work assignments, farming of work to outside contractors and assignment of overtime (with non-emergency forced overtime now sanctioned). All work quotas are eliminated, so the TA has a free hand to intensify speedup, making dangerous work even more life-threatening. Perhaps worst of all, the TA is given the "right" to dictate on any issue not covered in this contract, regardless of past practice. The OCB-dictated contract demonstrates that arbitration isn't impartial at all, but rather is a weapon used by the bosses to prevent labor struggle while undermining and de-

stroying whatever gains the unions made in the past.

Incredibly, Lawe has published "Arbitration Highlights" claiming "Victory Without Strike." He further maintains that no concessions were made by the union—something only a swivel-chair bureaucrat could claim! But the big-business press knows the score, and they're cheering that the "reasonableness" of United Auto Workers chief Doug Fraser (who robbed UAW members of several billion dollars on behalf of the companies) has come to New York labor. Lawe is even trying to imitate Fraser's racist protectionism, warning against a "Kawasaki subway" run on Japanese-built cars! (He's probably worried that his friends in the TA wouldn't get as big kickbacks. But then maybe the wheel trucks wouldn't crack and the electric lights go out like they do on the built-in-USA R-46 cars.)

The labor fakers' message is this: U.S. workers must "sacrifice" so the American profit-makers can outdo their foreign rivals. The union officials say it's necessary to "give back"; the bosses call it "rollback"—roll back the unions, roll back black rights, roll back Communism. This "rollback" drive is supported by both capitalist parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. Nevertheless, the search goes on for a "friend of labor" in the Democratic Party who will set things right in City Hall.

Last year they thought they finally had the "popular front" candidate against the virulently anti-labor mayor. Frank Barbaro wasn't just hacked by the Communist Party and TWU "dissident" Arnold Cherry—transit *arbitrator* Theodore Kheel was the head of

Barbaro's "unity" campaign (and even MTA head Ravitch was on the outs with "Cutback Koch")! But TWU members will not win by bringing back a "real Democrat"; after all, the attack on New York municipal unions was begun under Democrats Abe Beame and Jimmy Carter! The working people and oppressed minorities need a workers party. It's not some false "friend of labor" who will turn things around, rather it's militant struggle and bringing back the traditions that built the union movement, like "no contract, no work." TWU members will need such weapons in the coming period, as the TA begins to implement Lawe's giveback deal. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Nicaraguan Masses: "Pastora al Paredón"

Comandante Zero Betrays the Revolution

In August 1978, Edén Pastora became an instant legend for leading the successful takeover of Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza's national palace, holding the entire puppet legislature hostage and forcing the release of dozens of Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) prisoners. Thousands of poor and working people lined the streets of the capital to cheer "Comandante Zero" as he escaped in a plane with half a million Somoza dollars. When Pastora returned to Managua in July 1979 at the head of the Southern Front of the victorious FSLN, he was again hailed as a revolutionary hero. But last month "Comandante Zero" went over to the counterrevolution. This time the masses went into the streets shouting "*¡paredón, paredón!*" (to the execution wall) for Edén Pastora, and burning their Sandinista militia cards because they bore his signature.

"Comandante Zero" had dramatically resigned his post as vice minister of defense and left Nicaragua last July saying "the smell of gunpowder" was calling him to fight elsewhere in Central America. Some accounts recalled Che Guevara's departure from Cuba, eventually to die a martyr's death in the Bolivian jungles. But Pastora was made of different stuff. After a year of globetrotting he refused to join the Guatemalan guerrillas. And on April 15, accompanied by several former aides, Pastora staged a large-scale press conference in Costa Rica to announce his plans to form an armed opposition to the FSLN.

"I'm going to blast them out of their mansions and their Mercedes Benzes," Pastora said in his two-hour harangue (which was broadcast into Nicaragua by radio stations in Costa Rica and Honduras). Never one for modesty, Pastora claimed that he was "the comandante best loved by the people of Nicaragua" and that he and his associates would "carry out the military actions that may be necessary to finish off the foreign forces" he said were subverting the Sandinista revolution. The just anger of the Nicaraguan militiamen and veterans of the anti-Somoza uprising was deepened by the revelation that Pastora had undertaken his project after consultation with U.S. officials, a fact revealed by former Pastora collaborator and ex-Sandinista vice minister of the interior José Valdivia, who broke with his commander over this.

Pastora was careful to present himself, not as a new ally for the pro-Somoza counterrevolutionaries who have been launching almost daily attacks on Nicaragua from Honduras, but as the voice of uncorrupted *sandinismo*. The FSLN leaders declared that he was, in fact, "a new voice of imperialism." An apt description. In his rambling Costa Rica monologue, Pastora repeated the slanders thrown at the FSLN and the Nicaraguan revolution by Reagan and Haig: Cuban agents have made Nicaragua a "pcon" of the Russian "imperialists"; the new army is too large for defensive purposes (against a U.S.-backed invasion?!); the FSLN is arbitrarily seizing land and businesses, creating a "regime of terror" while killing Miskito Indians, etc.

Whose interests do these charges serve? Agence France-Presse noted that U.S. spokesmen believe that "undeniably the Reagan administration now has

a stronger bargaining hand, not only toward Nicaragua, but even more importantly toward Congress" as a result of Pastora's statements. And who's behind Pastora? The Spanish news agency EFE claimed that Pastora "has the support of countries near the Central American area" and the "financial aid of a European country," while he awaits "the position of an international organization of the democratic left" (*Barricada*, 16 April).

Pastora has long had a reputation as a "social democrat" and the organization of the "democratic left" in question is the Second International (SI). West European social democrats like SI president Willy Brandt and French president Mitterrand have generally critically backed the FSLN. But their more right-wing bourgeois populist affiliates in Latin America, especially Venezuela's Acción Democrática and Costa Rica's National Liberation Party,



Militia women mobilized to defend revolution (above); Sandinista journal *Barricada* says "No traitor shall pass!"

have objected to the presence of Sandinista observers at SI meetings. No doubt they would prefer "social democrat" Pastora, who calls for "economic and political pluralism," and perhaps even Alfonso Robelo, the leading bourgeois opponent of the FSLN in Nicaragua, whose "Nicaraguan Democratic Movement" has been seeking the SI franchise for some time.

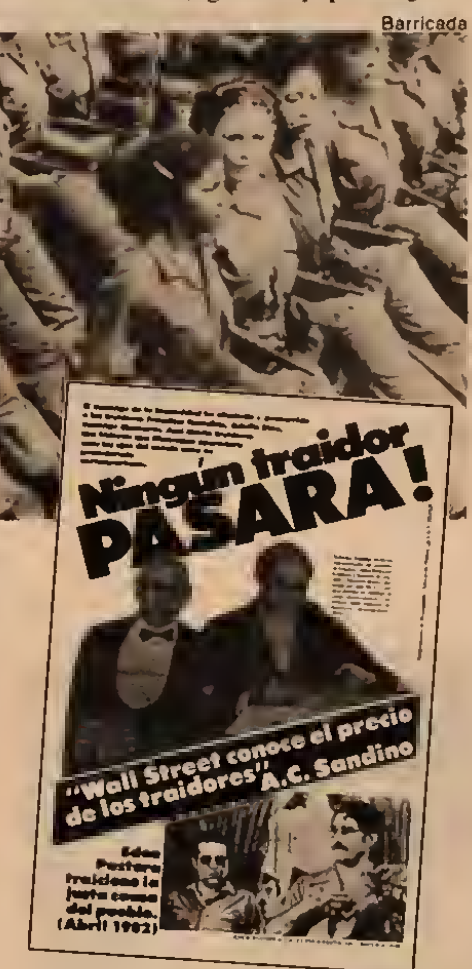
As the *Washington Post* (16 April) pointed out, "Both the U.S. government and domestic opponents of the current Sandinista leadership have been looking for a leader... free of past association with the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Pastora would seem to fit the bill." And speaking of bills, who picked up the tab for Pastora's counterrevolutionary propaganda barrage? EFE reports that "almost a hundred American and European journalists" attended the invitation-only press conference in a luxury hotel outside San José. Both the Mexican *Excelsior* and Cuba's *Prensa Latina* remarked on the large number of CIA-connected press pundits at the affair. Bought and paid for, it would seem.

Revolution Polarizes

Pastora's recruitment to the side of U.S.-backed counterrevolution in Central America is more than a mere act of personal betrayal. It is only the latest event in the ongoing polarization of Nicaragua since the Sandinistas' revolution. From the beginning of the anti-Somoza uprising, the FSLN sought alliances with capitalist elements driven into a corner by the dictator's personal

greed and attempts to monopolize the Nicaraguan economy. Pastora himself was a Sandinista-come-lately and a member of the right-wing "tercerista" faction of the FSLN, which had strong personal and political links with the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." (After the victory Pastora, who had spent years of exile as a small businessman in Costa Rica, reportedly asked for his old lands back.)

To win such elements the FSLN commanders promised to preserve capitalism, share power with Robelo & Co. and integrate the FSLN troops into a purged National Guard. But when Somoza's mercenary army collapsed and fled, the Sandinistas began to take full command, gradually pushing the



bourgeois elements out of the government. (Pastora was especially peeved that for all his publicity he was not given an important command, nor a seat on the FSLN's nine-man directorate.) Reacting against pressures from Reagan's Washington and local capitalists, after successive purges and defections, ex-guerrilla hard-liners now solidly control the government. May Day found FSLN junta coordinator Daniel Ortega in Moscow consulting the Kremlin leaders, while back in Managua the Nicaraguan trade unions adopted the slogan, "Defend the revolution, for the construction of socialism."

Comparisons with the Cuban Revolution are obvious and appropriate. Castro's July 26 Movement, like the FSLN, was a petty-bourgeois nationalist group which appealed to liberal bourgeois opponents of the Batista dictatorship to join with it in power. As the U.S. imperialists stepped up the pressure on the victorious Castro regime, the Cubans responded by nationalizing the economy and liquidating the bourgeois opposition. The Edén Pastora of the day was July 26 Move-



Turncoat Edén Pastora (right) embraced by Second International's man, former Venezuelan president Pérez.

ment leader Huber Matos, who was arrested for plotting a bourgeois anti-Castro coup. The result in Cuba was a bureaucratically deformed workers state, and the way Reagan is going, it looks like he will force the same outcome in Nicaragua.

A few days after Pastora's San José press conference, the chief of Nicaragua's "internal order" police, Manuel Urroz, resigned his post to join his former commander. The defection of Urroz to Pastora's camp proves that the FSLN still harbors within its leading ranks potential agents of counterrevolution. (The first defense minister of the FSLN-led regime, ex-Somoza colonel Bernardino Larios, was arrested in 1980 for conspiring to assassinate the Sandinista leaders.) To flush them out it will be necessary to force through a clean break with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. But this is precisely what the Sandinistas insist they do not want to do. And if the FSLN is to follow in Castro's footsteps it will be against the Cuban leader's explicit advice.

These petty-bourgeois bonapartists who oppose proletarian revolution and workers democracy at home have the narrow outlook of a nationalist bureaucracy. Both the FSLN and the Cubans have scabbed on the Salvadoran struggle, now refusing to arm the leftist rebels and instead appealing for a sellout "political solution" of the type U.S. imperialism wishes it could have enforced in Nicaragua. But despite the stated intentions of the FSLN leaders, it will be impossible to find a "middle way" between subordination to U.S. imperialism and expropriation of the bourgeoisie. Reagan and Haig seem almost perversely determined to see Sandinista Nicaragua follow the Cuban road in order to justify their anti-Soviet war drive and U.S. intervention in Central America.

The betrayal by "Comandante Zero" comes in the middle of the Reagan administration's concerted campaign to "destabilize" Nicaragua economically and politically and set it up for bloody counterrevolution. The anger of the Nicaraguan masses, who chant "*¡Edén Pastora al paredón!*" is completely justified. Recalling the watchword of the defense of Madrid in the Spanish Civil War, the new Sandinista slogan against the "contras" (counterrevolutionaries) is "*¡No pasarán!*"—They will not pass! But Franco did pass, because the Stalinists, social democrats and anarchists *opposed* a revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat against the capitalists. In Nicaragua as well the danger of internal counterrevolution will persist as long as the capitalist fifth column is allowed to survive. What is necessary is revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist vanguard capable of responding to imperialist threats by mobilizing the masses throughout the region for socialist revolution.

Defend Cuba, USSR! Hands off Nicaragua! U.S. out of Central America! Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador!

Not a Sandinista "middle way" or a "negotiated solution" with the Salvador butcher junta, but workers revolution throughout Central America! ■

Smash Reagan Reaction!...

(continued from page 1)

itself is also calling for "Stop the War" and a negotiated solution. Many of them, of course, are quite divorced from the military struggle that is going on in the field, and simply see the military struggle as a pressure tactic to implement their policies for a negotiated solution with the junta. What would a negotiated solution with the junta mean? They're now calling for respecting the "institutionalization" of the armed forces. Essentially it's back to October 1979, where you had the "human rights" coup that overthrew the old Romero dictatorship and brought Duarte to power in a popular-front government which included the Communist Party, which included ["social democrat" Guillermo] Ungo, which included [Christian Democrat Rubén] Zamora—that is, many of the forces that today represent the FDR. The FDR is the popular front in exile. And their program is "back to 1979": "We'll purge the few bad officers like D'Aubuisson was purged. And we'll clean up the mess, we'll have a pluralistic society, we'll have nice democratic capitalism and we'll reform the oligarchy."

It's all a big utopian dream. Much of this language is the language of Chile. And you remember in Chile Allende came to power with a guarantee that he would respect the "institutionalization" of the army. Have the lessons of Chile been forgotten? No, in fact, they've been learned by the reformists and given their own interpretation. The problem with Allende was that he went "too far," he was "too radical." Too many times he shook his fist, even if it was only in tokenistic fashion, at U.S. imperialism. He was too fast to expropriate capital in Chile, even if it was capital that was no longer of use directly to U.S. imperialism. So the point is that they learned completely the opposite lesson. These are reformists on the run, or in many cases, not even reformists but simply liberals on the run. And since they

clearly than over the Russian question itself and the response of the popular front, not just the Democratic Party but also its left-wing defenders. Reagan and Haig say that El Salvador is a showdown with the Soviet Union, the Spartacist League says El Salvador is a showdown with the Soviet Union. So guess what, we're supposedly agents of Reagan/Haig because we're bringing up the Russian question which has "nothing to do" with El Salvador.

But the fact that there's a \$2.3 trillion war budget; the fact that they just launched three Trident nuclear submarines, which cost about a billion dollars apiece; the fact that they're building these MX missiles and Cruise missiles and they're making these multimillion-dollar tanks now—all of this is not being made simply to defend the coffee plantations of El Salvador for Maxwell House.

The Reaganites have tried to pick what they think is an easy target in order to refurbish the United States as a military power that can win. And to set the basis, by posing it in terms of the anti-Soviet global conflict, as a launching pad for war against the Soviet Union. There's a NATO flotilla that recently completed some exercises in the Caribbean. And it had all the soft cops of NATO along with the United States—social-democratic West Germany was there, the cheese-eating Dutch were there and the ever-somoralistic Canadians were down there, too. And this exercise, you know, it's not like the Jane Fonda exercise book—they're not just doing it to keep in shape. They're down there in the Caribbean preparing for a military and economic embargo of Cuba, to strangle the island's economy, which is kept afloat by Soviet freighters. It'll create an encirclement, a freighter that goes through will be sunk and World War III will rapidly proceed.

Popular Front Chains the Workers

Now I'd like to go into a little of the background to the popular front, what it is and why it takes the particular expression it does in the United States.



Salvadoran guerrillas in the field are fighting to win, not for popular-front sellout.

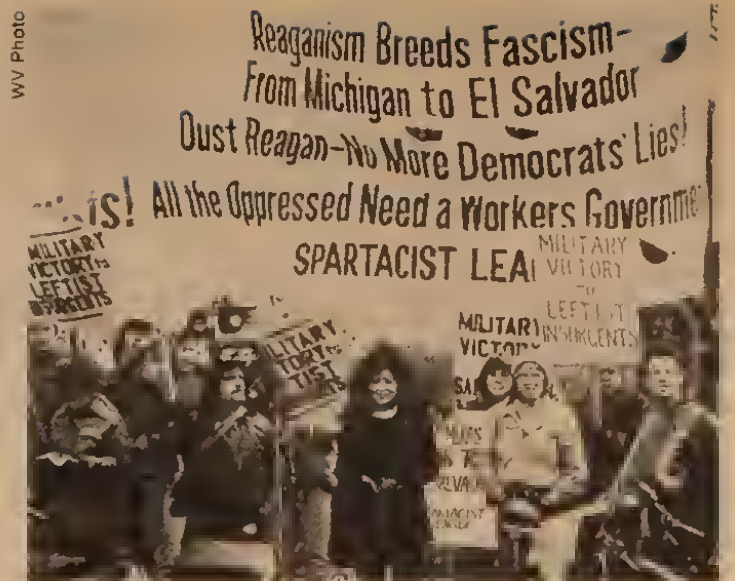
cannot conceive of coming to power in any other way than within the framework of U.S. imperialist approval, they too seek to bring back Carter or Carter's successor in the Democratic Party, a Teddy Kennedy, back into the White House.

El Salvador and the Russian Question

Now what was behind Carter's "human rights" drive, behind bringing Duarte to power, was the attempt to rearm U.S. imperialism, morally and materially, for a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. And that's why it led directly to Reagan and D'Aubuisson, who were simply more consistent spokesmen and advocates of these same policies. Nowhere is this seen more

The popular front, you see, makes unambiguously clear what is integral to reformism, namely, reformism is the agency of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the workers movement. Entering into elections, like they had in France recently, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party will go around town and they'll find some really down-and-out bourgeois politician and they'll say, "Why don't you form a party? I mean there must be three or four other people that you can either pay or bribe to join your party, and you come into the coalition. You say you're a splinter from the Radicals (which was the Democratic Party of France). Come on in, we'll form a coalition government. What we'll do is we'll give you a set of handcuffs, and you put these handcuffs on us." So when the workers say, "How come you don't

Washington, D.C., March 27:
Anti-Imperialist
Contingent
stands out as
the only opposi-
tion to pro-
Democratic
Party
popular
frontism.



strike a blow against capitalism?" you say, "Well then we'll lose our partners here. You don't want to wreck the unity of the popular front against evil and misery."

This is really the whole history, from Spain to Chile to El Salvador, to find a shadow of the bourgeoisie and use it as an excuse not to make any encroachments on private property, on capital in any way—whether it's the army, whether there's land or whether it's industry. In El Salvador now you've got thousands of dedicated workers and peasants, poorly armed, sacrificing their lives... in order to preserve "economic pluralism" with the oligarchy, in order to preserve the "institutionalization" of D'Aubuisson's army? No. Clearly they desire, as we do, to avenge their fallen comrades, to win a military victory, to shatter the old oligarchy, the old state institutions of the army and the death squads in order to create a new society. But their leaders say, "No, no, you can't run ahead of all the people whom we've managed to unite, including these lawyers, these born-again social democrats and bourgeois politicians who we found lurking in the alleyways of various embassies on their way into exile from various coups."

The popular front chains, openly chains, the working class and the parties of the working class to the imperialist bourgeoisie. And the popular front is not just an electoral, or even principally an electoral policy. You see, in the United States the Communist Party was confronted with the following dilemma: there was no mass party of the working class to offer up its mass support for a few parliamentary portfolios, generally the Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Zoos or something like that while the bourgeois minister (even though he only represented himself) generally got interior, foreign affairs or the war ministry.

What happened in the U.S. in the '30s, coming out of the depths of the depression and the mass unemployment and the mass destruction of industry and jobs, was an enormous strike wave which in three cities was led by ostensibly revolutionary leaderships: the Trotskyists in Minneapolis, the Mustelites in Toledo, the Stalinists in the Bay Area, San Francisco. Out of this strike wave came the basis on which the CIO was built, but without a genuinely revolutionary leadership, it was led straight into the Roosevelt machine and straight into the Democratic Party. The welding of the mass industrial workers movement in this country by the social democrats and the Stalinists to the Democratic Party became the American version of the popular front. It sabotaged and set back what was a great revolutionary upheaval on the scale of the '36 strikes in France, when Trotsky announced the revolution is here, and the great upheavals which took place in Spain. And it is this crime that has created the present political bankruptcy as well as the general social bankruptcy of the American trade-union leadership ever since.

The founding documents of the Fourth International, of our interna-

tional movement, are filled with an analysis of these developments and the slogans which can break the chains of class collaboration and unleash the revolutionary potential of the American and European working masses. In particular let me call your attention to "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," where Trotsky said part of the decay and degeneration of imperialism, which on the one hand manifests itself in these enormous economic crises, and the growth of fascism on the other hand, is the welding together of trade unions and the state, which fascism carries to its logical expression.

You see this, of course, most forthrightly with the Cold War, where the American labor bureaucracy was the vanguard of war with the Soviet Union long before Reagan got to the White House. And in the intervention of the Labor Department into the labor movement, where the government actually comes in and runs elections in the labor movement, as happened with the Arnold Miller campaign in the mines. Now you've got [UAW president Doug] "Giveback" Fraser, who represents the consummate growing together of the trade-union bureaucracy and, if they can pull them in their wake, the trade unions together with the imperialist state. So what Trotsky said in "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" is still very true today, that is, only under the leadership of the Fourth International can the trade unions be turned again into instruments of struggle, be made independent organs of the working class—only as agencies of revolutionary struggle for power.

September 19 and May 3/March 27

I want to compare September 19, the big labor demonstration against Reagan in Washington, with the El Salvador demos last May 3 and this March 27. Like May 3 and March 27, September 19 was launched as an attempt to refurbish the Democratic Party and ultimately to get a Democrat elected into the White House. I want to make all proportions guarded here because clearly we were not an organizational contender in September 19; but nevertheless, look at the difference between the receptivity that we received on September 19 and these two other demonstrations in Washington. So what we say about a class polarization in this country is true: workers are extremely open. That doesn't mean they're about to abandon their passivity, their social conservatism, or what have you, but they are extremely open to revolutionary answers to a situation in which there don't seem to be any answers.

Whereas these people [at May 3 and March 27], this petty-bourgeois (and it's predominantly petty-bourgeois) mobilization for the popular front is very politically conscious, and knows what it wants. What it *doesn't* want is any reds waving red flags in front of Teddy Kennedy's face. When that big rally is there on TV and they're reading the greetings from the next president, they don't want any banners that say, "For Workers Revolution Throughout Cen-

tral America!" And that's why they use Reagan's cops, and not just Reagan's cops but his special squad, based on the L.A. police force in the old days when they did in the Panthers, called the SWAT team. They weren't just ordinary Park Police, you know, that help Smokey across the street, out of a tree or something. These were the beginning of what they call in other countries the *carabineros*, the beginning of a national federal police force. And on horses against us, namely the Cossacks to keep it clean for Teddy.

At September 19 there was none of this. There were Democrats on the platform but none of them attempted to address that crowd. On the West Coast they were hooded off the platform, including Mondale, who if he isn't going to be a presidential candidate himself is certainly a stalking horse for Teddy. They just booed him off. He tried to appeal to Poland, he tried to appeal to this, to that—nothing: they weren't having him. Namely, the working class is not buying the popular-frontist nostrums. And if you go and read a lot of the things Trotsky wrote in the '30s, they ring very relevant today.

As Trotsky said in his writings on France, during a period of severe economic and social crisis, where millions were out of work, where industry is being shut down, where the capitalists are destroying their own industry, you can't appeal to workers to struggle for the minimum program, to struggle for another few cents an hour. They know that there are thousands of people waiting to take their jobs or there are no jobs that exist. The system, the profit motive system, is in a profound crisis. And as a consequence, the struggle is not just a struggle against the individual capitalist, over the division of the social product in that particular plant or industry. It is a struggle against the capitalist system itself.

Take PATCO, the labor aristocracy, the thing that's supposed to tie the trade unions to the state. The labor aristocracy wants a little more. *There is no more.* And Reagan gave a political answer to their economic demand. He smashed the air controllers union and smashed their strike. The paralysis of the labor movement was abject prostration and treachery. Just the power of our elementary demand, "Picket lines mean don't cross!" translated in graphic terms, "Shut down the airports!" sold us many thousands of newspapers in Washington. The demand was immediately realizable to these workers.

"Shut down the airports!" If only a few unions could get together and stand up to Reagan, it's the beginning of a class-against-class fight. That's why the IAM, that's why the pilots union, that's why the Teamsters, all of them stabbed PATCO in the back—because they knew it would take a class fight, and they are class traitors not class fighters. Sometimes good for the nickel-and-dime stuff, but nickels and dimes don't win back PATCO jobs. That would take labor action to bring Reagan down, the kind of labor action that means a break with the Democrats, who in office would have had to do the same thing [as Reagan] in this period.

So September 19 showed that if the unions, even in symbolic form, pose the question of "fight Reagan," labor is ready to march, far exceeding the expectations or even the desires of the labor bureaucracy who mobilized that demonstration and controlled it. Half a million industrial workers, unionists. They bought the city for a day. They could have taken the city for the future of America had they wanted to, had they had the consciousness. Because the social power was there. What was lacking was the political consciousness, the recognition of the need for workers to have their own government.

Smash Racist Terror!

It was not only the most powerful labor demonstration in American histo-

ry, it was also the most integrated. Because the race question in this country is the refraction through which all the other social questions are posed. Just take unemployment. It used to be there was a reserve, predominantly black, army of the unemployed. Unemployment benefits were for blacks. Welfare was for blacks. Food stamps were for blacks. Well, that whole consciousness is beginning to change because now everybody is trying to get the benefits that don't exist. And they all feel like they're being treated like blacks, from PATCO workers on down.

So the fact that Reagan is openly and viciously trying to put the crisis of the imperialist system on the backs of the American working people is of course going to make all the social questions focus on the blacks. And the black organizations, whether they are nationalist, whether they are reformist, whether they are civil libertarian, look entirely bankrupt. So you've got a labor bureaucracy that is entirely Jim Crow, that hasn't fought for black rights—except to sabotage the struggle for black rights like in '63—since the rise of the CIO and

take it. Although once called into action, even if it's a tokenistic action—like Labor Day in New York, September 19 in Washington—they marched. Nevertheless, they look around and see nothing but defeats. It is necessary to lift the heavy hand of these historical defeats, mistakes, treachery from the working class and blacks in this country. And that's what we did around the Detroit demonstration—the [November 1979] anti-Klan demonstration that we had in the aftermath of Greensboro.

It was the first mass anti-Klan demonstration in an industrial city in years, in decades, in this country. It laid the basis for ANCAN in San Francisco [which stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in April 1980]. And it laid the basis for March 20 in Ann Arbor. If the Nazis could get away with marching in Pumpkin Seed and Gingerbread Land—a place without very much indigenous support for right-wing terrorists—if they could get away with marching in Ann Arbor, they figured they could get away with marching anywhere. And that's why they saw it as a launching pad for a



Striking air controllers march in mass Labor Day rally in NYC, 1981.

industrial unionism. But when the unions stand up, blacks are in the forefront, in Washington as well as almost any kind of picket line you'll ever see. Because they are the most alienated from U.S. society, because of their strategic position in the economy, they are necessarily forced to play a vanguard role.

This brings me to the question of fascism. Because fascism is where all these questions come together—the anti-Soviet war drive, the trashing of labor, the trashing of blacks. Today the fascists are seen as shock troops that show how far the government can go in smashing the labor movement and thereby emboldening and fueling the growth of the fascists.

Greensboro was presented by the press—and the left press as well as the liberal press—as a *shoot-out* between "violence-prone" elements. Well, of course the CWP was not tactically smart in the South, going in and breaking up fascist meetings, then calling a "Death to the Fascists" demonstration at which they took no precautions and no defensive measures. It was an extremely unwise policy that they pursued. But they were not targeted by the fascists because of their lack of wisdom. They were targeted because they were perceived to be commies, "nigger-lovers" and labor agitators. That's why the Klan and Nazis went after the CWP. And, now it's quite clear, with a great deal of police assistance, if not police initiative, both from the federal government and the local authorities.

Next they targeted Detroit. Detroit was a logical conclusion to Greensboro—the center of black radical proletarian struggle, the Motor City which is supposed to make the economy run and is certainly going to be the motor force behind the proletarian revolution in this country. But you have a working class which appears to be extremely passive, which appears to just

return to Detroit after our successful mobilization on November 10, 1979. They were trying to do an end run. But they were stopped in Ann Arbor.

Now the reformists and liberals who talk about "protest the Nazis and Klan," everybody who talks about civil liberties for the Nazis and Klan, everybody who talks about calling on the state to "ban the Klan," they all believe that the Nazis and Klan are going to be dealt with by the police. That's why they make no preparations for a mobilization to smash them and in fact make a counter-preparation to slander and to besmirch the people who initiate such a mobilization. And that's why this created such an outcry—because behind it again is the popular front. To smash the fascists is to go to the roots of social reaction in this country, to take on the imperialist crisis of which the fascists are the distilled expression, and the anti-Soviet war drive of which they are the vanguard. So that's why there is this hue and cry that this is the worst atrocity that ever happened to Ann Arbor.

Opportunities and Dangers

The policy, whether it's explicitly stated or not, that's being pursued by our opponents, has taken another vicious form as well. We recently had an important victory against the very right-wing Republican attorney general in California who attempted to include us, in a report on organized crime in California a few years ago and target us as violence-prone, terrorist-prone, etc.—as outlaws, to be dealt with like mad dogs and shot down in the streets. This was Deukmejian—we initiated a suit and we got a retraction from him. Well, now Reagan's got a lot of Deukmejian running around in the left who are willing to do that kind of dirty work, the dirty work of slander, of verbal gangsterism, of saying anything about a group so that anything can be

done to them.

So we are entering a period of extreme opportunities and extreme dangers. This is a period fraught with an enormous potential for struggle to which there is only a revolutionary answer—only an answer that can be provided by the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. It is also a period of extreme danger. The left would like to get us; the liberals would like to get us; Reagan would like to get us.

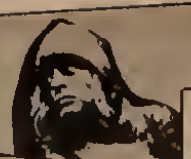
I'd like to close with one story for some of you who might have felt a little lonely at certain points down in Washington on March 27. So the whole liberal left milieu has lined up behind Reagan on the issue of Poland and the enthusiasm for Solidarność, where the question of anti-Soviet rollback was most directly posed in an immediate sense since World War II. You know, they talk about millions of workers behind Solidarność—but where are the millions of workers today behind Ayatollah Khomeini? Now almost everybody says, "Oh, Ayatollah Khomeini, he's just a reactionary." But a few years ago they were at least vicariously running through the streets of Teheran shouting, "Allah is Great."

Well, at least let me say this for the ayatollah—against whom I've said many appropriately nasty things. He did after all seize the nest of spies in Teheran and denounce U.S. imperialism, close down a few spy bases, right? Now it turns out that the reason he seized the embassy hostages was not at all progressive and we don't support it. But at least he targeted, even if it was for reactionary reasons, a reactionary institution. Can you imagine Solidarność seizing the American embassy, except to demand that Reagan initiate a first strike against Moscow? I mean the contrast is incredible—between these medieval clericalists, these Koran-thumping hogs and the "progressive," "enlightened" "workers-democratic" "socialist-minded" Solidarność—who never mention the word socialism in any of their propaganda except to denounce it, and never mention U.S. imperialism except to praise it!

So when they say "International Monetary Fund, come in and run our economy," this may not mean very much in the United States. But the point is that in Sri Lanka where we now have a section, the comrades there understand what the International Monetary Fund means. When the IMF comes in, they cut the rice ration, which is the border line between malnutrition and starvation. They know what the IMF means, because it is a life and death question—it is the direct intervention of U.S. imperialism to enforce a qualitative immiseration of the masses. And so when they hear Solidarność call for the IMF to take over Poland, they don't think that Solidarność is too progressive.

That's the virtue of being in an international movement. In Washington, we carried the flags of the [Russian] revolution whose historic gains we alone defend in this country. We called for military victory in El Salvador to inflict a defeat on U.S. imperialism. But the final defeat of U.S. imperialism depends on the actions of the American working class. This is the belly of the monster. This is still the most powerful imperialist country in the world and the country which challenges every progressive social movement—for independence, for socialism, for social justice.

And it is our responsibility to build the party of the working class that will overthrow the imperialist capitalist system here in the United States and make the world safe for socialism, for a socialist future. So these are enormous responsibilities that confront us. And we have a unique, in that sense, responsibility to proceed with the political task ahead. Forward to the American workers party! Forward to the world party of socialism, the rebirth of the Fourth International! Join us! ■



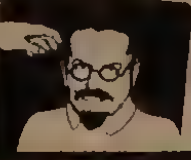
Assholes Revisited

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

TORCH

Spart Goons

Shortly after the Nazis announced their plans on February 1, the Coalition Against Nazis began public meetings to invite participation of all concerned groups and individuals in responding to the plans of the Nazis. Around 100 people showed up for the first meeting. The Detroit and Ann Arbor Spartacist League...



HAIL RED ARMY NERVE GAS!

THE BIG LIE

Anti-Racist Demonstrators Break Up Nazi Rally in Ann Arbor

ANN ARBOR, Mich. (AP) — A group of anti-racist demonstrators broke up a Nazi rally in Ann Arbor on March 27. The rally was held at the University of Michigan and was attended by about 100 people. The demonstrators, who were led by a man named [Name], broke up the rally by shouting slogans and throwing rocks. The Nazis were forced to flee the building. The demonstrators then marched to the city hall and held a rally. They then marched to the city hall and held a rally. They then marched to the city hall and held a rally.

SL: Sectarrians Turn to Thuggery

ANN ARBOR, Mich. (AP) — A group of anti-racist demonstrators broke up a Nazi rally in Ann Arbor on March 27. The rally was held at the University of Michigan and was attended by about 100 people. The demonstrators, who were led by a man named [Name], broke up the rally by shouting slogans and throwing rocks. The Nazis were forced to flee the building. The demonstrators then marched to the city hall and held a rally. They then marched to the city hall and held a rally. They then marched to the city hall and held a rally.

on the left

Guardian

Left in form: Right in essence

The scenario is almost always the same. There is a large demonstration. Often it is against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, but it also could be a demonstration against the Nazis or a rally against the Reagan cutbacks. A smaller group forms away from the main demonstration and yells angrily at the main group. Soon the smaller group works itself up into a frenzy and charges into the larger rally, fists swinging. Who is this group? Is it the "Moonies," the ultraright followers of the anticommunist Rev. Sun Myung Moon? The remnants of the fascist U.S. Labor Party? Overzealous partisans from the Young Americans for Freedom? No, it's the Spartacist League (SL), a small Trotskyist group whose sectarianism has reached new heights. The SL has a long history of super-revolu-

tionary phrasemongering and a matching inability to organize much of anything on their own. Known throughout the left for their "nazi-demonstrations" and ultra-"left" posturing at other groups' forums, they have at best been a nuisance and a hindrance to other left groups' attempts to work together. However, in the past year their tactics have moved beyond the expression of political differences to harassment and physical attack. What was once comic is now tragedy. The most recent example of this was the March 27 demonstration in Washington D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The March 27 action, sponsored by a broad-based coalition of 16 groups, raised a number of additional demands: for jobs and human needs, for self-determination in Central America, against oppression in the U.S., against the draft, against racism and against sexism. But, as usual, this was not radical enough for the SL and they painted the entire coalition as "rad-lib dives who want to call the way [in El Salvador] off." They formed their

own contingent with their own demands. This in itself is a fairly standard way of injecting something of one group's politics into a broader arena. The problem arises, however, when the SL seeks to inject its politics physically by storming the larger demonstration. The SL makes no attempt to hide this practice and even bragged about it in the latest issue of a newspaper it puts out called "Workers Vanguard." The SL states, "We formed up a flying wedge to break through their line. This was quickly and effectively done, sending their goons running and leaving a number sprawled on the ground. We did not attack 'nazi protesters' but a line of goons with yellow armbands who had linked arms in order to prevent people from entering the Anti-Imperialist Contingent" (the name the SL calls itself when it attends other groups' demonstrations). Observers at the scene recount a different story. SL members attacked the demonstration where a number of young women had gathered. One, a legal observer, had her nose broken by a karate chop from someone twice her size, another 17-year-old woman was knocked in the head and given a concussion. If this were an isolated incident, it could

perhaps be blamed on a few misguided zealots from the SL. But it reflects a tendency, begun as long as a year ago, to harass and attack other groups. On June 6 in New York City the SL attacked a Workers World Forum injuring a number of people (Guardian, June 24, 1981). In the past year, the SL has attacked or disrupted other demonstrations in Chicago, in New York City (twice) and in Ann Arbor, Mich. The issue is not the SL's right to argue for its own politics. Nor is it over the question of calling the police when the SL attempts its harassment. The real issue is physical attacks against the left. In response to a March 20 SL attack on an Ann Arbor anti-Nazi demonstration, the Coalition that organized the action issued a statement: "Physical attacks on a political, antifascist demonstration represent a new stage of degeneration for the SL. Previously, their activities, while often obnoxious and sectarian, had at least somewhat the character of fighting politically for their point of view. Physical assaults on antifascist rallies is a different matter entirely. This thuggery is totally unacceptable in the workers' and progressive movement. It is doing the work of the cops and the Nazis." JOHN TRINKL

Josef Stalin is credited with the observation that paper will take anything written on it, and he knew well that the Big Lie is not merely a war of words. If they can say anything about communists in Reagan's America it is only preparation so anything can be done to us. Remember the Greensboro massacre by the KKK and Nazis in league with the feds and local cops! After five blacks and communists were killed, the surviving reds were lucky to be acquitted, along with the murderers. Is it an accident that when the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent is harassed by mounted police and surrounded by SWAT teams in Washington on March 27, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) and its habitual partner, Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), are distributing leaflets against "SL Thuggery"? This was an attempt to excuse the cops in advance for anything they might do to "contain" the "violent" reds.

And in Ann Arbor a dubious character named Jon Bekken, who has in the past hung around the Spartacist League, suddenly turns out a slick 8-page printed "Street Sheet" of red-baiting, cop-baiting, violence-baiting filth against the SL. Any lie will do. Not only do we supposedly attack our own "Stop the Nazis" demo in Ann Arbor, "the same day, Spart goons attack an anti-Nazi demonstration in Connecticut." Of course we weren't even there, but Connecticut is a long way from A² so who's going to know. This slander sheet says openly what the others imply: there's "no room" on the left for the SL. And the slimy Bekken is now issuing death threats against us, advocating "armed" goon squads at future demonstrations and vowing in front of witnesses to "kill" the Spartacists.

We Stopped the Nazis, So They Want to Stop Us

Where we have had even modest successes, we have been met with the most virulent anti-communist backlash. So in Ann Arbor people responded to the call of the SL-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis and actually ran the Hitlerites out of town. It was an important victory against the race terrorists, but no sooner had they been driven off than this liberal college town became backlash city. The headlines of the *Michigan Daily* blared, "Mob Violence." The local police, press and politicians, horrified at the sight of a socialist-led labor-backed mobilization, targeted the Spartacist League. Cops gave repeated summonses to SL/SYers for the "crime" of distributing anti-fascist appeals. But opinion was sharply polarized, with significant support among labor and blacks for stopping the Nazis, as indicated by the letters printed on page 7.

The liberal friends of the Nazis were soon joined by the professional anti-Spartacists of Ann Arbor. The RSL, RWL and a few of the more disreputable New Leftovers, calling themselves the "Anti-Nazi Coalition," signed on as bloodhounds for the anti-red witch-hunt. When the *Michigan Daily* and *Ann Arbor News* scream about "violent demonstrators" who "clashed" with the Nazis, the "Coalition" chimes in with squeals about the "violent" SL. The RWL/RSL "Coalition" could barely produce and distribute one leaflet against the Nazis' threatened provocation. But suddenly after March 20 they are full of energy, churning out reams of leaflets, petitions, lengthy diatribes against the SL—far more than they ever did against the fascists.

It reminds us, on a small scale, of the uproar and crackdown against the Bolsheviks after the July Days in 1917. Trotsky was jailed, Lenin had to go

continued on page 8

We Stopped the Nazis, Rad-Libs Want to Stop the Spartacists

"The very necessity of having to 'justify' oneself against the charge of being in league with Hitler and the Mikado indicates the full depth of reaction...."

—Closing speech of Leon Trotsky at the Dewey Commission hearings on the Moscow Trials slanders (The Case of Leon Trotsky)

Leon Trotsky an agent of the Mikado." "Lenin received German gold." "Jewish ritual demands drinking the blood of Christian youth." Now we hear that the Spartacist League (SL) attacks anti-Nazi demonstrations, particularly ones the SL itself organizes, while looking everywhere for young girls to attack. The modern technique of the "Big Lie" was developed by the Nazi propaganda chief, Doctor Goebbels, given status on the left by Stalin's

Moscow Trials frameups, and recently embellished by General Haig. In its inherited form the Big Lie must be self-evidently false, be often repeated, and preferably have the force of state power to make it stick. It does not have to be widely believed so much as accepted as an excuse for a witchhunt. It is, in short, a set-up for repression.

When we were singled out for an ominous warning by the *Wall Street Journal* because of our opposition to Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, the rad-libs and fake-lefts were encouraged to "get the Sparts." The reformist and centrist pseudo-socialists, in rapid rightward motion since at least the mid-70s, are seized with Reagan-fear. They are desperate for a popular front over El Salvador, a bloc with the liberals to "fight the Reagan right." They hate the Spartacist League for our counterposed program of working-class independence, not Democratic Party

apologetics. No longer content with trying to make their demonstrations politically respectable to Democratic "doves" by excluding reds, they now want to set up the Spartacists as a pledge of loyalty to the bourgeoisie.

Last November a Detroit anarchist rag called the *Fifth Estate* published a foot-in-cheek polemic trying to pin the slogan "Hail Red Army Nerve Gas" on the Spartacist League. Thus does the *Fifth Estate* alibi the U.S. chem warriors who rained down napalm death and Agent Orange all over Southeast Asia. Problem is, (1) the USSR doesn't pour "yellow rain" on millions of brown-skinned peoples, an act which would be exclusively for the benefit of General Haig; and (2) if they'd done what they didn't, we wouldn't hail it. Who would believe General Haig's Big Lie? The same people who believe the SL builds anti-Nazi demonstrations only to attack them.

Letters Demolish Guardian Lies

Al Wells was one of the speakers at the Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20 rally.

May 7, 1982

To the Guardian:

In response to an article I read in your paper concerning a protest against the Nazis in Ann Arbor, Michigan on March 20, 1982, I was very upset about how some troublemakers calling themselves the coalition claimed to organize the whole demonstration. Well I got news for them. I worked for the SL organizing the demonstration against the Nazis. In Ann Arbor we contacted local unions and got their support, we contacted other groups and got their support, and I saw no one from the so-called coalition at any of these committee meetings. Where was the coalition then? Well, let me tell you where they were, sitting somewhere waiting for the work to be done so they could move in and cause trouble and claim a victory. You talk about a misguided group, that so-called coalition is it. If it'd been left up to the coalition, the Nazis would have run them out of town.

Alphonso Wells

[Member of executive board of UAW Local 1776, Willow Run]

* * * * *

7 May 1982

To The Guardian:

I am writing in response to your article on the left ("Left in Form: Right in Essence") in the April 21, 1982 issue of *The Guardian* purporting to discuss the actions of the Spartacist League at various demonstrations over the past year. I was particularly stunned at your account of the March 20 anti-Nazi mobilization that stopped the Nazis here in Ann Arbor. I have been around and active in left politics since I arrived in Ann Arbor 13 years ago and have had plenty of opportunity to judge the political conduct of the Spartacist League—first from the standpoint of political opponent and now as a close supporter of the organization. For 5 of my 13 years here in Ann Arbor I was a supporter of the Revolutionary Workers League, a bitterly anti-Spartacist, state capitalist, centrist grouping and one of the two main organizers, along with the Revolutionary Socialist League, of the Coalition mentioned in your article as having "organized" the Ann Arbor March 20 anti-Nazi mobilization. As a very active participant in the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20, I would like to attempt to set the record straight.

On March 20 in Ann Arbor 2,000 workers, blacks, Jews and students ran the Nazi S.S. Action Group out of town. Those 2,000 people were organized by the Committee to Stop the Nazis, initiated by the SL/SYL. This is what I argued for when I distributed leaflets at 5 in the morning at GM Hydra-Matic and Willow Run Plants, when I made presentations and announcements at classes and to campus organizations here at the University of Michigan, when I went from table to table at Washtenaw Community College, when I got the endorsements of professors I know or of people at

my workplace or of others active on the campus or in town. And the response was tremendous. The Committee to Stop the Nazis was the issue of the day, every day. Hundreds of students signed our mailing lists, organized dorm meetings, house meetings, benefit films, all to help get people to come out, came to planning meetings, either took leaflets themselves or signed up to distribute them with the Committee.

Where was the RSL/RWL's Coalition during all of this? They were nowhere. They put out hardly any leaflets. The truth of the matter is that if you'd seen 20 Coalition leaflets in the whole campaign you must have passed one pole at least 4 times because there just

weren't that many around. They argued against the SL call to Stop the Nazis. They didn't go to the labor movement. The RSL didn't even want the word labor to appear in the Coalition leaflet. And in my workplace one of the Coalition's honchos spent all his time not organizing to Stop the Nazis but attempting to poison the Committee's work by saying that our endorsers, some of whom I personally got, were frauds.

By the way, the RSL is chiefly known in Ann Arbor for crossing picket lines, such as campus AFSCME in 1977 and more recently the Nurses in 1981. You obviously make good bedfellows since you guys trooped across the picket lines of your own typesetters.

Gordon Weissmann
Ann Arbor

* * * * *

May 9, 1982

To the Editor:

This letter is a response to some of John Trinkl's charges (*Guardian*, April 21, 1982) against the Spartacist League. My previous perception of the SL, as disruptive trouble-makers, was very similar to Trinkl's. Recently, however, I realized that this kind of attitude was resulting in the use of exclusionary tactics by left groups against the SL, whether the SL's activities were disruptive or not.

When the Nazis announced they would march in Ann Arbor I was approached by the SL to work with their Committee to Stop the Nazis. Having seen the scope of their organizing efforts, as well as that of the Coalition to Fight the Right (RSL and RWL), I agreed to work with the SL as they appeared more capable of organizing against the fascists.

In the days that followed the SL made an outstanding effort (posting, leafletting, getting labor endorsements) to put the action together. The Coalition, meanwhile, was rather low-key, not even including a

continued on page 8

Local 23

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO

Representing ... THE DETROIT HOUSING COMMISSION EMPLOYEES
& COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT EMPLOYEES

16861 Wyoming
Detroit, Mich 48221
Phone 861 8555

May 11, 1982

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE FOLLOWING:

Coalition Against the Nazis, R.S.L. and the R.W.L.
The Guardian and Torch Publications.

From: Joesephus R. King, President, AFSCME Local 23

I am deeply concerned and repulsed by the Guardian-Torch publication depicting Americans opposed to the Klan, Nazis and Civil Rights Violations as Sectarians and Thugs. It is very unfortunate that those with out the "testicle fortitude" to get an organized front against the despicable perpetrators, aforementioned, can so blatantly come forth with charges of violence and thuggery, against the initial organizers of the "Stop the Nazi's" movement, the (Spartacist League). I as a Union representative was contacted by the S-L, approximately 3 weeks prior to the day of the march in Ann Arbor. I attended and spoke at the Press Conference there. The details and strategies were worked out there. At no time was there any dialogue expressing the intent of violence or civil unrest. There was no input from any organization known as the "RSL or the RWL, or the "Coalition Against the Nazis". These factions may have been active in the movement, but, until the day of the march, their efforts were unknown to me and other AFSCME and U.A.W. labor Unions. This to me indicates that only the Spartacist League attempted to enlist the aid of organized labor.

I strongly feel that the forces who participated in dispelling the Nazis, are to be commended for their efforts and discipline. I also feel that there will be many more fights ahead of us and in order to triumph in these fights, we must concentrate our forces and efforts in a cohesive and decisive manner as was displayed in Ann Arbor. The right to organize and express our views is a right that must be preserved, but no one has the right to castrate and circumvent the efforts of others, when they themselves were doing little, or nothing at all.

The Spartacist League was out front, in their effort to "stop the Nazis, I as a Union representative and President of a Local knows what it means to be (out-front) because that is my position the majority of the time. There is an awesome amount of responsibility and discipline that goes with being a leader (out-front). I believe the S-L did accept responsibility in Ann Arbor, and you other faction that participated, would do well to emulate the Spartacist League in the manner they communicated, organized and marshalled the Ann Arbor event. This in-fighting, Name-calling and discension among the various groups makes one wonder, (Are the Nazis and the Klan our only enemies?????)

Fraternally,
Joesephus R. King
Joesephus R. King
President, Local 23
AFSCME Council 25



Stubbs/Ann Arbor News

2,000 protesters stop the Nazis in Ann Arbor, March 20.

The Big Lie...

(continued from page 6)

underground, the right wing began circulating fabrications about the Bolsheviks receiving gold from the Kaiser. And Kerensky and the Mensheviks were circulating the slanders along with the most sinister tsarists, frothing at the mouth over Bolshevik violence and demanding their suppression.

What really has the Ann Arbor anti-Spartacists burning is that the "sectarian" SL was able to build broad support for the Committee to Stop the Nazis, which did just what its name called for on March 20. So now those who did practically nothing to build that mass action, and everything they could to sabotage it, want to step in and claim the credit. To do that they must resort to the Big Lie to cover up their own actions and inaction around March 20. That is the purpose of two lengthy articles in the latest issue of the RSL's *Torch* (15 April-14 May).

What are the facts? First of all, when the Nazis announced their plans to come to Ann Arbor there were two rallies planned. The SL-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis issued a leaflet calling for a mass mobilization at city hall at noon (the time and place announced by the fascists) in order to prevent the Nazis from staging their provocation. Fearing militant action against the fascists, a group of liberals supported by the Republican mayor called for a diversionary "affirmation of human dignity" rally for an hour later at the federal building, some blocks from city hall. "Let's Ignore the Nazis," wrote a *Michigan Daily* columnist, and for days before March 20 there was a heated political fight raging in Ann Arbor between the SL-initiated "Stop the Nazis" rally and the mayor's "Ignore the Nazis" diversion. We won this crucial battle. Two thousand showed up to stop the fascists, a couple hundred for the liberals' "human dignity" affair.

What does the RSL say about this political struggle? Nothing. And for good reason. The RSL/RWL "Coalition" was trying to straddle the middle ground between the two planned actions. They were trying to conciliate the liberals and therefore refused to call for "Stop the Nazis," instead appealing for empty "unity" and undefined "protest." Here is the RSL's version of the initial March 2 meeting called by their earlier "Coalition to Fight the Right":

"At this March 2 meeting, SLers introduced a motion demanding that the coalition's main slogan be 'Drive the Nazis Off the Streets.' This motion was defeated because most people (including ourselves) felt that a slogan such as 'Stop the Nazis' would allow for a broader, more effective mobilization—thereby increasing the chances that the fascists would actually, in action as opposed to words, be driven off the streets."

"After the SL motion was rejected, it withdrew from the coalition. A few days

later, SLers began to distribute leaflets from a 'Committee to Stop the Nazis on March 20.' Nowhere on the leaflet did the words, 'Drive the Nazis off the streets' appear! Clearly, the SL had introduced its motion at the March 2 meeting solely to give itself a pretext for walking out and forming its own separate committee."

—"SL Sectarials Turn to Thuggery," *Torch*, 15 April-14 May

A similar scenario is presented by the gutter-anarchist "Street Sheet" smear. It is a lie.

Perhaps among the Beansprout college town totalitarians of Ann Arbor it is possible to be "in touch" with how the RSL "felt" about the slogan "Stop the Nazis," but in the political world actions are what count. Did they propose this slogan for a vote at the March 2 meeting, against the SL's proposal? No. Did they even argue for any such slogan? No, they refused to discuss slogans. At the next meeting of the "Coalition," on March 9, they came in with a leaflet headed by the slogan "Unite Against Nazis and Klan" and including several demands, none of which is "Stop the Nazis!" (The SL-initiated Committee leafletted this meeting with a call to "Stop the Nazis!" but we were denied speaking rights—it was after this that we walked out.)

Our initial call to "Drive the Nazis Off the Streets" and our slogan "Stop the Nazis" mean the same thing: to prevent the fascists from staging their provocation. But between "Stop the Nazis" and

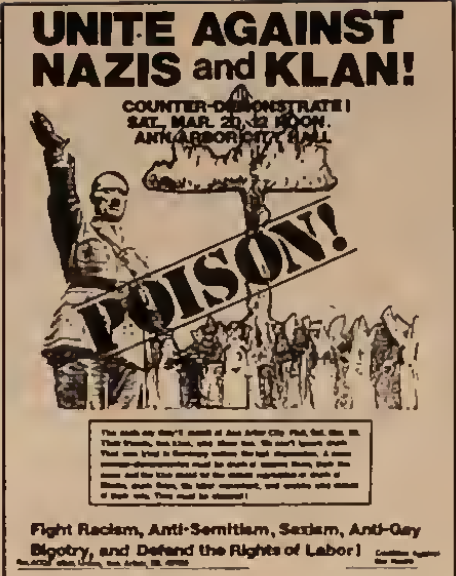
SL medic administers first aid to RSL woman slashed by Nazi, February 1978. Labor/black defense needed to stop the anti-communist race terrorists.



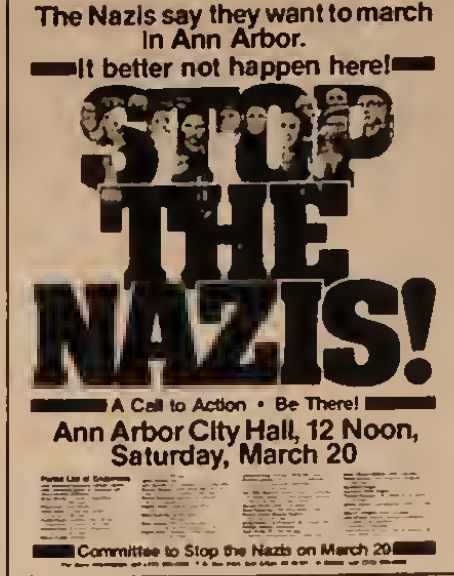
"Unite Against Nazis and Klan" there is a world of difference. Unite with whom, to do what? The mayor's liberal diversion wouldn't even have disagreed! Whatever the RSL may have "felt" was their slogan, at no point did the "Coalition" (or the RSL) put out a call, leaflet or anything with the demand "Stop the Nazis!" One can psychoanalyze their "feelings"—or one can look at the two leaflets reproduced here and judge for oneself.

For Labor/Black Mobilization Against Racist Terror

It is utterly clear why the RSL/RWL "Coalition" rejected the Spartacist call for militant action. As an RSLer said at a recent Ann Arbor videotape showing of the March 20 events, presented by the



Coalition leaflet (left); Committee poster (right). RSL claims it "felt" the Coalition's slogan was "Stop the Nazis!" See for yourself.



SL, "We wanted to struggle with the liberals." Indeed, like Jacob and the angel, it's hard to tell who won. In the *Torch* article, the RSL tries to put the face of sweet reasonableness on their political capitulation to the liberals:

"It is true that the coalition was made up of a broad range of anti-Nazi groups, including organizations and individuals who were at first uneasy with militant actions against the Nazis. A series of political discussions held over several weeks helped to create a deeper understanding of the Klan/Nazi threat...."

Some idea of the "deeper understanding" gained in this "struggle

small-group mock heroics and/or reliance on the liberals? This policy of despair is made transparently clear in the *Torch* polemic. The SL strategy of defeating racist terror through massive labor/black mobilization is denounced as "trade union fetishism." In fact, labor is simply dismissed with a remark about "the failure of the trade union movement to mobilize seriously against the Klan and the Nazis...." Thus the failure of the RSL/RWL "Coalition" to even approach the labor movement for support was not just a matter of laziness, but of policy.

Wherever militant actions to stop the fascists have brought significant labor support, if they are organized by the communists of the Spartacist League the rad-libs and fake-lefts turn up their noses, cover their eyes and lie through their teeth. In November 1979, one week after the Greensboro massacre, the Klan threatened to march in the heart of black working-class Detroit. When the SL mobilized 500 black and white auto workers and socialists, over the bitter-end opposition of black liberal Democratic mayor Coleman Young, to make sure that "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City," the RWL called the demonstration a "fraud." When in April 1980 the SL again mobilized labor backing to prevent the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, this time with the endorsement of 22 unions and 1,200 participants, the RWL denounced the SL as "sectarian" even though our demonstration was several times as large as a liberal/Maoist "non-confrontational" rally which begged union-busting mayor Dianne Feinstein to ban the Nazis.

On March 20, the RSL cynically pretends labor support was not a factor:

"...the anti-Nazi demonstration in Ann Arbor was largely limited to a left, anti-racist, 'movement organized' mobilization that lacked significant support from the Detroit area's powerful labor movement, in particular, the United Auto Workers union."

More lies. It was precisely the labor support which built the "Stop the Nazis"

Letters Demolish Guardian Lies...

(continued from page 7)

phone number on their leaflet with their most visible energy being expended in denigrating attacks on the efforts of the SL. For me there is little doubt that the SL was responsible for mobilizing the 2,000 anti-fascist demonstrators on March 20, in Ann Arbor.

My conclusion from this is that left groups wishing to avoid confrontations of a physical nature, with the SL, must first accept the SL as dedicated revolutionaries, not rabble-rousers, and engage in meaningful discussions and debates with them, rather than slandering and actively excluding the SL from mass actions. Political and tactical differences do have a place in united action and therefore it is foolish to exclude people with the energy, dedication, and political sophistication found in the ranks of the SL.

Lewis Cohen
Ann Arbor, Michigan

May 9, 1982

To the Editor:

The purpose of this letter is to object to a false characterization of the Spartacist League made in an article published in the *Guardian* by John Trinkl on April 21, 1982.

As an endorser of the Committee to Stop the Nazis, what disturbs me most about this article is the way in which Mr. Trinkl with his slick, rationalistic style mystifies and distorts the objectivity of the Ann Arbor anti-Nazi demonstration and the role which the Spartacist League played in this event. Lost in the flow of what must be judged a disorienting prejudice, Mr. Trinkl attempts to rewrite history. More concretely, he fails to note the significance of the Ann Arbor demonstration, namely, the implementation of the united front formation to meet and defeat the Nazi threat. This failure acquires an added dimension when Mr. Trinkl, engaged in a flight of righteousness, asserts that the Coalition in fact organized the demonstration. This is an absolute falsehood.

In fact, the exact opposite emerges as the truth. Not only did the Spartacist League organize the demonstration through an incredible effort of sustained activity, they also increased its range and scope by bringing into the united front formation an incredible array of labor unions, left groups, and ungrouped leftists. This fact in itself should serve to dispel the accusation that it is impossible to unite with the Spartacist League. In fact, as the real events in Ann Arbor unfolded, it is perhaps more correct to cast the Coalition into the antagonist-disrupter role than the Spartacist League, if we are forced to think in those terms.

What does become clear, however, is that if Mr. Trinkl's report of the Ann Arbor demonstration is so seriously flawed, the remainder of his reported abuses of the Spartacist League deserve our very careful scrutiny and interrogation.

I am fraternally yours,

John Wimsatt
Instructor at Jackson Community College
at Jackson Prison
Ungrouped Marxist

demonstration. When the SL-initiated Committee went to the Ann Arbor City Council, it was the list of labor endorsements which silenced the violence-baiting. (The RSL/RWL "Coalition" didn't even bother to attend.) It was the Committee to Stop the Nazis that took the heat, and at a press conference on March 18, labor leaders like Josephus King, president of AFSCME Local 23 and chairman of the Detroit AFSCME presidents council, and Alphonso Wells, executive board member of UAW Local 1776, demonstrated the Committee's broad union backing. This is what made it possible to defeat the liberals' "ignore the Nazis" diversion.

Thuggery and Fraud?

So who actually built the March 20 Ann Arbor City Hall demonstration? The *Torch* account claims, "The SL wanted to make it appear (primarily to the media) that the entire demonstration was organized by the SL, even though many other anti-racist groups had done weeks of organizing for the protest." Bullshit! The Stop the Nazis Committee distributed more than 65,000 leaflets, including 20,000 to UAW plants, but also thousands on the University of Michigan, in the Ann Arbor community, in local stores, etc. Yes, we were the ones who built the demo. In Ann Arbor, the RSL has to admit it: at the April 20 videotape forum an RSLer stated, "No one's denying the SL did a lot of work in terms of building and getting people out...." The "Coalition" of "nearly a score" of "progressive" organizations amounted essentially to the RSL, RWL and their various front groups.

Their sole "labor" endorsement was a tiny anarchist collective calling itself the IWW, several of whose members work as shoplifting guards at the U of M bookstore ("One Big Security Force"?). It's not surprising that the "Coalition" didn't try to get labor support. The RWL is known in the union movement locally for its scabbing on the 1977 AFSCME strike of campus clerical workers and getting a UAW bargaining unit at the University of Michigan decertified. Ever since they have been defending scabbing against the most elementary trade-union principles.

Meanwhile, these anti-anti-fascists spent most of their time sabotaging the efforts of the SL-organized Committee to Stop the Nazis. They chimed in on the



WV Photo

Washington, D.C., March 27: Coalition goon lines dispersed. Big liars say that the SL attacked innocent women bystanders.

bourgeoisie's violence slanders. At a March 8 meeting of the U of M Graduate Employees Organization, RWLer Joe Graves claimed the SL was out to "kill the Nazis," while anarchist Bekken jumped a Spartacist supporter and tried to drag him from the meeting room. When the mayor's liberals and the press, alarmed at the growing support for the March 20 "Stop the Nazis" action, tried to discredit the Committee, the "Coalition" began spreading stories (repeated in the *Torch*) that our labor endorsements were bogus. More lies. Just read the letters reprinted on page 7 of this issue. The bottom line is this: if the Spartacist League had not done the work to bring in union support, there would have been no mass mobilization to prevent the fascists from carrying out their anti-communist, labor-hating, racist provocation.

If it were up to the RSL/RWL's "movement" Coalition, there would have been a "unity" protest with a few assorted liberals and a small band of leftists trying to duke it out with the cops. Despairing of the working class, the RSL tries to substitute itself in adventurist fashion. That is what happened last August 22 when the same forces managed to bring out several

hundred anti-Nazis in Detroit, landed in a fight with the cops and ended up getting a number arrested and injured. The problem with these small-group confrontations with the cops is that the Nazis win, we lose. We seek to mobilize the overwhelming social power of labor to crush the fascists.

So on March 20 we were faced with a situation where a group with a long history of foolish bravado and glorification of lumpen rage, combined with political capitulation to the liberal bourgeoisie, tried to drown out the demonstration organized by the Committee to Stop the Nazis. In the interests of achieving united action against the fascists, we had offered the RSL/RWL "Coalition" speakers at the rally, but they replied with a string of threatening obscenities. Then they turned up on March 20 with a powerful sound system insisting on their "right" to disrupt the "Stop the Nazis" rally. We pulled the plug on the disrupters, and now the people who tried to silence labor speakers are screaming about "Spartacist thuggery."

Here's what the RSL says, in brief: When the Nazis threatened to come to Ann Arbor, they claim, the consummately evil but clever Spartacist League decided to sabotage an anti-Nazi dem-

onstration and attack the anti-fascist demonstrators. But in order to attack them they figured out that they had to get them there first. So the SL mobilized vast resources ("thousands of dollars") to this purpose. In order to maintain their sectarian isolation, in which they revel, the SL "masters of deceit" brought a motion for militant action to stop the Nazis to a meeting of the "Coalition" just so that the SL would have an excuse to avoid united action when it was rejected. The vigilant RSL recognized the trap. So even though it felt "Stop the Nazis" to be correct, and seeking to "struggle with the liberals," it called for "unity" and voted against militant action.

The RSL's fantasy goes on: To mask its legendary sectarianism, the SL then formed a united front with some local union leaders. These endorsements were either dupes or fakes, because "everyone knows" that labor does not fight against fascist terror. The SL's Committee then exclaimed, "no one will rally but us," and began planning the attack on the "movement-organized" demonstration. To cover up they slyly offered, in writing, to meet with the Coalition and give them speakers—knowing, of course, that the Coalition would refuse—just so it could print the offer in *Workers Vanguard*. (Truly a genial touch, but the RSL/RWL refused to fall for it.) To maintain their cover, the "Sparks" distributed tens of thousands of leaflets to factories and campuses. Finally, the RSL "explains," at the rally the SL proclaimed it didn't want anybody to stop the Nazis. And when the crowd seized the moment to fight the Nazis, the SL is supposed to have seized the moment to attack the true anti-Nazi militants and break their expensive sound equipment.

That, according to the *Torch*, is how the Spartacist League went "From Sectarianism to Thuggery." Glass of Christian blood, anyone?

Trinkl, Trinkl... How We Wonder What You Are

The RSL may be only a few dozen leftist parasites, but this little group's Big Lie serves an invaluable purpose for the better-known anti-Spartacist slander machines. Take the column "On the Left" by John Trinkl in the *Guardian* of 21 April. This article, borrowing Stalin's formula for Trotskyism ("Left in Form, Right in Essence"), intends to give "The Movement" the definitive word on the Spartacist League: "violent disrupters." According to Trinkl, we "attack demonstrations" from the March 20 action in Ann Arbor to the March 27 El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C.

Trinkl's piece is a classic smear job, ingenuously asking a lot of "questions": "Who is this group?" "Is it the Moonies?" "The fascist U.S. Labor Party?" "The Young Americans for Freedom?" And so forth. Key to the smear is the Ann Arbor "Coalition" account of the March 20 demonstration—demonstrably a lie on every level, as we have just shown—to lend credence to the *Guardian's* own flat lies about March 27. Trinkl knows that lots of his readers were in Washington and witnessed the cop-enforced exclusion of the SL-led Anti-Imperialist Contingent. He knows that many were worried about the lines of "marshals" and police

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Protest D.C. Police Censorship

Jacob G. Braun
Attorney-At-Law
Brooklyn, New York

26 April 1982

Mr. Richard G. Robbins
National Capital Parks
Office of the Solicitor
U.S. Department of the Interior
18th & C Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Mr. Robbins:

I strongly protest the actions of the National Parks Police and the Metropolitan Police Department on March 27, 1982 directed against my clients, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent (AIC) and the Spartacist League (SL).

On March 22, 1982 a representative of the AIC and I met with Mr. Richard Merryman and Ms. Fran Giarth of the Parks Department Special Events Division about a rally permit for the 27th. We explained the proposed plans of the Contingent and a permit for a rally at Farragut Square was subsequently issued. At a meeting on March 25 the AIC informed representatives of the Park Police and the Metropolitan Police of its decision to leave the assembly site from a separate exit and

walk by a different route to the AIC rally site. This plan was agreed to by both departments. I made numerous phone calls to representatives of the various police departments to insure that there was full knowledge of all the technical aspects of the demonstration and to arrange for parking, bus pick-up, etc.

On March 27 the Contingent arrived at Malcolm X Park and was met by police enforcement of its attempted exclusion. After lengthy negotiations with you and the police the AIC was able to gain entry to the park. Inside the park, Chief Lindsey of the Park Service Police responded to the serious threat presented when March 27th Coalition 'marshals' formed a cordon around the AIC by stating "it's your problem." When a group of AIC supporters dispersed the cordon, police armed with riot clubs moved in closely followed by scores of mounted police. They prevented anyone from going into or out of the Contingent. Even those with police-issued press identification were prevented from approaching the Contingent.

The AIC left Malcolm X Park as previously agreed and set up its rally at Farragut Square. Police detention was

immediately reimposed. Two lines of mounted and riot equipped police separated the rally from the rest of the March. More mounted police were clustered within Farragut Square. As Deputy Chief John C. Connor of the Metropolitan Police, S.O.D. said: "I run the streets of Washington today. I'm telling you that nobody, nobody from this march is going into your rally. No negotiations!" Even the food vendors who had agreed to set up at the rally were prevented from getting close to Farragut Square.

The AIC, in good faith, carried out all agreements it had made in complete candor with each of the agencies involved. The Police abrogated all agreements, acted as political censors and vastly exceeded their authority with a massive use of force.

The actions of your department and the police agencies constituted a flagrant infringement of the First Amendment rights of the AIC, the SL and all other participants in the March 27 event.

Yours very truly,
Jacob Braun

cc: Park Service Police
Metropolitan Police Department
Geraldine R. Gennet

Detroit SYL Video Showings

"The Day 2,000 Stopped the Nazis in Ann Arbor"

Thursday, May 20

12:30 p.m.

Hilberry B., Wayne State University

7:30 p.m.

Central United Methodist Church

23 E. Adams (4th floor lounge)

(across from Grand Circus Park)

For more information: (313) 868-9095

The Big Lie...

(continued from page 9)

separating the marchers from the SL, and some resented being herded past the anti-imperialist rally "for their own good." How to explain this exclusion?

Answer: report an "SL attack on an Ann Arbor anti-Nazi demonstration." Here is "proof" of the Spartacists' anti-"movement" violence from a presumably independent source, "the Coalition that organized the [Ann Arbor] action." Anyone who believes this will certainly think twice before protesting the cops doing the exclusionary work of the rad-lib anti-communists on March 27. To justify March 27, the *Guardian* would like to call us outright cops and violent provocateurs. But the SL has a long history on the left and a reputation for building anti-fascist demonstrations. How can we be sinister and violent anti-"movement" thugs if we are leading fighters against Klan/Nazi racist terror? This is Trinkl's credibility gap. So the RSL/RWL "Coalition" and its slanders are a godsend, enabling him to pretend that we did not organize the March 20 victory (and, for good measure, that we attacked those who did).

But let's look at what the *Guardian* has to say about the Washington march. It quotes *WV* saying we formed a flying wedge to break up a line of goons who had linked arms to prevent people from entering the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Trinkl has found some "observers at the scene" who claim there was no goon squad at all, just some young women standing around. According to him, we went up to these women and started giving them karate chops, just because we're in the business of "attacking demonstrations." Yet every "observer" who cared to identify himself has admitted that there was a line of "marshals" formed to keep the SL out. Plenty of people who don't like us a lot admit this, from the SWP's *Militant* to the *Village Voice*'s Teresa Carpenter. The 7 April *Guardian* even carried a letter from a member of the goon squad asserting: "The Anti-Imperialist Contingent... then charged our *security line*" (our emphasis).

Indeed we did. As Trinkl writes, "The SL makes no attempt to hide this practice and even bragged about it in the latest issue of a newspaper it puts out called 'Workers Vanguard'." He is referring here to *WV* No. 302, 2 April, "At Bidding of Rad-Lib Democrats—Cops Seal Off Left," where we described in detail just what happened in Washington, D.C. on March 27. How the cops told us we could not enter the assembly point of the march because "the Coalition did not want us there," and backed up the exclusion with vans of SWAT teams, mounted police and a deployment of motorcycle cops. How we threatened to take mass arrests to enforce our right to enter the park and the cops then backed down. But once

inside, we found ourselves immediately ringed by goons with linked arms, intended by "official" march organizers to exclude the anti-imperialists and intimidate potential supporters from joining our Contingent. We quickly and effectively broke through the line. The cops moved in, and for the rest of the day SWAT teams and mounted police did the dirty work for the reformists—sanitizing the demonstration from communist politics, and violating our rights to free speech and assembly, which although seldom honored are to be found in the Bill of Rights.

Now the *Guardian* screams: "A 17-year-old woman was knocked in the head and given a concussion"; another woman "had her nose broken by a karate chop." No children? No pregnant welfare mothers? No puppies? Actually, we doubt that anybody got really hurt in the scuffle, but that's not the point. If you put women on your goon squad and tell them to violate our rights, they might get hurt. The women in that line were engaged in an act of anti-communist exclusion, an act with political consequences. If some of them didn't know what they were doing there, they ought to be mad as hell at the "marshals" who set them up. What we are getting from the *Guardian* is the old "weep for the scabs" argument. You know, the poor old crippled black woman who, desperate for a job, scabs on a strike, crosses a picket line and gets hurt. For that matter, what does Trinkl think about young Nazi women that got knocked down in Ann Arbor? The liberal press had plenty of tears for them.

The exclusionary goon squad mounted in particular by Sam Marcy's YAWF was asking to get removed. It got removed. Of course, where there have been no anti-Spartacist exclusions there have been no "attacks." We have defended ourselves and asserted our rights when violence has been initiated against us for a definite political purpose—to keep the hoped-for popular front of reformist fake-leftists and Democrats safe from the contamination of communism. On March 27 in Oakland, perhaps reflecting our greater weight in the labor movement, "official" demonstration organizers felt compelled to take up our offer of coordinating contingents (an offer also made by us in Washington, but rejected out of hand by the *Guardian*'s friends).

Trinkl has the nerve to claim: "They [the SL] formed their own contingent with their own demands. This in itself is a fairly standard way of injecting something of one group's politics into a broader arena." Sure, "fairly standard" for everyone but us. For us, there are SWAT squads and cossacks. "The issue is not the SL's right to argue for its own politics," he continues. But it is. It is in order to silence our Trotskyist views that the popular-front "leftists" bring in the capitalist cops against the SL—the cops who shot down Black Panthers in their beds, who bust in doorways in Harlem looking for Joanne Chesimard, who set up the Weathermen in order to put them away for life. You see, Trinkl and his cohorts think they have found a clever way to use the police for their own ends (perhaps the cops are "Right in Form, Left in Essence"?). But if the cops are doing Trinkl's work, whose work is Trinkl doing?

Hate Russia, Hate the Spartacists

According to the *Guardian* and *Torch*, the Spartacist League sits around in its lair thinking up the most evil deeds it can imagine. Then it mobilizes vast resources to accomplish its nefarious plots, busting up every anti-fascist demonstration (including our own) and attacking young girls and demonstrators wherever they may be found. We should try out for the wolf in "Little Red Riding Hood."

Finally, the RSL feels compelled to raise the political issue which, they say, accounts for our evil doings: our

"identification with 'planning' and 'property forms'." Thus the "state capitalists" timidly raise the Russian question. This is the central political question of our epoch. We Trotskyists defend the social gains of the October Revolution which overturned capitalism in Russia in 1917, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic rulers. The "Third Camp" Shachtmanites of the RSL claim there is no class difference between the "superpowers" and are neutral in the Cold War. And when the going gets rough, as over Afghanistan or Poland, they come down heavily on the side of the State Department against the Kremlin.

The anti-Soviet war drive now dominates every aspect of U.S. political life. In Poland, Ronald Reagan sees his best chance to "roll back" Communism. And in Poland the fake-lefts can show that they "stand up to Russian totalitarianism"—together with the CIA and the Meanyite union bureaucracy. It is their support for Polish Solidarność that tame socialists hope will give them respectability with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The RSL is hardly alone on the left with its anti-Sovietism. With the exception of the Moscow-loyal craven reformists of the CPUSA—who think they're getting in on the ground floor of a new New Deal—virtually the entire U.S. left is part of the anti-Soviet consensus. (And we're not even dealing here with the main running dogs of the anti-Soviet union tops, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America, whose obsessive hatred for the SL is now at fever pitch.) Thus the "Third Camp" RSL can be in an ongoing "Coalition" with the formally Soviet-defensist RWL.

Our sharp-edged defense of the Soviet Union in this period of Cold War II, particularly over Afghanistan and Poland, has put us in the sights of the ruling class precisely when the rest of the left is in full flight to the right, into the Democratic Party anti-Reagan opposition. Seeking respectability with the Democratic liberals, the reformists try to duck the Russian question and search for a strain of Cold War pacifism. No wonder they go into conniptions whenever the Spartacist League appears with its slogans: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" and "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" To prove their political reliability to the Teddy Kennedys, they will do everything in their power to remove the offending, "Russki"-loving "Sparks." Indeed, since anti-Sovietism defines political normalcy today, we are described by Alexander Cockburn of the *Village Voice* as adherents of "Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism." To the radlibs, you see, it seems "bonkers" to irritate the liberals with our defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

The fake-lefts want no politically embarrassing debates getting in their

way, so the attack on the SL must be extreme and outside the realm of rational discourse. Therefore we are characterized as "disrupters" and "thugs" and are compared with the right-wing provocateurs of Lyn Marcus' Labor Committee. The more extreme the accusation, the better to alibi the goon lines and cop-enforced exclusions. Thus the RSL writes that we "gleefully demand" that the Polish workers be "'drowned in blood' by the Polish ruling class and its Russian masters...."

Readers of the *Torch* would assume that this is a quotation from the SL/SYL (unless they already know something of the dishonesty of the RSL). No citation is given for the "quotation" because none exists for this insane statement. The RSL just made it up. In the tradition of the Big Lie, this phony SL "position" will be picked up and used by similarly motivated slanderers.

Because we denounce Polish Solidarność as a company union for the CIA and the bankers we are labeled agents of the Kremlin. Because we say El Salvador is the hot spot of the Cold War, calling for military victory to leftist insurgents, we are called agents of Reagan. (So far no one has accused us of being agents of the pope, and the Mikado is very old now.) Do they really believe we are simultaneously agents of the CIA and the KGB? Do they care at all? We are reminded that in pre-Nazi Germany the Jews were accused of being the agents of the bankers and the Communists.

Despairing of the capacity of the American working class to struggle against Reagan reaction, the RSL calls for "movement unity": "Things are getting bad," moans the *Torch*, and "things will get far worse." Their answer: "Either we all learn to hang together or we will surely all hang separately." So the RSL and the *Guardian* call for the left to "work together"...to get the Sparts. But the "unity" to which they aspire is the unity of anti-communism. And, fortunately, "things" are determined not by the whims of tiny opportunist left groups, but by the outcome of the class struggle.

They threaten to do anything to "get the Sparts." But we don't intend to be "got," not by the little finger men whose Big Lies are aimed at setting us up for Reagan repression. California's right-wing Republican attorney general Deukmejian labeled us "terrorist," so that we could be cut down like mad dogs. Haughty Harvard University tried to frame us and jail one of our comrades on assault charges after a right-wing pro-Solidarność demonstration against the SL/SYL. Deukmejian and Harvard couldn't make their witchhunting smears stick, and neither will their miserable surrogates. Our party is precious to the cause of socialist revolution. We will take the measures necessary to defend it, because it is a defense of the interests of all working people. ■

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New "Palmer Raids" in Chicago

By Bernard Vance
WV Reporter

CHICAGO—Starting Monday, April 26 the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began its raids into factories, warehouses and Latin neighborhoods in and around Chicago. As of Saturday more than 1,300 people had been arrested in the dragnet. Maybe as many as 1,000 have already been sent back to Mexico; conservative figures are around 500, but it is impossible to tell for sure as no information at all is being given out.

To date neither lawyers nor press have been allowed entrance to see any detainees. In fact, when the local ABC affiliate, WLS-TV (Channel 7), tried to take pictures inside the O'Hare detention facility they were met with spotlights shining on them and guards rushing to keep them out, like they had just stumbled across Stalag 17 or something. There are three known INS holding pens in the Chicago area, the main one at O'Hare Airport.

I interviewed a priest, Rev. Kyle,

who was one of a group able to visit detainees. I also spoke with Rudy Lozano, organizational director for the Midwest ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union), who was part of the group. Both Kyle and Lozano compared conditions in the centers to those of the holocaust. There are no chairs, and people (including several pregnant women) are forced to stand for hours or lie on the floor. Women who hadn't seen their children in days would start screaming for them whenever they saw an outsider.

There was the story of an 11-year-old kid and his two younger siblings who in a matter of 24 hours lost both parents in the sweeps. Their father was picked up on Wednesday and deported on Thursday. His wife never found out what happened to him. She was picked up the next day. When the oldest child got home he started to look for his parents. A neighbor gave the kid the phone number of a legal aid service, and through pressure put on the INS the mother was released temporarily pending her hearing.

The ILGWU rep Lozano told me that 10

people out of one of his shops were arrested on Wednesday. Nick Jones of the Retail and Wholesale Clerks Union said at a press conference Wednesday that 47 of his men had been grabbed by the INS. They are demanding an investigation into violations of due process and an end to "Operation Jobs," the government's cynical code name for this attempt to scapegoat undocumented workers. So far the INS claims it has the support of "labor" (i.e., the AFL-CIO heavies) for their racist dragnet.

For detainees there is a cash bond, anywhere from \$2,000 to \$4,000, to get out. That's cash on the barrelhead, not 10 percent—they must pay the full amount. Until they come up with the money—and of course they can't—they are held incommunicado. Unless they sign a waiver, in which case they are sent back to Mexico without ever having reached their relatives. Lawyers are trying to get lists of people being held. H.A. Palmer, who is in charge of the raids locally, has been stalling. At first, assistant director of immigration Ted Georgetti promised to give up the list, but now they are

refusing to do so.

These new "Palmer Raids" are every bit as anti-communist as their predecessor, the 1920 "Red Scare." It turns out that some 50 Polish immigrants were picked up in Chicago during the sweep, but they were granted special status by the State Department because of "martial law conditions" in Poland. No such luck for those fleeing the death squads and mass murder by the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador, or others seeking to escape hunger and repression in Haiti, Guatemala, you name it.

The raids are widely seen as a smokescreen by the Reagan administration to whip up anti-foreign hysteria in these times of rising unemployment. INS spokesman Georgetti stated that "if this is politically motivated, I don't think it is wrong" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 28 April). The liberal "community leaders" and reformists just appeal to the priests, who can't do anything but pray for lost souls. Militant tactics such as strike action against the raids are ignored. And when the Spartacist League marched on May Day with a program to fight the deportations, they were met with anti-communist exclusion and Stalinist and nationalist thugs. Palmer and his boss in the White House must have been pleased.

Reagan's Deportations...

(continued from page 12)

involuntary servitude, debt peonage and slavery. But when the "bust" comes around, the government cracks down in order to siphon off potentially explosive unrest caused by mass unemployment. Last year the INS deported 850,000 "illegals" to Mexico alone.

For all his hysterics about "sealing U.S. borders" to creeping brown-skinned communism from the south, Ronald Reagan, long tied to California agribusiness interests, is mainly interested in regulating the flow of foreign workers. The Reagan immigration bill in Congress refers to "guest workers" like the West German *Gastarbeiter*. What the present administration wants is reinstatement of the bracero program of the early 1950s, in which peon labor was delivered by the Mexican government. (That way they can be confined to farm barracks and kept out of the cities where they can "cause trouble" and use social services.) But in the post-Korean War recession this program was canceled, and under "Operation Wetback" tens of thousands of Mexican immigrant workers were rounded up and put in concentration camps along the Rio Grande. American folksinger Woody Guthrie captured the nameless, faceless plight of the victims in his song,

"All They Will Call You Will Be, Deportee."

Defend the Immigrant Worker!

From the needle trades sweatshops and Appalachian coal mines to the Midwest steel mills and auto plants, historically American industry was built up almost exclusively with immigrant labor. Defense of the foreign born has always been a key task for those who would organize the working class against the bosses' divide-and-rule schemes. Yet in the early years of organized labor, when it was limited largely to skilled trades, the Gompersite AFL and its predecessors (except for the Knights of Labor) would have nothing to do with immigrant workers and pandered to the worst "yellow peril" racism.

In the post-war period, American labor has been at best crassly indifferent to the fate of foreign-born workers. And recently even "progressive" industrial union bureaucrats have begun pushing "America first" chauvinist appeals. United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Doug Fraser's answer to the auto crisis is poisonous anti-Japanese protectionism. Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers (UFW) at one point even called in the Border Police to raid the fields for undocumented Mexican workers! In Congress the AFL-CIO is supporting the Simpson-Mizoli bill (S. 2222) to make it more difficult for employers to hire foreign workers. There are some exceptions. After years of relying on flag-waving patriotism in its jingles, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) has finally begun organizing "illegals." But much more is needed.

Reagan's attacks on labor, from smashing PATCO to deporting undocumented workers, must be met with a militant defense mobilizing the power of labor. There should have been union action to keep the INS agents out and strikes against the raids. Where whole industries are affected, such as L.A. garment trades, a combative union leadership would shut it all down in the face of an attack by immigration cops. (Since thousands would be staying home in fear of *la migra* anyway, this could be a powerful tactic in organizing largely non-union industries.) Since the fascist/KKK bands, which tomorrow will be used against labor, seek to recruit desperate whites through race terror, the unions must undertake labor/black

mobilizations against racist attacks. Labor should call for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and take the lead in organizing anti-deportation protests.

From the sweatshops of New York to the South and Southwest where undocumented workers are concentrated, a militant campaign to "organize the unorganized" is needed. It can only succeed if the unions defend the "illegals." As part of the struggle of jobs for all, labor must demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. But given the cyclical crises of capitalism, as well as its dependency on a permanent pool of unemployed, this demand must be part of the revolutionary mobilization of labor: For a workers government that would expropriate the bourgeoisie and establish a planned economy that would eliminate unemployment as the scourge of an archaic social system.

Class-Struggle Protest Against INS Raids

Immediately following announcement of the racist dragnet, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League and class-struggle union militants called for protest actions. In Los Angeles on April 27, an SL/SYL-initiated demonstration received wide media coverage, touching a chord of felt outrage in this largest center of Mexican population in the U.S. The protest was the lead story on the Channel 5 evening news; it was also reported hourly on KFWB radio and on the Channel 13 news. In San Francisco, where the rally was announced at a press conference against the raids called by Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees (many of whose members are foreign born), there was also broad coverage, including Channels 2 and 14 and several radio stations.

In addition, class-struggle oppositionists of the Militant Caucus in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) called for union action against the raids. A Caucus resolution to the Local 6 executive board read:

"The INS 'crackdown' raids this week are a racist attempt by the Reagan administration to scapegoat foreign born workers for the massive unemployment that has resulted from Reagan's unemployment policies. Therefore the ILWU will (1) act to prevent ILWU members from being taken off the job in any INS raids at ILWU houses, and (2) the ILWU will call a demonstration at the INS office this

Friday noon (April 30) to protest these racist attacks."

Local 6 president Keith Eickman ruled this motion out of order on the incredible grounds that "we can't interfere with the law!" (If that were true, the union movement of today would never have been built.) But as anger over the raids continued, the SYL led a united-front protest rally at San Francisco State on May 5 which was also endorsed by several campus figures (director of the Women's Center, members of the Greek Student Organization, members of the Hispanic group La Raza).

Life for undocumented foreign workers under Reagan's racist reaction is nasty and brutish. Haitian refugees jammed together in the Krome Avenue pen in Miami; languishing behind barbed wire on the barren dirt of Fort Allen, Puerto Rico; freezing and hunger striking in the "American Siberias" of Lake Placid and Otisville, New York. Salvadoran refugees held incommunicado at the El Centro concentration camp in southern California, pleading for asylum while the U.S. maintains they are not in danger if sent back to face the death squads. Thousands upon thousands of Mexican workers deported after the harvest season, seized at their jobs or on the streets in Gestapo-like INS raids. But not all the foreign born are unwelcome in the "land of the free." Anti-Communist Polish defectors are greeted with open arms. As Spartacist spokesman Diana Coleman said at the April 27 S.F. rally:

"For the refugees from El Salvador, from Haiti who are coming from these bloody dictatorships, there is no asylum here for them. But there is asylum if you're a Nazi war criminal. There is asylum if you are a Croatian fascist. If you're a Vietnamese torturer, a Nicaraguan mercenary or a Cuban gusano, the borders of the U.S. are always open to you."

"This racist roundup is entitled 'Operation Jobs' and it's the most grotesque attempt on the part of the Reagan administration to blame Mexican workers for unemployment in this country. Well, Mexican and Salvadoran workers did not cause Chrysler to go belly-up. Mexican workers did not make GM at Fremont close. They didn't make Detroit into a vast sea of unemployment. It is capitalism in crisis and the Reagan administration's policy."

The fight against the victimization of foreign workers can be successful only by becoming part of the broader struggle for socialist revolution. ■

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Labor Must Stop Reagan's Racist Deportations!

Some 6,000 foreign-born workers were rounded up last week in a highly publicized sweep by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Latino barrios, factories and sweatshops across the country. The detainees, 87 percent of them of Mexican origin, were herded by Border Police and INS agents into special holding pens where they were denied access to lawyers, relatives, anybody. Many were browbeaten into signing "voluntary" deportation statements, and hundreds were loaded onto buses on the spot and driven across the border. The week-long dragnet was part of the Reagan administration's racist, anti-communist immigration policy to "secure U.S. borders." Grotesquely named "Operation Jobs," it was a blatant attempt to scapegoat Latin and black "illegal aliens" for the skyrocketing unemployment—now 12.5 percent, the highest rate since before World War II.

Reagan's racist raids were an attack on the entire workers movement, and it was the urgent duty of labor to protest this atrocity. The Spartacist League (SL) held demonstrations in San Francisco and Los Angeles on April 27, the day after the sweep began, and in New York on April 30 to demand: "Stop INS raids! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families! Asylum for refugees of Salvadoran junta terror!" In San Francisco, Spartacist speakers pointed to the particular danger faced by Salvadorans caught in the roundup: their deportation will mean certain torture and death. In New York protesters focused on the plight of Haitian refugees being held in Ronald Reagan's concentration camps for "illegal" blacks.

In addition to whipping up anti-foreign chauvinism, another main purpose of the raids was to intimidate undocumented workers. In Los Angeles, as *la migrá* swooped down on workplaces in the early morning, the huge Hispanic population stayed off the streets. Days beforehand, rumors of the



New York, April 30: SL/SYL demands asylum for Haitian victims of Baby Doc's terror, Reagan's concentration camps. WV Photo

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers! Asylum for Refugees from Junta Terror!

impending sweep on Mexican TV had turned downtown L.A. into a ghost town. Department store sales along normally hustling Broadway were down 40 to 80 percent. Absenteeism in factories was so high that some manufacturers were forced to cut back and even halt production. An owner of a chain of Spanish-language movie theaters reported that his box office receipts were down 70 percent. All the raids did was "pick up people with brown skin... and instill fear and pain into the entire Hispanic community" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 May).

An incident on Saturday was indicative of the terror in Los Angeles, where

an official 27 percent of the population is foreign born. A bunch of Maoists had planned to march down Broadway for May Day and the LAPD came after them. Shoppers, thinking the massive cop presence was an INS raid, suddenly scattered in all directions. A merchant remarked, "I couldn't believe it. Some of them [the customers] left packages on my meat counter and just split. Mothers told children, 'come with me niños,' and led them off by the hand."

"Who Else Would Do This Work?"

The whole "Operation Jobs" scenario was planned for political impact, sup-

posedly centering on "high-paying jobs" like computer programmers which "citizens should have." But they couldn't come up with any. After it was over, the INS reported that the average wage of those seized was \$4.75 an hour. So the raids came where they always do—people driving gypsy cabs in New York, cleaning fish in Midwest warehouses, stitching shoes in L.A. sweatshops. The list of "job openings" created by the raids in Chicago was turned over to Rev. Jesse Jackson's "black capitalist" Operation PUSH. A Bronx produce wholesaler who had denounced INS agents for coming in "like the Gestapo," reported a few days later that most "vacancies" had been filled by other illegals. "Who else would do this work?" he asked, pointing at workers lifting heavy sacks of potatoes and sorting fruits and vegetables. "No one else, just these people."

The estimated six million undocumented foreign workers now in this country are here because American capitalism requires a pool of unorganized, low-wage labor without legal rights, subjected to super-exploitation, to keep certain industries "competitive" (i.e., profitable). When the economy is in its "boom" period of the business cycle, the bosses are happy to have them working as stoop labor in the fields and sweating for the minimum wage or less for cockroach capitalists in decaying industries. The brutal, inhuman conditions under which Mexican and Haitian migrant farm workers suffer were revealed in recent trials of Sunbelt "labor contractors" for kidnapping.

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Racist LAPD Chief

Stop "Choke Hold" Gates!

LOS ANGELES—Shock waves went through the black community when notorious racist L.A. police chief Daryl Gates said the reason the police choke hold kills blacks is because they are anatomically inferior to "normal people"! In Reagan's America, Gates' racist remarks proclaim what everyone knows: the LAPD gets away with murder against black people.

Three city council members and numerous civil rights groups have demanded his resignation. But Gates insisted there was nothing wrong with

the "carotid choke hold" ("it's a super hold," he said); rather according to L.A.'s racist top cop, something must be wrong with black people because they keep dying from it: "We may be finding that in some blacks when it is applied, the veins and arteries do not open as fast as they do on normal people" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 May). This statement could have been made by a doctor from one of the Nazi death camps!

Sixteen people, 12 of them black, have been killed by the cops' choke

hold since 1975. The latest victim was 20-year-old black teaching assistant James Mincey, killed March 22. After being stopped for a minor traffic violation 15 cops clubbed him to the ground and as he lay bleeding and handcuffed, applied the "carotid" choke hold for 10 to 20 seconds, cutting off the flow of blood to his brain.

The ultra-legalist NAACP is not even demanding an end to the choke hold, but simply restrictions on it. Democratic mayor ex-cop Bradley only says Gates' remarks were "inappropriate" and refuses to call for his resignation. Only massive outcry by labor, blacks and all minorities, in the streets and the plants, can put "Choke Hold" Gates where he belongs! Jail the killer cops!