

Defend the Palestinians! Israel Get Out!



Neveu/Gamma-Liaison

Beirut Death Siege

U.S.: Bloody Hands Off!

The Israeli *Blitzkrieg*. Tens of thousands dead and mutilated. Hundreds of thousands left homeless. Napalm, phosphorus bombs, cluster and fragmentation bombs dropped on refugee camps and major cities. "We haven't seen wounds like this before, even in the Vietnam War," exclaimed a Norwegian doctor. The actual statistics of the destruction of Lebanon will take years to extract from the rubble, from the bomb shelters in which children are buried, from the mass graves dug around the ancient and now demolished cities of Sidon and Tyre. All of the figures are underestimated because no one knows. To take just one example, an American doctor says his hospital performed *hundreds* of amputations in one day, not only because of the seriousness of the wounds but because it had run out of drugs. There was no other way to save the patients' lives than to sever their limbs.

And now we are watching the slow strangulation of Beirut, a city once called "the jewel of the Near East." With all the refugees of war streaming in from the south, Beirut may very well now contain two-thirds the entire population of Lebanon. The Israeli army has cut off food, water and electricity to the Palestinian and Lebanese Muslim masses in west Beirut. And the cease-fires arranged daily by U.S. envoy Philip Habib are used by the Israeli forces to clean and rearm their artillery for the next day's bombardment.

The only language to capture what is happening in Lebanon today is the language of the Nazi holocaust, the destruction of whole populations. And that language is used not only by the opponents and detractors of Zionism, but by the Zionists themselves. An

Israeli armed forces official speaking on American television talks of a "final solution" to the PLO "problem."

Behind the Zionist holocaust in Lebanon stands U.S. imperialism and now the threat of direct U.S. military intervention. Reagan has agreed "in principle" to send American troops to accept the Palestinian commandos' surrender, disarm them and take them away into another exile. That the Pentagon would like a military presence in Lebanon is closely related to the fact that the Syrian army is equipped by the Soviet Union and that the Soviet border itself is but a few hundred miles away. Reagan's proposal to send in the Marines is another provocation against the Soviet Union, an attempt to use these forces as a nuclear tripwire for U.S. military intervention in the region. Remember that in 1973 the far more "rational" and "détente"-minded Nixon/Kissinger regime went to the nuclear brink with the USSR during the October War between Israel and the Arab states over the issue of sending "peacekeeping" forces. So the stakes are very large indeed in the crisis produced by Israel's genocidal invasion of Lebanon.

U.S. Marines to Lebanon, Once Again?

If, in fact, Reagan sends U.S. forces into Lebanon he will be following in the footsteps of Eisenhower. The 11,000 Marines who waded ashore Beirut's beaches in July 1958 were the direct application in the region of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine of "containing Soviet aggression." After the 1956 Suez war in which the historic imperialist masters of the Near East, Britain and France, were humiliated and defeated,

nationalist and revolutionary currents swept the region. The most important revolutionary development occurred in Iraq where in 1958 an unstable alliance of nationalist military officers and a powerful Communist Party, rooted in the oil workers, overthrew the Hashemite monarchy and so brought an ignominious end to Washington's CENTO alliance against the Soviet Union.

Syria too witnessed the growing strength of radical-nationalist Ba'athists and Communists. The formation of the short-lived United Arab Republic in 1958 between Ba'athist Syria and Nasserite Egypt had a direct impact on Lebanon. Pan-Arab nationalism deeply affected the Lebanese Muslim toilers who viewed Christian Maronite privilege and domination as a direct outgrowth of the imperialist balkanization of the Near East. When the Maronite president Chamoun, the only Arab leader to openly endorse the Eisenhower Doctrine, threatened the traditional communist agreement by running for a second term, the clan leaders of the Muslim population launched a revolt. To help put down this revolt Chamoun requested and got the U.S. Marines. While the Marines were occupying Beirut, a deal was worked between Chamoun and the Muslim clan chiefs to maintain the old feudalistic covenant. Thus the 1958 Lebanese revolt, though socially based on the downtrodden Muslim workers and peasants, ended up preserving the traditional Maronite-dominated confessional system.

The purpose of direct U.S. military intervention was not simply to prop up the pro-Western Chamoun. That was the pretext. The real target of the Eisenhower Doctrine was the Iraqi revolution, which opened the way to *proletarian* power. In fact the Marines disembarked on Beirut's beaches the very day after the Hashemite monarchy was toppled in Baghdad. However, the Iraqi revolution was not crushed by U.S. imperialist force; it was *betrayed from within* by Stalinism. In order to buy "peaceful coexistence" with Eisenhower's America (an earlier "spirit of Camp David"), Khrushchev ordered the Iraqi Communist Party to submit to nationalist strongman Kassim, who soon drove the Communists underground.

But neither in 1958 nor since has the Kremlin's policy of betrayal of revolution in the Near East pacified U.S. imperialism. Reagan now openly declares his aim is to forge an anti-Soviet alliance ("the strategic consensus") embracing both Zionist Israel and various Arab regimes. Especially since the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the U.S. has used the pressure of Zionist expansionism to undermine Soviet influence in the region. "Don't cross us or you will face the Israeli war machine," is Washington's message to the Arab capitals. A former Israeli ambassador to the U.S., Simcha Dinitz, explained the relationship with the usual bully boy braggadocio of his kind:

"Time and time again, we've created
continued on page 3

Labor/Black Struggle in Reagan's America...6

Another Victim of Capitalist Reaction

Death of ERA

The Equal Rights Amendment is dead and the Moral Majority is dancing on its grave. Over half a century of campaigns for a simple statement of equal rights for women as a constitutional amendment ended June 30, when the extension period for states' ratification of the ERA ran out. Although this token reform would have meant no fundamental change in the condition of women in capitalist America, still such struggles for bourgeois democratic rights are of profound interest to the proletariat. Unlike many other left groups, and without the slightest illusion of confidence in constitutionalism, the Spartacist League supported the ERA, understanding that its defeat by a reactionary mobilization would condition the entire social climate. As we wrote in 1978, "On the social level, opposition to the ERA indicates the growing power of reactionary ideology in a period of economic depression. Thus, defeat of the ERA would be a more serious blow to women's rights than its passage would be a victory" (*Women and Revolution*, No. 17, Summer 1978).

Early on, the Moral Majority and anti-abortionist right wing targeted the ERA as a test of strength against the liberal feminists, who in turn saw its

passage as the culmination of their strategy. This petty-bourgeois current, typified by NOW, recognized legal discrimination against women as the main obstacle to educational and professional advancement in capitalist America, thus turning their backs on the masses of poor and black women for whom such "upward mobility" was a cynical fiction. Nonetheless, the "rollback" of ERA is part and parcel of a wider rollback campaign of American imperialism in crisis. All reforms are on the chopping block, from abortion rights to food stamps to school lunches and school integration. On the order of the day are escalating race terror, union-busting, depression-level unemployment. The core of this reaction is the nuclear buildup for war against the Soviet Union to roll back the gains of the October Revolution.

As with the struggle over busing, the liberals lined up behind the anti-Soviet war drive and social reaction, representing the bourgeois consensus of both Democratic and Republican parties. Jimmy Carter was a bridge to Ronald Reagan. The fight for women's rights, for defense of black gains and defense of the unions must be a fight against both parties of capitalism, and for the socialist revolution. ■

How Communists Fight Imperialist War Drive

In December 1922 a "peace conference" was called by the social-democratic Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals and their Amsterdam trade-union international in The Hague. The reformists were afraid to invite representatives of the Communist International and its Red International of Labor Unions, and instead there were delegates from bourgeois pacifist societies. The Executive Committee of the Comintern issued a manifesto on The Hague Peace Conference calling to "rally the forces of the working class so that the proletariat should not again become the cannon fodder of capitalism," and denouncing the exclusion of three million members of the Communist parties which were "formed of precisely those elements which during the [First World] War fought most boldly for peace." An extract from this manifesto is published below.

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At the same moment as they were preventing the formation of the proletarian united front against imperialism they concluded an alliance with the bourgeois pacifists. For the first time in the history of the modern workers' movement there was a joint congress of trade unions

and political workers' organizations with the representatives of a part of the bourgeoisie, who were thus given the opportunity of helping to decide the most important question of the workers' movement. This was justified on the ground that all forces hostile to war must be rallied for the fight against war. But this argument is a sheer swindle. The Amsterdamers have rejected an alliance with the revolutionary workers who are the only real opponents of imperialist war. They ally themselves only with the bourgeois pacifists who during the war went over just like the Amsterdamers into the capitalist camp and helped imperialism to mangle the body of the proletariat.

In rejecting the proletarian united front and concluding an alliance with the bourgeois groups the three Internationals passed sentence on the Hague conference. People who reject joint action with the revolutionary proletariat and prefer a bourgeois alliance have no real desire to fight against war. Imperialist war serves the interests of the bourgeoisie and whoever allies himself with the bourgeoisie unnerves and debilitates the working class and makes it impossible for them to fight against the war danger....

Letter

I Saw Anti-Spartacist League At Work

Ann Arbor, Michigan

May 21, 1982

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

To the Editor:

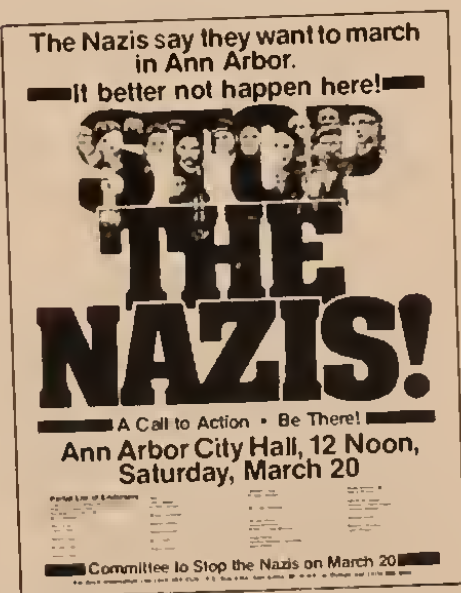
This is to offer some additional information and comments about events surrounding the March 20th Stop the Nazis mobilization. Having attended (observed) the [March 4] steering committee meeting at which the "Coalition Against the Nazis" coalesced, I can testify to the fact that what held this group together was primarily opposition to the Spartacist League. Those attending this meeting—representatives and supporters of the RWL and RSL (several each), Iranian Students Association, Socialist Party, IWW, Republic of New Africa (observer), U of M student government, and several other individuals—were so obsessed with the SL and the Committee to Stop the Nazis that over half of the three-and-a-half hour session was spent debating how best to "deal" with them.

First, there was the matter of a slogan. One RSLer unwittingly proposed, "Stop the Nazis." "Oh, no, no, no," came cries from around the room. "That's the Sparts' slogan!" Next tried by Graduate Employees Organization (GEO) activist David Fasenfest was "Unite Against the Nazis and the Spartacists." That one was apparently fifty percent too honest for the RWL, as it was quickly quenched in favor of, "Unite to Stop the Nazis and the Klan." Fasenfest was not satisfied, however. Just as a consensus was being reached he objected that the slogan's thrust should differentiate them from the SL. So "Stop" was replaced by "Against," and all were noticeably relieved, having been saved from the Spartacist menace.

From there the usual potpourri of sectoral demands were added, demolishing even the semblance of a united front. Consistent with their subsequent

refusal to seriously approach the labor movement, a phrase about defending labor was added only as an afterthought nearly an hour later.

Leaflet discussion continued in the same anti-SL vein. An RSLer initially wanted a statement disclaiming affiliation with the Committee's call: "This is not the Spartacist demonstration." An RWLer proposed against having an



2,000 protesters heeded call of SL-initiated Committee to Stop Nazis.

endorsement list because it would be seen as too "leftist" and "drive others away." It could be used later, he added, after seeing what the SL had done. In fact, posted copies of the Coalition's flyer (that I saw) did not name endorsers, unlike the [SL-initiated] Committee's publicity.

Finally, the last half hour was spent specifically discussing "how best to 'take care' of the SL" at the next Coalition mass (unpublicized) meeting. They were particularly upset that "most people" had left the previous one [March 2] well before the end, allegedly due to Spartacist "disruption." Actually those people

the Coalition members were so excited about—maybe 40 percent of the room—were in large part the ones who had been applauding speeches in favor of *ignoring* the Nazis. At the same time an SL-initiated motion for a counter-demonstration under the call "Drive the Nazis Out" had accumulated what appeared to be a majority through the course of discussion. The RSL and RWL must have been feeling lonely, since their co-chairs proceeded to abort their own meeting by refusing to allow a vote on the SL's motion. And then they spread the lie through town and country that the Spartacists were selfishly trying to disrupt the developing anti-Nazi mobilization.

In preparing for the next [March 9] meeting, RSLer Mike, known for his macho-military image, wanted to exclude the SL at the door, preferring to provoke a fight in the hallway than in the meeting room. For GEO activist and RWL supporter Joe Graves, exclusion of the SL was not "unprincipled," just a "matter of tactics." His choice and the one which prevailed was to "allow a Spartacist disruption, vote to silence them, and if that does not work, get some 'volunteers' to remove them."

Of course, on meeting night the fact that there was *no* disruption did not deter co-chair Graves from refusing to call on Committee [to Stop the Nazis] supporters, nor Fasenfest from making that a formal proposal, quickly adopted. The few of us Committee supporters present walked out in protest, leaving their confrontational fantasies unfulfilled.

Late in the steering committee meeting one RWLer suggested that the SL is best "cowed by others, not leftists," and when that happens (in a meeting) it ends up "sulking." On the contrary, it has been the "leftists and others" who have been sulking over the wide-ranging and professional mobilization carried out by the Committee. And the Spartacist League and Committee endorsers who have refused to be cowed by the heavy barrage of lies and misrepresentations

perpetrated by the local media, politicians, and Coalition members.

Hopefully it is clear that the RSL and RWL are so obsessed with stopping the SL that they set-up a separate coalition, thereby disrupting the formation of a united mobilization to stop the Nazis in Ann Arbor. This point which has been repeated many times over the years by *Workers Vanguard* is definitely not the paranoid ravings of a disintegrating leadership, as RSLers like to claim. These groups really do spend a lot of time plotting against the Spartacists. And yes, they really are so paralyzed with the political fear of presenting themselves as principled Trotskyists before the rad-lib milieu, that they literally end up being led around by anti-communist "progressives" like Fasenfest. Most of the time only the public manifestations of these processes are seen. Much less often is there an opportunity such as this to view petty and sectarian opportunism in the flesh.

In solidarity,
Gene Goldenfeld

WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager), Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

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23 July 1982

WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. POSTAGE

Anti-Red Exclusion Defeated in Detroit Demo

SL: "Defend the Palestinians! Israel Out of Lebanon!"

DETROIT—Organizers of a June 10 protest here were determined to channel the deep outrage over Israel's bloody Lebanese *Blitzkrieg* against the Palestinians into a display of Arab nationalism and pro-Democratic Party politics (replete with an American flag). But the assorted reformists were unable, despite repeated attempts, to drown out the class-struggle slogans of the Spartacist League (SL) or exclude our banner demanding: "Defend the Palestinians! U.S. hands off! Israel out of Lebanon! For a socialist federation of the Near East!" At a rally at the Kern Block after the march, the chairman took pains to apologize for "certain" unacceptable SL slogans, like "Not Jew against Arab, but class against class!" and "Stop Begin's 'Final Solution'! For Hebrew and Arab workers revolution!"

The march and rally were called by a Committee to Support the Lebanese and Palestinian People, which includes a stable of left groups doing donkey work for liberal Democrats like black Congressman John Conyers. In addition, invited speakers included Mike "Giveback" Rinaldi,



president of UAW Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge plant. Rinaldi, who also didn't accept the invite, is currently up to his ears in a campaign of American jingoism against Japanese imports; the fact that chauvinist protectionism is the stuff world wars are made of didn't bother the "leftists" in this rotten Committee. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ran the show, with help

from the Communist Party, Workers World Party, Shachtmanites and some Arab nationalists. The sectlike Revolutionary Workers League showed up with a leaflet labeling the reactionary Assad regime in Syria a "tactical ally" of the world working class and calling on the Committee to keep up the good work.

Just what the Committee's "good

work" consists of was shown by SWP supporters who tried to mobilize marchers to exclude a spirited contingent of SL supporters that cut through the nationalism and "guns versus butter" reformism to pose a *working-class* program against Reagan/Begin reaction. But instead of doing the reformists' dirty work, many marchers picked up our chants and several joined the contingent, the largest of the demonstration. Toward the end of the rally fake leftists in the Committee stalled around, trying to keep a crowd together for Conyers (who never showed). The SL contingent marched away, chanting "U.S. imperialism: Hands off Lebanon! Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!"

The impact of the Spartacist intervention was reflected in the more than 100 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* sold. That evening Channel 4 news showed an SL spokesman explaining that we marched to demonstrate our solidarity with the Palestinians facing extermination in Lebanon, and that the only possible way out against Begin, Reagan and all the capitalist butchers is through socialist revolution.

Beirut Death Siege...

(continued from page 1)

military facts on the ground which the U.S. was able to convert into political gains. Much of [Washington's] strength in this area stems from the Arabs' recognition that only the U.S. can squeeze concessions out of Israel." —*Newsweek*, 19 July

Given the savagery of Begin's terror in Lebanon, this hard cop/soft cop act is having its effect on the petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership of the PLO. Arafat has reportedly demanded a U.S. and French force to act as a "buffer" between the Israeli army and Palestinian commandos. Does anyone really believe that the U.S., which arms Israel's war machine and supports its invasion of Lebanon, and that France, the historic champion of the Maronite Christian domination, will protect the Palestinians from their mortal enemies?

Yet U.S. leftists too are calling on Reagan to impose a Pax Americana in the Near East. When Begin came to denounce peace at the UN disarmament conference last month, a protest heavily built by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party demanded "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal."

And what do these self-styled "anti-imperialists" say now that Reagan has proposed "effective action" in Lebanon? On July 10 Marcyites, the pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party, the wretchedly reformist Socialist Workers Party, etc. organized another demonstration in New York, which *refused* to oppose U.S. Marines to Lebanon! Although this proposal was front-page news and a major issue in Washington, the demonstration was limited to two "safe" demands: Israeli withdrawal and cessation of U.S. weapons sales (not even all economic aid) to Israel. The Trotskyists say: Keep the imperialist "peacemakers" out—Bloody U.S. hands off Lebanon!

Defend the Palestinians!

The intricate negotiations over the 6,000 commandos trapped in Lebanon are over the terms of their surrender. And their surrender will lead only to further massacres. The withdrawal or destruction of PLO forces in Lebanon will bring not peace but only the

beginning of the Zionists' "final solution" for the Palestinians, with much of the dirty work being done by their Maronite Christian allies.

The Jerusalem candidate for next president of Lebanon, Phalange chief-tain and psychopathic killer Bashir Gemayel, told a group of visiting Europeans that *all* of the half million Palestinians must leave Lebanon, going perhaps to Saudi Arabia, where "they could live in tents like Bedouin." And in Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon the death squads of its puppet, Major Saad Haddad, are busy at work. According to the leading Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* (11 July), "the soldiers of Major Saad Haddad pass from house to house in the villages which were conquered by the Israeli army and exterminate the last nests of the terrorists." For "terrorists," read Palestinians.

The will to fight on the part of the PLO forces, despite the overwhelming odds against them, is critical as the fate of the Palestinian people hangs in the balance. One Palestinian commando declared: "Maybe the Israelis will come and maybe they will win here, but I promise you it will be a big cemetery for them." And that fear is the only thing staying the hand of Begin from sending his soldiers into west Beirut. The *New York Times*' military specialist, Drew Middleton, wrote on July 18 that "the prospect of heavy casualties in city fighting is evidently one reason the high command in Tel Aviv has counseled caution." For Begin/Sharon know that every casualty has a greatly magnified impact on Israeli society with its master-race mentality. There has emerged a large-scale Zionist "dove" movement, an unprecedented development in wartime. Tens of thousands have demonstrated against the war in Tel Aviv. Army reservists have come home from the war and given press conferences denouncing what they've done. One Jewish woman, who lost her only son in the battle for Beaumont Castle, wrote an open letter to Begin/Sharon: "The history of our ancient, wise and persecuted nation will judge you with whips and scorpions, and your deeds will be an eternal damnation" (*Ha'aretz*, 5 July). What is now shaking this deeply chauvinist society is the shedding of its own blood. This is an unfortunate truth: every Israeli soldier who comes back from Lebanon in a body bag offers that much more of a chance that the

Palestinians will escape the Zionists' holocaust.

For a Proletarian, Internationalist Party

If ever there was a time to build revolutionary internationalist parties among the Hebrew-speaking people and Palestinian masses, that time is now. Palestinian militants can see that their dependence on one or another Arab regime has left them isolated before Begin's war machine, while increasing numbers of Israeli Jews are beginning to understand the logic of Zionist expansionism will ultimately lead to their self-destruction in a surrounding sea of hundreds of millions of Arabs.

The PLO has finally achieved the elusive goal of Arab unity...against themselves! Not one Arab state has agreed to date to accept the commandos trapped in west Beirut. The Arab world's number one megalomaniacal dictator, Muammar al Qaddafi, has even told the PLO to commit suicide. (Where does that leave the Libyan prophet's British messengers, Gerry Healy & Co., who pretend to be the great defenders of the Palestinians?) The Syrian Ba'athists have told the PLO guerrillas in west Beirut that "their normal place is where they are now, awaiting the return of their legitimate rights." The only place Begin will let the Palestinians await their legitimate rights in Beirut is in a mass grave.

Naturally many ostensible leftists still cheer for Arab nationalism. An especially gross example is the Lebanese section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), which is calling for the most ludicrous popular front. The RCG states its desire to "preserve our Patriotic army" and proposes "a National Resistance Government composed of all forces who are really fighting the Zionist enemy" (*International Viewpoint*, 10 July). Chief among these is Walid Jumblatt, who is supposed to be the leader of a Lebanese "revolutionary national resistance." In reality, Jumblatt has stabbed the besieged PLO forces in the back, publicly denounced them and demanded that they disarm. The RCG's appeal to the "patriotic" Maronite-dominated army, which spawned Major Saad Haddad, is simply incredible.

The PLO militants under the gun have a better sense of the reality facing them. One told the *New York Times* (4

July): "You see where the Israelis are. Well behind the Israelis is King Fahd and Hafez el-Assad and King Hussein. They are all in this together..." Palestinian militants and would-be revolutionaries must truly grasp this. They must break with their reliance on the sheiks of OPEC and the colonels of Baghdad and Damascus, break with the ideology of Arab nationalism which represents a dead end both for national justice for the Palestinians and for the liberation of the toilers of the Near East.

Only a proletarian internationalist perspective can shatter the Zionist state from within. Begin's bloody adventure in Lebanon has exposed the deep-seated contradictions of Israeli society. Facing the prospect of endless wars of conquest with the Arab world, there is now a flurry of Zionist "doves" seeking a rapprochement with the Palestinian national movement. One such, Uri Avnery, actually visited Arafat in besieged west Beirut, an act for which the Begin regime is charging him with treason! According to Avnery, he and the PLO chief reached a meeting of the minds that Palestinian self-determination could be realized in a West Bank state.

In reality, such a mini-state, even if it could be realized, would be nothing but a "bantustan" supplying super-exploited Palestinian labor to Israel. As we wrote several years ago when the PLO adopted this despairing program:

"Recognizing the right of self-determination for both the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews, we point out that this can only be accomplished on both sides of the Jordan, including all of what now constitutes Israel and Jordan. These national claims, however, are directly counterposed, the product of historical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory. Under capitalism, another partition of Palestine, with its massive forced population transfers, can only bring untold misery to the working masses...."

—"Palestinian Nationalism... From 'People's War' to the 'Mini-State'," *WV* No. 58, 6 December 1974

A just and genuinely democratic solution to the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews requires the overthrow of the capitalist states in the region. It can come about only through a socialist federation of the Near East, born of a common struggle of Arab and Jewish workers under a communist leadership against their ruling classes. ■

Ann Arbor Street Sheet Nailed

Bekken's Nasty Lies

1767 Second Avenue
San Diego, CA 92101

28 May 1982

Editor, Workers Vanguard
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116

I am writing to demand retraction of libelous statements made in your paper on 14 May 1982. Although the article in question ("The Big Lie", pp. 6-10) contained several false allegations, I will deal only with the charges against me specifically, dealing with a few other relevant points in passing.

The article makes the following statements:

- (1) That I have "in the past hung around the Spartacist League";
- (2) That I "suddenly turn(ed) out a slick 8-page printed 'Street Sheet'" which red-baited, cop-baited and violence-baited the SL;
- (3) That I am "now issuing death threats against... (the SL), advocating 'armed' goon squads at future demonstrations and vowing in front of witnesses to 'kill' the Spartacists";
- & (4) That I "jumped a Spartacist supporter and tried to drag him from the meeting room" of the Graduate Employees Organization (AFT #3550), of which I am an officer.

The article also contains gratuitous adjectives which I will not discuss further.

Although not the most serious of these claims, the allegation that I have hung around the Spartacist League is false, misleading and libelous. My contacts with your organization have been limited to attendance at 2 of your forums in Ann Arbor, attendance at a picket-line demonstration co-sponsored by you and the RWL, cooperation with the SYL in opposing an attempt by the U. of Michigan student government to deny the SYL funding in retaliation for its political positions, subscribing to your paper, and defending your right to attend the Progressive Student Network Conference in 1981 (outside of various

contacts/arguments at various demonstrations, protests, etc.). At all times I made clear my deep political differences with the SL, while defending its right to put forward its program in a principled and non-disruptive way (something it was doing when I arrived in Ann Arbor, and ceased doing this year).

The second claim is inaccurate and consciously misleading. The *Street Sheet* is published by a gathering of eleven Ann Arbor area anarchists, as was noted in a note in the issue you refer to, and I played a relatively minor role in this. Your characterization of the paper—which is hardly "slick"—as my personal effort does not equitably assign credit. Furthermore, nowhere in the *Street Sheet* (#1) is the Spartacist League red-baited (nor would we charge the SL with being "reds", an honor you do not deserve). Nor is the SL cop-baited anywhere in the paper. It does describe and denounce your prolonged disruption of anti-Nazi organizing efforts, and your attack upon the Coalition Against the Nazis' borrowed sound system (an attack gleefully proclaimed in the *Workers Vanguard*). As to your claim that the rally at which you admit trashing our sound system was your own (as if that somehow justified the SL's actions), I refer you to the pictures published in the *Workers Vanguard* of the demonstration, which show the vast majority of the crowd standing with their backs to the SL sound system, clustered around the (conveniently cropped out) Coalition sound system.

Third, and most serious, are your charges that I have issued death threats against the SL and advocated armed goon squads at future demonstrations. These charges are libelous, and absolutely without basis in fact. Although I have, on various occasions, noted that the SL is a dying organization and expressed my commitment to helping that process along, I have never advocated, or supported, or volunteered to "kill" members of the Spartacist League. In fact, I specifically disabused one of your members of this notion when she appeared to be missing the

distinction. I am quite willing to rely on exposing the SL's actions, and challenging its politics, to accomplish my goals; and, with Hereshoff, am willing to let the (politically) dead bury their own dead.

It is true that I have advocated—along with many others—that people attending events where the SL is likely to be present should be prepared to defend themselves, a precaution clearly necessitated by your attacks on anti-fascist demonstrators on March 20th. Similarly, the groups that have been leafletting SL events in Ann Arbor (exposing the SL's actions to the handful that attend these programs, demanding reparations for the SL-inflicted damages, and demanding SL repudiation of this—and similar—attack(s)) should take precautions to protect themselves. The increasing desperation of the SL as it continues to shrink and loses what base it once had is making it demonstrably more dangerous, and more prone to turn to violent attack against its opponents on the left. Thus, I do advocate self-defense, but I do not advocate attacks against SL members—or physical attacks against the SL—as your article states. This charge is especially vicious, and I demand that you retract it.

Finally, your article claims that I jumped a SL member at a meeting of my union local (G.E.O., AFT #3550) and "tried" to remove him from the meeting room. Although I did remove a disrup-

tor from our meeting at the direction of the chair, I did not "jump" him. Nor did anyone seek to stop the one SL supporter who was a member of the union from speaking against the motion to endorse the anti-Nazi demonstration.

I demand retraction of each and every one of these claims. My attorney has advised me that these statements indisputably are "libelous, per se", and that you are obligated to retract them. If you do not print this letter, or if you refuse to retract these false allegations, I will be forced to consider appropriate action.

... The SL's very visible frustration at having been out-organized despite its massive investment of money and time is understandable. However, this cannot justify attacks against leftist organizations, nor can it justify libel. I anticipate your full retraction and apology.

In struggle,
Jon Bekken

GEO (AFT Local 3550) Steering Committee & Bargaining Team Member, Member, Creative Urge Anarchist Group

P.S.: To date, you have not yet sent me my copy of the issue in question, even though I am a subscriber to your paper. I would appreciate receiving my copy so that I can file it along with other attacks from state & university functionaries and a variety of right-wing newspapers. Thank you.

Workers Vanguard Comments:

We are gratified that our article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 305 ("The Big Lie," 14 May) has forced Jon Bekken to back down publicly from his threats of violence against our organization. We interpret his denials to be a form of retraction, and it's a good thing he's climbed down. Signed statements from those who overheard him April 16 outside an SYL-sponsored film showing in Ann Arbor stipulate that he threatened "we will kill you the next time you use your methods" and that there would be "armed security" against the SL in the future. So provocative and stridently violent were these statements, that one of our comrades recorded them and—as we are confident Bekken recalls—challenged him to sign them on the spot. A challenge Bekken refused, perhaps, because his preferred methods are hit-and-run harassment and the verbal swaggering of a street-corner punk.

Street Sheet is an example of just such methods. Its first (and to date, only)

issue appeared unsigned, undated and at the height of anti-communist backlash against the SL/SYL following the March 20 anti-Nazi protest which drove the fascists out of town. Bekken was the primary and most visible distributor of this anti-Spartacist slander sheet. The identities of those other than Bekken involved in *Sheet's* production are certainly not known to us; it describes the "collective" simply as "a gathering of Ann Arbor area anarchist-communists, -feminists, and -syndicalists." We do know the malicious and willfully provocative character of the *Sheet*, most particularly its "polemical" article "Spart Goons," which directs the reader to conclude that there is "no room" on the left for the SL and it's time that we be "directly confronted." We know too that someone has been busily circulating the *Sheet's* lying account of the March 20 anti-Nazi protest to various anarchist newspapers: the San Diego *New Indicator* (13 April-26 April)—with which Bekken was previously and seems to still

be associated—and the Canadian *Strike!* (15 May) have both published the lead article from *Street Sheet* word for word.

The sorry anarchist milieu has, in the

Get the Truth...

Behind the "left" slander campaign against the Spartacist League.

Workers Vanguard No. 305
14 May 1982

25¢

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Used Lie Salesmen General Haig's Anarchists

Readers of *Workers Vanguard* are aware of the anti-Spartacist campaign being conducted by so-called left groups from the largest to the most inconsequential. The stupider ones are more than willing to use any fiction or slander against us, including those that come from the anti-Soviet propaganda mills of Langley, Virginia. Last November the Detroit anarchist rag *Fifth Estate* ran a lurid tale of Trotskyite vampires drooling over the blood of Polish workers and Afghan tribesmen, entitled "Hail Red Army Nerve Gas!" Now they have been forced to eat their words, publishing what is, although smothered in insult and innuendo, an apology and retraction.

We nailed this little band of Big Liars, showing that their vicious smear ~~came straight out of the mouth of~~ General Alexander Haig. Our answer

("See You at Kronstadt," *WV* No. 297, 22 January) pointed out in detail how the (now former) U.S. secretary of state's claims are all based on "evidence" supplied by U.S.-backed reactionary guerrillas and CIA mercenaries, that there is no physical trace of the alleged mycotoxins, and that it's all just too convenient for the U.S. chem warriors who napalmed Vietnamese peasants and dumped almost 100,000 tons of defoliants like Agent Orange on Southeast Asia. In our article "The Big Lie" (*WV* No. 305), we commented: "Problem is, (1) the USSR doesn't pour 'yellow rain' on millions of brown skinned peoples, an act which would be exclusively for the benefit of General Haig; and (2) if they'd done what they didn't, we wouldn't hail it."

Caught yellow-handed, in its June 19 issue the *Fifth Estate* tries to explain

fifth estate



its "tongue-in-cheek title":

"They [the SL] apparently don't believe the charges that the Soviet army is gassing Afghani tribesmen, and from what we have heard subsequently it does appear that many of the claims are at best shaky. Nevertheless, if much of the evidence for Soviet use of gas in Afghanistan turned out to be U.S. State Department ballyhoo, it certainly was not beyond the realm of the possible (and we still would not lay money down that they haven't used it). Still, we prefer to be accurate in our claims and don't mind making retrac-

tions when they are in order. So perhaps an apology is called for: instead of 'Hail Red Army Nerve Gas,' a more appropriate slogan might be 'Defend Red Army Nerve Gas,' since they must believe that 'defense of the socialist motherland' begins with the defense of its nerve gas..."

"Tongue-in-cheek"? More like foot-in-mouth disease. The spaced-out *Fifth Estate* is so high on anti-communism that sometimes their minds are in sync with the fevered dreams of an Al Haig or Jeane Kirkpatrick.



A liar's "Exhibit A": this is the photo Bekken claims shows the crowd listening to "Coalition" speakers.

outstanding genuine defenders of the gains of October against U.S. imperialism. In this vein, the Detroit anarchist rag *Fifth Estate* tried to smear us with Haig's Big Lie about Soviet "yellow rain," to pin us with the slogan "Hail Red Army Nerve Gas." But *Sheet* is an even cruder version, wildly slanderous and, as we will show, filled with "red-baiting, cop-baiting, violence-baiting filth against the SL."

In Bekken, we have an "anarchist" who threatens to sue us for libel, revealing a touching faith in the state, which to anarchists is supposed to be the main enemy, virtually by definition. (He hates the *Russian* state, of course.) Bekken's on to something all right—there is a class and political bias built into the capitalist courts which makes them a potentially promising arena for anti-communist vendettas like his. It probably doesn't hurt, either, to have attorneys in the family—but if Bekken ever attempted to carry out his threats of deadly force he can be certain he'd be slapped with criminal charges his lawyer mommy and daddy couldn't easily get him out of. Murder of reds is, at least nominally, not legal in this country today.

Bekken is notably eager to deny that he hung around the Ann Arbor SL/SYL, but his own words simply substantiate our assertion that he did. His description of the number and types of SL/SYL events in which he participated is, so far as we know, substantially complete. Yet, for at least two years previously, while at the University of California at San Diego, he was a hostile anti-Spartacist. Then he arrived in Ann Arbor, attended forums, a picket line

demonstration and even went out of his way to defend our rights on one occasion. Joining the SYL-called anti-military protest last October, Bekken had no compunctions about carrying a placard denouncing Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War drive (see photo). But several months later, in late January, it was precisely our demand for defense of the Soviet Union raised at a protest against the Moral Majority which sent him into a frenzy, chanting "down with vanguard parties!" Now he's turned up in San Diego, threatening us with a libel suit. Perhaps Bekken's initial relations with the Ann Arbor SL/SYL is a case analogous to the fact that the Nazi Eichmann studied Hebrew so as better to play his role in the extermination of Jews.

Unfortunately for our inconsistent "anarchist," while paper may take anything that's written on it (as Stalin is supposed to have said), once it's written, it's written. "Nowhere in the *Street Sheet* (#1) is the Spartacist League red-haired," he claims. Perhaps Bekken now wants to retract the *Sheet*'s Hooveresque "explanation" for the broad labor support received by the SL-initiated Committee to Stop the Nazis, i.e. that "some sincere labor people... had fallen victim to their duplicity" and that among the endorsers were those who "sincerely wanted to express their hostility to nazism and had no idea that they were being used to aggrandize a stalinoid party at the same time." If he doesn't think that's straight out of *Masters of Deceit*, then Bekken doesn't know what red-baiting is; but we think he does.

The SL is not cop-haunted "anywhere

in the paper"? We need only quote from "Spart Goons" again:

"The only way the Sparts may have been involved in driving the Nazis out is if one of their people happened to be behind the wheel of the police bus which helped the Nazis make their escape."

Not violence-baited? The title "Spart Goons" rather speaks for itself. Nor does *Sheet* content itself with the now-standard Big Lie absurdity that we built the March 20 rally in Ann Arbor as a cover for our plot to attack anti-Nazi protesters. Perhaps succumbing to a "creative urge," it claims: "This same day, Spart goons attacked an anti-Nazi demonstration in Connecticut." Actually, there were two demonstrations in Connecticut on March 20. The rally held in Meriden, Connecticut was an anti-Klan protest, while "non-confrontational" liberals gathered to hear Paul Newman at a "Unity Day" in Hartford. Which one does Bekken claim we attacked? The SL was not present at either.

Bekken wants to quibble over whether he "jumped" or "removed" an SL-supporter from the March 8 meeting of the University of Michigan Graduate Employees Organization (GEO). In so doing he may be motivated by wounded vanity, a penchant for compulsive lying or both since, a) our supporter was not removed and ultimately was able to make his presentation to the meeting; and b) Bekken's unsuccessful attempt at thuggery was carried out in front of a plethora of witnesses. The SL supporter, who was there to seek GEO endorsement for the anti-Nazi rally called by the SL-initiated Committee (and not, as Bekken claims, to "speak against the motion to endorse the anti-Nazi demon-

stration") fought Bekken's attacks off three times. Eventually, GEO member Gene Goldenfeld and RWL supporter Joe Graves (the latter albeit reluctantly), came to the aid of our supporter and he was able to make his remarks. Even Bekken's attempt to ascribe blame for the hotched exclusion attempt is a lie. While the chair of the meeting was a prominent local supporter of the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League and certainly not above such breaches of workers democracy, Bekken acted on his own initiative.

Even Bekken's amusing postscript, in which he complains about delivery of his *WV* subscription, has no more basis in fact than the rest of his letter. Bekken disappears from Ann Arbor and expects our circulation department to track his subsequent surfacing in San Diego? He's welcome to "file" *WV* wherever he wants.

Bekken is not only a liar—he's a very careless liar. *Street Sheet* says openly what the rest of the anti-Spartacists only dare to whisper in the corridors. They probably think he's god's gift to them. Well, he's *somebody's* gift. We are reminded of the Wayne State University's *South End* attempt to frame the SYL for arson following aggressive campaigns waged by us against Nazi/Klan terror and FBI recruitment on that campus: we asked then, is COINTEL-PRO really dead?

While musing over the counter-revolutionary exploits of anarchist hero Makhno or brushing up on Bookchin, Bekken may contemplate this: the reference may be obscure to him, but he has joined Michel Varga in a category in history known as dubious figures. ■

Did the rabidly anti-Soviet Bekken "hang around" the SL for the same reason Eichmann learned Hebrew?



Black NYC Transit Worker Speaks in Europe

Labor/Black Struggle in Reagan's America

**Oust the Labor Fakers—
Break with the Democrats!
For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!**

As part of a campaign of protest against Ronald Reagan's European tour last month to beat the anti-Soviet war drums, the international Spartacist tendency organized public meetings in six European cities on the theme "The Main Enemy Is at Home!" We print below edited excerpts of the speech by guest speaker Ed Kartsen, a black American trade unionist, to the Paris meeting.

* * * * *

So, Reagan is here in Europe to realign and harden up his anti-Soviet alliance. He's instructing them that despite the pressure from members of various peace movements composed, I assume, of great numbers of people who don't exactly like the idea of glowing, that they'd better get in line with the leader of international counterrevolution, that is, with U.S. imperialism's war drive. They had better get in line with the nuclear destruction of the USSR.

What I want to talk about is what Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive means for the American working class. I am a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 in New York City. This is a union which organizes transit workers, those who run the trains and buses. This union keeps New York City, the center of international finance, running. My union went out on strike in 1966, a successful strike that set a precedent for unions throughout the United States. Its leader, a president by the name of Mike Quill, found out that he was dying and so he decided to marry his mistress and call a strike, a strike that he had been threatening for some time. He closed down the city, the courts threw him in jail because it is illegal for the transit unions to strike, and he told the judge

that he could drop dead in his black robes, that he would stay out on strike until it was successful, until it won.

Mike Quill died just after he got out of jail. The strike was solid and the result was that the Transport Workers Union won the settlement that broke the record as far as wage increases and other demands, far ahead of any union throughout the United States at the time. It put the union in a very powerful position and left the workers with the feeling that they have the ability to fight around their interests using their own organizations and could win.

But today this situation is no longer the case. Gains which the workers have won as a result of that strike have now been almost entirely hacked away. An example of this is what occurred with a black motorman by the name of Jesse Cole. This was a motorman who was killed as a result of management incompetence. He was instructed by the management of the transport system to ignore the signal safety on the rail. As a result, his train crashed into another train that was sitting just ahead. Jesse Cole's cab was crushed and he was seriously injured. The head of the Metropolitan Transit Authority immediately went on television to explain to everyone why it was this motorman's fault that this accident had occurred. Instead of organizing an emergency rescue squad, he spent the money of the transport system on organizing this campaign against Jesse Cole. He had the power to turn off the third rail power to the transport system, which was necessary to allow the rescue squad to go onto the tracks. The power was left on for over an hour after it was known that the accident had occurred. So Jesse Cole did not die for any other reason than the



Le Bolchévik

Guest speaker Ed Kartsen addresses educational conference of French Trotskyists.

management allowed him to bleed to death in the cab. Or to put it in simple language, he was killed by the Transit Authority.

I and a handful of other militants decided to do something about this. It was our intention to close down the entire transit system for Jesse Cole's funeral. And we were also determined to organize the entire union to get out that day in respect for Jesse Cole. This was important because we didn't want any individual militants to be victimized if they acted on their own. But our union leadership went on another kind of campaign; they went on a counter-campaign to get everybody to work that day. About 200 of us showed up to the funeral, and the system continued to run. This is because of the leadership of our union, not because of the many hundreds of militant workers who felt a deep sense of outrage at what happened. Our leadership plays the role of a middleman, as typically union bureaucrats do, between management and the workforce. They are the voice of management inside the workers movement.

Fight for Power!

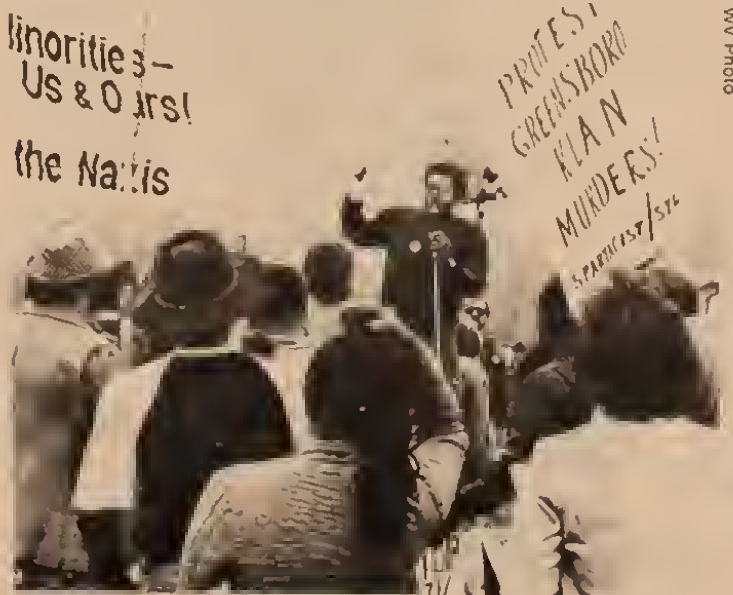
I ran on a campaign for president of my local because this kind of leadership can never defend the most basic interests of the American working class, nor the basic interests of workers anywhere in the world. I ran primarily on the right to strike, on the right of labor to use its organization and the only weapon it has to defend its interests. I also linked my campaign to the fight against the racist policies of the city administration, since most of the most critical elements of the workforce are black.

The union today is typically portrayed as lazy and stupid and that this is primarily the reason for the run-down New York City transit system. There is a case which I raised in my campaign over the closing of a hospital [Sydenham]

which primarily serves poor black people. It was closed because the New York City mayor claimed that there wasn't enough money to keep the emergency ward open. By doing this he condemned thousands of blacks to no medical treatment whatsoever for injuries, since this is the facility that they normally use. So this issue, along with the issue of Reagan's campaign against labor, as well as his anti-labor movement against the USSR were issues I raised as part of my campaign for Local 100 president.

I raised the issue that the working class in America must fight politically for power if it is to defend its interests against the capitalist attacks. Not only the issue of striking, but also the issue of a workers party to fight for a workers government as critical issues for the victory of the working class. Now, John Lawe won in the elections because he successfully demoralized broad sections of the Transport Workers Union. He did this by allowing a strike to be lost about a year and a half ago. After about a week of striking, the governor of New York and the city mayor were about to give in. But just before the city and the state capitulated, which was to happen within 24 hours, as we found out later on, our leader John Lawe agreed to go back under a much lower wage agreement and under penalties from the Taylor Law, which is an anti-strike law. The consequence was that Lawe successfully impressed on the workforce that if you strike, you will lose. One of the major reasons why he got away with this whole campaign has a lot to do with Ronald Reagan.

When the air controllers union went out on strike last year, Ronald Reagan smashed that union. And leaders like John Lawe instructed the transit workers that what happened to the air controllers will happen to you. So he forced us to accept in our last contract binding arbitration by the government.



Kartsen chairs mass anti-Nazi rally in Chicago, 27 June.

The result of this binding arbitration was that some major gains of the Transport Workers Union were taken away by the government. And this has widely angered many transit workers.

While John Lawe advocates the binding of the workers to the government with respect to the contract it is also the binding of the working class politically to the ruling class through the Democratic Party. He's on a campaign to force union members to pay a contribution to various Democratic Party politicians as the way to get rid of the anti-strike laws. And most of the American fake-left support this same strategy of reliance on the left wing of the Democratic Party. As I said, I was the only one to fight both for the perspective of a workers party as well as for the right to strike in the last election. The Communist Party supported a candidate running for the presidency of Local 100 who ran on a program against going out on strike. The Communist Party-supported candidate, as a matter of fact, voted an endorsement of John Lawe's giving up of our policy in the union of "No contract, no work." Only afterwards, when the elections were over and after the negotiations were over they came out against binding arbitration.

Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror

I want to now talk about the situation with respect to blacks in the United States. Reagan is on a campaign against labor and he's also on a campaign against the few remaining gains of the civil rights movement. This is resulting in increased activity on the part of fascists. The program of the Ku Klux Klan, which is the home-grown American fascist organization, is to drive blacks back into slave labor. Reagan is carrying out their program from the White House in terms of destruction of the gains of the civil rights movement. The difference the Klan has with him is that he's not creating mass death camps and organizing slave labor on a massive scale. Of late the most notorious case of Klan terror was what occurred in Greensboro, North Carolina, and I want to briefly go into the implications of this Greensboro massacre for American workers and blacks.

What happened there was the massacre of leftists, trade-union organizers, civil rights workers and a black woman, with the knowledge and collaboration of the American government. It is a documented fact that there were federal agents in the car from which the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis emerged. I think the results are generally known, that the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis opened fire on this demonstration and murdered in broad daylight five people, shooting them in the chest and



Detroll, November 1979—Black workers say: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

head. The Ku Klux Klan got off scot-free when the trial came up. In fact the whole incident was videotaped and this was presented at the trial, but it did not stop the racist terrorists from getting off scot-free. And the message behind allowing the Ku Klux Klan to get off for carrying out this vicious act of terror in broad daylight is that it's OK to kill blacks, reds, trade-union organizers, that the government gives sanction to this kind of activity.

The reason for this is that there is an enormous amount of unemployment taking place in the United States today. In particular, in the Midwest, places like Detroit, where there is a massive black working-class population being thrown onto the streets, auto factories being closed down. Because of attacks against social services by the Reagan administration many of these blacks face no means to survive, that is, no welfare. These masses of blacks are becoming more and more the targets of groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis in a very real way. Ku Klux Klan and Nazi acts of terror have increased more than 425 percent according to the Justice Department over the last few years.

It is fortunate that the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan have met some resistance of late in the United States to their terror activity. When the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan wanted to demonstrate in downtown Detroit in celebration of the Greensboro massacre, there was a mobilization of blacks, workers and leftists on the same spot in order to stop them. The important lesson to learn is that the same liberals who request the

government to defend the citizens against the fascists, these liberals had a voice in the form of the local mayor by the name of Coleman Young, a black mayor. He threatened the blacks, trade-union workers, the leftists all with arrest if they showed up the day that the fascists were to come. But that didn't stop efforts to mobilize the black community, the trade-union force. Five hundred militants, many from an auto plant called River Rouge, showed up fully prepared to deal with any fascists that might come and, as well, fully prepared to go to jail. They were the most militant workers throughout Detroit, the potential leadership of the entire black and white workers of Detroit. The handful of fascist punks understood that there would be no possibility for a fascist demonstration on that spot that day and if they did the consequences would be dire to their health.

This was a workers victory. The lesson was that only the working class under a militant leadership can successfully stop the fascists. I'm proud to say that I chaired that rally and it was also to the credit of the Spartacists of the United States who initiated it. Nothing was clearer that day than that the mobilized force of the working class was the force that could smash fascism.

This year there was a mobilization in Ann Arbor, just outside Detroit. There a group called the SS Action Group, another fascist organization, wanted to demonstrate around the slogans of "Kill Commies" and endorsement of Ronald Reagan's policy in El Salvador. There were two mobilizations, one initiated again by the American section of the international Spartacist tendency and another by the liberals, the latter to demonstrate to "ignore" the Nazis. The results in Ann Arbor were that UAW locals around that region, transport workers around that region, as well as AFSCME workers, endorsed the campaign to mobilize on the spot where the Nazis said they were going to come. So that day, a crowd of 2,000 students, trade unionists and leftists appeared on the spot where the Nazis said they were going to come. When the Nazis drove by in a car they looked at this kind of mobilization, and went over to the site of the "ignore the Nazis" demonstration.

Sections of the "Stop the Nazis" demonstration heard about this and about 1,500 of these demonstrators gathered around these few Nazis and expressed their outrage at their [the Nazis'] provocation. Many projectiles were thrown in their direction. It's unfortunate that they were able to even

walk out of town, although there were some injuries to these Nazis. The police rushed in to defend them and help them escape. The state played the role of protecting the fascists, because they have a perspective to use those fascists as a weapon against labor, against blacks, the poor and minorities.

Capitalism Means Black Oppression

There is a political tendency in the United States expressed again by the Communist Party which calls for "banning the Klan," that is, laws by the bourgeois government to make organizations like the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan illegal. In the context of Reagan's America this strategy is viewed widely as lunatic, particularly since Reagan is carrying out aspects of the Ku Klux Klan's program himself, and [because of] the way anti-"extremist" laws have been used in the past, that is, primarily against militants and leftists. As was demonstrated in the 1950s in the McCarthy period, things like the Smith Act were used against the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party, and against the Communist Party, which supported the creation of this law.

Now I want to raise just one more example. During the civil rights movement in the United States Martin Luther King and the Democratic Party pushed this idea that black people have to use the same kind of non-violent resistance as Gandhi used. The objective of this pacifism was to embarrass your enemy with your blood, in other words, if you are beaten on the streets you shouldn't raise your hands in defense or strike back in any way, but allow the racists to beat you. This is the liberal tradition which is endorsed by the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and all those parties which can be termed social-democratic in the United States. This policy also has the expression of calling for the federal government to intervene in cases of racist violence in order to protect blacks.

In 1965 in Selma, Alabama Martin Luther King had a march for voting rights where he relied on the federal troops, state troops and the local police to defend the march against Klan terror. The result was that a black woman was shot to death by the Ku Klux Klan with the full knowledge, there again, of an FBI agent. The FBI agent wrote, in fact, a book talking about his entire experience inside the Ku Klux Klan and every time he reported that the Klan was about to carry out an act of racist terror, he says that his own bosses told him just to go along and observe. This was in contrast to the FBI's infiltration of groups like the Black Panthers, where they set up the execution of Black Panther leaders, like Fred Hampton in Chicago, who was murdered in his sleep.

The attacks on black people, the attacks on civil rights are proof that the liberal lie of reforming the capitalist government for black liberation is nothing more than an illusion. The oppression of black people is as fundamental to American capitalism as is the exploitation of labor, imperialist war and their anti-Soviet war drive. Black liberation is tied up [with] the liberation of the entire American working class from capitalist oppression.

Black people in the United States constitute a race-color caste. That is, blacks are concentrated in the industrial working class, the semi-employed and the army of the unemployed. This has been the position of blacks ever since Reconstruction was put into flames by the Ku Klux Klan. The Civil War in the United States, which was supposed to free the slaves, what this war actually meant for the rulers of America was a war to keep the Union together, keep the South from seceding. There was no

continued on page 8



Reagan "rollback" targets everyone. Some of 12,000 fired air controllers shown here marching in Washington last September 19.

Labor/Black Struggle...

(continued from page 7)

original intent to free the slaves necessarily but it became an important political issue during the war which was instrumental in the winning of the North. The winning of the war was the only primary objective of the Northern capitalists.

After the war, the Ku Klux Klan was allowed to carry out a campaign which instituted segregation. This campaign of racist oppression which was instituted at that time remains in effect to this very day. The civil rights movement was supposed to get rid of this institutionalized oppression of black people and partially did in the South. But today, black people find themselves in a worse economic situation than before the civil rights movement. So nothing can be more apparent than that without the overturn of American capitalism which perpetuates racism in America, black people will continue to be oppressed.

Defend Blacks, Defend the Soviet Union!

So today we find that black people are supposed to go along with Reagan's campaign in America for "freedom" for workers in Poland from oppression. Reagan, who is carrying out a campaign against civil rights, who is encouraging the mobilization of fascist terror, is supposed to be the leader of the "freedom" of masses of workers. But black people in general never cried for Solidarność, despite the fact that the entire liberal left, the Democratic Party, the Republicans all the way to the fascists, all shed many tears for Solidarność. It was too vivid in their minds that there is massive unemployment and impoverishment in the black community; they observed Haitians being herded into concentration camps.

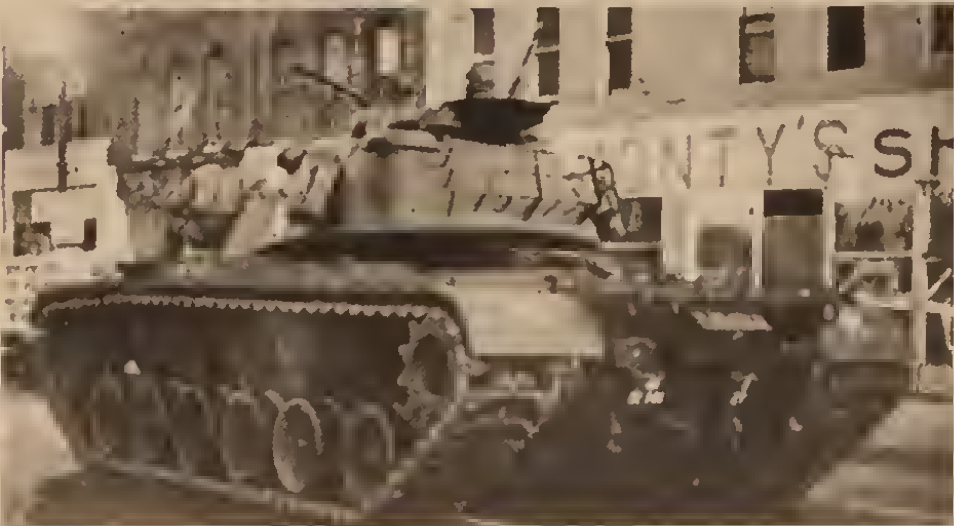
Masses of American workers didn't go for this pro-Solidarność campaign either because Reagan is supposed to be the fighter for workers "freedom" after he smashed an American trade union. There were only a handful of trade-union bureaucrats who came out to demonstrate against the government crackdown in Poland—and this in contrast to *half a million* workers who came out on September 19 last year to protest against Reagan. Reagan doesn't

want freedom for anybody either in Poland or in Russia, he is not against the repression against the masses there. Reagan has something in store for the workers in Russia and Poland similar to what he has executed on the American working class: goodies like unemployment, fascism and racism are widely understood to be the intent behind his calls for "freedom, liberty and justice."

September 19 was not only the largest working-class demonstration in American history, it was one of the most integrated in history. It was so big that it

up American nuclear power. So Reagan is here going around Europe claiming to be the biggest peacemaker, and not only is he a big peacemaker, but he's much more peaceful than Brezhnev, and because Brezhnev is not as peaceful as him, Brezhnev must be blown up.

It's only through the active defense of the gains of the USSR by the American working class and by working classes around the world that it is possible for the imperialist policy of a Third World War to be stopped. And this means that there must be socialist revolution in the



Regan/Newsweek

National Guard tanks rumble through Detroit to suppress black ghetto explosion in 1967.

scared the bureaucrats themselves—they weren't expecting a half a million. Many workers came to that demonstration not with the intent of a token show of force, but willing to close down that city and to offer concrete acts of labor action to bring Reagan down. Many were asking why their unions hadn't gone out in support of PATCO, why the airplanes were still getting fueled, why they were still getting repaired, because they wanted that strike to win and they knew from the power that was demonstrated that day that they had the ability to win. The demonstration in Washington was critical because in America the only force that can bring Reagan down is the force of labor. It's the only force, under a leadership that is determined to overthrow capitalism, that can stop World War III.

The Stalinists, whose international policy of détente, which reflects their policy of "ban the Klan" in the States, will never bring peace. Because it was under previous administrations that détente was used as a cover for building

United States. And there must be political revolution in the USSR in order to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution. It is the same issue as the defense of the gains of my union: as I have to fight to get rid of my bureaucracy so too the Russian workers must fight to overthrow their bureaucracy. So, all workers around the world have a stake in the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialism.

Blacks, Labor—Rely on Your Own Strength!

Discussion period

Questioner asks about the role of Martin Luther King in the 1960s civil rights movement.

It was not Martin Luther King that won those gains. It was the masses of blacks who were taking to the streets to fight for those gains that won them. What Martin Luther King did was to step into that struggle, disarm it and sell a few reforms as the price for his disarming it. For example there were laws which were supposed to result in integration of schools, integration of housing, integration of higher education which were the selling points of the civil rights movement. Once the groups of agricultural black workers in the South and industrial black workers were demobilized, when they were no longer out in the streets arming and organizing, these rights were taken away.

For example in Boston in 1972, the [school] busing program was being attacked by mobs of racists on the streets, by the beating up of black children and the destruction of buses. Now this right of busing was supposed to be a right already won by Martin Luther King. But the racists on the streets were fighting to take it back. The only possible force to defend that right was effective, organized workers and blacks of that city. As a matter of fact I went to Boston myself into a demonstration to demand the defense of the black children that were under attack in the city. But the liberals in that city had a countermobilization there too. They called for reliance on the police and for federal troops, just like in the civil rights movement.

The result is that today there is no more busing program—the racists succeeded in terrorizing enough blacks and burning enough buses that the courts have rescinded further busing programs. Throughout the United States, the whole program of integration of schools has been rolled back and Reagan is pushing it back

toward total annihilation. So the ruling class gave the masses of blacks absolutely nothing—they fought for it by reliance on their own force and the only way it can be defended is by reliance on their own force. And that's why the liberation of black people must be a central part of the liberation of the American working class through socialist revolution.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Questioner asks about the call for a workers party in the United States.

First, on the workers party. As some of the comrades here have expressed, the American working class has no party at all. The two major political parties are both bourgeois parties. The leadership of the American trade-union movement is in tight collaboration with the Democratic Party. When the American working class explodes in respect to labor actions, the opportunity will exist to go beyond the labor bureaucrats. The workers will no longer want to listen to them any more. And the opportunity exists for working-class militants to form a party that will fight in a revolutionary way for a workers government. That is, a party based not on reform, not on social democracy (unlike the workers parties that have been formed here in France and in Britain), that is, a party that is pro-strike, pro-working-class, a party that is for the overturn of capitalism and the establishment of a workers government.

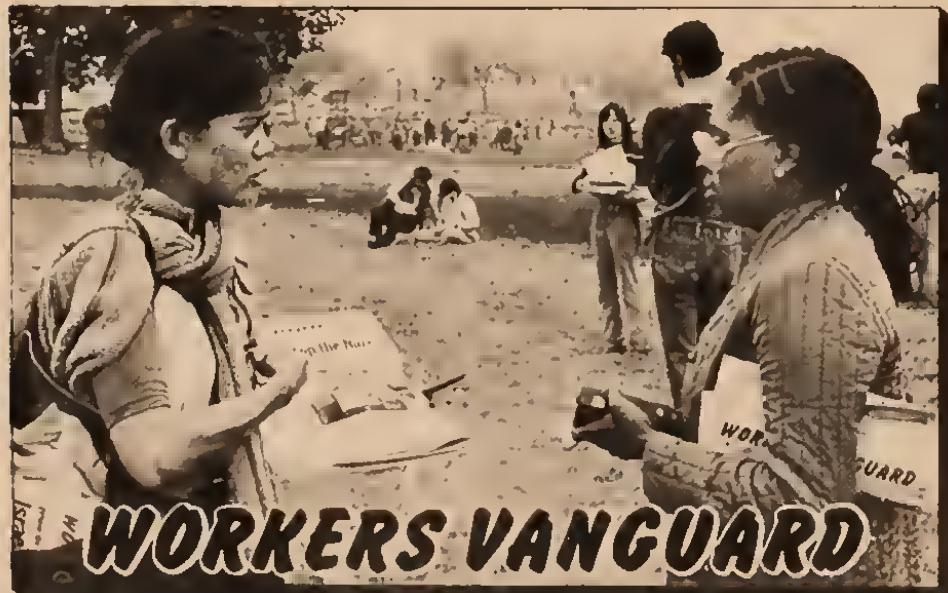
This is the type of workers party that we talk about, and we raise this concretely around issues like the smashing of anti-strike laws, establishing strike committees—every opportunity, in other words, to raise a strategy of workers revolution, which emerges concretely in every sharp working-class struggle.

Briefly, one more example. In order for the Transport Workers Union to win in New York City, we have to strike directly against a Municipal Assistance Corporation which is made up of some of the most powerful banks and trusts in the world. In order to win such a strike, the most effective strategy is to demand the expropriation of these banks, for free subways that are clean, decent and nice to ride on—an issue which in New York City would mobilize many millions of workers. In other words, it is necessary to carry out a *political* fight that would galvanize the workforce of the city. And that fight must end in the workers either attaining a sense of power through winning the strike, and a sense for a need for a political organization to express that power, or it will end in the defeat of workers because of being sold out or isolated by the political power of the bourgeois state.

For Revolutionary Integrationism

Summary

This is a very interesting discussion. The question on how black people



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became integrated into the industrial proletariat is the first one I wanted to deal with. Blacks from the rural American South provided the industrial North with cheap labor. In fact, the fact that blacks are a source of cheap labor is one of the motivating forces for maintaining black oppression. The first mass migration occurred during the labor shortage of the First World War when large numbers of workers from the North were sent here to Europe to fight the imperialist war. The second mass migration occurred during the Second World War where labor shortages again opened up a need for large numbers of industrial workers.

But blacks are also, as I have stated before, used as a political weapon, as a scapegoat to be blamed for the capitalist crisis. When many of the soldiers returned from Europe by 1919 there was massive rioting over jobs in the streets of cities like East St. Louis and Chicago. During these riots, black workers were attacked on the streets of these cities and intimidated to the point where it was evident that if there was any resistance to their unemployment and their poverty, they were to be the victims of racist terror. A similar event occurred in 1943 in the streets of Detroit against black workers of that city.

So this all goes to show that black people are placed in a strategic position in the American working class and have a deep interest in revolution in the United States. And black workers have a lot less illusions in the "democratic" character of the American government, in any kind of egalitarian character to bourgeois society, and are much more open to a revolutionary strategy. But this of course doesn't mean that under conditions of despair that blacks will not turn to reactionary politics. During the period of the 1919 riots, the Ku Klux Klan marched through the city of Washington numbering near the millions. Under these conditions there was a massive "back to Africa" movement, which became popular amongst American blacks. But because black nationalism accepts the racist status quo, blacks can't fight for their liberation under the politics of nationalism. As a matter of fact, the head of the "back to Africa" movement invited the Ku Klux Klan to speak to one of their conferences.

The same causes for the "back to Africa" movement during the 1920s were the cause for the growth of black nationalism after the civil rights movement. It was frustration with the limitations and the apparent impotence of Martin Luther King's strategy and the policy of passive resistance that won masses of black people over to black separatism. The thing that rang the toll of the end of the civil rights movement was a number of black riots which occurred in the mid-1960s. That is, blacks in the mass would no longer accept limitations of passive resistance and continually being the victims of racist terror. But all of these riots were viciously suppressed—tanks in one case were rolled down the streets of Detroit—and 50 blacks were killed. The fact of massive disenchantment with the civil rights movement led to the growth of black nationalist organizations.

There were two tendencies amongst the black nationalists: one was for what's called black capitalism, and the other, represented by the Panthers, was called revolutionary nationalism. Those who were for black capitalism proved so blatantly reactionary that their organizations quickly became ineffective and prominent leaders of this movement found themselves in the Democratic Party. The Black Panthers on the other hand attempted to carry out a revolution based on the unemployed of the ghetto. They armed themselves and they began to march with arms and advocate going up against the state. The consequence was that virtually every Black Panther leader was either jailed, killed or if he managed to survive through the whole procedure of bourgeois repres-

sion wound up either an evangelist or a member of the Democratic Party. The best expression of the black nationalists was those nationalists who attempted to win over the workers in Detroit. But here, although they won tremendous authority from both the black and white workers, their commitment to black nationalism led them to betray the fight for a militant revolutionary workers party. And instead there was a fight in their own organizations which resulted in sections abandoning the working class and seeking to split off black workers from white workers in order to make community work the most important struggle. This flows from the conception that the main division of society for them was race and not class. So, in America, only a strategy of revolutionary integration which unites the black and white working class against all forms of class and race oppression can lead to a workers revolution.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution

Just one other point to conclude. This point intersects both black nationalism as well as the history of the American Communist Party. A Pan-Africanist by the name of Padmore uses a proof that communist organizations are racist by going back to the Communist Party's activities during the war [WWII] in America. Why they say it's racist is

because the Communist Party in the United States under the instructions of Stalin liquidated their exemplary work to fight against racist oppression and fight against the imperialist war, and instead subordinated themselves to the imperialist war and in support of the racist policies in the military and in American society. In fact when a demonstration was called for Washington against racist practices in the army and in American society during the war, the Communist Party campaigned against it.

So it was widely believed among black Communist Party members that the Communist Party had become dominated and controlled by racism. Of course it was *Stalinism* and Stalinist policy that made blacks feel [betrayed by] the Communist Party. And many workers who were told not to strike by the Communist Party felt the same way. For those who point to the American working class as anti-communist, one of the reasons is the activities of the Stalinist Communist Party. It was possible for the McCarthy period right-wingers to throw Communist Party members out of the unions because they mobilized militants who had authority amongst their fellow workers who would say, "Where the hell were you, Communist Party, when we needed you, when we had to go out on strike—you told us not to." And many of the blacks who had experienced the Communist

Party's betrayal in the 1930s became Pan-Africanists and anti-communists. Now what sets the conditions for the class struggle in America right now, as some of the comrades have mentioned, is that American society is no longer the great economic power that it used to be. If there are steak lines in Poland it cannot compare to the cheese lines in America, where hundreds upon hundreds of poor people last winter stood out in the cold for hours to get a chunk of stale cheese. And this is more and more the situation with the masses in America, which still has the image to the rest of the world as rolling in gold. It's no longer the case; the American economy is on a sharp decline and the American government is going towards war. So it is that the obligation on the part of the American working class must be to stop the United States from going to war, which means to stop the anti-Soviet war drive and to defend the gains of the October Revolution. It is widely understood that this most powerful economy in the world is now going the road of Great Britain. And so too will France and Germany, and so too will Japan, unless the crisis of capitalism is resolved in either of two ways. It will be resolved either in barbarism through nuclear war or it will be resolved by socialism, that is, with the international seizure of power in all countries by the workers of all countries. ■

Minority Press Covers Chicago Anti-Nazi Protest

Greek-American daily, *Prioni*: "Mass Anti-Nazi Demonstration"



Μεγάλη αντιναζιστική εκδήλωση

Πάνω από 5.000 άτομα έλαβαν μέρος στις αντιναζιστικές εκδηλώσεις που διοργανώθηκαν πραχτές την Κυριακή στο Λινκόλν Πάρκ. Με συνθήματα κατά των εγκλημάτων του ναζισμού οι συγκεντρωθέντες (Μαύροι, Εβραίοι, Έλληνες, Πολισόνιοι, εκπρόσωποι εργατικών συνδικάτων κ.λπ.) διαδήλωσαν την αντίστασή τους κατά των Αμερικάνων Ναζί που δεν μπόρεσαν να συγκεντρώσουν περισσότερους από μια ντουζίνα οπαδούς τους σε χώρο που εφορούετο ουσιαστικά από την οστυναρία. Η φρουρά και οι επιτροπές να επεισόδ των οντ.

κατά των οσπίδοφρων και κρυνισφόρων Ναζί έλαβαν χώρα και οδήγησαν στην σύλληψη 2-3 ατόμων που στην συνέχεια οφείθηκαν ελεύθεροι. Η αντιπαράθεση των Ναζί και των αντιναζιστών μεταξύ των οποίων υπήρχαν οστυναρικοί, ερώτησε περισσότερα από μια ώρα και περιόριστηκε όπως έδοξε σε λεκτική αντιπαράθεση που όλην την διάθεση των περισσότερων συγκεντρωθέντων που ήθελαν την σύνοξη των ναζί με συγγ και πέτρες όπως είχε γίνει πριν δυό χρόνια σε ανάλογη εκδήλωση στο Ένσταντον. Μολις τον ανήκουσα των Ναζί.

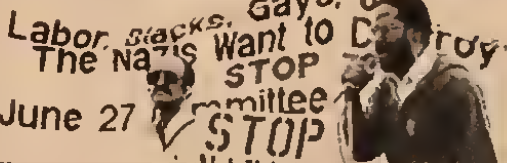


Thousands mobilize to stop Nazis in Chicago

Smashing success

Thousands move to stop Nazis in Chicago

CHICAGO, June 27 (UPI) — The largest anti-Nazi demonstration in the city's history took place Sunday, drawing thousands of people to Lincoln Park. The Nazis, who had been warned to leave the city, were confronted by a massive crowd of anti-Nazis. The demonstration was organized by the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, which had been formed to oppose the planned parade of the German Legion, a neo-Nazi group. The parade was called off by the police, and the Nazis were forced to leave the city. The demonstration was a success, and it showed that the anti-Nazi sentiment in Chicago is strong.



Contest winners

Last year the National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCL) came up with a bright idea. They sponsored a national essay contest and invited kids from 15 to 19 years to participate. The purpose of NBCL's contest was to educate Black youth on the dangers of racism and to encourage them to write about their own experiences with racism. The contest was a success, and it inspired many young people to write about their own experiences with racism.

More than 200,000 people gathered in Lincoln Park Sunday to oppose the planned parade of the German Legion, a neo-Nazi group. The parade was called off by the police, and the Nazis were forced to leave the city. The demonstration was a success, and it showed that the anti-Nazi sentiment in Chicago is strong. The June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, which had been formed to oppose the parade, was praised for its efforts. The committee's success was a testament to the power of the anti-Nazi movement in Chicago.



CHICAGO.—It was the largest anti-fascist demonstration in the area in decades. Waving angry first and chanting "No Hitlers in Chicago—Stop the Nazis Now!" more than 3,000 demonstrators mobilized to prevent two dozen Nazi stormtroopers in black and brown uniforms from entering Lincoln Park Sunday. The fascists had said they would stage a provocation against the Gay Pride parade in the park's "public forum" area. But when the Nazis arrived the area was already occupied by protestors organized by the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. Instead the swastika-waving punks clustered behind a chain-link fence in a nearby parking lot, protected by hundreds of Chicago police, including mounted police. Several thousand people

rejected the Gay Pride parade organizers' call to ignore the Nazis. As the Nazis shouted death threats against homosexuals, blacks and communists, they were drowned out by the crowd chanting "Chicago is a union town, Chicago is a black town, Chicago is a gay town—No room for Nazis!" After an hour the Hitlerites gave up and were ushered out by the police to a thunderous roar of "Nazis Out! Nazis Out!" Numerous unionist, blacks, Jewish concentration camp survivors, gays and other individuals representing a wide cross-section of the Chicago community endorsed the demonstration called by the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, which was initiated and organized by the Spartacist League, a Marxist organization. More than 250,000 Committee leaflets

calling for the protest were distributed in the Chicago area over the last two weeks. As the Nazis left, Don Andrews, a spokesman for the Committee and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, proclaimed to the cheering crowd, "We did it! We prevented them from carrying out their provocation!" This was a victory for all decent people of Chicago, said Andrews. Someone had to stop these would-be killers, and the Spartacist League "Mobilized labor and all sections of the oppressed to defend the rights of gays, blacks and Jews in this city." It was a disciplined and powerful show of force against the Nazis. Members of dozens of area unions were present at the demonstration, and speakers included Norm Roth (former President Unit-

ed Auto Workers Local 6), Cliff "Cowboy" Mezzo (Vice-President, Steelworkers Local 1010), and Willy Harris and Joe Lamm (Secretary-Treasurer and Vice-President of SEIU Local 372.) The Call to Action by the June 27 Committee pointed out that the Nazis targeted Gay Pride Day because they know that homosexuals are the weakest link in their chain of terror. But the Hitler-lovers didn't get their way. Committee spokesman Gene Shofner said in closing the victorious rally: "This was an important day because the people of Chicago came out in thousands to oppose the Nazis here. The people of Chicago said, 'No, we will not allow ourselves to be piecemealed to death!'"

Drop Charges Against Gerry Clark!

Cops Jail Union Member at CWA Convention

DETROIT—City police intervened in a Communications Workers of America (CWA) convention here July 15 by arresting a union member for distributing an open letter to the convention from one of the delegates. Gerry Clark, a phone worker in CWA Local 9415 in Oakland, California and a registered guest at the convention, was marched away with his hands cuffed behind his back and charged with disorderly conduct. He was released more than four hours later. Clark told the press, "My local union delegation raised the \$100 bail and sent my local vice president down to get me out."

This attack on the union was reported in both the Oakland *Tribune* and the San Francisco *Chronicle*. The *Tribune* article said, "Clark is a member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), which advocates militant labor action and an end to the union's traditional support of the Democratic Party." A MAC press release on the arrest stated:

"Numerous delegates to the convention have expressed their outrage at this interference in union affairs and attack on the basic right of all trade unionists to express their

viewpoints.... Protests demanding that all charges be dropped have been lodged with the Detroit Police Department."

A MAC spokesman told *WV* that the day after the arrest 265 members (including 15 stewards) of Local 9415 sent a protest telegram to Detroit mayor Coleman Young demanding that "the fake charges against Brother Clark be dropped." The telegram also noted, "CWA National President Glenn Watts today affirmed the right of Clark's group to participate fully in the affairs of the union, saying that whether we agree or disagree with each union member's politics, free speech exists in this country and must be respected." A resolution demanding that the charges be dropped was also unanimously passed by Local 9415 on July 20.

During the 1979 convention here Secret Service agents abducted MAC delegate and Spartacist League supporter Jane Margolis as she prepared to speak against Jimmy Carter and for a workers party. This outrage was met with a storm of protest: scores of convention delegates as well as hun-



WV Photo

CWA member Gerry Clark, arrested for leafletting at CWA convention.

dreds of other phone workers immediately demanded a formal apology from the White House. In June 1980 the Secret Service did turn over such an apology and \$3,500 in settlement of a suit brought by Margolis. Margolis

donated the entire cash award to the CWA Defense Fund.

Any government intervention in the labor movement is an attack on all working people! Drop the charges against Gerry Clark!

SWP...

(continued from page 12)

bureaucratic organization (e.g., consider the "disloyalty" purge kicked off in May 1980, which unleashed a series of witchhunts so fierce that the leadership had to call a halt in September 1981). Still the "age purge" (removing from leadership those in the SWP cadre older than Barnes) was a move against not merely potential loci of political opposition but against anything left in the party that might have served as an alternative role model in a party shaped ever more narrowly in Jack Barnes' image.

We hold no brief for the current SWP oppositions. Nobody who swallowed Khomeini's Persian-chauvinist, anti-woman, anti-worker "revolution" can credibly claim to be an "internationalist," nor would very many of the SWP's former fans of sellout Mine Workers union "reformer" Arnold Miller be recruitable to a perspective of authentic Trotskyist work in the labor movement. Still it's an ugly sight to watch Barnes axing the remaining veterans of the old SWP in evident fear that they—who have forgotten the content of Trotskyism long since—might prove an impediment to sloughing off remaining vestiges of the old formulae. They deserve better than abuse at the hands of the Barnes clique amidst a chorus of contempt from Barnes' cadre of arrogant latter-day YPSLs.

Out with the Old, on the Outs with the New

The latest *Guardian* articles on the SWP's troubles remarked gleefully that the party "has been quietly dropping overboard some of its Trotskyist baggage." In fact, they're merely chucking the empty suitcases, the paper orthodox positions which have been kept safely locked away in dusty closets. The knee-jerk objections from those who maintain a sentimental attachment to Trotskyism are likely to give Barnes less trouble than the collapse of years of grandiose promises which has party members voting with their feet.

Historically, especially in the movement against the Vietnam War, the SWP was able to flex some visible organizational muscle within the popular frontist coalitions it hoped to be the "best

builders" of. But times have changed and of late SWP bootlicking has reaped nothing but the contempt which is the just reward of craven opportunism. The SWP has long been subjected to red-baiting attacks in NOW, the main bourgeois-led women's organization. The feminists who line up with the Moral Majority's anti-porn campaigns take the SWP's "Trotskyism" at face value, and want no part of anything red or even slightly pink. Though the *Militant* occasionally offers a timorous attack on NOW's pro-Democratic Party leadership, the other equally wretched "coalitions" in which the party seeks to work have been spared.

This hasn't prevented actual and attempted purges of SWPers. For example, when the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) was first formed, SWPers were right there. But when the heat came down from the CISPES' godfathers—the FDR's Political and Diplomatic Commission—SWP members in CISPES politely resigned from leadership rather than provoke a split in "the movement," but now there's a full-scale witchhunt against the SWP in New York CISPES. And it's tough sledding too in the National Black Independent Political Party, which the SWP promotes as the greatest thing for black people since Martin Luther King and never mind the anti-communist expulsions.

The greatest disasters, though, have occurred in the unions. After a long hiatus, the SWP leadership had rediscovered the industrial proletariat (coincidentally with the collapse of the sectoralist "mass movements" which were the previous arena for the SWP's opportunist appetites). The way the SWP went about the "turn" could be termed "Gidget Goes to Garmet." Under the slogan of "talking socialism," industrialized SWPers have functioned more like YSAers running a campus election campaign. There's no mystery in this: the SWP's union work is directed by Barnesite hacks, a bunch whose only credential is that they can spell the word "factory." And through his bureaucratic maneuvers, Barnes has seen to it that the old-timers—who remember a bit about the need to patiently win authority as workers and militant unionists—will not get in the way. Harry DeBoer, one of

the "Minneapolis 18" tried and imprisoned under the Smith Act, objected to "talking socialism" and quoted a 1941 SWP plenum report by James P. Cannon: "Comrades were cautioned... [to] be careful, integrate themselves, get some training in their trade, some standing as mechanics, workmen, etc. ... If you conduct yourself in such a way that you get bounced out before you really get in, you cannot carry on any fruitful trade union work" ("The Party's Sectarian Trade Union Policy" by Harry DeBoer et al., *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 37, No. 23, July 1981). That was it for DeBoer in Barnes' party; it was all over but the shouting.

The SWP insists that the hair-raising story of what happened at the Jim Walter Brookwood mine No. 4 in Alabama was not a correct application of the "talking socialism" policy. We suggest our readers draw their own conclusions from Political Committee reporter Ken Shilman's "Report on the National Miners Fraction" (*Party Organizer* Vol. 4, No. 1, April 1980):

"We did not collectively sit down, carefully size up the situation we found ourselves in, and figure out how to help the union win this battle. If we had started there, I think that after only two weeks in the mine when we did not know a lot about the struggles, and had not had time to win respect for ourselves as unionists or as political people, much less establish ourselves as socialists—we would have decided not to sign grievances, write articles, or sell the *Militant* in the bars around the mine....

"When two comrades, Sara and Ellen, got hired at Brookwood in June, 1979, we walked into a war taking place between Jim Walter mining company and the UMW. Jim Walter was out to destroy the local....

"By writing the kind of *Militant* article we did, quoting extensively from a closed union meeting and signing it with the names of comrades who had barely started work, we set into motion an entire train of events....

"That issue of the *Militant* gave the company and its right-wing agents the handle they needed. The red scare and violence that followed our sales of the *Militant* changed the relationship of forces dramatically.... What the company had thus far failed to do with its attacks on women's rights and other tactics, it pulled off with anti-communism—it divided the union....

"Our actions also led to serious victimization. Comrades are familiar with the violence directed against our comrades that eventually forced us to decide that Sara and Ellen should not continue to

work at the mine.

"But we were not the only victims. Others had their cars fire-bombed, tires slashed, and lives jeopardized. The climate of terror hurt everyone, intimidated everyone. The people who came to our defense were good people, courageous, and they helped us at great personal risk...." (emphasis added)

The only item of importance omitted from this account is the fact that many of the victims of the violence touched off by the SWP's incredible stupidity—people who were struggling "at great personal risk" before the SWP dropped in and after it departed—were black.

Of course this atrocity was ammunition for the Weinstein/Henderson opposition at the last SWP convention, arguing for a more sensible application of the SWP's social-democratic line. That theirs is a rightist opposition based on an economist penchant for "shop floor" issues is shown by their failure to distance themselves from SWP union stupidity of rightist coloration, like the way the SWP stuck with Mine Workers president Miller throughout the bitter 1977-78 coal strike when Miller's contracts were being made into bonfires in the coalfields. Or take the case of SWP spokesman Andrew Pulley, who the SWP turned from a one-time antiwar and black activist into a scab. During a 1978 strike at U.S. Steel's Gary plant, a picket line was set up by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks—one which BRAC officials asked other unions to respect. That didn't stop Andrew Pulley, then working at Gary, from crossing the picket line and going to work! The SWP's decision to run Pulley as its 1981 presidential candidate was certainly an example of stupidity compounding cynical betrayal. But we've never heard a peep of protest from any of the "proletarian" critics in the SWP.

Black People Need the SWP Like a Hole in the Head

Despite the ominous growth of race-terror groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, nurtured by Reaganite anti-Sovietism and attacks on labor and minorities, the SWP clings to the liberal notion of "exposing" the fascists' "bad ideas" by debating them! As any socialist should know, the KKK and Nazis are not interested in "ideas"—their program is action: lynching, fire-

bombing, union busting and genocide. Blacks head the list of the fascists' targets but the SWP is on the list too: SWP offices in Southern and South-western cities have been shot at and in one case a bomb was placed.

In San Diego, Klan ringleader Tom Metzger ran on the Democratic Party ticket for Congress in 1980. Not only did SWP candidate Mark Friedman participate in a televised debate with the "Grand Dragon," but the 10 October 1980 *Militant* boasted about it. (Even the Republican incumbent refused to take part—for which he was attacked by the SWP!) Perhaps the SWP should put an article in *Perspectiva Mundial* boasting about their polite debate with the nightriding Klan which led armed patrols searching for "illegal aliens" at the Mexican border.

There is nothing in common with the SWP of the 1930s but the name. The 3 March 1939 *Socialist Appeal* (forerunner of the *Militant*) stated:

"The workers who spend all their time and energy in the abstract discussion of the Nazis' 'democratic rights'... will end their discussion under a Fascist club in a concentration camp.... The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action."

The SWP dismisses the Spartacist League strategy of labor/black mobilizations to smash the fascist threat as "ultra-left," and when cornered the most Barnes & Co. can say is that things have changed since 1939. They sure have—the SWP was then a revolutionary party as opposed to the wretched reformist organization of today.

The SWP has blithely abstained from Spartacist-initiated mobilizations of workers, minorities, students and leftists against fascist provocations and has disappeared their very existence in the *Militant*. The latest such case was the 16 July *Militant*'s account of "Gay Pride Day," June 27:

"In Chicago, the Nazis organized a counter action against the gay pride march there. However, the two dozen Nazis that did show up left before the 30,000 people in the parade got there."

To get the truth, you need merely insert between the two sentences the fact that over 3,000 militant protesters confronted the Nazis and shouted them down. That mobilization was initiated and built by the Spartacist League along with union officials, community spokesmen and many others who understand what the Nazis are about infinitely better than the SWP.

One would think that any member of a nominally socialist organization would have a gut impulse to fight the KKK/Nazis. There must be a few such people left in the SWP and we'd like to find them before they give up on "socialism." The only thing the SWP offers blacks is the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), essentially a rest home for black unelected officials waiting for the

Democratic Party to come back in and throw a few pork barrels their way. The SWP's orientation to this formation is so craven that Andrew Pulley supported an NBIPP loyalty clause for political

Guardian

—16 September 1981

on the left

Socialist Workers Party: Internal turmoil

U.S. Trotskyism is in turmoil.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the largest Trotskyist organization in the U.S., has recently taken significant steps away from classical Trotskyism in its international perspective.

In addition, the SWP's major domestic strategy—"turn toward industry" in which the majority of SWP members got industrial jobs—appears to have had little success. In several instances, it apparently was counter-productive.

In other signs of upheaval in the SWP, membership has declined by 25% in the last three years, the number of SWP offices is also down by about 25%, and sales of its newspaper, *The Militant*, have dropped off.

Peter Camejo, one of the top leaders in the SWP and its presidential candidate in 1976, resigned from the party shortly before the SWP's national convention in August. The SWP has given no reason for his resignation.

The struggles over international line and domestic strategy erupted in the SWP.

Stallnold Guardian gloats over SWP's hemorrhaging.

exclusions. The SWP has reaped its deserved harvest—at the instigation of the wife of a Democratic Party pol, the Pittsburgh chapter has expelled three SWPers.

But what's an expulsion between friends? The Barnesites are apparently convinced that if they are only a bit more servile, they can get back in the good graces of the NBIPP hustlers. So the SWP continues to make a big deal out of the draft charter of the NBIPP, which contains some anti-capitalist verbiage. Well, the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, in terror of the Chinese revolution, in 1926 passed a resolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for world revolution.

The black question is *strategic*—if the racial divisions between black and white workers are not overcome in class struggle, there will be no American socialist revolution. The key is the construction of a multi-racial revolutionary vanguard party, something the SWP gave up long ago. From the SWP's abstentionist course in the early 1960s—the refusal to involve itself in the mass civil rights struggles taking place in the South, one of the issues which led to the bureaucratic expulsion from the SWP

of the Revolutionary Tendency, forerunner of the Spartacist League—the SWP has moved ever rightward: tailing the now defunct black nationalist movement and especially the most right-wing, anti-Semitic "cultural nationalists"; union-busting "community control" and "affirmative action" schemes; calling on the racist cops to defend black schoolchildren; and now, liquidationism towards a pro-capitalist black "party."

The Revolutionary Tendency which opposed the destruction of the revolutionary program of the SWP in the early 1960s stood for *revolutionary integrationism*, against the SWP's perspective of a de facto division of labor between itself and the nationalists: a black nationalist party for blacks, the SWP for whites. Neither the nationalists nor the SWP have anything to offer black people. Those who want to fight for black freedom should look to the Spartacist League:

"The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working-class political independence. As black workers, the most combative elements within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarians who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." [1978]

—*Marxist Bulletin* No. 5-R,
"What Strategy for Black
Liberation?"

Will He or Won't He?

Ever since the SWP wrapped up its "Watersuit," its central preoccupation over eight years, last summer, we've been curious what Judge Griesa would decide. Certainly there was ample evidence presented of violations of the SWP's rights to function as a political party: black bag jobs, informers, deportations, etc. And the SWP certainly did its best to prove that it was peaceful, legal, agreed with the "philosophy underlying the United States Constitution," didn't consider the Russian Revolution a model, and so on (see "Reformism on Trial," *WV* No. 286, 31 July 1981). But the SWP's quaint faith in the Bill of Rights notwithstanding, the courts are after all part of the bourgeois state and that state has an interest in keeping tabs (illegally and otherwise) on potential threats to capitalist class rule. Of course with regard to the "checks and balances" SWP, any perception of a threat from that quarter is wildly exaggerated, to put it mildly. But cops are cops and they tend to see anything to the left of the Republican Party as necessarily a tool of the International Communist Conspiracy.

Regardless of the outcome, we all lose. If the decision goes against the SWP, it will legally sanctify the trampling of leftists' civil rights both past and future. Even if the SWP wins (which will mean years more in court on appeal), the SWP will have bought itself a reversible exemption from the most outrageous kinds of government persecution at the expense of other left groups, particularly some of its expelled ex-comrades.

The long and short of it is that the SWP membership has been set up by the Barnes clique. The "Watersuit" was supposed to bring a badge of approval from the state (i.e., no more informers, break-ins, poison-pen letters), a cool \$40 million and put the SWP's name in lights as the "socialist" David which conquered the FBI Goliath. To that end, every vestige of elementary socialist norms was sacrificed: financial records,

the real names of SWP "fraternal co-thinkers" in the United Secretariat (USec) abroad, and god knows what else. And for what? Ironically, as reported in the 9 July *Militant*, in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, Senator Jeremiah Denton named the SWP as an organization which "clearly oppose[s] our democratic ideals." The FBI and CIA are being unleashed and out of sheer vindictiveness they will certainly go after the SWP, which has occasionally embarrassed them considerably in the course of the eight-year lawsuit. And SWPers should remember those notarized statements of membership they filled out to help the party collect damages. We suggested in a previous article that these statements, constituting a full membership list, might have been turned over to the court. We still don't know if they were. You might ask your leadership.

Among the dirty numbers the Barnesites have pulled in their time, the lying frame-up of ex-SWP member Hedda Garza stands out. Even the *Militant*'s own 26 June 1981 article on Garza's testimony during the "Watersuit" refutes the article's headline which claimed that Garza testified for the FBI. Since Garza said nothing more than Barnes himself said on the stand, the *Militant* latched on to the government attorney's charge that he had met privately with Garza.

Why? Having only access to the *Militant* and SWP internal bulletins, we can only conjecture. Garza and her comrades of the Internationalist Tendency, the centrist minority in the SWP which supported the USec minority line of vicariously tailing guerrilla warfare, were expelled in 1974 (on July 4th no less) to prove to Judge Griesa that the SWP would never tolerate anything tainted with the suggestion of "terrorism." Perhaps the SWP went after Garza so hard as a convenient way to rebut the FBI's claim that the 1974 expulsion was merely a legal fiction.

Any SWPer with a shred of decency should be appalled at the *Militant*'s charge that Garza was a fink. At the last Oberlin convention, Spartacist comrades offered a free subscription to our press to any SWPer who could come up with any "evidence" other than the FBI lawyer's tale; there were no takers. There was however one lone SWPer who dared to take up the defense of Garza inside the party. In *SWP Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 37, No. 26, July 1981, Daniel Rosenshine wrote:

"During the discussion at the June 21 [1981] Brooklyn branch meeting two comrades (when referring to the government attorney's claim of having met with Hedda Garza privately) asserted that 'the government would not lie.' This is a truly astounding assertion.... Even Hedda Garza's heated denials of having attended such a meeting are treated as 'plunging deeper' into 'perjury'...."

Our subscription offer still stands.

Even as the SWP drifted into a bad way as a revolutionary organization, embracing decisive centrist programmatic elements as Cannon's leadership gave way to that of Farrell Dobbs, many subordinate elements of continuity in personnel and practice still persisted. But Jack Barnes climbed to power at no little terminal cost to those deemed in his way—compare successive National Committee lists over the past ten years. Probably the death of Joe Hansen in 1979 had a great deal to do with the crumbling of the last facade (purely for foreign consumption of course) of Trotskyism. The latest "age purge" represents the final obliteration of such traces of the old SWP as still existed, rather akin to the tidying up of the Russian CP in 1936-38, a process popularly called the Moscow Trials. The only point of recognition between then and now are the initials. All else is different, a point now brought home to the organizationally demised old-timers regardless of how spinelessly they sought to go along. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Amherst
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San Francisco, CA 94101
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TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

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

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

WORKERS VANGUARD

Welcome to the SWP 1982 Conference:

Barnesite SWP on the Road to Nowhere

After what seems like eons of promises that "consistent whatever leads to socialism," reams of resolutions proclaiming a "New Rise of the Whatever Struggle" and a "turn" which was supposed to bring in hundreds of proletarian recruits to a "party of industrial workers," sections of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seem to have become aware that the Barnes leadership is driving hard and not slowly toward irrelevance. The party has seemingly run out of "whatevers" and, according to Mary-Alice Waters, money and members as well. Waters' report to the November 1981 National Committee plenum (*Party Organizer*, Vol. 6, No. 1, April 1982) admitted a loss of 500 members (euphemistically termed a "gradual decline in the total membership of the party over several years"). This and the concomitant ballooning of red ink resulted in the cutting of the full-time staff by about one third so far; and as for the future, Waters added: "we don't think we've bottomed out in total membership."

The sterile and eccentric Barnes clique, armed with the "socialist Watersuit" which was supposed to bring the SWP a special government license to

practice reformism unhindered by the capitalist state, had barely noticed the election of Ronald Reagan, the formalization of a significant shift to the right on the terrain of bourgeois politics. A telling indicator of this fatuousness was the shock when light dawned: Barnes' keynote speech to the last SWP national convention centered on a hand-wringing exposition on the Reagan hudget which Barnes considered nothing less than "sensational" ("The Reagan Offensive at Home and Abroad," *Party Organizer* Vol. 5, No. 3, September 1981). How isolated must the Barnes clique be from the everyday concerns of the American masses—by August 1981 it was hardly news to the "average" black or white worker in this country that bad things were going down and appropriate responses included not only anger but also simple fear.

The "corrective" introduced at the 1981 convention was a flip-flop into panic and a defeatism so pronounced that one must conclude the Barnesites' views on the "nature of the period" are determined solely by the precarious internal state of the SWP. Even in the cynical *Militant*, which is supposed to push a "new radicalization" line come

what may, revealing bits of outright defeatism come creeping through, beginning with Cindy Jaquith's report on the party convention, where the reporter on women sweepingly declared: "Women as well as the working class are going to suffer some defeats, probably some big ones, in the coming period" ("How Can Labor Answer the Reagan Offensive?" *Militant*, 4 September 1981).

Meanwhile the social situation in this country remains deeply contradictory and potentially enormously explosive. The economic crisis, the desperate condition of the black masses, the discrediting of Jimmy Carter's Democrats, the widespread fear of war make for real revolutionary opportunities as well as sobering dangers. The fact that at the AFL-CIO march in Washington last September 19 a socialist organization could sell over 8,000 copies of its paper (we're talking, of course, about *Workers Vanguard*) is one small, graphic indication that Reagan reaction means not a return to the 1950s when "politics" was a dirty word but an openness to socialist ideas among elements of the working class, especially its black component.

But the SWP is shrinking and Waters, long known for her "Mary-Alice in Wonderland" org reports, thinks it's going to go on like that. So does everyone else, apparently. The SWP's difficulties and the concomitant outbreak of internal wrangling have been the subject of repeated comment in the rad-lib *Guardian* and elsewhere. At bottom the problem for the SWP is that Barnes' version of social-democratic reformism incorporates good-sized chunks of political eccentricity (e.g., Castroism, necessarily a problem for an anti-Soviet party; maintenance of the infatuation with Khomeini long after the bulk of his apologists on the left backed away in embarrassment; the present orientation to the "working farmer"; the Grenadian road to "socialism" as the model for American blacks). On a par is a trade-union policy of

"talking socialism" which is guaranteed to produce victimizations of SWPers foolish enough to try it. These creative Barnesite contributions only compound the SWP's underlying central problem: the social-democratic niche the SWP wants to occupy is already being filled by Michael Harrington's much larger organization, which has a growing membership, consistent social-democratic politics and—what really matters to reformists—real friends in the trade-union bureaucracy.

The politically overlapping oppositions (Weinstein/Henderson, Breitman, Lovell/Bloom) which have erupted inside the SWP have, as might be expected, a right-wing thrust despite a good deal of leftist-sounding rhetoric from some of their components about the class nature of the Nicaraguan state and/or ritual genuflections in the direction of the "Fourth International." The tipoff is the appetite pervasive in their documents for becoming even more at one than Barnes with Solidarność, Polish company union for the CIA and Western bankers. Significant layers of the SWP, most notably among the party old-timers, perceived that the emergence of an "anti-Stalinist" movement in Eastern Europe could present a wonderful opportunity to march in step with the American union bureaucrats in their work for "free trade unions." This layer of the party has also been the most articulate advocates of missionary-position opportunism in the unions as against the Barnesites' grotesque, organizationally adventurist policy of talking reformism.

It's hard for outsiders to tell how much the disaffection of older party members from the narrow, increasingly cult-like Barnes clique is political and how much is a direct defensive response to the latest "age purge." The nastiness of the SWP's internal life is, of course, nothing new, and it's not as if Barnes did not already have iron control of his

continued on page 10



Jack Barnes

WV Photo

SWP 1939



Socialist Appeal

WORKERS OF NEW YORK! Stop the Fascists!

PICKET MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, MON., FEB. 20, 6 P. M.!

The fascists are mobilizing at Madison Square Garden Monday night. Hitler's German-American Bund gangsters, Pelley's Silver Shirt scum and Coughlin's mob of labor-haters have hurled a brazen challenge at the workers of New York.

Wrapping themselves in the cloak of patriotism and "Americanism," the fascists prepare to spew their anti-labor and anti-Jewish poison throughout New York City.

These gangs have already gone too far. They must be stopped. What are you going to do to stop this murderous crew?

We must not let this filthy, creeping slime get a foothold in New York. Gather in front of Madison Square Garden Monday by the thousands!

Be there at 6:00 P.M. sharp!

Let the fascists feel the anger and the might of the working class—Get out and picket!

Don't wait for the concentration camps—Act now!

On to Madison Square Garden Monday Night!

Issued by the
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (Fourth International)
116 University Place, New York City

When revolutionary SWP mobilized 50,000 workers in the streets of New York against the fascists.

SWP Today

THE MILITANT

—19 September 1980

Socialist vs. Klan-Democrat



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in California's Forty-Third District, Mark Friedman, confronted his Democratic Party opponent, Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon Thomas Metzger, on NBC's "Speak Up America" show September 5.

The am included... Metzger lead... a pack of

Retormist SWP boasts of providing platform for terrorist Klan's Tom Metzger.

23 JULY 1982