

Defend the Palestinians! Stop Begin's "Final Solution"!

Israel Out of Lebanon!

No U.S. Occupation Forces!

JUNE 21—After 60,000 Israeli troops and 500 tanks devastated Lebanon all the way to Beirut, after Sidon and Tyre were destroyed by Israeli jets and artillery, and even as thousands of Lebanese corpses were being buried in pits, mad bomber Menachem Begin came to speak at the UN Special Session on Disarmament. It was like Nazi war criminal Rudolf Hess being released from Spandau prison in Berlin to attend a UN conference against genocide. The destructive expansionism of the Zionist state is directed not only at exterminating the Palestinian people but, through its alliance with the vastly more destructive powers of U.S. imperialism, toward obliterating the Soviet Union as well. Israel's invasion of Lebanon has brought the world a giant step closer to the ultimate holocaust. The international proletariat must demand: Israel out of Lebanon!

What more can anyone possibly say to expose pacifist illusions when Ronald Reagan, who is now planning a nuclear first strike against the USSR, and Menachem Begin, who is killing tens of thousands of defenseless people, attend a disarmament conference. With the sometimes shocking candor of a megalomaniac, Begin came to attack peace not only in fact but in principle. "Pacifism," he asserted, "is the greatest



Israelis devastate Muslim West Beirut. Lebanese capital is becoming a "Warsaw ghetto" for Palestinians. UPI

provocation inviting attack." In words that Adolf Hitler would have found dear to his heart (even as he pushed the speaker into a gas oven), the Zionist terrorist declared that wars of national defense "were the noblest concept of mankind."

And indeed, there is a profound

political identification between Reagan, Begin and Hitler. For all three, the end of the universe is coequal to the end of their own class rule. All three would destroy mankind ten times over to keep power. Fortunately, Hitler in his bunker, about to be overrun by Red Army tanks, did not have a nuclear arsenal to

take everyone with him in suicide. But Reagan does, and Israel, according to a U.S. official, is "only a screwdriver away" from activating a bomb. No doubt Begin would throw in his fledgling nuclear arsenal to accomplish the "final solution" of the Palestinian and Arab question.

Begin to Reagan: Lebanon, It's Mine, It's Yours

Begin came to sell the Israeli army as America's shock troops in the Near East. Speaking on the CBS-TV program "Face the Nation" (20 June), Begin claimed Israel had acted against made-in-Moscow terrorism:

"The real problem is that for nearly seven years that country [Lebanon] was taken over by the Syrian occupation army and by the terrorists of the PLO whom the Soviet Union and Syria and Libya provided with ammunition and weapons... Lebanon became a Soviet base for the whole of the Middle East."

Now the Israelis are proposing to turn Lebanon into an anti-Soviet base, with a puppet regime headed by some Maronite Christian, and backed up by an American-led multinational force. The Palestinians are to be wiped out, the Syrians pushed out and the Lebanese Muslims cowed. "We've given the West the gift of Lebanon," bragged one senior Jerusalem official. "We've created a vacuum, and all we ask is for them to step into it" (*New York Times*, 16 June). The Israeli son is making an offer he hopes his American godfather cannot refuse. And perhaps he will not.

In order to put together an anti-Soviet alliance with various reactionary Arab sheiks and colonels (Reagan/Haig's so-called "strategic consensus" in

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Reagan, Begin & Hitler

Searching for the ultimate holocaust. An Israeli general interviewed on American television says they are aiming at a "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem." The Israeli army describes its mission with the Hebrew word *letaher*—the "purification" of Lebanon of the PLO. And the Zionists not only use the "master race" language of the Nazis, but also their genocidal practices. An ambassador is shot (not by the PLO) and the Israeli air force bombs Palestinian refugee centers in Beirut, killing 130. The PLO responds by some ineffectual shelling of northern Israel, and Begin launches a (long-prepared) *Blitzkrieg* that has killed more than 10,000 civilians and left an estimated 600,000 homeless.

Whole cities are destroyed on the Hitlerite principle of collective guilt. Begin, playing god, smites Sidon and Tyre, like Sodom and Gomorrah, for

harboring sinners. The population, driven from their homes, is kept on the beach for days, guarded by machine guns, without food or water. The men are ordered to take two steps forward. Suspected PLO "terrorists" are marked, not with a yellow Star of David but with a black X across their backs. Then they are sent to concentration camps in Israel. Do they tattoo numbers on their arms? In the mass graves, bodies are piled one on top of another.

Apocalypse now and forever. Begin vows to "purify" Lebanon, Reagan proclaims the U.S. will "prevail" over the Soviets. Last fall he let slip that American policy has long been to fight a "limited nuclear war" in the "European theater." Then came Haig's call for a "demonstration bomb" over the Baltic to intimidate the Soviets. Again NATO sources said "nothing new." But last month a Defense Department directive

stated that henceforth U.S. strategy would not be deterrence, but now was aimed at winning a "protracted" nuclear apocalypse. "The United States nuclear capabilities must prevail even under the condition of a prolonged war." And what does "prevail" mean? "To be able to force the Soviet Union to seek earliest termination of hostilities on terms favorable to the United States." Translated from Pentagonese into Reaganese, the psychopaths in Washington intend to bomb the Russkies until they cry Uncle Sam.

The Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, is in danger. These are not just war threats, they are nuclear war plans. Speaking recently at the United Nations, Soviet foreign minister Gromyko read a statement by President Leonid Brezhnev formally pledging "no first use" of nuclear weapons. The U.S.

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GM Local Negotiations

Stop Fraser's Givebacks!

DETROIT—Auto workers were still reeling from Doug Fraser's \$3 billion giveaway when General Motors chairman Roger Smith declared the company wanted to rip off "another two to three billion" in union concessions in local negotiations. Then, on the very day the United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Fraser signed the contract, GM announced "generous" bonuses for its bosses. There were screams of outrage from the ranks, almost half of whom voted against the Fraser sellout in the first place. Now the 60-day period for local contract talks is coming to an end, and the same giveback artists who have already lifted a cool five billion for the Big Three are threatening to step in and "assist" deadlocked negotiations! The fix is in.

The threat of local concessions prompted some UAW local officials to hold unprecedented "unsanctioned" subcouncil 7A and 7B meetings recently. On June 11 some 45 local presidents, shop chairmen and others representing 50,000 GM workers met in Dearborn. Only one of the represented locals had even bothered to take a strike vote, and not a single proposal was raised for militant action against the companies' giveback extortion. Instead they spent more than half the meeting debating whether or not to "confront" Fraser and GM division vice president Owen Bieber. One shop chairman at the meeting had been physically threatened the last time he went to the UAW headquarters. He said he wouldn't go unless everyone else did. But none of the local bureaucrats wanted to make Fraser angry. So they took a vote and decided to go by a margin of one to nothing—with about 40 abstentions! "It

looked like a bunch of 17-year-olds deciding whether to walk in on the principal!" remarked one witness to this sorry spectacle.

In the end a delegation did drive over to Solidarity House, where they cooled their heels for a couple of hours. Then, according to Al Alli (shop chairman at Local 1112 in Lordstown), they received assurances from Bieber that the International "wouldn't mess with our local agreement." Coming from that bagman for the bosses, such promises aren't worth a Studebaker repair shop. But the local officials seemed satisfied and placidly left for home. As one UAW member correctly put it, "These guys just wanted to take the heat off themselves." Already at Lordstown, where the GM contract was rejected by an overwhelming four-to-one margin, Local president Whitey Ford had been voted out of office for his role in negotiating the multi-billion-dollar betrayal.

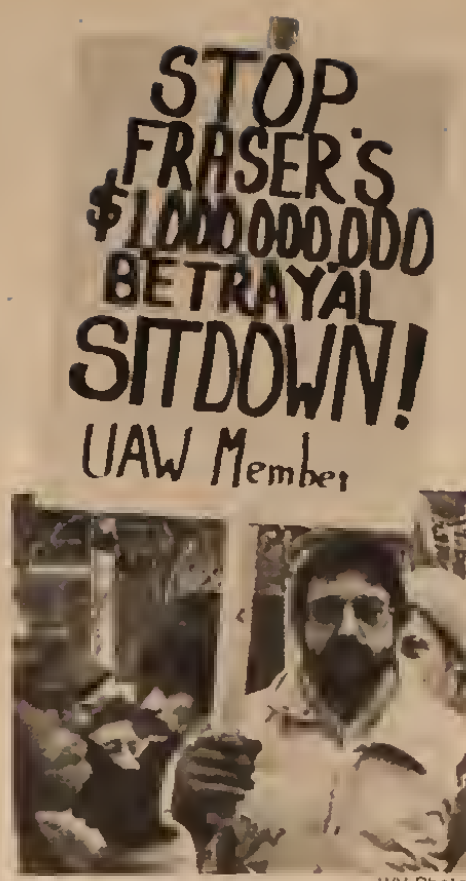
While Solidarity House and the local bureaucrats pass the buck, auto workers are getting screwed. GM is demanding elimination of relief men, combination of inspectors and repairmen; slashing break time; smashing skilled trades lines of demarcation; and busting local seniority agreements. In Local 1112 some 300 members lost their jobs when GM tore up the local agreement on relief work even before the national contract. Alli admitted to *WV* that at Lordstown the Local 1112 leadership hadn't lifted a finger against GM, and was waiting for Bieber to do something about it. His alibi? "We don't have the right to strike."

Whenever a union leader claims "my hands are tied," it's the rank-and-file

workers who end up getting hogtied by the bosses. Militants at Ford's River Rouge plant pointed to the kind of action that is necessary: "We have the power: use it before they throw more of us out into the streets. We need to organize a two-day sitdown, beginning right here at the Rouge, the heart of Ford's operations. With a wave of sit-down demonstrations, we can lead millions of workers, black and white, into action and smash concessions for good" (*Rouge Militant*, No. 18, 23 February). This call was echoed by workers at American Motors' Toledo Jeep plant when Fraser forced a giveaway deal through after the workers had already voted it down (see letter below).

The 45 union officials who gathered in Dearborn are capable of mobilizing tremendous power. Lordstown, Linden, Willow Run, Flint, Fleetwood—these are some of GM's most productive and profitable facilities. What's needed is the immediate organizing of 50,000 and more auto workers in powerful militant action. Sit-down strikes in GM's key plants would tear the national giveback contract to shreds. Such decisive class struggle could also awaken thousands of other workers to action against the bosses' campaign to drive down their living standards, putting an end to the union tops' epidemic of "giveback fever."

The capitalists want labor/black Detroit and other working-class centers in the Midwest to die quietly. Their program calls for patriotism for the workers and profits for the bosses. Fraser joins GM in pushing "buy American" jingoism, but whines about "betrayal" when the company sinks



Workers outraged in Detroit.

\$200 million into Japan's Isuzu Motors. What crap! The capitalists always have and always will invest wherever it's most profitable. No union-company "partnership" or "local content" law is going to make the bosses revitalize the industries they have run down for decades.

Detroit, Pontiac and Flint won't be rebuilt under the Republican/Democratic program of anti-Soviet war buildup and inter-imperialist rivalry. The revival of America's industrial heartland will take place when a revolutionary workers government expropriates the major industries and subjects them to centralized economic planning. And the workers party leading the struggles that will bring this about must tell U.S. workers: the foreign worker is your brother; the main enemy is at home—in the boardrooms, in Congress, in the White House! ■

Letters

Toledo Jeep Militants for Sitdown

June 11, 1982

To the Editor,
Workers Vanguard:

I was impressed with your coverage of the recent events at the Toledo Jeep Plant, however I would like to correct some of your errors in the article.

1) Ray Okdie is the Chairman of the Jeep Unit of UAW Local 12, he is not the President of Local 12 as was reported in your article.

2) Danny Wilson is a member of the Executive Committee of the Jeep Unit, he is not a Chief Steward as you reported.

3) Private Uniformed Security guards were present at the May 7th UAW meeting, not Toledo Police. It seems our city is in a deep economic crisis and what few city police we have these days are busy with other matters.

As soon as national attention was focused on us at Jeep because we rejected the AMC concession plan I found that very few "Leftist" and "So-Called Leftist" tendencies took an interest in our situation. The *Guardian* newspaper both interviewed me and accepted an article from me but failed to print anything substantial about what I said or wrote to them. They failed to underscore the heavy-handed undemocratic maneuvering of the top UAW leadership in engineering a second vote and the pressures exerted upon our members to cave in to the AMC plan. EVEN THE *TOLEDO BLADE*, A BOURGEOIS PAPER, WAS FORCED TO MENTION THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT BOTH HERE IN TOLEDO AND AT OUR SISTER PLANT IN KENOSHA, WISCONSIN. Even the *Blade* had to mention the "radicals" and "militants" who saturated every plant gate with resistance literature calling for a "No" vote and suggesting that "Sit-Down Strikes" were the only weapons appropriate in fighting both concessions and

layoffs. THE *GUARDIAN* MENTIONED NOTHING OF THIS!!

What about the *SWP Militant*? Did they have access to this information? Yes. Did they print it? No. What about the *WWP Workers World* newspaper? Did they have access? Yes. Did they print anything substantial or see the importance of the Toledo events in relation to the broader struggle in the UAW? No.

Although I must correct you on your factual errors regarding your Jeep article I must also commend you on reporting the essential facts that are of interest to our members. To my knowledge your paper was the only one on the "left" that OUTDID the bourgeois local press in its coverage of the resistance movement at Jeep. Pay attention to detail and the Jeep workers will pay attention to *Workers Vanguard*.

Sincerely,

George Windau
Member UAW, Local 12, Jeep Unit

Guardian Lies Exposed

We reprint below a letter originally sent to the Guardian, which it has not seen fit to publish.

Farmington Hills, MI
June 3, 1982

The Guardian
New York, NY

To the Editor:

I am writing in response to John Trinkl's article in the April 21 *Guardian* ("Left in Form, Right in Essence"), in which Trinkl stated that the Spartacist League (SL) "attack[ed]" an anti-Nazi demonstration in Ann Arbor, Michigan on March 20, 1982.

As a participant in that rally, I want to state that Trinkl's allegation is a blatant falsehood. The SL initiated and organized the committee which sponsored the rally, and energetically built for it. The SL-initiated committee was endorsed by locals of the UAW, TWU and Fire Fighters, and by officials of

AFSCME, SEIU and the building trades unions as well as by members of the Ann Arbor black, gay and campus communities. The "Coalition" which you quote, in contrast, consisted mostly of campus left groups (RSL, RWL, ISO, and the notoriously anti-communist Socialist Party); its sole labor support was a single IWW(!) local. While the SL-initiated committee plastered the community with posters, leafletted southeast Michigan auto plants and energetically combatted an attempt by city officials and the local press to divert protesters to a pacifist "human dignity" rally away from the site where the Nazis planned to march, the "Coalition" had virtually no visible activity before the demonstration except for some flyers posted on the University of Michigan campus and one (fairly sizeable) public meeting about two weeks before the event.

The "attack" referred to in the "Coalition" statement quoted by Trinkl occurred when the "Coalition" attempted to set up its own sound system on the same spot as that of the SL-initiated committee. This provocation—there is no other word—was rightly prevented from disrupting the rally. Later in the rally, I personally saw a "Coalition" supporter with a bullhorn attempt to drown out an elderly black speaker on the (Committee's) rally platform. Contrary to Trinkl's article, the disruption at the rally was aimed against the SL-initiated committee.

I am not a supporter of the SL or of any other left group. But credit where credit is due: the SL played a highly commendable role in helping to mobilize 2,000 people (local press estimates) against a Nazi provocation in liberal Ann Arbor. Trinkl's allegation can only be characterized as a political slander. I didn't get a chance to attend the March 27 antiwar rally in Washington, but in light of Trinkl's record on the Ann Arbor rally, I find his accusations regarding SL behavior at the D.C. event to be equally unbelievable.

Fraternally,
Bruce Richard

cc: *Workers Vanguard*
friends

British Labour's Cold War

ABRIDGED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN
NO. 41, APRIL 1982

For the past year and a half, the Labour Party has been undergoing its most significant internal differentiation and split in half a century, catalysing a major realignment throughout British parliamentary politics. Significant elements of the right-wing leadership have decamped from the labour movement to form the bourgeois Social Democratic Party (SDP). Championed by the bourgeois media and buttressed by the adherence of middle-class elements seeking a haven from class struggle, the SDP in alliance with the Liberals threatens to unlock the Tory/Labour two-party domination of postwar parliamentary politics.

Within the Labour Party, the deep-going left-right divide manifested in the SDP split and subsequently reflected in the bitter deputy leadership contest continues to tear the party apart. Ex-left party leader Michael Foot, elevated to power at the behest of the trade-union bureaucracy as a caretaker bonaparte, strives ineffectually to shore up the discredited and despised Denis Healey-led right wing against the left around Tony Benn. Behind him another round of civil war is brewing.

The deep schism in today's Labour Party is not simply another, typical, case of the party in opposition striving to refurbish its "socialist" credentials among working people alienated by years of betrayal from the Westminster benches. Thus it will not lightly be healed; thus the palpable sense on all sides that the Labour Party cannot go on in the same old way. There is normally a symbiotic relationship between left and right in the party. Together they make a fine team for attacking the working class: while one lulls the workers with airy talk of socialism the other does (or both do) the bosses' dirty work. This was certainly true in the last Labour government, when Benn played a major role in giving a left cover to anti-working-class betrayal. Today, however, this symbiosis has lapsed.

A distorted and uneven class line is being cleaved in the Labour Party under the impact of the renewed anti-Soviet Cold War, between Little England reformists and NATO/CIA-loving "internationalists," lacking a sharp programmatic counterposition but necessarily reflected in and inseparable from domestic class questions.

The international economic crisis which fuels this anti-Soviet war drive intersects in Britain a deep, long-term structural decline. To retain their

standing as any sort of imperialist power, the dominant sections of the British bourgeoisie see no course other than an emasculation of the trade unions at home coupled with slavish allegiance to the Atlantic alliance. In this context the contradictions of the Labour Party as a bourgeois workers party have been brought sharply to fore. In its role as defender of British capitalist interests, the central core of the postwar Labour bureaucracy has been a staunch advocate of the "American connection," while policing the unions when in office with a combination of reformist carrot and repressive stick.

The politics of the Bennite left—primarily a repudiation of the dismal record of the last Labour government and a utopian unilateralist attempt to pull Britain out of the Cold War vortex—are a reformist dead end from the standpoint of the immediate and historic interests of the working class. But they threaten to make Labour an aberrant party in today's conditions, a party unfit, in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, for "responsible" government. Unable to control the rise of Bennism, much of the historical right-wing leadership of the party is actively rethinking the need for the trade-union movement as a political base of operations, and has undertaken or is considering an open break with the labour movement.

A correct understanding of and tactical stance toward the political realignments in and around the Labour Party, including reassessment of our attitude to the Benn/Healey deputy leadership contest [that culminated in September 1981], is crucial for Marxists striving to break the stranglehold of Labourite reformism over the working class and forge a revolutionary vanguard to lead the proletariat to power.

Social democracy has been a bulwark of anti-Communism ever since the Russian Revolution of 1917 and a faithful handmaiden of its "own" bourgeoisie since the start of World War I. However the present turmoil in the Labour Party and the roots of the SDP split can only be understood by looking at the particular, unashamedly pro-imperialist role played by the Labour leadership—especially Denis Healey and the current leaders in the post-World War II period. Healey, [Roy] Jenkins, [William] Rodgers & Co. are the lineal descendants of the Clement Attlee/Ernest Bevin/Hugh Gaitskell Cold War Labour bureaucracy, stamped into shape by the fight against Communism from Berlin to Rome, from Czechoslovakia to Korea.

Outside Westminster, Denis Healey was one of the key agents of this "CIA



Der Spiegel Photos

Left Labour demagogue Tony Benn (above left) exploits workers' hostility to discredited right wing represented by Denis Healey (above right), who imposed hated "Social Contract."

socialism." An ex-Communist, Healey moved rapidly to the right and was soon ensconced as head of the party's International Department where, under American tutelage, he helped rebuild the Second (Socialist) International along strict Cold War lines. He played an active part in fomenting a right-wing split from the Italian Socialists in 1948 when the Nenni leadership refused to campaign against the Communists. He was a key operator working with the most right-wing pro-imperialist Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia and other East European countries in the late 1940s, trying to shore up these oppositions and then arranging the flight of many social-democratic leaders to the West after the Communist consolidation of power.

Throughout the [1945-51] Labour government and the years of opposition after 1951, the Cold Warriors and witchhunters continued to "rely on Mr. Healey." A plethora of publications and organisations—*Socialist Commentary*, *Encounter*, the *American New Leader* (for which Healey was London correspondent), the Congress for Cultural Freedom, European Movement, Institute for Strategic Studies, Bilderberg group—carried forward the fight for the Atlantic alliance. A great part of these were launched or sustained with covert CIA conduit funds.

The flagrantly anti-working-class international policies of the party leadership did not, of course, go unopposed. Indeed the major opposition of the 1950s, led by Aneurin Bevan (with the support of, among others, a young Harold Wilson and Michael Foot) was in broad political outline similar to today's Bennite movement. Against the policies of the right-wing leadership they expressed alarm at the effect of Cold War military expenditure on domestic social services, and counterposed a desire for Britain to play an "independent" role in international affairs or, if necessary, to opt out.

With each successive Labour government more flauntingly hostile to the

interests of its working-class base than the last, the pressures kept building up. By the late 1960s, the bourgeoisie was increasingly desperate to shackle the unions. [Conservative prime minister Edward] Heath tried to take on the miners and lost heavily. And with the Tories' direct attack on the unions a dismal failure, Labour came back in 1974, buoyed by renewed illusions among its working-class base. Throughout the subsequent years of Social Contract, strikebreaking and Lib/Lab [Liberal/Labour] coalitionism these eroded more and more. Finally came the trade-union explosion of the 1978-79 winter of discontent, shattering the Callaghan [Labour] government's credibility in office, particularly in its role of containing the unions.

Faced with a Labour government which had forfeited any meaningful control over its working-class base, the bourgeoisie went back to its traditional preference for a Tory government. [Margaret] Thatcher offered impeccable credentials as an aggressive union-

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Der Spiegel

Social Democrats' "gang of four" (from left: Jenkins, Owen, Rodgers, Williams) lead Cold War split from Labour.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Israel...

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the Near East), Washington had made some slight effort—totally unsuccessful—to restrain mad bomber Begin. When the state terrorist in Jerusalem incinerated an Iraqi nuclear reactor last summer, the U.S. suspended arms deliveries for a few weeks. And when in December Israel formally annexed the Golan Heights (captured from Syria in the 1967 war), the Reagan administration suspended the recently signed "joint strategic cooperation" agreement. But these slaps on the wrist would hardly deter the likes of Begin and war minister Sharon, who are hell-bent on "redrawing the map" of the Near East in their drive for *Lebensraum* ("vital space") for Greater Eretz Israel. Now, however, official Washington, or at least the dominant Haig faction, is backing Zionist expansionism all the way.

Today, Begin can state truthfully that Reagan's pronouncements on Lebanon are in harmony with Israeli policy. Certainly the anti-Communist fanatics on the Potomac are happy to see Syria, Moscow's principal client state in the region, humiliated and the Soviet-backed and -armed PLO crushed. And no doubt the Pentagon is very favorably impressed with what the Israeli military has done to the Soviet weaponry. The Syrians' Russian-supplied SAM-6 and SAM-8 anti-aircraft missiles were wiped out without the Israeli air force suffering a single casualty, and Israel has recently developed an artillery shell which can pierce the most advanced Soviet tank, the T-72. General Haig apparently believes that the lightning success of the Israeli strike has dramatically and fundamentally changed the balance of power in the region and wants to exploit this triumph of arms to the hilt. He reportedly favors accepting Begin's invitation for a U.S. military garrison in Lebanon, though Pentagon chief Weinberger, more concerned with Arab opinion, wants to reject it.

Whatever these tactical differences, Washington is turning to the Near East rulers and telling them: don't cross us or Begin may do to your capital what he is doing to Beirut. This "Pax Americana or else" line is having its effect, and not only on the Arab sheiks and Ba'athist colonels. In the U.S. "radicals" who supported the most "radical" Arab nationalism are now calling upon Reagan to curb Israel! Thus when Begin addressed the UN disarmament conference June 18, a protest heavily built by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party demanded "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal."

What does this mean? Begin has solemnly pledged to withdraw his troops from Lebanon if a U.S.-led armed force would move in to suppress the PLO. So this supposed anti-Begin protest was demanding the exact same thing as Begin—namely, effective U.S. action. For decades the Marcyites and kindred "anti-imperialists" have portrayed Zionist Israel as a puppet of American imperialism, practically a U.S. army garrison in the Near East. Now these same people are calling on the imperialist puppet master to restrain the puppet by placing a U.S. army garrison in the Near East! Revolutionary internationalists say: Keep the Imperialist "Peacekeepers" Out—U.S. Hands Off Lebanon!

Defend the Palestinians!

In addition to turning Lebanon into a bridgehead for Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, the Israelis intend to destroy the Palestinians as a people. Those who are not slaughtered will be driven into hostile and distant lands. "Now, all they have left is Syria, where they will be kept on a very tight leash," trumpeted one of Begin's men (*Newsweek*, 21 June). Every class-conscious worker, everyone

NYC Spartacist League Protest

Stop the Massacre of Palestinians!

On June 18, as Israeli prime minister Begin was addressing the United Nations, demonstrators outside Israeli government offices in the Empire State Building chanted, "U.S. Hands Off Lebanon! Israel Out Now!" The noon-hour demonstration by the Spartacist League (SL) attracted the interest of many Midtown passersby. Signs read "Stop the Massacre of the Palestinians!" "Israel Out of Lebanon Now!" and "For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" Addressing onlookers over a bullhorn, SL spokesman Reuben Samuels insisted:

"The monstrous crimes inflicted upon the Jewish people of Central and Eastern Europe during the Nazi holocaust in no way justify the drive for *Lebensraum*, the Nazi-like terror of the Israelis against the Palestinians, the genocide, the razing and destruction of whole towns like Sidon, Tyre; the tyranny wreaked every day on the West Bank and Gaza Strip."

The Spartacist demonstration drew several sharp outbursts from Zionists and anti-communists, though—significantly—none from the number of black and Puerto Rican workers who listened closely. Fascist terrorists are on the march again in America, fueled by Reagan's racist reaction and anti-Soviet war drive. "They must be stopped in the United States! And the Nazi-like conduct of the Zionists in Israel must be stopped in the Middle East," said Samuels.

The protesters denounced the criminal role of American imperialism in the endless succession of Near East wars, past and present. It was the refusal of the "democratic" imperialist powers, including the United States, to receive the Jewish survivors of the Nazi holocaust during and after World War II which drove them to founding a



WV Photo

Zionist state in Palestine. Now the U.S. has designated the Palestinian people as nothing but Soviet proxies, the SL spokesman said. "And in Reagan's mad Cold War drive for nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union, such peoples are quite expendable. The workers of the world must protest this outrage!"

Israel, said Samuels, has "turned into a giant arms factory—from the dream of the kibbutz to the reality of merchants of death." It has become an arms supplier to every despised reactionary dictatorship on earth, from apartheid South Africa to the Salvadoran junta. Despite the murderous

policies of the Zionist rulers, the Spartacist League supports the right of the Hebrew-speaking people to self-determination. But this cannot be at the expense of the Palestinian people. "The Palestinian Arabs have a 'right to return.' They have the right to a state, and not just in the West Bank but throughout all of what was Palestine. They have a right to return to Haifa, to Tel Aviv. These rights can be realized *only* in a socialist federation of the Near East. The ruling classes of the region must be overthrown by the working people. This is the only way out of this endless cycle of nationalist wars and genocidal killings."

who believes in democratic rights must stand for the military defense of the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims against the Zionist terrorists and their Christian Maronite allies.

Whatever their military weaknesses, the PLO commandos have never lacked courage. While the PLO cannot win set-piece battles against the mechanized Israeli juggernaut, there are other effective forms of resistance. Had the PLO created small squads of snipers to take out Israeli soldiers, even if they themselves took two or three times the number of losses, the strain on Israeli society with its master-race psychology would have been intolerable. The Zionist belief that one Jew is worth hundreds of Arabs cuts both ways. Israeli war terror will be sapped when their coffins begin coming back by the hundreds and thousands.

In the present fighting we defend the Palestinian forces against not only the Israeli army but also the Lebanese Christian militias which have become subordinate to the Zionist state. The 1975-76 civil war and subsequent bloodletting was essentially mutual communal terror. All sides in that conflict were squalid. As we wrote shortly after the Syrian army intervened to defend the Maronite Christians:

"In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle which would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat."

—"Blood Feud in Lebanon,"
WV No. 115, 25 June 1976

But the situation in Lebanon has now changed. The Maronite Christian militias have become part of the Zionist offensive to exterminate the Palestinians and turn Lebanon into a direct outpost for U.S. imperialism. Militarily they have become enemies of the

working peoples of the world. Of course, our current military support to the PLO against the Maronite militias has nothing in common with the program of obliterating the Christian community in Lebanon, as was envisaged and attempted by some Muslim "leftists" and Palestinian nationalists in 1975-76.

Based on petty-bourgeois nationalist ideology, the Palestine Liberation Organization has always looked to one or another of the Arab bourgeois states to secure the liberation of the Palestinians. In his own way and for his own reasons, Begin has now shattered the myth of Arab or Islamic unity behind the Palestinian cause. "I don't understand how the Arabs can be so ineffectual when the Israelis are knocking on the gates of an Arab capital," exclaimed Yasir Arafat in bitterness and perhaps genuine shock. Because the Arab regimes, the "radical" ones as well as the "moderates," are not at all sorry to see the PLO humiliated, crippled or even crushed. Henry Kissinger gloated:

"No Arab government has given more than verbal support to the embattled Palestinians, and even that lacked the traditional passion. Even Syria stood by passively until its own forces were directly attacked, and made a separate cease-fire while the PLO was being systematically destroyed."

—Washington Post, 16 June

In their guts and when their lives hang on it, the Palestinian militants know the Arab nationalist regimes will treat them as ruthlessly as the Zionists. PLO military forces were driven out of both Jordan and Syria through savage repressions. During the Jordanian civil war of 1970, the "Black September" massacre of Palestinians by King Hussein's Arab Legion left thousands dead. That's probably the main reason that the PLO decided to fight it out, if they had to, in Beirut rather than

placing themselves under the "protection" of the Syrian army in the Bekka Valley.

U.S. imperialist spokesmen have suddenly become Lebanese nationalists (there aren't any in Lebanon) demanding the withdrawal of all "foreign" troops. In his sometime tongue-in-cheek style, right-wing Reaganite and rabid Zionist William Safire writes:

"We should get up on our soapbox and call not merely for a cease-fire, but for the withdrawal of *all* foreign forces permanently from Lebanon. That goes for Israelis, Syrians, P.L.O., the U.N., the works. All of them—out! Let Lebanon be Lebanon."

—New York Times, 11 June

But there is a fundamental difference between the Syrian and Israeli armies in Lebanon, though both are oppressors and murderers of the peoples of Lebanon. Lebanon is *not* a nation separate and distinct from Syria, but a collection of religious-ethnic fiefdoms sharing a common ethnic makeup with Syria. Syria occupied Lebanon in 1975 because it feared that the Sunni Muslim rebellion against Maronite domination would spill over into Syria and inflame its own restive Sunni majority that is politically dominated by a much smaller Muslim Alawite sect. The Syrians in Lebanon are no more a "foreign" army than the Maronite Phalange. Lebanon and Syria have been for centuries a common historical entity, united by language, culture and ethnic makeup.

Lebanon is a creation of imperialist divide and rule policy. At the 1919 Versailles conference the French colonialists carved out this artificial entity in the Levant in order to have a mandate territory which they could dominate through the pro-French Maronites. The role of the Ba'athist Syrian army in Lebanon, which in 1976 killed hundreds of Palestinians at the siege of Tel Zaatar

(to the cheering of the Zionists) is not fundamentally different from its role in Syria where it leveled its third-largest city, Hama, and massacred countless thousands. In both Syria and Lebanon the Ba'athist army is an instrument for bloody class repression. But the Israeli occupation of Lebanon is in addition the occupation of a *foreign* and *colonialist* armed force. It is a murderous violation of the right to self-determination of the peoples of Lebanon, especially for the Palestinians who are clearly marked for genocide.

On the other hand the call for "withdrawal" of the PLO is a grotesque parody of Zionist genocidal aspirations. Almost the entire Palestinian population in Lebanon has lived there for the last 35 years since they were driven into the *Palestinian diaspora* by Zionist terror, the forced population transfer imposed upon the Palestinian nation through the creation of the Zionist state. To call for the "withdrawal" of the PLO, which the overwhelming majority of Palestinians support, is to call on the U.S.-equipped and -backed Israeli armed forces to realize their mission of driving the Palestinians into the sea. As for the UN troops who have served as (one-way) border guards for Zionist expansion, they should be removed not only from southern Lebanon but from the entire Levant. More significantly, we demand the removal of the multinational "peacekeeping" force in the Sinai which under the cover of Camp David has led to the direct introduction of U.S. imperialist armed forces and bases in the region.

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

Only yesterday Israel was the "promised land" of Western social democrats and liberals where young, healthy kibbutzniks turned deserts into gardens and right-wing fanatics like Begin and Sharon existed on the fringe of Zionist society. As for the Arabs, the CIA-bribed scribblers of *Dissent* would exclaim, aren't they better off under the "democratic" and pro-Western rule of the Ben Gurions and Golda Meirs than under the feudal despotisms and military dictatorships of the Arab League? Indeed, Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel, even if they are second-class citizens, have more democratic rights and on average a higher living standard than the Arab population of every Arab country. Even the 100,000 West Bank Palestinians who migrate daily to work as super-exploited labor in Israel's sweatshops and service industries receive higher wages than in any Arab lands except a few Persian Gulf oil sheikdoms.

Of course, this has always been the argument for colonialism and imperialism. That Rhodesia's blacks had the highest standard of living in black Africa, with the possible exception of South Africa, always was the supreme defense of the white colonialists. But black liberation in southern Africa can be won only through breaking the chains of colonialism, white supremacy, apartheid and super-exploitation.

The dynamic of Zionist expansionism has indeed produced a Rhodesian white-supremacist or South African apartheid mentality and a growing, though still limited, corresponding economic structure. Arab labor, especially from the occupied Gaza and West Bank, represents a vast reservoir of super-exploited labor below a relatively privileged Hebrew-speaking working class (itself divided between the European-derived Ashkenazi and the less privileged Sephardic Jews from North Africa and the Arab East). Some years ago in an interview with *Workers Vanguard* the well-known Israeli civil libertarian and fighter for Palestinian rights Israel Shahak observed:

"An enormous number of security jobs—army, police, and so on—have been created on the one hand, and production of weapons on the other,

Israeli troops level Sidon, massacre thousands.



The Jewish working class was sucked into these jobs.... By now a great part of the Jewish working class in Israel is in the position of, say, poor whites in South Africa."

—"The Israeli Working Class and Zionist Terror," *WV* No. 182, 18 November 1977

But the appetite to exploit Arab labor runs into flat contradiction with the Zionist vision of every Arab as a mortal threat to the Israeli state, who must therefore be liquidated. Israel is a by-product of the worst and most barbaric excesses of capitalism in its death agony: the Nazi "final solution" and the closing of their borders by the "democratic" imperialist countries (U.S., Britain), so that the Jewish survivors of the Holocaust had to flee to Palestine. The racially exclusionist "Jewish" state envisioned by the Zionists could only be carved out of the living body of the Arab people through Hitlerite methods: mass terror (Begin's massacre at Deir Yassin) and forced population transfers. Yet no matter how ruthless its masters and powerful its backers, the infant state of Israel was not a great imperialist power like Nazi Germany and the Palestinians survived as a people even in their diaspora. That is why every Palestinian Arab constitutes a threat to the Zionist state and must be liquidated.

There is therefore a certain tension in present-day Israeli politics between "pragmatists" like Moshe Dayan, who want to exploit more Arab labor, and fanatics like Ariel Sharon, who want to expand the borders of Israel to disperse and liquidate ever more Arabs. The "fanatics" have now moved to the center of the entire Zionist establishment because they express most consistently the oppressive, racist and genocidal component integral to every nationalism.

The one place where the fanatics and terrorists like Begin have *always* had a substantial following is the U.S., where the Zionist establishment is, if anything, further to the right than its Israeli counterpart. Racist America is the spawning ground for a new breed of Zionist terrorist, represented by Meir Kahane's Jewish Defense League, exported to Israel as Kach, and other deranged killers like the late Eli the Wolf and the psychopath from New Jersey who recently shot up the Rock of the Dome mosque in Jerusalem.

As Begin has moved to the center of Zionist power, Meir Kahane now occupies his right fringe because he articulates the ultimate Zionist vision: the conquest of the Near East from the Nile to the Euphrates. Every additional kilometer of territory occupied by the Israeli army creates new enemies who in turn must be conquered, subjugated or eliminated. And every additional kilometer of conquered territory increases the chauvinism and racism of Israeli

society. We have never been naive about the difficulties in breaking the Hebrew-speaking working class from the "master race" attitudes inculcated by their capitalist masters. At the same time, we have always opposed those self-styled radicals who regard the Hebrew-speaking people as one reactionary mass, which must be exterminated or driven into the sea.

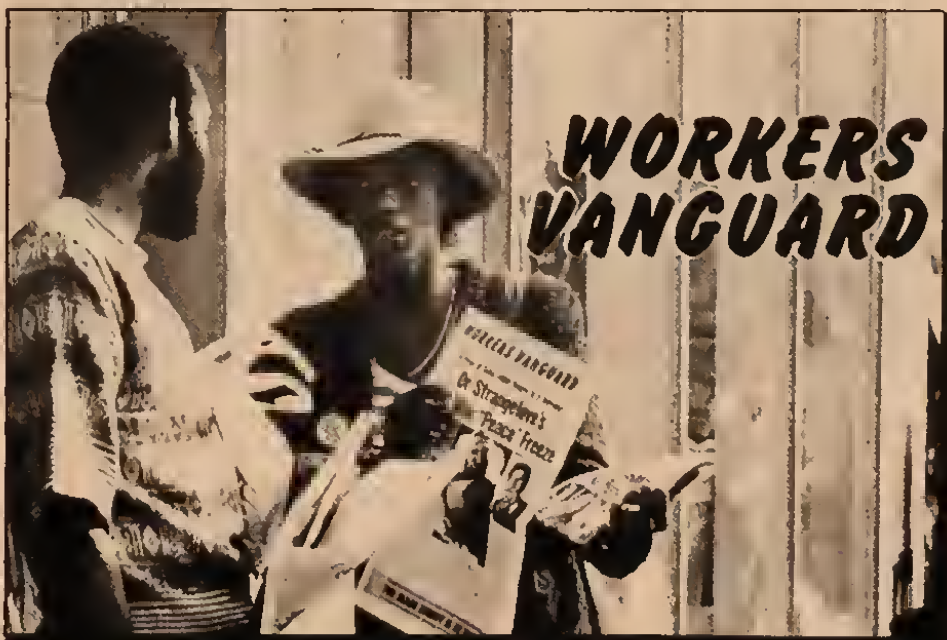
Israel is beset by severe internal contradictions which are aggravated by the dynamic of Zionist expansionism. There will be no Zionist Reich dominating the Arab East. Israel does not even have the relative stability of white-ruled South Africa. Its industrial base is too narrow and, more importantly, its population is too small. Furthermore, that population is growing increasingly restless as they face 100-plus percent inflation, rapidly declining living standards and perpetual military mobilization to repress increasing numbers of rebellious Palestinians. So many Israelis are voting with their feet. For every homicidal crazy Meir Kahane recruits from Brooklyn to terrorize West Bank Palestinians, ten ordinary Israelis emigrate to Brooklyn to drive cabs and open *felafel* stands. Israeli expansion-

ism is critically dependent on a steady stream of Jewish immigration. But Israel is, in fact, experiencing a *net emigration*. Zionism has produced its own Jewish diaspora!

Zionist expansionism contains the seeds of its own destruction. But with mad bomber Begin sitting on a nuclear arsenal, the working people of the Near East and the world do not have time to wait for the internal disintegration of "Greater Israel." The Hebrew-speaking working people must be broken from their Zionist rulers. They have been led, as Trotsky predicted on the eve of World War II, into a deathtrap. The only way out is united proletarian struggle together with their Arab class brothers against their Zionist rulers. The few million Jews in the Near East can be part of an extremely valuable cultural and technical vanguard in making the region a decent place to live. But only in unity with the Arab toiling masses.

Palestinian and other Arab leftists must also draw the lessons of proletarian class struggle from the complete bankruptcy of Arab nationalism demonstrated by Israel's invasion of Lebanon. In the name of nationalism the PLO and other Palestinian groups claimed as allies the very Arab rulers who now remain silent or stab them in the back, and who ever since 1948 have contributed to the suppression of the Palestinian people. Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian and Jordanian workers must understand that the slogan of "fight Zionism" in the mouths of *their* rulers has been used to *divert* class struggle at home, while these same Arab rulers have betrayed the Palestinian cause in a thousand ways from Black September to Tel Zaatar to Camp David. The main enemy is at home!

The struggle for the democratic rights of all the peoples of the Near East and for the survival and national emancipation of the Palestinians must necessarily sweep away the bloody bonapartists in Syria, bring down the rotten medieval structure in Lebanon, shatter the Zionist state and rip the Arab and Hebrew-speaking masses from their misrulers. This struggle must place the revolutionary proletariat with its vanguard communist party at the head of the exploited and oppressed, and can only find its fulfillment in a socialist federation of the Near East. ■



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Million Protest in London, Rome, Bonn, Berlin

Reagan's Cold War Crusade Bombs in Europe

Proclaiming a new "crusade for freedom," Ronald Reagan vowed that "the forces of good ultimately rally and triumph over evil" and that Marxism-Leninism would be thrown onto "the ash heap of history." "Even without our encouragement" there have been "explosions" in East Europe, the American president said at Westminster. The *New York Times* (9 June) worried that, "At times he sounded as if he was encouraging uprisings by peoples in Warsaw Pact countries." This referred in particular to Reagan's proposal for U.S. aid ("concrete actions" toward "our ultimate objectives") to "foster the infrastructure of democracy"—i.e., directly financing subversion and destabilization which the CIA had sponsored clandestinely.

British Members of Parliament must have thought they had been caught in a time warp and transported back to the short-lived "American century," listening to John Foster Dulles call on Christendom to "roll back" godless Communism. Three decades ago that Cold Warrior also predicted the imminent downfall of the Soviet Union: "Under the pressure of faith and hope and peaceful works [...] Communist rule could readily come into a state of collapse." Or perhaps they were listening to newsreels of Winston Churchill's 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech (from which Reagan's writers borrowed liberally). But here it is Cold War II, and the chief imperialist was openly calling for

counterrevolution to overthrow the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc.

The immediate target of Reagan's plans to reconquer the Soviet sphere for "free world" capitalism is Poland, and his chosen instrument is Solidarność, the Polish company union for the CIA and Western bankers. Poland and Solidarity were mentioned no less than ten times in his Westminster speech. Despite the crackdown last December which scotched a counterrevolutionary grab for power by Solidarność, Reagan vowed that "the struggle continues in Poland." But the prospect of NATO paratroopers landing in Warsaw to back up a Radio Free Europe-inspired uprising produced nervous tremors even among conservative elements of the European bourgeoisie. Not just peace-niks but significant sections of the West European ruling circles see a post-Vietnam America frustrated by the loss of global power and driving toward a nuclear apocalypse.

Overall, Reagan's Grand Tour was judged a royal flop. Unable to convince his fellow imperialists to undertake any substantial joint action, he was overshadowed by the British-Argentine war in the South Atlantic and by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Before visiting the mother of parliaments, he attended a Western economic summit at the palace of the French sun king, Louis XIV, at Versailles. With his "let them eat



Reagan loves the Queen's England. He'd like to restore tsarist Russia too.

austerity" message, the U.S. president tried to convince French and German social democrats of the virtues of "supply-side" economic quackery. Mitterrand and Schmidt, in turn, tried to get Reagan to lower Wall Street interest rates which are drawing money capital out of Europe and wreaking havoc in the international money markets. And they all dumped on the Japanese.

None of the imperialist heads of state had a taste for Reagan-style anti-Communist crusading. For all his support to NATO rearmament and Polish Solidarność, despite his warm toasts to *mon cher* Ron, Mitterrand said he didn't want economic war with the Russians any more than a shooting war. Schmidt was even more insistent in trying to resurrect détente. It's not that the European capitalists are any less anti-Soviet than their American counterparts. They're just worried about a nuclear war fought on *their* territory, and prefer to economically undermine and politically subvert the Soviet bloc by fostering internal counterrevolutionary forces like Polish Solidarność. And they're worried about unrest at home: as former British Tory prime minister Edward Heath remarked: "The younger generation isn't going to feel much for democracy when there are 30 million unemployed in the West" (*Washington Post*, 9 June).

If European conservatives were cool to Reagan, the social democrats were even more standoffish. In an unprecedented act, virtually the entire Labour Party parliamentary delegation boycotted Reagan's speech at the Royal Gallery (they wouldn't even let him speak in Westminster Hall proper). In an equally unprecedented open letter, the Labourites bitterly denounced Washington's "simple black-and-white" policies. "We utterly reject an ideological crusade against the Soviet Union and its identification as the sole or even prime cause of conflict in the world," wrote the Labour tops, who can hardly be accused of being Russia-lovers. They added: "We can inform you that the peace movement is not Communist-inspired nor pacifist nor necessarily neutralist." That is true enough. But for Ronald Reagan, anyone who is not for his anti-Soviet war drive all the way is agin' it. And that includes British pinkos

like Labour "left" Tony Benn... or even CIA "socialist" Denis Healey.

"For a Reagan-Free Europe"

The Reaganites' talk of a "limited" and "winnable" nuclear war on the continent has frightened millions of Europeans out of their wits. Thus the decline of U.S. imperialism's economic strength and the rise of insane anti-Soviet bellicosity in Washington have produced a nationalistic, social-democratic-led "peace" movement in West Europe. On the eve of Reagan's trip to Britain, some 250,000 people turned out for a rally called by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament to protest the trigger-happy cowboy from Washington. In Italy another quarter million turned out in a demonstration, heavily built by the "Eurocommunists," which explicitly and aggressively called for *multilateral* disarmament. In France, however, the Communist Party showed its loyalty to the government of NATO "socialist" Mitterrand (in which it has some junior ministers) by doing nothing, absolutely nothing at all, to disturb the presidential visit.

But Reagan's reception in Britain and France was positively warm compared to West Germany. *New York Times* correspondent John Vinocur complained that leading West German magazines portrayed the U.S. president as "war loving, moronic and a threat to the German people." Indeed, *Der Spiegel's* cover labeled Reagan "the disagreeable guest." And while the mass "peace" rally of 400,000 at the June 10 NATO summit in Bonn was a relaxed affair, his welcome in West Berlin was plenty disagreeable. Last fall, General Haig was just about run out of this "front-line city," once known as the showcase of the West. Reagan risked no more than three hours in this city-island of the "free world," encysted 150 miles inside East Germany. Even then he was guarded by 17,000 West Berlin and Western Allied cops, and didn't dare to walk or drive through the streets, hopping from point to point by helicopter.

In keeping with the true spirit of his "crusade for freedom," all demonstrations were banned for the day; all, that

continued on page 8



London, June 6—Spartacist League/Britain chants: "Benn says disarmament, Brezhnev says détente. But world revolution is what we want."



Paris, June 5—Ligue Trotskyste de France raises banner: "Reagan/Mitterrand Anti-Soviet Warmongers—For Unconditional Military Defense of the USSR!"

All-American Freeze-In, June 12

A Bad Week for "Peace"

When has the vicious hoax of "disarmament" under imperialism been more vividly exposed? On June 6 the United Nations opened a "Special Session on Disarmament." Fresh from his Zionist *Blitzkrieg* for a "final solution" to the Palestinian people, Menachem Begin bragged about how he had "disarmed" the PLO and the Syrian army. As the Pentagon boasted of "prevailing" in a thermonuclear war on the Soviets, and U.S. allies "showcased" American weapons in wars from the Falklands/Malvinas to Lebanon, Ronald Reagan denounced the Russians as liars and cheats because Brezhnev formally renounced first use of nuclear weapons. Now Margaret Thatcher mounts the alabaster podium, her hands dripping with the blood of starving, freezing Argentine prisoners of war, to prate about "turning swords into plowshares." Meanwhile, outside the UN were three-quarters of a million people, brought there to support "nuclear freeze" plans sponsored by the most notorious Vietnam war criminals. As we said in our last issue, it was "Dr. Strangelove's Cold War 'Peace' Freeze," a truly Orwellian "war is peace" scene.

"Sounds of Battle Drown Debate," headlined the *New York Times* (11 June), noting it was a hell of a week to be peddling peace. But Reaganfear brought these throngs out to the giant "freeze"-in at the UN and Central Park on June 12. With the gang in the White House threatening first "limited" and now "protracted" nuclear war, it has suddenly occurred to the American middle class that they might die of something other than natural causes. June 12 was above all the anti-Reagan popular front, the outpouring of liberals of the Vietnam antiwar generation, now comfortably ensconced in white suburban "middle America." And while any conglomeration of this size (police estimated 800,000) has to be an amorphous mass, its clear political message was: get ready for Teddy.

March organizers crowed that the vast crowd brought together a "kaleidoscope of humanity," a "rainbow spectrum" of "ethnic groups, young and old, rich and poor alike." This was certainly *not* true. The union bureaucracy, which showed its capacity to pull out 500,000 people last fall, was not interested. The only labor presence was the traditional "progressive" union contingents, such as DC 65, District 1199 and AFSCME DC 37. Much less than one percent of the crowd was non-white; many black people apparently figured any move-



Democratic Party of Vietnam War and Bay of Pigs is behind the freeze movement.

ment "greeted" by Mayor Ed Koch had nothing to offer them. The reformist left was out in force, but swamped in the liberal sea. Altogether, the contingents of the Communist Party (CP), Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists (DSA) didn't even fill a block.

So who were they? At the time of the big labor march in Washington September 19, these were the people who stayed behind to hear the Simon and Garfunkel concert. On June 12 many came out to hear Linda Ronstadt, James Taylor, Jackson Browne and other rock stars. It was the anti-Moral Majority wing of the clergy: "concerned" liberal church groups and related "grassroots" community organizations. The buses from Boston were organized on a parish-by-parish, congregation-by-congregation basis. As one rally speaker said, "The silent majority isn't silent anymore." Sociologically, this was an accurate description. And we salute the comrades and sympathizers who through sheer determination managed to sell 8,039 pieces of Spartacist literature (also at a simultaneous San Francisco "nuclear freeze" demo), often in the face of hostile Zionists, to this aggressively petty-bourgeois crowd.

The Ground Zero movement has a book out, *Nuclear War—What's in It for You*, which captures the "me decade" quality of the "freeze" movement.

There was the usual zoo of Hare Krishnas, Buddhist monks, Maryknoll nuns, wheelchair brigades, street theater people, reedy intense girls wafting by in white gauze robes and death masks. The wholesome nuclear family was out in force. "Save the children" has now been replaced by "follow the children," with one little bugger from Vermont telling the crowd that kids had the most interest in peace since adults' life spans were already shortened. There was a Yankee Fans for Peace contingent, apparently seeking to link up two losing causes.

But apart from the menagerie, there were plenty of respectable mainstream politicians. This was the second big gathering of the anti-Reagan pop front, the first being the May 3 El Salvador march in Washington last year. But the El Salvador issue is more explosive, and potentially tainted by reds, although the reformist fake-lefts with their goons and the cops try their damndest to sanitize it. On June 12 a slew of Democratic politicians paraded across the speakers platforms: Brooklyn attorney general Liz Holtzman; NYC city council president and mayoral hopeful Carol Bellaamy; Congressmen Ted Weiss, Tom Downey, Ed Markey, Toby Moffet; and perennial loser Bella Abzug. Koch showed up, to a chorus of boos, and commented that he "only wished the same thing had happened in Moscow." To the question "where do we go from here?" the politicians made it clear it was straight to the November elections.

The June 12 Rally Committee, which ran the show, agreed. They were pushing the empty "freeze" referendum which will be on the ballot in at least 12 states this fall. But a week later, the *New York Times* (20 June) pointed to the real message of the rally in an article entitled "Democrats Seize Weapons Freeze as Issue for Fall." It noted that Congressional votes for the "nuclear freeze" have divided strictly along Republican-Democratic party lines. Representative Markey of Massachusetts counsels fellow liberals that supporting the freeze "will give you 500 volunteers to stamp envelopes in your campaign." And it all goes to fuel the presidential drive of Teddy Kennedy, who is co-author, along with liberal Republican Mark Hatfield, of the Senate bilateral freeze resolution.

June 12 was aimed at building an anti-Reagan groundswell in the streets in order to boost Democratic Party fortunes at the polls. And the reformist left

dutifully tagged along. The SWP made a few ritual criticisms of the Democrats while hailing the movement to "end the war drive." After all the squabbling over the Third World Coalition, black demagogue Herbert Daughtry's BUF was given the garbage detail. The CP's *Daily World* said the "peace movement" should seek to defeat "all pro-Reagan, pro-Pentagon ultra-right candidates." Sam Marcy's *Workers World* called for "common struggle against Reaganite reaction." Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party was pushing a front, the "Federation for Progress," together with prominent Democratic Congressmen such as Ron Dellums and Parren Mitchell, calling for a "coalition opposed to the Reagan administration." The goal: put in "freezer" Kennedy, who wants to beef up conventional military hardware, and bring back the party of Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs...and Hiroshima/Nagasaki.

Another key aspect of June 12 was anti-Sovietism, expressed in its aggressive "bilateralism" that equates the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state with the imperialist warmongers in Washington. Harrington's DSA (previously DSOC/NAM) carried signs, "No to Soviet SS-20s" and "Disarm East and West." There were a lot of Solidarność buttons, even though this Polish anti-Communist union for the CIA and bankers has denounced the Western peace movement for being soft on the Russians. But the anti-Sovietism was most pronounced at the sit-in at several UN missions, including the USSR's, two days later when 1,600 were arrested for pacifist "civil disobedience." A spokesman for the group outside the Soviet mission called for the USSR to "disarm *unilaterally*," which would leave it defenseless before the imperialist butchers.

We have repeatedly warned that the campaign for the "nuclear freeze" is the policy of imperialist forces who have only somewhat different plans for war against the Soviet Union. Sponsored by certified Vietnam war criminals Robert McNamara and McGeorge Bundy, this movement is an opposition *within* the American ruling class by those who "want a more powerful and *usable* conventional military to face Soviet tanks" (*WV* No. 307, 11 June). This has now been dramatically confirmed by a new Democratic Party "defense" platform for the November elections, written by Kennedy and associates, which emphasizes the party's commitment to "strengthening our conventional defense" and calls for "major, mutual, balanced and verifiable reductions of nuclear forces."

A half a century ago, Leon Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Red Army and of the Fourth International, exposed treacherous disarmament illusions, writing in the "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (1932) that:

"The pretense of 'disarmament' has and can have nothing in common with the prevention of war. The program of 'disarmament' only signifies an attempt—up to now only on paper—to reduce in peacetime the expense of this or that kind of armaments...."

"Without the slightest confidence in the capitalist programs for disarmament or arms limitation, the revolutionary proletariat asks one single question: *In whose hands are the weapons?* Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war." ■



Cold War "flower power" at Soviet embassy.

Reagan's Cold War...

(continued from page 6)

is, except his anti-Communist ritual at the Berlin Wall. During preceding weeks, the police had raided the homes of many local radicals, letting it be known that if the U.S. imperialist chief's visit were disrupted there would be hell to pay. So while 80,000 turned out for a "peace" picnic the day before, on June 11 just 3,000 radicals, mainly spontanéists, battled the cops a few blocks from Reagan's wailing at the Wall. The local interior minister said the repression was of "horrifying brutality and intensity." The contrast between John F. Kennedy's triumphant visit to West Berlin a generation ago and this commando raid on the hostile former German capital was striking. In 1982, Ronald Reagan was no Berliner.

The protests over the Reagan visit were not anti-imperialist. At most they were anti-American, where they weren't downright anti-Soviet as well, as with the slogan "Neither Pershings nor SS-20s" or "For a nuclear-free Europe, from Portugal to Poland." One of the favorite themes of the social-patriotic Europacifist demonstrations was "For a Reagan-free Europe!" In contrast, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) put out a statement under the headline "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" and "Smash NATO's Anti-Soviet War Drive Through Proletarian Revolution!" The iSt statement, distributed in thousands of copies in Britain, France and Germany, noted:

"Capitalist America is the number one enemy of the world's working peoples. But 'anti-Americanism' does not equal anti-imperialism. In the mouths of social-democrats and Stalinists, anti-American rhetoric only serves to amnestie one's own bourgeoisie."

"Down with NATO and the Common Market! Down with the Atlantic Alliance and the 'Force de Frappe!'"

—WV No. 307, 11 June

FRANCE

PARIS—The most significant thing about the June 5 anti-Reagan protest here was its small size (about 20,000) compared to those in other West European capitals. Centrally, this reflected the abstention and downright sabotage by the French Communist Party (PCF). They made it clear to their ranks that PCF militants were not to be on the streets June 5; instead they called a counterdemonstration for June 20, when Reagan would be safely out of the country. Thus, in a country with a working class in good part pro-Soviet, protest against this anti-Soviet fanatic was minor compared with such traditional strongholds of Cold War social democracy as Britain and West Germany. The incapacity of Stalinism to oppose imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive could not be more glaring.

Many people believe that France's

formal nonparticipation in NATO will somehow miraculously spare it from the nuclear fallout of World War III. Such illusions, of course, did not prevent prime minister Pierre Mauroy from attending the NATO summit and pledging France's "total fidelity" to the Atlantic Alliance. More importantly the small size of the Paris anti-Reagan protest shows concretely how popular-frontism demobilizes the masses. The left and "far left" could not bring hundreds of thousands into the streets against Reagan, "*mon cher Ron*," because they themselves had systematically apologized for and supported Mitterrand's anti-Soviet offensive. Particularly over Poland: only in France were there large-scale pro-Solidarność protests last December, uniting everyone from fascists to social democrats and "far leftists."

The June 5 protest was initiated by the three main pseudo-Trotskyist groups: Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI), Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and Lutte Ouvrière. Though the politics of the demonstration were the same kind of reformist Europacifism that is thoroughly respectable in London or Bonn, the Mitterrand government pulled out the stops to mobilize public opinion against it. The pro-government *Le Matin* daily charged that it was pro-Soviet and pro-terrorist, and on June 4 the head of the ruling Socialist Party, Lionel Jospin, denounced the demonstration as "unilateralist in inspiration." This was too much for Lambert's PCI, whose virulent anti-Sovietism is not always second to that of the official social democrats. At the last minute the Lambertists pulled out of the demonstration, repeating the government's hysterical redbaiting.

In reality June 5 was a typical example of social-pacifism with the main slogan, "Down with War-maker Reagan!" Krivine's LCR, the largest contingent, carried *no* banner against French imperialism or the Mitterrand government. But the 80-strong contingent of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF) held high the traditions of Leninism and the defense of the Soviet Union. Slogans on LTF banners included: "Mitterrand/Reagan Anti-Soviet Warmongers" and "Mitterrand Supports Counterrevolutionary Solidarność. Turns CRS [riot police] Loose on Strikers—Break with the Popular Front!" Our contingent caught the attention, among others, of the pro-government daily *Libération* (7 June) which reported "a newcomer in the hexagonal [French] Trotskyist galaxy," and commented, "Worth noting: the slogan of the LTF, 'The defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador.'" The combativeness of the LTF contingent attracted a number of unaffiliated militants, and several Communist Party members, to march with us. Altogether 7,000 copies of a supplement to the LTF's *Le Bolchévik* with the iSt statement "The Main Enemy Is at Home" were distributed on June 5.

ENGLAND

LONDON—The June 6 anti-Reagan march on Hyde Park took place in a political climate dominated by the popular jingoism unleashed by Thatcher's for-now successful colonial adventure in the Falklands/Malvinas. Thinking that the mood of patriotic unity had temporarily eclipsed the "peace" issue, the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) organizers themselves were surprised at the turnout of a quarter million. Politically the demonstration combined "little England" nationalism with "Stop the world, I want to get off" pacifism encapsulated in the slogans "Defend Britain, Defend Peace" and "For a Reagan-Free Europe." Labour "left" and Dame of the British Empire Judith Hart added from the podium, "Any country has the responsibility to

have a coherent, sensible defense policy."

The demonstration occurred just as "Iron Lady" Thatcher was preparing the final bloody assault in her South Atlantic war. Despite the CND's earlier initiatives in organizing "peace" protests over the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, when it came to this big march they (and their backers of the Labour Party left, the Communist Party and "far left" Socialist Workers Party and International Marxist Group) were at pains to keep this issue strictly on the sidelines. After all, longstanding CND peace-mongers like Labour leader Michael Foot were supporting Thatcher down the line. The few "peace" speakers who actually mentioned the war, like Tony Benn, only argued for a more rational policy for British imperialism. Instead of a shooting war they wanted economic sanctions against Argentina and UN intervention.

In sharp opposition to the anti-"superpower" nationalism and social-pacifism of the Bennites and their left hangers-on, the 100-strong Spartacist League/Britain contingent demanded, "Smash NATO, Defend the Soviet Union." Another banner declared, "Falklands: Workers Have No Side—The Main Enemy Is at Home!" Calling attention to Britain's other dirty war, the SL/B chanted, "Troops Out of Ireland Now!" As in the past, the CND pacifists answered our revolutionary Marxist politics by calling on the cops. One inspector told our comrades that the CND had made a deal with the Metropolitan Police to exclude us from the march if we chanted slogans to which they strongly objected. But they were unable to enforce this ban, and march we did, chanting, "Benn says disarmament, Brezhnev says détente, But world revolution is what we want." Several people attracted by our slogans joined us along the way, and more than 20,000 supplements with the iSt statement were distributed.

* * * * *

WEST GERMANY

FRANKFURT—The rally of 400,000 on June 10 in the West German capital of Bonn, supported by the youth groups of both the Social Democrats and the big business Free Democrats, the two partners of the ruling coalition, was the largest of the anti-Reagan protests. It was also perhaps the purest expression of Europacifism with its carefully "balanced" opposition to bloody U.S. imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state. The slogans "Swords into Plowshares, East and West" and "Against NATO and the Warsaw Pact!" set the tone. There were few if any attacks on German imperialism, such as Bonn's support to the murderous Turkish junta. Quite the contrary. Increasingly, West German leftists talk about this industrial powerhouse of capitalist Europe as if it were some "Third World" American neo-colony.

More so than in other European countries, the massive West German "peace" movement is associated with its "own" bourgeoisie's ambitions to reconquer East Europe. The widely propagated program for a "reunified neutral Germany" is but a thinly veiled call for capitalist restoration in East Germany (the DDR). It was therefore especially important for our comrades of the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) to emphasize defense of the Soviet bloc against Western imperialism, including against its "pacifistic" and "neutralist" social-democratic representatives. The TLD contingent of more than 50 at the Bonn demonstration chanted: "Defense of the Soviet Union Begins in Berlin!" One of its main banners said: "For Revolutionary Reunification of Germany! Social Revolution in the West, Political Revolution in the East!"

On the other bank of the Rhine, there was a sizable, more leftish march of about 20,000, organized by the idiosyncratic Marxistische Gruppe (MG). The MG criticized the official rally for not being "uncompromising" toward the American-dominated NATO alliance. Yet the MG itself has by no means broken from the prevailing social-democratic Europacifism of the West German left. Originating in and shaped by the détente years of the '70s, it believes that war in Europe can be avoided by preserving the Cold War status quo. A "Dear Leonid" MG open letter to Brezhnev at the time of the last Bonn "peace" demonstration (November 1981) asked pleadingly why the USSR had to keep up with the West in weapons. For the same reason the MG opposes the program of revolutionary reunification, which it interprets as some kind of Greater German imperialism, and declared the TLD would be excluded from its demo on that basis!

While official speakers hailed the Lutheran Church-inspired "Swords into Plowshares" "peace" movement in East Germany, the Trotskyists carried signs proclaiming "No Disarming of the DDR!" This and other TLD slogans hailing Red Army intervention against CIA-backed reaction in Afghanistan and denouncing Solidarność counter-revolution in Poland drove the petty-bourgeois Europacifists into a frenzy. Nevertheless, more than 5,000 supplements to the TLD's *Spartakist* with the iSt statement were distributed, despite harassment in particular from MG goons.

There can be no détente, no "peaceful coexistence" between Western imperialism and the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically ruled workers states. The *only* alternative to nuclear holocaust for mankind is proletarian revolution. What is needed to achieve this is an international party whose program of defending past proletarian gains (centrally the Bolshevik Revolution) and struggling for their extension is key to uniting the workers of all lands against imperialist barbarism. ■

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Reagan, Begin & Hitler...

(continued from page 1)

response came in the 17 June *New York Times*. On page A8, a State Department spokesman accuses Brezhnev of lying and cheating (his pledge was "unverifiable and unenforceable"), and the American commander of NATO, General Rogers, says he definitely intends to be the first to use nuclear arms in a conflict with the Warsaw Pact. Meanwhile on page B17 a National Security Council official, in a speech personally approved by Reagan, condemned not only détente but the Truman Cold War policy of containment and said, "Prevailing with pride is the principal new ingredient of American security policy."

The Reaganites' anti-Soviet offensive continues to escalate. Following the policy of bankrupting the Russians through a stepped-up arms race and trade sanctions, on Friday, June 18 Washington forbade all participation by American companies (and their subsidiaries) in the giant Soviet-West European natural gas pipeline. On Saturday, General Haig condemned the USSR for an "unprecedented" series of strategic weapons tests (but didn't even claim they violated a single arms control agreement). And two days later, more "leaks" from the Defense Department strategy document further spelled out Pentagon first strike plans against the Soviet Union. Not only are all Kremlin leaders to be targeted for nuclear assassination ("attacks on political and military leadership and associated control facilities"), but any attempt by the Russians to recover after nuclear annihilation are to be obliterated ("targeting residual enemy means of reconstitution"). The Soviets are to be wiped out and stay wiped out.

Begin, Reagan and Hitler: for all of them, the end of their class rule is co-equal with the end of the universe. And that makes them exceedingly dangerous. It's infuriating to observe the calculated politeness of Brezhnev & Co. to the endlessly demeaning American insults and responses. One would expect General Haig, once commandant of West Point, to be more polite with a first-year cadet than he behaves toward the Russians. Any self-respecting revolutionary leadership of the Soviet workers state would announce: we of course stand on "no first strike," but if you maniacal mass murderers go ahead and launch one then let us tell you what our second strike would look like. So our missiles may not be as accurate as yours (though you've never flown one over the North Pole yet), and maybe we'll miss downtown Detroit with its black-proletarian population. But we'll hit the metropolitan areas and wipe out Grosse Pointe and Scarsdale and the rest of those places where the American bourgeoisie lives!

What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese, especially since they are annoyed with Reagan now over Taiwan. Rectify the 17th century (and later) treaties between the tsars and the Manchu emperors. A generous gesture explicitly motivated: "Well, it looks like

Protest Racist Murder of Black Transit Worker!

In a vicious racist murder, William Turks, a black NYC transit worker, was brutally clubbed to death at midnight June 21 as he was on his way home from work at the Coney Island repair yards. Turks and two other black union brothers had stopped off at a dell in the Sheepshead Bay section of Brooklyn. A gang of some 25 white hoodlums surrounded them, shouting racial slurs, blocking their car and breaking their windshield as they tried to drive away; then dragging the men out of the car, kicking and beating them. Police say William Turks was dragged across a major intersection where he was struck "with a long object"; a few hours later he died of his injuries.

This is not the first incident of racist attacks against black subway

workers, whose jobs force them into the front lines of the nightmare world of this racist hellhole called New York. A few years ago two women token clerks in Far Rockaway were killed when their token booth was torched by disgruntled teenagers. "If every worker had the right to carry a gun, Turks would be alive today," said one Transit Workers Union (TWU) member. TWU militants who last summer protested the Transit Authority's killing of black motor-man Jesse Cole (the T.A. left him to bleed to death in his crumpled cab after a train wreck), are now calling on the union to organize an immediate demonstration of mourning and solidarity at the Coney Island yard, together with black organizations and other unions. All out to protest this racist outrage!

the U.S. is going to come for us now, and we hardly want you people to hit us from behind. And while you're at it, take the pressure off the Vietnamese so they can finally clean up the Cambodian mess. So you have a grievance; whether it's just or unjust is immaterial to us at this point, within the framework of practicality just tell us what you want and we'll give it to you." That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.

Next, clean up Afghanistan. Recently Kabul government forces and Soviet troops routed CIA-backed Islamic reactionary rebels from strategic positions near the capital. Hostile Western reporters credit the victory to the "people's militias," of course claiming that the Russians bought them off. Sure, with food, education, health, girls in lipstick instead of veils. But instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller and cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means social revolution, a tremendous leap from feudal backwardness to proletarian dictatorship on the backs of the Soviet Red Army. And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and "two-stage" revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union.

And the true facts of the situation must be communicated to the Russian people. Our country is once again threatened by war; the situation possibly far worse than it was when German tank columns stood 20 kilometers from Moscow city limits. Great sacrifices will be required. It must be made clear to the Poles, liberated from the Nazi yoke by the Red Army, the tremendous subsidies they enjoy at the expense of the Russian working masses. (Incidentally,

exiled Polish Solidarność leaders are now reportedly condemning the West European "peace" movement, arguing that American Pershings and Cruise missiles must be aimed at the Soviet bloc. Since some of these will fall on Warsaw, Gdansk and Krakow this amounts to a call for genocide of the Polish people in the name of anti-Communist Polish nationalism.)

But all this requires a high degree of workers democracy, combining toughness and generosity in defense of the fundamental conquests of the October Revolution. And this cannot be accomplished without a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who only dream of an accommodation with the imperialist West—call it "peaceful coexistence" or "détente." An authentically proletarian internationalist policy, to mobilize the Soviet working people for greater sacrifice and dedication, can only be accomplished by a leadership committed to advancing the revolutionary cause down the line.

What's needed to defend the land of the Soviets against rapacious imperialism hell-bent on a nuclear showdown requires above all a *rebirth of Leninism*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940): "The Fourth International can defend the USSR only by the methods of revolutionary class struggle.... We flatly reject the theory of socialism in one country, that brain child of ignorant and reactionary Stalinism. Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy." ■

Labour's Cold War...

(continued from page 3)

basher and Cold War crusader. And after the Tory victory the settling of accounts in the Labour Party began. The Callaghan/Healey regime was despised not only by the base of the party, the union membership, but by the lower and even top union bureaucrats. Denis Healey, who had been the Cabinet's hard man Chancellor of the Exchequer [economics minister], the man most directly responsible for grinding workers' faces in the dirt, was not a viable replacement.

Benn comes from the same reformist/nationalist political mould as Nye Bevan—but the times are different. Unable to control the inchoate challenge to the twin pillars of coalitionism and the Cold War connexion, the right

decided it was time to start abandoning ship. David Owen flew back from a New York meeting of the Trilateral Commission, the so-called "secret world government" founded by David Rockefeller and including such imperialist luminaries as Zbigniew Brzezinski and George Ball (not to mention Healey, Callaghan and Heath), to officially launch the Social Democrats.

It was in this context that the deputy leadership contest began a few months later, pitting Benn against Healey in the absence of an effective leader. The Spartacist League took a position of no support to either Benn or Healey. While noting that "the internal life of the Labour Party is far more lively and politically riven than at any time since the Gaitskell/Bevan days," welcoming the discrediting of the right-wing Callaghan/Healey leadership, and denouncing the drivel of our fake-Trotskyist opponents about the need to "defend Labour unity," we wrote:

"Benn exploits the rank-and-file backlash against the architects of the Social Contract in the process, and presents a carefully tailored leftist image. But in all fundamental programmatic respects, Benn stands completely within the framework of British social democracy—pro-NATO anti-Sovietism, social chauvinism in Ireland, autarkic reflation coupled with wage control, class collaborationist 'participation,' parliamentarianism. He has never repudiated his career as the longest serving Labour cabinet minister. We do not give support of any kind to Benn's campaign for deputy leadership." [emphasis in original]

—Spartacist League "Tasks and Perspectives," reprinted in *Spartacist Britain* No. 36, October 1981

As a broad political characterisation of Benn's Little England reformism, this was and remains correct. However we underestimated the depth of the crisis within the Labour Party and thus failed to draw the appropriate tactical conclusion given our understanding that the Cold War was central to the party's internal divide. In the context of the Cold War, the difference between what Healey stood for and what Benn stood for was one of policy and not simply posture or rhetoric. The election became a major showdown on the key issues tearing the Labour Party apart: for or against the CIA-loyal exponents of Cold War; for or against the architects of coalition and austerity. Who would doubt that mass defections by the right wing would have ensued had Benn won, leaving behind an unstable, left-dominated party? The situation dictated that a Trotskyist propaganda group which seeks to split Labour's working-class base from its pro-capitalist misleaders to a revolutionary programme should have extended critical support to Tony Benn—in order to exacerbate and follow through the split begun with the formation of the SDP, drive out the blatantly pro-imperialist CIA-connected right wing and place Benn in a position where his left-reformist politics could be more effectively exposed and combatted.

Today Benn tells the workers to wait until 1984 in the face of Tory attacks; tomorrow his utopian Little England panaceas can only serve to lull the workers to sleep in a period when the bosses may turn to fascist squads to solve their problems, as Trotsky put it, "over the bones of the workers." His "socialist" mystique makes him all the more pernicious an obstacle to the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat and makes the struggle against his brand of reformism all the more important a task for a revolutionary vanguard nucleus. Stop the witchhunt against the left! Never again the betrayals of Callaghan/Healey! Drive the NATO/CIA-lovers out of the Labour Party! Not Bennite Little England reformism but a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the labour movement! Forward to a Trotskyist party and socialist revolution, the only hope for mankind! ■

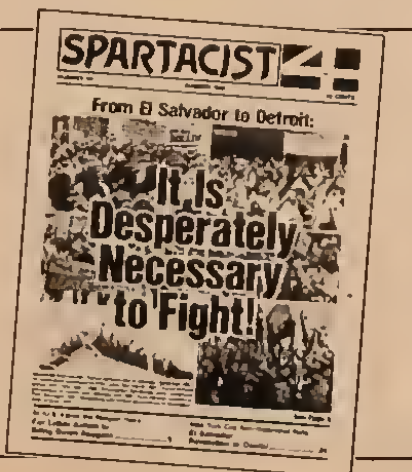
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Manuel Gaspar, Latin radio announcer
Gay Academic Union of the University of Toronto

Partial List of Endorsers, June 27 Committee to Stop the Nazis

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Charles Graham, Alternete Steward, UAW Local 6
Greek-American Union
Joe Gutierrez, Griever, USWA Local 1010
Joseph Gyurko, Chairman, Grievance Committee, USWA Local 1010
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David Thorstad, gay rights activist and co-author of "The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864-1935"
Alphonso Wells, Executive Board member, UAW Local 1776 (Willow Run, Michigan)
Jim West, Vice President, UAW Local 6
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Stop the Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

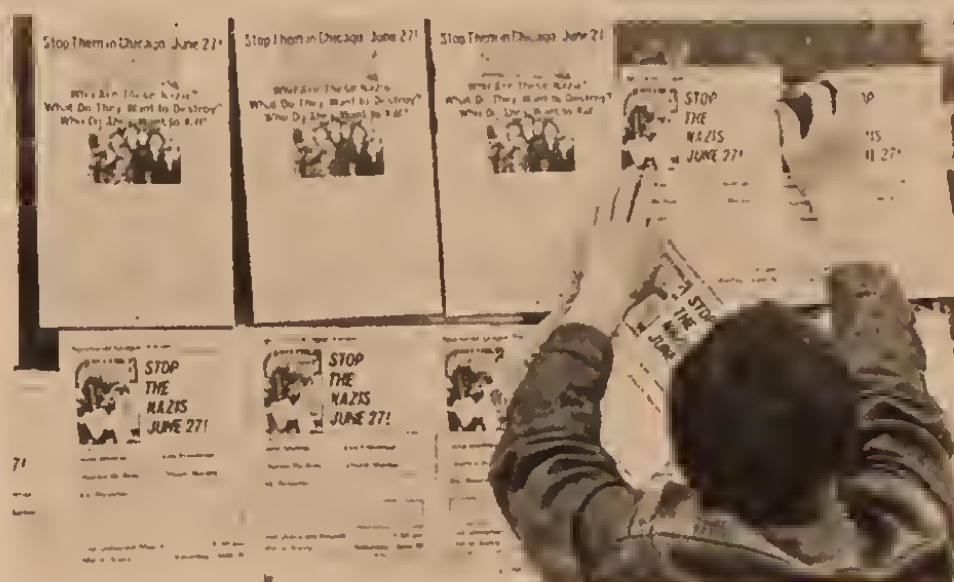
trample on the basic principles of free speech and assembly" (*GayLife*, 23 April). It is not surprising that Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Alliance (DSA) has joined the "ignore the Nazis" crowd. DSA's idol is none other than "Giveback" Doug Fraser, the auto bosses' best friend at Solidarity House. These State Department socialists support Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive abroad and the auto bosses' layoffs and impoverishment of labor/black Detroit. No wonder they refuse any protest against the Nazis in Chicago and volunteer for the front ranks of the gay Democrats parade. But the fascists are not a debating society, they are a terrorist group organized for action: cross-burnings, fire-bombings, lynchings and castrations. Stopping the Nazis is a question of elementary self-defense. No threat?—tell it to the concentration camp survivors who led the mass mobilization in Evanston that drove the fascists out of Lovelace Park two years ago.

Following along behind the gay Democrats and the DSA are groups like the RSL, a cynical Russia-hating social-democratic New Left leftover which despairs of a perspective of militant working-class-based action. The RSL has retreated into the sectoralist gay milieu hoping to establish itself as its housebroken "left" wing. Accepting the Nazis' premise that nobody but homosexuals will defend gay rights, the RSL is organizing against a labor-led mobili-

zation and pushing the dangerous idea that gay people alone can defend themselves from fascist attack. Meanwhile the gay Democrats are opposed to defending themselves on June 27 and the RSL has been reaping only red baiting for its pains. Many gay people who want to fight against homosexual oppression know the RSL as cynical adventurers who on 14 June 1977 pushed gays protesting Anita Bryant into the cops at the Medina Temple.

Apparently the RSL hasn't noticed that Reaganism's savage attacks on all sectors of the oppressed have transformed sectoralism (the New Left line that each sector of society—blacks, women, gays, etc.—must "liberate" itself by itself) from a phony issue into a dead issue. The response to the June 27 Committee's call to action shows the potential for united struggle among all the intended victims of Nazi terrorism. Mobilization of unions and minorities is not merely the only effective tactic for beating back the fascist threat; it points the way forward to welding a class-conscious labor movement as the tribune of all the oppressed into the social force capable of bringing down Reagan and both capitalist parties in the struggle for workers power.

The RSL despairs of this struggle. Its Stonewall Committee counterposes to labor/minority mobilization empty publicity-stunting "with the help of noisemakers, banners, props and arm-bands." Their real tactic is efforts at outright sabotage of the June 27 Committee's work. In New Town, Stonewall leaflets have been pasted up on top of the leaflets of the June 27 Committee. RSL supporter Michael Bodkin tried to rip leaflets out of the



WV Photo

hands of a female anti-Nazi activist. In some cases people have even gone into bars and stores to remove June 27 Committee leaflets, telling the proprietors that they had a "new revised version!"

It seems that the RSL has learned nothing from its unsuccessful attempt to sabotage last March 20's anti-Nazi mobilization in Ann Arbor, Michigan. There the RSL fought tooth and nail against the Spartacist League's perspective of labor/minority action against the Nazis and tried to counterpose to the "Stop the Nazis!" slogan empty calls to "Protest the Nazis." The RSL's "protest" slogan committed them to absolutely nothing, and nothing is what they did. When their efforts to provide a political bridge to the Democrats' "ignore the Nazis" diversion had clearly failed, the RSL turned up at the anti-Nazi rally of 2,000 and tried to drown

out the speakers with its own sound system. These shameful antics did not work in Ann Arbor on March 20 and they won't work now.

All Out in Chicago June 27!

The June 27 Nazi provocation takes place in the most segregated city in the U.S. It is here in Chicago that a black man, Richard Ramey, was beaten to death for the "crime" of smoking a cigarette on a train; here that cops imposed a virtual state of siege on the South Side last February, beating up and terrorizing "suspicious-looking" black people; here that the Nazis have succeeded in staging their most successful mobilizations in the area of Marquette Park.

Chicago provides a fertile milieu for the growth of fascism. In the words of the June 27 Committee's call:

"It would be a fatal error to dismiss the Klan and Nazis as a bunch of lunatics. They are growing rapidly in Reagan's America of mass unemployment, union-busting, givebacks and increasing social and economic misery. And every cross-burning, every fascist demonstration that is allowed to go unchallenged, only whets these murderers' appetite for more violence."

Labor has the power to smash fascism. In San Francisco on 19 April 1980 a union-based demonstration of 1,200 frustrated Nazi plans to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday, and the Nazis haven't been seen there since. Chicago is a black city! Chicago is a union town! The decent people of this city can turn June 27 into the day the Nazis pack their bags and leave town for good.

What is needed is mass mobilization of labor, minorities and youth on June 27. Such a mobilization can begin to turn this city around from a hellhole of misery, racism, cop terror and rising fascist provocation into a bastion of working-class power. The Nazis say they will show up in Lincoln Park on Sunday, June 27. We say they have no right to push their kill-crazy tactics in Lincoln Park, Evanston, West Englewood or anywhere else! All out on June 27 to stop them now! ■

Nazis plan disruption of Gay Pride Parade in Lincoln Park

An anti-Nazi rally is being planned June 27 to oppose the Nazis' announced plan to disrupt the Gay Pride Parade around Lincoln Park. The Nazis say they will show up in Lincoln Park at 2:30 in opposition to the Gay Pride activities.

Incensed, the Chicago Spartacist League has begun a mass mobilization campaign, calling on Black, Latino, Jewish groups and union members to join them in their counter "Stop the Nazis" march.

Ann Marin, a spokesperson

for the league, says the Nazis are attacking homosexuals because gays are the most vulnerable group on the Nazis list. Marin says her organization would like to see a massive show of force to smash the Nazis and all they stand for.

"The sickening stench of decaying human flesh that permeated Nazi death camps from one end of Europe to the other came not only from mountains of Jewish and Polish corpses," contends Marin, "but also from millions of Russians, Czechs, Croats,

Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, anti-Germans, Pacifists, conservatives, trade unionists and dissenters of every kind."

Marin further argued that it would be a fatal error to just dismiss the Nazis as a lunatic group which can be safely ignored. Only a few weeks ago, she pointed out, they demolished the home of an Evanston couple and then phoned newspapers, saying they intend to drive all the Jews out of Evanston and Skokie.

Underscoring the need for all concerned people to come to the defense of Gay Pride participants no matter what one's sexual orientation, Marin quoted Martin Niemöller,

the German Lutheran pastor sent to a concentration camp in 1945:

"First they came for communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest. Then they came for the Jews, but since I was not a Jew I did not protest. Then they came for the Catholics, but since I was not a Catholic I did not protest. When they came for me, there was no one left to protest."

In conjunction with their "Stop the Nazis" plan, the Spartacist League members will hold a rally Saturday, June 19, 7:30 p.m., at the 2nd Unitarian Church, 656 W. Barry. For more information, call 427-0003.

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"Stop the Nazis June 27!"

We publish below excerpts from speakers' presentations at a Chicago Spartacist League forum on June 19.



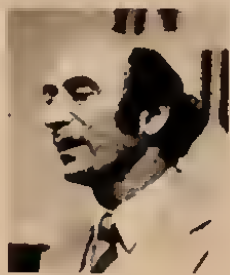
CHARLES DUBOIS

Rouge Militant Caucus member in United Auto Workers Local 600 (Ford River Rouge), Dearborn, Michigan

We've been active in stopping the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit after the Greensboro massacre, also in Ann Arbor recently, and running out a few foremen who paraded around with Klan hoods on in the plant. And fighting for the perspective of sit-down strikes against the concessions—which is, in fact, the reason why these Nazis are coming forward with their race hatred. Because they see the auto workers and workers in general taking concessions, and they figure they've got us on the run and they can come forward and start talking this racist crap, talking about concentration camps.

I heard on the news yesterday, this Jewish woman survivor who had been in the concentration camps, and West Germany gave her \$2,200 for reparations. Well, you know what Reagan's government did to her? He said she has to lose her Medicaid, plus she owes the government \$17,000 and some odd change because she received "outside funding." You see, this is the man of the Nazis and the Klan, who was their preferred candidate.

They're taking on gays because they figure they're isolated. In the context of Moral Majority America, where you have these people talking about right to life, and of course the death penalty at the same time, this is what this kind of stuff means. They're going to try to isolate gays as some kind of social deviants. Well, we think differently. We know what happened in Ann Arbor, what happened in Detroit, that people from all walks of life know what the Nazis are about, and are not too stupid to understand the old game of divide and conquer.



LES FRIEDMAN

Chicago chairman of the Greensboro Justice Committee

I want to talk about the concept of "ignore the Nazis" and their "right of freedom of speech." Now in this country where there have been 6,000-10,000 lynchings of blacks by the Klan, not one single conviction for murder has ever been accomplished against Klansmen. I don't think you can ignore that, it's not a question of free speech. It's burning alive, it's lynching, it's castrating.

The Nazis and the right are very intimately connected with the ruling class, in the form of the government, and directly with the wealthy. Greensboro was an example. It has been revealed in open court, squealed by the Nazis and the Klan themselves, that two

Federal agents were involved. One, Bernard Butkovich of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, organized the fusion of the Nazis and the Klan into a united racist front, cajoled and goaded them into a physical, armed confrontation with the Communist Workers Party demonstration, and aided them in converting their weapons from semi-automatic to automatic and offered to hide them after the murders. Now they go all over the country saying Greensboro was a victory. They killed Jewish doctors, communists, black organizers, successfully—they didn't even get fined. They didn't even get a gun violation. Nothing.

How not to fight the Nazis: One, laws banning the Nazis, or at least banning their demonstrations, or the Klan and so forth. These always backfire. I'd like people to know that the Smith Act and the House Un-American Activities Committee were not set up initially to

fascism in this country, we must stem the war tide against the Soviet Union.



GENE SHOFNER

Spartacist League Central Committee, formerly of the Red Flag Union/Lavender and Red Union, a gay left-wing organization based in Los Angeles

The Spartacist League has had a long history of defense of democratic rights of homosexuals. And we have fought for that any time there is a right-wing mobilization, like around Anita Bryant. At the same time, the SL has never capitulated to the New Left idea that



WV Photos

We drove the Nazis out of Ann Arbor. Stop them in Chicago too.

get leftists, but to get Nazis. They investigated two Nazis and then spent the rest of the time going after leftists and Communists. Another way not to fight the Nazis is by small groups of militants ready to slug it out, and not mobilizing large masses of people. The methods of INCAR and RSL, who I have been on demonstrations with.

How to fight them: One, mass mobilization of labor, the left, and the minorities. The real fight against Nazism has to take on the form of struggling for socialism. To fight the Nazis is to see the context in which they operate, which is the crisis of world capitalism; that the purpose of the growing right-wing menace is war against the Soviet Union. American capitalism will not bring democracy to Russia. So when we fight

every sector of the population has to go it alone. As Marxists we know that the key to society is the working class and if you really want to struggle for liberation you must do it as part of a movement that will fight to build a revolutionary workers party that can lead all the oppressed in making a revolution.

That's fundamentally why the Spartacist League won the Red Flag Union in California. We considered ourselves a gay communist organization and we wanted to make a revolution in this country. Well, we went through a lot of political fights, we finally came over to Trotskyism, and what finally won us was the understanding that gay people had got to join the revolutionary movement as members of that movement, and not as an oppressed sector.

It Costs Money to Stop the Nazis

The June 27 Committee Against the Nazis needs money. Stopping fascist provocations is expensive. Over 70,000 leaflets have already been distributed to mobilize labor, blacks, gays, minorities, students for the June 27 demonstration in Chicago. Tens of thousands more leaflets and posters are being printed. Other expenses are mounting up and bills have to be paid.

The Nazis have their sources of

big money. The Committee Against the Nazis depends on contributions from the people the Nazis want to crush: workers, blacks, gays, minorities. Every dollar you give the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis will be put to work to run these fascist vermin out of Chicago! Make checks payable to June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, Box 6441, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680.

There was a letter in *GayLife* that said we should ignore the Nazis on this day, and what we should do to remember the Holocaust is have people wear concentration camp uniforms and pink triangles. Well, the pink triangle was put on homosexuals by fascists! No pink triangles! We want as many people from the gay community out there to stop the Nazis as possible, but we also want all the minorities in this city. We want the blacks, we want the trade-union movement out there—and the trade-union movement is key. If they come out, we will run these fascists scum out of Lincoln Park.



CHUCK MARINO

Union militant in United Auto Workers Local 6, Melrose, Illinois

In the spring of 1975, I was a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus in UAW Local 6, International Harvester. The caucus program was based on the transitional program of Leon Trotsky and was supported by the Spartacist League in the pages of *WV*. One of the key points in the transitional program is the building of workers defense guards to combat fascism. So when members of our caucus heard about one of our black union brothers moving into an all-white section of the suburb of Broadview and having his house fire-bombed on several occasions, we immediately knew what had to be done.

Members of our caucus contacted brother C.B. Dennis, and it became very clear after talking to him for a few minutes, that he wasn't going to be run out of Broadview come hell or high water. He said he had gone to see the Broadview police chief and was informed, of course, that everything would be done to prevent further attacks, and the chief assured him he would have squad cars going by C.B.'s home until he was able to move in, every 20 minutes. Well, surprise of all surprises, there wasn't a cop car that went by his house all night.

So we told him not to have any reliance on the police, who are frequently members of the Nazis and Klan, but to come to the union meeting and present his case before the membership. Our motion to institute a civil rights defense committee passed unanimously, and brother Dennis said that he was never prouder of his union than he was that day. Immediately after the union meeting was over, the first guards were out there at his home. We signed up over 200 members from our local and other unions. The first week there was a swastika painted on our union hall, and a few punks would drive by, but other than that all the terrorism stopped.

The defense continued for three months and they were stopped in their tracks—they crawled back in their holes. What the defense guards prove is if the power of labor is mobilized around a class-struggle program, the fascists can be defeated. And the professional cynics out there—who tell you that you have to rely on the police, that the workers are all backward, they won't do anything—are full of crap. Broadview proves that. We ran them out of Broadview. And on June 27 we're going to run them out of Lincoln Park. ■

All Out to Stop the Nazis!

The kickoff rally held June 19 was attended by more than 80 people including supporters of groups which have stood aside from the anti-Nazi mobilization. Several supporters of Progressive Labor's "International Committee Against Racism" were there in defiance of PL's sectarian line that the gay festival and

GayLife assures its readers that the Nazis are no threat and that stopping them "would not only bring unneeded danger to a peaceful gathering but would

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