

U.S.: Hands Off Lebanon!

Smash Zionist Genocide!

Defend the Palestinians!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

AUGUST 3—At 3 a.m. on Sunday the bombardment began as the Israeli tanks, artillery and gunboats that ring west Beirut launched another assault on Lebanon's besieged capital. Three hours later the fighter-bombers came screaming out of the air as the Israeli air force began the first of 170 (!) sorties they were to fly that day over the few square miles where the Palestinians and Lebanese Moslems are concentrated. The barrage would last fourteen hours, the most savage attack on Beirut since Israel launched its Blitzkrieg into Lebanon on June 6. It left more than 200 dead and 400 critically wounded. The death toll was compounded by Israel's blockade of water and medicine as the fires burned out of control long after the assault was over.

U.S. warmonger Ronald Reagan's "peacemaker" in the Near East, Philip Habib, watched another one of his "cease-fires" literally go up in smoke as huge black clouds hung over west Beirut. Meanwhile Israeli foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir was off to visit Reagan in Washington. This most recent barrage, immediately followed by massive movement of Israeli tanks at the checkpoints of west Beirut, was Shamir's "diplomatic" message: the Zionist genocidal maniacs who run Israel are getting impatient for the U.S. to deliver up the PLO bound hand and foot.

The Zionist state could find no better representative to deliver this message than Shamir, who shares with Begin a background in the Zionist underground as a terrorist killer. He was a leader of the Stern Gang, a right-wing split-off from Begin's Irgun, but which joined the



Azoulay/Paris Match

Palestinian prisoners captured during Israells' drive for the "final solution."

Irgun in murdering 254 unarmed Arab villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948 as well as blowing up the King David Hotel and assassinating Swedish UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte.

Preparing to welcome this Zionist gangster to the White House, U.S. imperialist chief Reagan stated that he would be "firm" in insisting once again that "the bloodshed must stop." But except for holding up the cluster bombs, the arsenal for Israeli genocide in Lebanon continues to be paid for and made in the USA. For the last five years the U.S. has poured \$7.4 million a day into Israel in military and related aid. And now Reagan wants that to go up another 12 percent in fiscal 1983. There has been no discernible tilt away from Israel since "Bechtel boy" George Schultz took over from the aggressively pro-Zionist Haig as secretary of state.

To counter criticism that he was pro-Arab, in his Senate confirmation hearings the former Bechtel president unambiguously stated his commitment to "assure that Israel has the necessary means to defend itself." And Shultz's former colleague at Bechtel, Pentagon chief Weinberger, has translated this into action by facilitating the resupply of Israeli forces in Lebanon.

U.S. Hands Off Lebanon!

Yet backed against the walls of besieged west Beirut by Israeli guns, the PLO is now looking toward the American quartermasters of Zionist genocide for salvation. For its part, Israel is demanding an unconditional surrender of the PLO in which their 6,000 commandos in Beirut are effectively taken under arrest and disarmed. Those not murdered on the spot or put in

Israeli concentration camps, which already hold thousands of Palestinians, will be sent into yet another exile to be policed by Arab regimes like Hussein's Jordan and Assad's Syria whose repression of the Palestinians is as savage as the Israelis'. Remember Black September 1970 when Hussein's army massacred tens of thousands of Palestinians! The remaining Palestinian population in Lebanon—more than half a million—will be left defenseless before the tender mercies of mad bomber Begin and his maniacal war minister Ariel Sharon. After the Israelis have "pacified" the Palestinian population, the U.S. Marines will be invited in to keep the "peace" until a puppet regime headed by the boss of the Christian Maronite Lebanese Phalange, Bashir Gemayel, who has frequently called for the expulsion of *all* Palestinians from Lebanon, is established.

Faced with this grim prospect the PLO leadership has agreed to move its forces out of Beirut. In return it wants the Israeli army to pull back from the Lebanese capital and lift the siege. The PLO also wants a "multinational peacekeeping force" based on U.S. Marines from the Sixth Fleet and a contingent from France, Lebanon's former colonial master, in place in Beirut *before* it pulls its own forces out. PLO head Yasir Arafat apparently envisions U.S. and French imperialism replacing the PLO commandos in guarding the Palestinian refugee camps from Israel and its Phalangist henchmen!

Should the Marines go into Lebanon,

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American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

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EIGHT



Jack Barnes' Zombies

OBERLIN, Ohio—Socialist Workers Party (SWP) thought-police ran amok Saturday, July 31, opening day of the SWP educational conference here, attempting to physically remove SL salesmen from public sidewalks in the conference vicinity. What gave the events at the SWP's annual week-long event a science-fiction flavor, though, was the SWP's policy of sending teams of SWP "watchers" out to watch us, obviously with instructions not to talk politics no matter what, like products of a mass lobotomy. Jack Barnes' party is indeed a strange organization which has gotten a lot stranger.

The SWP is wracked by internal opposition, it's losing members fast, it's in deep financial trouble, the "turn" turns out to be toward irrelevance—but a chunk of its cadre are given nothing better to do at their own national gathering than sit on the grass and watch an SL lit table. Who are these watchers? Why are they watching? And who is watching the watchers?

Immediately upon our arrival, the SL was met by an SWP "security" team who laid out the "ground rules" on where SLers can and can't sell our press. This spiel is simply a statement of pre-existing fact: the public streets and walkways do not fall within the administrative purview of the SWP. Keeping the SL off the SWP-rented campus property is a pretext for harassing Spartacist salesmen and intimidating the SWP membership.

On Saturday, SWP "watchers" stood or sat in the sun all day, like the mute guards at Buckingham Palace, being aggressively baited by Spartacists on Iran, Poland, you name it. That day and every day of the conference, SLers

challenged the SWP zombies: "Let's have a class on Trotskyism—who here has heard of Trotsky?" "What's the matter, Khomcini got your tongue?" "Come on, let's 'talk socialism'." "You're for 'free speech' for fascists—how about freedom of speech for Trotskyists?"

The events leading up to Saturday afternoon's shoving match began when an SWPer broke down and opened his mouth. The SWP had started the day

feel a lot stronger towards the Spartacist League.") Our comrade Carl began a monologue on the SWP policy of "debating" the Klan/Nazi killers, and the Barnesites' corresponding abstention from militant mass mobilizations against fascists, including their conspicuous absence from the SL-organized June 27 mobilization of 3,000 anti-Nazi militants in Chicago.

The SWPers were getting to their feet, listening. Black SWPer Ed Warren felt



WV Photo

SWP goons, facing camera, link arms to attempt to shove Spartacist salesmen off Oberlin sidewalk near conference.

with a half-dozen Barnesite goons lined up directly in front of the SL table. By mid-afternoon, the SWP had removed the line; instead, some 20-25 SWPers were stationed across the road from the SL table. Thirty people, mostly sitting, staring at us, not saying anything. A black SL contact new to politics crossed the street: "Why don't you tell me something about the SWP?" One Barnesite began; another called him up short: "Don't talk to him!" (The comrade told us later: "It just made me

under pressure to claim he was at the June 27 demo. SLer: "So you broke discipline?" This was too much for SWP honcho Peter Seidman: "Okay, this is it!" The goon squad had soon linked arms and began to try to push us off the sidewalk. SL comrades pushed back; several were pushed to the ground. Seidman raised his arm and was grabbed from behind and immobilized by our comrade Ann. SWP reinforcements were piling in. SL comrades, outnumbered, stood their ground,

defended themselves, kept their cool. A few minutes later the campus cops arrived as things were cooling down. The contested sidewalk was public property; Spartacist sales resumed.

All week long, the Spartacist team tried to get SWPers walking by as well as the "watchers" to defend their positions. We introduced our new members: "Here's Karen, who joined a week ago; you ought to be contacting her." Sometimes our comrades read aloud selections from *WV*'s recent article, "Barnesite SWP on the Road to Nowhere" (*WV* No. 310, 23 July). Barnes' zombies would not rise to even the most personalized baits: To an SWPer who debated a Klansman in San Diego: "How did it feel? Did you shake his hand?" To an SWPer one SLer knew from an auto plant: "I remember one time a union meeting where there was a division of the house. And where were you?—sitting in the middle!" Or: "Where's Peter Camejo? Did his temporary disappearance have anything to do with the 'age of consent' controversy?" The SWPers went right on pretending we were invisible.

But on August 3 some finally found an "answer": incredibly, black SWPer James Harris called a black SL comrade a "nigger" and a "colored boy." Harris is a recent alumni of the SWP "leadership school." Now we know what they're learning there.

Sales of Spartacist literature the first few days were poor, about 65 copies. But you can bet the papers bought by those few brave souls and disgruntled elements are being passed around more avidly than secretly. Perhaps our team at the next Oberlin convention would fare better if we rented 30 Jack Barnes rubber face masks. We bet we could get them from the SWP National Office, where they are probably being used for obscure erotic purposes. ■

Letter

More Bekken's Nasty Lies

1767 Second Avenue
San Diego, CA 92101
13 July 1982

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

It has now been a month and a half since I wrote to you, demanding retraction of various libelous statements made in your issue of 14 May 1982 (see enclosed letter [dated 28 May and published in *WV* last issue]). During this period you have published various letters on the subject, many of them supporting your position and prefaced with notes explaining that the papers they were submitted to refused to print them. Apparently you are following a double standard in this regard; and are refusing to print letters which point out the inaccuracies, distortions and outright lies contained in your coverage.

When your paper decided to libel me, exhibiting in the process a reckless and malicious disregard to the facts, it assumed an obligation to set the record straight. Apparently you have decided to ignore this obligation (in an attempt to defend your position by denying to your readers the facts), confident in the knowledge that I cannot take legal action against you for a variety of ideological and practical reasons. However, I challenge you to print my letter, and to defend yourselves against it as best you can. Your readers have a right to know the lengths to which you will go in your distortions; a right to know the extent to which you have enrolled in the "Stalinist school of falsification". Nor will the issue go away just because you persist in hiding the facts from your readers. People will continue to expose the S.L. and its attacks against anti-fascist demonstrators in Ann Arbor, will continue to demand reparations for the damage done to the sound system, and will continue to demand S.L. repudiation/apology for its actions.

The stench surrounding the S.L. as it drags its politically-dead, maggot-ridden corpse around the country cheering martial law in Poland, political thuggery in the U.S., and the Stalinist butchers in the



Kremlin (while simultaneously denouncing every serious effort towards social change/revolution) continues to worsen. Your slanders, your attacks on the most basic rights of labor, your ultra-sectarian posturing only serve to speed up your collapse. There is a reason why your organization is losing its base in the working class, and on the campuses; and your actions/coverage surrounding the March 20th anti-Nazi demonstration serve only to remind people of your political bankruptcy.

In Struggle
Jon Bekken

WV replies: Jon Bekken is a particularly seamy and shameless enemy of Marxism, a gutter-action operative of the infamous Professor Hayek. Bekken's lying "case" against the Spartacist League—centrally, that we supposedly assaulted organizers of the March 20 anti-Nazi demonstration of 2,000 in Ann Arbor, which we mainly organized over the dead-end opposition of Bekken's political friends—is a fabrication which had already been extensively dealt with in *WV* (see especially "The Big Lie," *WV* No. 305, 14 May).

Redundancy notwithstanding, we published Bekken's first letter dated 28 May with our reply in our last issue ("Bekken's Nasty Lies," *WV* No. 310, 23 July). Meanwhile, Bekken fired off another missive denouncing the delay in publication of his first. Alas for Bekken, we are a suspicious lot and always take the time necessary to check and double-check crucial facts, like for example the fact that where Bekken turned up

when he disappeared from Ann Arbor, Michigan was off in San Diego, California at his parents' place: Bekken & Bekken, attorneys.

Bekken's latest letter rehashing his slanders contains one surprising element. On 28 May he had written:

"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."

Since Bekken is a self-declared anarchist—i.e., an "enemy of the state"—how piquant, we thought, that he would of course throw the gendarmes of the state at our head.

Now however Bekken inexplicably attributes to the SL confidence "in the knowledge that I cannot take legal action against you for a variety of ideological and practical reasons"! Well, so what if principled leftists don't enlist the bourgeois courts against other leftists? Bekken's no kind of leftist; in our reply to his first letter we suggested he hung around the SL for purposes "analogous to the fact that the Nazi Eichmann studied Hebrew." But we can guess at the "practical" reasons: even given the anti-communist class bias of the bourgeois "justice" system, Bekken's tissue of lies is a transparent fraud, and he's chicken. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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6 August 1982

Stop U.S. Death Cargo to El Salvador!

When the SS Mallory Lykes set out from Port Chicago, California bound for El Salvador, it carried a cargo of death for the embattled workers and peasants there who are fighting to throw off the bloody rule of the junta. These exclusive photographs show the ship's arrival on July 7 at Acajutla, El Salvador, the junta's key military supply port. They show the cargo—350 tons of small-arms (5.56, 7.62 and 105 mm.) ammunition—being unloaded and driven off by soldiers in convoys of Ford trucks. Over 300 troops were on hand, among them members of the elite Guardia Nacional in their shiny helmets and jackboots.

The Mallory Lykes was crewed by American seamen, members of the National Maritime Union (NMU).

Earlier, class-struggle dissidents in the NMU had charged in their newsletter (16 March 1982) that:

"Seamen have reported to the Militant-Solidarity Caucus that the SS Dawn...was spotted loading ammo in Port Chicago for El Salvador. A company official also indicated that the Dawn carried logistical material to El Salvador. The Elizabeth Lykes transported jeeps and personnel carriers to Acajutla. We must take union action and stop the shipment of these death cargoes!"

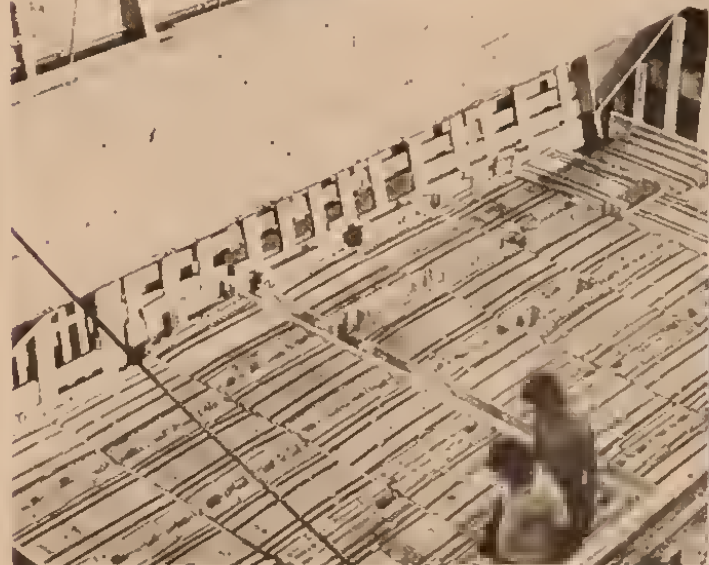
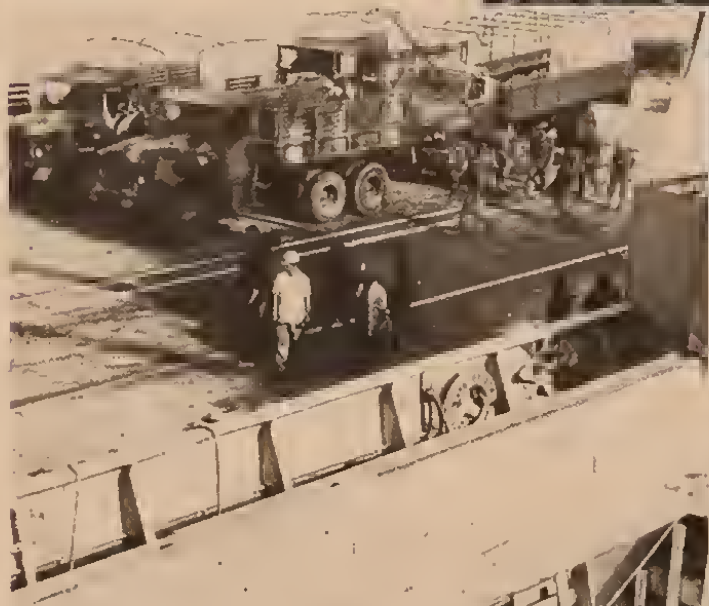
The NMU militants called for military victory to the Salvadoran rebels. They demanded concrete labor action by the waterfront unions to stop the shipment of military goods to the Central American dictatorships. The newsletter made a particular appeal to the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which in

December 1979 took a position in favor of such a boycott.

The perspective of union action in solidarity with the Salvadoran insurgents stands flatly counterposed to the calls of pro-imperialist liberals (who fear escalating American involvement in another *losing* military adventure like Vietnam) for a "political solution" to the war. They and their "radical" hangers-on place their hopes in a popular front with "progressive" capitalist politicians, expressed in legislative reforms like last year's bill requiring "a significant and concerted effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights..." as a precondition to military aid.

But U.S. imperialism stands by its butchers! Adding insult to injury, the administration last week "certified" that the mass-murdering Salvadoran junta was making "progress" (*New York Times*, 28 July), thereby sanctifying the death cargoes with a stroke of the pen.

American unionists: Stop U.S. death cargo to El Salvador!



For Labor/Black Defense Against Racist Terror!

Black Family Firebombed in Detroit

DETROIT—Racist nightriders firebombed the home of a black family here July 13 seriously injuring a young mother of two. Mark O'Georgia, his wife Evangeline and their children had just moved into a previously all-white block on the West Side. Three nights later, Mark O'Georgia awoke to find his bedroom ablaze and his wife on fire. He told *WV* that in the early morning hours of July 13, a molotov cocktail was tossed through the window:

"At approximately 2:30 I was awakened by her screams. She was on fire, the window was on fire, there were patches of fire all around the bed and on the bed. I helped her out of the fire and we headed for the door."

The couple and their children escaped with their lives. The house was gutted, all their possessions lost and Mrs. O'Georgia's leg was so severely burned she may be crippled for life.

The O'Georgia family was set up for murder. The first night they spent in their new home, a carload of bigots drove by and broke a bottle in the driveway. The second evening, a crowd of whites screamed at Mark O'Georgia as he was hauling some mattresses into his home: "Don't make it permanent, it ain't gonna work" (*Detroit Free Press*, 16 July). On the third day a neighbor saw two young whites lurking around the house with a gasoline can—but didn't mention it. That same night came the attempt to burn the family to death as they slept. Mark O'Georgia told *WV*: "I think the intent of these assailants was aimed toward our lives. They wanted to eradicate, I mean destroy us. It wasn't simply damage of property or harassment. It meant to kill us...."

When the family fled the burning house, their next-door neighbor refused to let them in to call the fire department. When the injured woman was taken to the Henry Ford Fairline Hospital in the white racist Dearborn suburb, she was refused admittance! Taken to another hospital, she was admitted immediately with second- and third-degree burns. She is still hospitalized.

Race-terror attacks are on the rise all over the country, fed by the program of bigotry and racist injustice emanating from the White House and by the panorama of social and economic miseries upon which outright fascists feed. These outrages must be stopped by the massive mobilization of labor and blacks in defense of black rights and lives. Defense squads of black and white workers must be organized by the unions to defend black families' right to stay in their homes. Nowhere is this more urgent than in Detroit.

An assistant to black Detroit Congressman Conyers reported there have been no less than 16 "racial incidents," including cross-burnings, in the Detroit area since May 1. Last year three Klansmen—one of whom said he was working for the FBI—tried to kill a black Detroit man for daring to frequent an integrated bar with a white girlfriend.

Last year just blocks from the site of the O'Georgia firebombing, a black woman, Synthia Steele, had her hand blown off when a pipe bomb was thrown through her window. She would have gone on fighting to stay in her home, she said, "except for my children. They were scared." Steele, a resident of the area for several years, told *WV* the neighborhood is a hotbed of racial hostility with an active Ku Klux Klan. The three men convicted of maiming Steele received a slap on the wrist from the courts, leading to her conclusion: "There's no



Yamasaki/Detroit Free Press

Evangeline O'Georgia (with husband, Mark) hospitalized with burns that may cripple her for life.

justice in America."

The fascists would like to make the moribund industrial city of Detroit into a fertile recruiting ground for race-terror. Avowed fascists and white supremacists such as Dearborn's Gerald Carlson and San Diego's Tom Metzger have been building a mass base in the lily-white enclaves and have polled tens of thousands of votes in several states. But Detroit is a labor/black industrial town whose working class has so easily the potential social power to stop the race-haters in their tracks. The obstacle to harnessing that power in militant class-struggle defense of the oppressed is the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that runs the unions like Mr. Douglas Fraser, UAW head and Chrysler board of directors member, preaching defeatist passivity and reliance on the class enemy and its Democratic Party.

The grasping union tops are scared of Ronald Reagan, but even more do they fear the mobilization of the real power of labor. What they're selling is faith in the Democratic Party and the suicidal perspective of "reforming" the capitalist state—schemes like the NAACP's call for a reactivated "racial harassment unit" of the Detroit police! (As if the Detroit cops needed lessons in racial harassment!) The reformist notion that what we need is more black cops should have been exploded in 1978, when the black mayor sent a phalanx of police—many of them black—to protect a Nazi "bookstore" in the Southwest side against outraged citizens.

What may be expected from the racist cops is shown for example in a suit being brought by a black Detroit couple, Arthur and Eva Conley. The Conleys are suing the city, Democratic Party black "radical" mayor Coleman Young, the police chief and a precinct captain for failing to provide police protection. For months, from June through August 1979, the Conleys and their children withstood attacks by stone- and bottle-throwing racist mobs; several times they were shot at. On every occasion, the suit charges, the Conleys called the police; on every occasion the police refused to respond. Finally, according to the Complaint: "On or about August 10, 1979, Plaintiffs fled their home, never to return."

What is the way out for the desperate black masses of Detroit? What is required is the mobilization of employed and unemployed workers through their unions to defend the basic rights of

blacks. The UAW and Detroit-area labor, with hundreds of thousands of members, have the muscle to do it. In 1975 in Chicago, UAW Local 6 mounted a round-the-clock defense of the house of a black union brother in a previously all-white neighborhood, following repeated bombings. Once the union defense guard was initiated, the racist attacks were stopped cold.

Detroit used to be a powerhouse of militant unionism, and as the center of the black working class in this country it can be a driving force for revolutionary struggle against the firebombing racists and the rotting capitalist system they feed off. Race-conscious/class-conscious blacks, militant unionists, all those who want to stop the fascist killers for good must look to the fighting program of the Spartacist League, the Trotskyists who fight for sit-down strikes and plant occupations against mass layoffs, for militant labor/black defense against race terror, for a workers party and a workers government. For labor/black defense squads against race-terror! For a socialist fight to defend labor/black Detroit!

Labor Must Defend Black Rights

There's nothing new about the perspective of labor/black defense: it's what labor must do and would do if it were not held in check by its sellout, pro-capitalist "leadership." And there is a tradition of such action in the labor movement. Testimony to this comes from an unexpected quarter. Recently Coleman Young, formerly a vice president of the Wayne County CIO Council and influenced by the Communist Party, used an interview with journalist Studs Terkel as an opportunity to show how well he can still talk out of the left side of his mouth. Young took credit for integrated labor-based defense of Detroit blacks some 35 years ago:

"Two black families moved into what's now a slum near Tiger Stadium. They were terrorized by guys runnin' around in Ku Klux robes. We sent a group of white and black trade unionists in with shotguns to protect them. Then we had white guys of the building trade, union leaders, paint the buildings, replace the broken glass, repair the fences.... It cooled everything, just the sight of these white union local presidents doin' this work."

—quoted in Terkel, *American Dreams: Lost and Found* (1980)

That's what he says, anyhow. But whatever the reality, the point is that this is what labor leaders are *supposed* to stand for and do.

It will take a hard fight within the unions to recover these traditions. Racism goes deep. Black Detroit will never forget the "hate strikes" against blacks in auto or the bloody 1943 anti-black riots. And racist whites are far from the only obstacle. Everyone with a stake in the status quo—from the racist capitalist parties to the ex-poverty pimps—is deeply threatened by intimations of independent mass labor/black action.

But *something's* going to happen. If workers' miseries and fears are not galvanized into effective social struggle, this country will see more fascistic terrorism among the whites, alongside "long hot summers" of frustrated ghetto anger and despair. Then Detroit's black population would be forcibly reminded that Coleman Young's police are as immediate and lethal a danger as the poverty, joblessness and racist budget cuts that Young likes to blame on Reagan's Republicans.

Coleman Young, venal Democratic Party mayor of Detroit, was elected by black votes in 1973 on the basis of his color and his pledges to stop rampaging racist terror in uniform—like the infamous STRESS squad. Detroit's black voters looked to Young to protect them from the racist police. But the racist police are Coleman Young's police, and like any big-city mayor he needs them to keep the population in line for what he and Ronald Reagan, and the capitalist class they both serve, have in store: exploitation and unemployment, city services going down the tubes, "give-backs" and union-busting, a rising line of race-terrorist atrocities. In 1980 Young broke the city workers strike just in time for the Republican National Convention. In 1981 he forced an income tax hike down our throats. Now he has raised bus fares, a move which hits the poorest residents of this decaying city the hardest.

Young showed where he stands when Detroit got a taste of labor/black defense in November 1979, after the Klan had threatened a provocation in downtown Detroit in celebration of the "Greensboro massacre" that left five anti-racist activists dead in North Carolina. In response to a Spartacist League-initiated call to action, 500 people, mainly auto workers and leftists, came out to ensure that "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City" on November 10. The largely black demonstration drew a layer of advanced workers in the teeth of hard-core opposition from Coleman Young, who

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WV Photo

Coleman Young's cops protect Nazi headquarters in Detroit, 1978.

SL Says: No U.S. Troops to Lebanon!

Pro-PLO Gabfest for "Pax Americana"

Six thousand Palestinian fighters are trapped in west Beirut awaiting the Zionists' "final solution" for them. Abandoned to their fate by the Arab regimes, the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leadership in desperation is turning to U.S. imperialism as a "protector" against mad bomber Begin. Arafat has agreed to a U.S. and French "peace-keeping" force to act as a "buffer" between the Israeli army and Palestinian commandos. At the demand of Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey, on July 25 the PLO chief signed a document stating agreement with all the UN resolutions on the Palestinian question.

The same day as the Arafat/McCloskey meeting, a related event took place in New York City organized by the November 29 Coalition. One stop in a traveling road show heavily built by the Moscow Stalinist Communist Party (CP) and its camp follower, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, featuring an international radical all-star cast capped by PLO UN representative Zehdi Terzi, a conference on Israel's invasion of Lebanon attracted 1,500. Advertised as a 1960s-style "teach-in," it turned out to be a droning eight-hour rally periodically enlivened by chants of "Long Live PLO!" But beneath all the cheering for the PLO, it was a rally for Pax Americana in the Near East, for the U.S. government—under Reagan, no less—to oppose Israeli expansionism and support the national rights of the Palestinians. Fat chance!

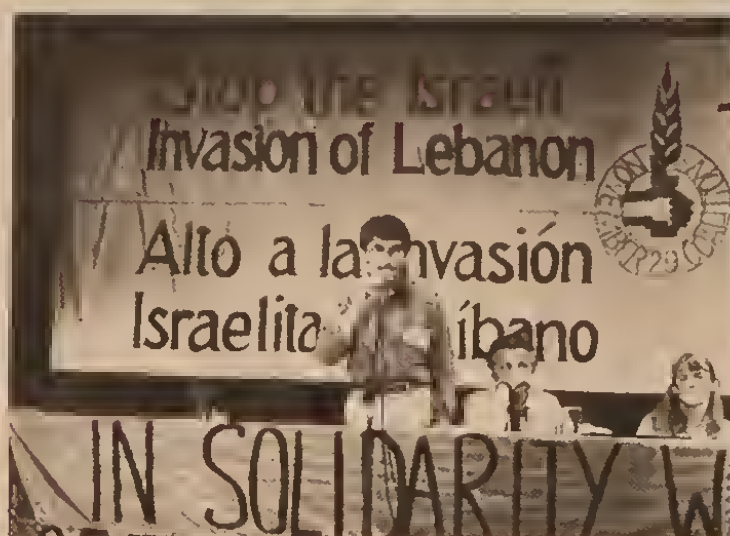
"Security" Will Stop "Unfriendly" Statements

This line was most clearly presented by the two spokesmen for the reformist outfits centrally involved in the confab, *Workers World* editor Deirdre Griswold and Mark Solomon, speaking for a CP front group, the U.S. Peace Council. Though both made lengthy presentations full of banalities and bombast, they avoided mentioning, much less opposing, Reagan's proposal to send U.S. troops to Lebanon. In part, they didn't want to say anything out of sync with official PLO policy. But more fundamentally these reformists really believe that the American imperialist ruling class—especially its liberal Democratic wing—can be pressured into playing a progressive, "peacekeeping" role in the world. These are the same people who oppose a leftist military victory in the Salvadoran civil war and instead call on Washington to arrange a "negotiated settlement" between the oligarchy's blood-drenched junta and the popular insurgency.

Despite heckling and harassment by the "security" squads in the brief "question only" discussion period, Spartacist spokesmen were able to cut through the Third World nationalist rhetoric and unity-mongering and expose the real nature of the conference. One SLer nailed Griswold:

"I have a question to the panelists, in particular to the Workers World Party. When Begin spoke here, you organized a demonstration which called for—and I quote—'effective U.S. action'—that is, by the Reagan government—to achieve an Israeli withdrawal. This at a time that Begin himself was saying that only if the U.S. sent a force over there would he withdraw. In fact, it was a disguised call for U.S. Marines to Lebanon!"

Moderator Ralph Schoenman then cut short the SL speaker, saying, "All right, you've asked your question, the panelists will answer it." Only they



New York, July 25: Palestinian nationalist Iskander Zalmi (above), meeting coordinator, orders "security people" to ban "unfriendly" statements after SL spokesman (right) nalla Marcylytes on their call for "effective U.S. action."

didn't. Griswold sat there squirming in her seat. At this point conference coordinator Iskander Zalmi rushed to the defense of his suddenly tongue-tied Marcyite cheerleader. We got the standard demagogic response of petty-bourgeois nationalists to any criticism ("one thing we Palestinians don't need is to be told what to do") and the equally standard red-baiting ("the perverts in the ultraleft"). But Zalmi decided that such verbal attacks were insufficient:

"In my capacity as the coordinator of this event, I am going to ask the security people to take steps to prevent any unprincipled attacks directed against the distinguished members of our panel. Should anyone attempt to make a statement that is unfriendly, I am going to ask the security people to make sure that it's stopped."

The threat to use force against "unfriendly" politics was a little too much for one of the "distinguished" panelists, Dave Dellinger, a wooly-headed long-time pacifist who protested meekly: "Forgive me for saying, but I really don't think the answer is security. I think it's through our own good sense." The problem of stopping "unfriendly statements" was solved by allowing just one more question before cutting off floor discussion altogether.

Earlier in the abruptly terminated discussion period another SL spokesman got out a few sentences in opposition to the liberal popular frontism that was the underlying program of the conference:

"The Labor Party in Israel provides no alternative for those looking for a way out of the Zionist deathtrap for the Jewish people. So the Democratic Party in the United States, which has backed Zionism and the anti-Soviet war drive and paved the way for Reagan and Begin. We say it is necessary to break with both parties of capital and build a workers party and forward to a workers government in order to fight imperialism and Zionism in the Near East."

Despite the censorship by the nationalists/reformists, many of those who attended the conference wanted to know what the Spartacist League stood for. After Zalmi's threat to stop "unfriendly statements" sales of *Workers Vanguard* and our other publications increased markedly. All told we sold 267 pieces of literature at the event.

Stalin's Russia: Midwife to the Zionist State

No wonder, after all the crap dished out from the podium. CP front man Mark Solomon indulged in some gross rewriting of history. He noted unhappily that the current Teddy Kennedy-inspired "peace movement," of which he

is an active builder, is overwhelmingly pro-Zionist. Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda are just the most prominent examples. But, this Stalinist peace-monger told his audience, following World War II there was "a peace movement" which was sharply critical of Zionism and warned against "the ugly collaboration of Zionism and Empire."

The exact opposite is the truth. In 1947-48, the critical years for the formation of the state of Israel, Stalin's Russia (not Truman's America) was the most active international ally of Zionism. The world Stalinist movement of the day, including its numberless "peace" groups, glorified Zionism as a "progressive," "national-liberation movement" against British imperialism. Moscow not only voted for the decisive UN resolution establishing Israel, but was the first capital to recognize the new Zionist state. Nor was its support limited to the diplomatic. Today the Israeli army gets its sophisticated weaponry from the U.S.; in the 1948 war the Hagannah was heavily armed by Stalinist Czechoslovakia. The Czechs

even constructed a military airfield for the fledgling Israeli state.

Its important contribution to the formation of the Zionist state was not the least of Stalinism's crimes against the toiling masses of the Near East. And ever since, the Kremlin bureaucracy and its various and disloyal Arab client regimes have stabbed the Palestinians in the back while loudly proclaiming solidarity with their cause. When Israel invaded Lebanon in early June, Moscow's main ally in the region, Ba'athist Syria, quickly negotiated a separate cease-fire, thus allowing Begin/Sharon to use all their military might to destroy the PLO.

The Treachery of Arab Nationalism

Of the several wretched speeches at the conference perhaps none was as repugnant as that of Edward Said, a prominent Palestinian intellectual and professor of literature at Columbia. At a moment when Begin is about to make west Beirut into another Warsaw

continued on page 14



"Anti-Imperialists" Don't Oppose U.S. Troops to Lebanon

The following exchange between a Spartacist League spokesman and November 29 Coalition spokesman Nubar Hovsepian took place at a conference on Israel's invasion of Lebanon in San Francisco on July 31. This conference, like the earlier one in New York, was sponsored by the Coalition, which is organizing for a national demonstration in Washington on September 11 around two demands: immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and an end to U.S. arms shipments to Israel.

SL Spokesman: I think that one of the key questions here is raised in the fight for the defense of the Palestinians now under siege in Beirut, and that's both against the Israeli army and the threat of U.S. Marines. If anybody thinks those Marines are going to be a buffer, just look to Vietnam, just look to the Dominican Republic to know what that threat means. But this leaflet here that calls

for the demonstration in September makes no demands opposing the threat of U.S. intervention.... I would like to know why the demand against U.S. troops wasn't raised in this call for a national demonstration.

Nubar Hovsepian: We live in the real world, where we realize that there's a lot of people in this country who are beginning to raise questions, and I'm not particularly interested in convincing the Spartacist League as much as I am in convincing the churches, people in the mainstream in this country, in labor unions who are equipped for the first time in their history to come up and take a stand. And I think it would be an immense victory for the Palestinian people if all of those from the various organizations, from all walks of life come and say "enough is enough." And that's the basis for the demonstration.

PL Fellow Traveler Commits Racist Assault

We publish below a leaflet issued by the Madison, Wisconsin Spartacus Youth League on 23 July 1982.

Chicago, June 27th: A labor/black mobilization of 3,000 people, initiated by the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League, rallied to stop a Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day.

Madison, July 17th: A black SYL supporter distributing *Workers Vanguard*, the SL newspaper with an article on the demonstration, was attacked with potentially deadly force; the assailant used the word "nigger" and aimed a metal pipe at his skull. Was this a fascist ambush in retaliation for the successful anti-Nazi action in Chicago? No, the attacker, Jose C. Santos, was acting on behalf of Progressive Labor Party and its front group, "International Committee Against Racism" (InCAR). This so-called "anti-racism" organization—unlike thousands of Chicago trade unionists, blacks and minorities, Jewish concentration camp survivors, students, socialists—*stayed home* the day the Nazis tried to march on Chicago. Then under InCAR's auspices Santos tried to put the fascists' program into action on the streets of Madison.

Previous to his potentially lethal assault, Santos had attempted to attack other *Workers Vanguard* salesmen on the corner of Lake and State Streets that day. In his efforts to rip up the anti-Nazi literature being distributed by the SYL, Santos grabbed a massive metal post from the sales display of the Brown's Bookstore and tried to club SYLers as they came to the salesman's defense. When Santos was disarmed, he hurled the filthy racist epithet at our black comrade, a word which is the rallying cry for race terrorism and genocide. He then slid into the crowd only to return with a three-foot metal pipe with which he hit one SYLer from behind. Next Santos aimed for the head of a black comrade and instead slashed his hand. The wound required ten stitches.

Who is this Santos, this racist gangster who hurls at our comrades the ugliest racist insult? That word, like the Nazis' swastika, is a *program*: it means cross-burnings, nightriders, lynch mobs. *That word belongs to the Klan and Nazis.* It also belongs to the gusanos who fled from the Cuban Revolution. These people hate the Cuban Revolution not only because Yankee imperialism was driven out and the capitalists expropriated, but because it laid the social basis for black equality in a country where racism had been deeply entrenched in the old social order. According to a witness to the July 17 assault—somebody who knows Santos—Santos himself is an anti-Communist Cuban exile who works with other Cubans for the city of Madison. It is no accident that racist American capitalism welcomes Mafia pimps and secret-police torturers who thrived in Batista's Cuba while it turns away desperate blacks fleeing bloody dictatorship and starvation in Haiti. Counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles serve as anti-Communist hit men for reactionary regimes throughout the Americas, from the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion to the murder of Orlando Letelier and the imperialist adventures being aimed against Nicaragua and

El Salvador.

How can such a racist swine find his way into a supposedly "progressive" organization? What explanation is there for two PL/InCAR salesmen who, upon hearing Santos hurl his racist epithet, initially apologized, then tried to justify it and finally denied he ever said it? Because PL/InCAR maintains stupidity as a principle and glorifies social backwardness (like its virulent anti-homosexuality), PL/InCAR can contain such a disease in its ranks.

PL is in a frenzy because a massive labor/black mobilization *organized by Trotskyists* stopped a Nazi provocation. The anti-Nazi victory on June 27th exposes PL's bankruptcy. PL/InCAR's own stupid "strategy" is to glorify its own isolation, using its own subjectively anti-racist supporters as cannon fodder to throw up against the cops who protect the fascists. This is a macho *substitute* for working to massively mobilize the union movement and minorities to decisively defeat the fascist swine. PL/InCAR's tactics of going into white enclaves to "fight fascism" result only in a few leftists getting themselves

when we gave out our leaflet outside the PL forum given by Wally Linder.

PL is still a part of the workers movement in the same way a sphincter muscle is part of the human body; and a lot of waste passes through the organism. When something like Santos passes through, it is time PL/InCAR put its house in order.

When the Nazis threatened to goose-step into Chicago for a "death to queers" rally, it was broadly understood particularly in the black community—that the fascists' central target is black people. Black people understand that the Nazis' "final solution" for them is to can them for dog food. The Nazis, hoping to exploit the pervasive anti-homosexual bigotry of this sick society, singled out Gay Pride Day expecting nobody else would mind. PL took the sucker bait. In the 7 July issue of *Challenge* "Chicago readers" write: "Our party made a political judgment not to participate with the fakers because it wouldn't build the anti-racist revolutionary communist movement. The gay lib movement is in essence a reactionary one, which tries to compare

the 3,000 unionists, blacks and other anti-Nazi militants who came out on June 27 did so *against* the appeals of the strike-breaking, racist mayor and the official pro-Democrat organizers of Gay Pride Day, who told people to stay away from the militant mobilization. *It was PL that blocked with the mayor,* whose line was that oppressed people should "ignore the Nazis"! On June 27, for all its anti-racist talk, PL exposed itself as bankrupt, and certainly no leader of black struggle.

Now PL/InCAR is in a frenzy. Within its ranks are some who are genuinely committed to smashing racism and the decaying capitalist system; there is ample room for disaffection with the self-imposed stupidity captured in the old PL slogan, "all knowledge serves the ruling class." (As Karl Marx put it, "ignorance never did anyone any good.") The cult of willful stupidity has produced such landmarks of PL "theory" as its response to the 1965 massacre of nearly a million Indonesian leftists and working people following a right-wing coup: PL top leader Milt Rosen's "analysis" was, "you win some and you lose some." For all its belittling of elementary Marxism, PL also naively believes that ideas alone determine the course of history. Hitting the Marxist dialectic over the head, PL asserts that the establishment of socialism only requires the will to achieve it, much like the Nazi propaganda that the "triumph of the will" would build a thousand-year Reich. Since it's simply a matter of will, PL raises the hypothetical possibility of socialism under the pharaohs—presumably the missing ingredient was ancient Egyptian PLers.

Will is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for revolutionary victory. It is also necessary to have a *revolutionary program* capable of mobilizing the

SL-initiated anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago, June 27. PL called Nazis and gays "two sides of the same capitalist coin," abandoned blacks in face of Nazi provocation.



and others beaten and arrested. They may feel like they're "fighting racism," but organizing *defeats* like the one in Berwyn, Ill. only emboldens the racists.

Now PL is looking for any excuse to alibi their abstention from the real anti-fascist struggle, like the June 27 mobilization in Chicago. That's why they have to "unite" with a sinister racist, anti-Communist element like Jose Santos.

This is not the first time that Santos has run point for PL in its desperate desire to suppress our rights. When two PL/InCAR supporters were arrested for distributing literature in the Memorial Union here on April 2, the SYL put out a leaflet calling for united defense against the administration's drive to stop "left, minority, and foreign student groups" from giving out leaflets in the Union. A week later, none other than Jose Santos tried to start a fight with us

itself to the oppression of women workers and even to racism."

The truth is that when push came to shove, PL/InCAR refused to defend the black population of Chicago against the rising line of fascist provocations. Precisely at a time when masses of black workers and youth are seeking a way to fight back against racist attacks from Reagan reaction and its fascist fringe, PL takes a dive! Fortunately for the future of multi-racial social struggle, the Nazi tactic failed because those on the fascist hit list did not fall like PL/InCAR for the anti-homosexual crap.

To provide a "left" cover for their sectarian boycott of the anti-Nazi mobilization, PL pointed to Chicago's Democratic Party mayor Jane Byrne's endorsement of the Gay Pride Festival as "proof" that "both Nazism and Gay Liberation are two sides of the same capitalist coin" (*Challenge*, 7 July). But

working class to fight, capable of uniting all the exploited and oppressed against their common enemy: the capitalist system and the fascist scum it breeds. Confronted with the Trotskyists' class-struggle road to smashing racist terror, PL/InCAR retreats further into political stupidity, sectarianism and gangsterism, hoping to seal off its ranks by any means necessary. PL's hatred of Cuba and the USSR, its pandering to the most backward prejudices, its long history of Stalinist gangsterism all make PL a setup for sinister provocateurs like Jose Santos. But PL will not get very far pulling this kind of stuff. All it will do is drive away from PL/InCAR the serious militants who want to oppose racism and fascism.

Spartacus Youth League

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Big Liars Can't Get Their Stories Straight

"March separately, strike together" is a classic Leninist slogan for the united front. *WV* has noted before the current anti-Spartacist crusade of the pro-Kennedy "left," a virtual "united front" of slander, physical provocation and the use of the cops to seal off the revolutionary SL at a time when our powerful program corresponds to the impulses and felt needs of serious anti-racist militants, El Salvador protesters, sections of the working class. The SL's perspective of independent working-class/black struggle—against Reaganism and its alter ego, the Democrats—is an indictment of the reformists' chimerical schemes for a new popular front with capitalist "progressives." One tip-off to the fake-left's bankruptcy is their increased recourse to cop-baiting the SL as "CIA," "provocateurs" and so forth—an admission that the SL's politics are all too plausible on the face

sharp political collision between the SL's "Stop the Nazis" agitation and their own position of calling on the bourgeois state to "ban" the fascists. They held aloof from the demonstration. After the fact, the *Daily World* had nothing to say. We wonder: is this the first time in history that a speech by UAW honcho Norm Roth, a big name in the CP's Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, was not featured in the CP press?

Then there's the Socialist Workers Party. In the privacy of their branch meetings they're willing to debate at length whether the SWP ought to take the lead (with the Marcyites) to physically exclude Spartacist contingents from demonstrations (as was tried in Washington, D.C. on March 27), or whether it's better to hide behind the CP's tactic of using the cops for the purpose. But for public consumption it's

function, with right in the middle a tree or something where some now-purged dignitary used to be.

Progressive Labor, which has staked a lot on "anti-racist" credentials earned mainly in pointless little street bashes with the cops who protect fascist rallies, was constrained to find excuses for its abstention from the Trotskyist-organized mobilization. Using Chicago mayor Jane Byrne's endorsement of the official gay parade as a useful red herring, *Challenge* (7 July) came out foursquare against the June 27 action, boasting of PL's Stalinist-bigot anti-homosexual line, a bloc with anti-gay backwardness pervasive in the working class: "Nazism and Gay Liberation are two sides of the same capitalist coin."

The rad-lib sectoralist *Guardian* (7 July) plays to a different audience. It disappeared the Spartacist League but admitted the existence of the anti-Nazi demonstration, which it credited with drawing "4000 people." But the Marcyite *Workers World* (9 July), which actually sent at least one supporter to the demo, went one better. A small article saluted the action with an enthusiastic-sounding headline ("1000 anti-fascists overwhelm Chicago Nazis") and termed the participants "progressives." That the Marcyites actually hated our demonstration all to pieces is shown by their threefold underestimation of its size. Nonetheless we were a bit surprised at the Marcyites—among the most rabid visible participants in the anti-Spartacist vendetta—calling us "progressives." But perhaps they really meant that the demo was attended by 1,000 "progressives" and 2,000 counter-revolutionary "Trotzkyites" that better not be mentioned.

Workers World concludes by attempting to suggest by sleight-of-hand that the mobilization was organized by "the Committee of Black Gay Men, the Lesbian/Gay Focus of the All-Peoples Congress, and Black and White Men Together." Any guesses whose fronts these groups are?

The Revolutionary Socialist League took a similar tack more unashamedly, giving a figure of 1,000 protesters and attributing the demonstration to the Stonewall Committee, a sectoralist RSL-aligned formation which tried to organize its own separate anti-fascist

event to compete with the June 27 Committee and fell flat on its face, including a significant open split in its "coalition." The RSL account (*Torch*, 15 July-14 August) treats the SL as if we'd gate-crashed someone else's party:

"A final complication to the day's events revolved around the role of the Spartacist League (SL), which has recently taken to spending large sums of money on selected anti-Nazi mobilizations in order to promote its own narrow, sectarian interests...."

We really don't mind a reputation as the people willing to spend our money to stop the Nazis.

The RSL article denounced the SL mainly for insufficient machismo, citing our refusal to allow individuals to chuck eggs, vegetables or whatever at the police lines and thereby provoke the notoriously bonapartist, racist Chicago cops into attacking the demonstration. The *Torch* says "only 40 uniformed police" were on hand; the RSLers evidently think they're still in Ann Arbor. But even *Workers World* talked about the uniformed cops' "massive force" and added that "according to protestors, about 150 police in plain-clothes mingled in the crowd." Meanwhile an article in the July issue of *Socialist Worker*, which belittled the mobilization as comprising "more than 800," noted the five-foot high wire fence protecting the Nazis and "a reported 300 cops held in reserve."

The RSL also charges insufficient vigor against racist hecklers. One may certainly discuss particular tactics employed at this or any other demonstration, but no explanations are owed to the confirmed saboteurs of the RSL. If the RSL wants to participate in a replay of the cop riot during the 1968 Democratic convention, let them try it, but not by standing behind protesters mobilized by the Spartacist League and urging them to charge the police.

Was there a demonstration on June 27? Did it organize itself? Did 800 people come? How about 4,000? Was the All-Peoples Congress responsible? The Stonewall Committee? The sundry components of the anti-Spartacist lobby better get their act together if they expect to fool anybody this time. Meanwhile, serious militants who want to know the score will continue to find it in the press of the Spartacist League. ■

Letter to Gay Community News:

"You Owe an Apology to the Spartacist League"

New York
July 19, 1982

Editor
Gay Community News
22 Bromfield Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

Dear GCN:

I was an endorser of the June 27 Committee to Stop the Nazis, a group initiated by the Spartacist League to mobilize working people against the Nazis, who were planning a protest of the Chicago gay pride march. I believe this may have been the first time that a left-wing group has campaigned to mobilize labor and Black and other non-gay support for an action to defend homosexuals

(among others!) against the Nazi scum. I am glad to have been associated, however peripherally, with this successful anti-Nazi mobilization.

But David Morris' account of the event (*GCN*, July 10, 1982) was clearly off the wall, based as it apparently was on the highly tendentious views of a factional opponent of the organizers. David's a nice guy, so why did he throw reporting integrity to the wind? *GCN* really goofed on this one. You owe an apology to the Spartacists and the June 27 Committee to Stop the Nazis.

Yours in struggle for freedom,
David Thorstad

cc: Spartacist League

of it and must therefore be dismissed on other grounds.

Now an amusing light is cast on the anti-Spartacist front by their responses to the SL-initiated June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, which brought out over 3,000 anti-fascist protesters in Chicago. The assorted components of the "anti-Spart" campaign are united in their desire to "get" us somehow. But they also have distinct factional appetites and postures, as well as differing areas of overlap between their peripheries and our organization. So in the face of a success like the June 27 mobilization, they are scrambling for cover in different directions. They just can't seem to get their stories straight.

The Communist Party avoided any

a point of principle for Jack Barnes' party that the SL simply doesn't exist. Hence the "coverage" in the 16 July *Militant*:

"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."

Both sentences are true; all that's missing is the SL-organized mobilization that kept the Nazis out of Lincoln Park by occupying their site, drowned out their anti-gay and racist poison and ensured that the official gay parade was not subjected to Nazi provocation. The *Militant* reminds one of those faked-up Chinese photographs showing a line of Maoist bureaucrats at some state



Chicago,
June 27:
RSL's
"Stonewall
Committee"
in splendid
isolation.

Toronto Letter Carriers Support Chicago Anti-Nazi Rally

On July 15 a general meeting of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada, Local 1 (Toronto) passed a motion of political/financial solidarity with the Spartacist-initiated anti-Nazi mobilization held June 27 in Chicago. We reprint below the text of the LCUC motion.

The June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, Box 6441, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 61820 is still appealing for funds to meet the expenses of this successful

anti-fascist action. These Canadian postal workers understood the need to help—you should too!

WHEREAS:

On June 27 labor, blacks, Jews, gays and socialists numbering in the thousands stopped the Nazis from goose-stepping through Chicago's Lincoln Park, an intended provocation against the Gay Pride parade held the same day; and

WHEREAS:

Klan/Nazi terror is on the rise throughout North America feeding off Reagan and Trudeau's drive towards war against the Soviet Union, brought home in mass unemployment, union-busting, give-backs and increasing social and economic misery; and

WHEREAS:

The Klan/Nazis want to smash unions; their guns are loaded and aimed at every trade unionist, black,

Asian, Jew, socialist and all minorities. And every cross-burning, every fascist demonstration that is allowed to go unchallenged only whets these murderers' appetite for more violence.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That Local 1 states its support for the June 27 mobilization to stop the Nazis in Chicago by making a donation of \$200 to help meet the expenses of this mobilization.

Don Andrews: "We Need to Finish the Civil War"

WV Photo



American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

On July 10 the Spartacist League held a public forum in Chicago on "Reaganism Breeds Fascism." We publish below an edited transcript of the closing section of the main presentation given by Don Andrews, of the SL Central Committee.

The labor movement in this country has to face a few realities before it can really achieve an understanding of its long-term historical interest. And what it has to understand and face very squarely is what Karl Marx put his finger on in the course of the last Civil War. Marx said then that labor in a white skin can't be free if it's branded in the black. Now that's a profound statement even during that time.

This country, the United States of America, today, is a unique nation. It's one nation with two races, and a large, growing Hispanic population. The race question in this country is a question of American capitalism's enormous social crimes committed against minorities, essentially against the black population, and it cannot be evaded. It has to be faced head-on because it is the strategic question, the key obstacle that stands in the way of a victorious working-class revolution in this country.

Now many of you have never heard of the Spartacist League before June 27th [the June 27 anti-Nazi mobilization in Chicago]. And I've noticed some blacks, who are deeply alienated in this society, say: "Well, I like what happened on June the 27th but I don't know if I'd want to throw down with the Spartacist League. It has so many whites in it." And others would say: "Well, I'll give it a try but I don't know if it's going to work. You know I don't know if it's going to do any good, because things have always been bad for black people." But we have to step back and rise above these very impressionistic responses by looking at the actual force of historical development of the class-struggle fight for black rights.

It's no accident today that blacks are without organization, without any revolutionary leadership whatsoever. The last black organization that even promised to fight against this racist system was the Black Panther Party. They appealed to a lot of ghetto youth who were radicalizing during that period. That was the last organization that even promised blacks anything.

It's not an accident that there's no organization that stands for the elemen-

tary defense of even the most minimum needs of the black population. It's because of what happened in the civil rights movement. Because of the liberalized civil rights movement in this country under Martin Luther King's leadership. When it tried to take the civil rights movement to the North, especially here to Chicago, it ran into a situation for which it was completely unprepared. The blacks in the North, they already had formal equality under the law. The symbols of Jim Crowism weren't there. However they had no jobs, no decent housing. And of course they had plenty of segregated inferior education and a lot of police terror and murder.

So in Chicago, when King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, attempted a drive for open housing in 1966, it fell flat on its face. Because Chicago has some of the country's meanest racist suburbs. And King's strategy of liberal pacifism, the idea that you can wear down your oppressor by demonstrating how much you can suffer, really invited racist attacks. Those who were here, especially in '66 or before, or grew up here, remember the vicious racist mobs that met King at Marquette Park when he was stoned to the ground. And when members of SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, went into Cicero, how they were bloodied up.

And King betrayed here! He betrayed

here. Because after Marquette Park, he met with Daley and he signed an agreement on open housing—okay, they had some fine little language on paper. Daley did have some fine old legalese on paper, you know, recognizing that there's a need for equality in housing and blah, blah, blah. And King then held it up as a great historic agreement, called the Palmer House Agreement. Nothing had changed. Nothing had happened. And so after that the people in SNCC, the young black militants, began to shout him down in meetings. They went into Cicero by themselves. They lost. They were courageous. But they lost, because they hit a Nazi-infested racist enclave.

Now what allowed these racists to do this with impunity? To beat up those young militants with the approval of the Daley Democratic Party machine? It was primarily King's bankrupt strategy of preaching reliance on the so-called "good will" of the racist capitalist oppressors. Reliance on the federal government, the Democratic Party, to fight for black rights. But the cops and the courts (during that period as they do today—Greensboro's the proof) looked the other way when the racists went into action. So it couldn't be done then because you couldn't reform the government into becoming anti-racist fighters. That's why that strategy is not only ineffective but dangerous.

And if you hear, especially today, any leftist organization—and the Communist Party is *real good* at this—try to mislead you into thinking that cold-blooded racists can be pressured to ban the Klan, instead of us relying on the organized strength of labor and minorities, then you ought to pop them with a question. Ask them, why would the government want to do something like that, ban the Klan? When they're letting them train for race war in military camps in Alabama, Michigan and elsewhere in this country? Do you really think America's violently segregationist rulers are interested in settling accounts with the Ku Klux Klan and in setting up a new department of the federal government called the Department to Combat Race Terror? I mean that's the logic of this: come on, Reagan, I want you to set up a department to combat race terror. Yeah, with Haig at the head of it, somebody like that! But to pose the question really shows how ridiculous this strategy is.

And I'm not questioning King's commitment to his nonviolent, liberal pacifism. But it was, if you really think about it, a little hypocritical when he defended the suppression of the Watts rebellion by federal troops in 1965. But in politics personality and motivation are of secondary importance. What's of primary importance is the result of policies. And you have to say that the civil rights movement failed to address the basic economic oppression of the black masses, which has forced the bulk of the blacks in this country, then as today, to the bottom of the social and economic ladder—a despised and persecuted color-caste. That means that the color line is carried around everywhere you go.

Now in reaction to the collapse of that movement, many of the youth, around the Panthers especially, they rejected everything white. "We don't want to have anything to do with whites." And the cry for "Black Power" went up.

Now things didn't have to go in that direction. The Spartacist League during that period of time was much smaller. We had been expelled from the Socialist Workers Party in part because we were advocating that socialists go into that movement and win those militants over to the understanding that the labor movement had to be won over to the perspective of fighting for black rights. We fought around that perspective then and we fight for that perspective today. Where you've got an integrated labor movement—where black and white workers struggle against the bosses together, especially in the North—that's where you've got a chance to go forward on the question of fighting special oppression.

And our fundamental program is one of *revolutionary integrationism*. We say

Chicago, June 27: Black participation key to building anti-Nazi mobilization.



that the destruction of the oppression of blacks in this country can come only through a socialist revolution, that full equality between blacks and whites can only come under a socialist planned economy. We are not liberal assimilationists. The NAACP types say that a few blacks integrated into the government parliamentary bureaucracy means we have it made. That's liberal assimilationism. You will not have the assimilation of blacks with full rights under racist American capitalism. And there are profound economic reasons for that.

So today there are no revolutionary leaders of the black population. You got plenty of professional black hustlers like Jesse Jackson who talk about Reagan cutbacks so that they can get the ear of some capitalist politician. You know, you don't see these people down at no Lincoln Park on the 27th because *they profit* from segregation. They understand, see. When you hear some of these slick-talking hustlers talking about "black on black crime," you know what it means? It means that as we make it, as we expand our black businesses, we want you to keep those unemployed, those chronically unemployed desperate black youth in line. That's what it means. Black on black crime has nothing to do with fighting for jobs or anything else. You know, we're supposed to be very proud, though poor, that one of our own has made it and is recognized by the Byrnes. So we have a lot of other awfully respectable black leaders in the city like Lu Palmer—I called him up. I said, "Lu, what are you going to do about this Nazi and Klan issue?" "Aw, brother, I can't deal with it. You know we have to put together...." He was working on the Streeter campaign, pushing for a black mayor of Chicago, putting this forward as a solution to the problems of blacks.

Now I just want to comment on those who call for more black mayors as if it's going to make a difference in the situation of the black masses in this country as far as jobs and housing and education are concerned. All you have to do is look at Detroit. All you have to do is look at what [Detroit mayor] Coleman Young has done in terms of breaking one city union after another—AFSCME, the garbage workers. You know, during the Republican Convention in Detroit in 1980, what he did? He told the black population, "You can eat

beans." That's what he said. Now if that's not proof positive that black faces in high places don't mean liberation, I don't know what else is! (applause) Yeah, jellybeans too.

And then he starts talking this madness about self-help: you guys ought to help yourselves out by, you know, a series of weed-abatement programs. My point is that to the extent that we have greater class consciousness

same: to change the system from top to bottom!

Now I just want to end with this. The bourgeoisie of this country in its newspapers is openly saying there's no solution for black rights in this country. They're openly saying it! In the pages of the *Chicago Tribune* this past week I noticed the terminology: the American Dream has been a nightmare for blacks. Now *they're* saying that. And that some



Forman/Boston Herald American

"American Dream" nightmare for blacks: anti-busing racist thugs attack prominent black lawyer in Boston, 1976.

in the black population, we see that we have nothing in common with the Andrew Youngs, the Jesse Jacksons, the Maynard Jacksons, who used to be mayor of Atlanta and who viciously broke the AFSCME workers strike in that city. Because those people are pliant tools of the ruling class in this country. And that's why they're put there in the first place, to keep the lid on things. Yes they have a right to run. We're against discrimination in all aspects of this society. But when they do we're not going to follow them or urge anybody else to.

We ran in Detroit last year. And everything I'm saying here we said to the people out on the street. Our tune didn't change because our goal remains the

blacks in the military will complain of genocide in future American military involvement. They had a recent study by the Brookings Institution on blacks in the military, about all the blacks that were complaining about the high, disproportionate number of blacks that died in Vietnam.

They're telling us that there is no solution to racial oppression under capitalism, and they are absolutely right. The bourgeoisie recognizes that they plan to do nothing about the vast reservoir of chronically unemployed people trapped in the ghetto. They are saying it very openly. The only way blacks can attain their freedom is through an American October Revolution along the lines of the Russian

Revolution. They understand that's what's on the agenda.

There's a basis for this happening. A lot of unemployed whites now never thought they were going to be standing in welfare lines or unemployment lines. If they're lucky. Black workers, potentially the most combative section of the working class, can lead all the oppressed along with their white class brothers and sisters, through a vanguard party. And you've got to join us if you want a revolution in this country that will give us all the things we need and deserve, that nobody should have to beg for. Everybody has a right to a job—jobs for all. How you going to get it? You got to fight for it. So the question is posed in this country that if you want to change this rotten system you've got to stand in the front ranks of struggle for working-class revolution to end this racist nightmare called America. Because we can't let this country go the way of race war, which would profit the Ku Klux Klan and the bosses in this country. That's why we fight for socialist revolution here and everywhere else. To put an end to this boom-bust cycle of capitalism.

We can go forward if we understand that we need to finish the Civil War, we need a third American revolution. And we can go forward if we understand that our capitalist enemies are not invincible. If we understand that it's not in our interest to support the bosses' international wars of conquest, the imperialist wars that are fought for their profit. If we understand that the racial divisions within the American working class can only be overcome through united class struggle, not moral suasion. And finally if we understand that the workers and the oppressed must rule, smashing every obstacle standing in its way on the path to international working-class revolution.

So let us soberly face up to these tasks. We don't have a lot of time. The fascists and the assassins and the pogromists, they have a dream—race war. We have a dream—a war of the international workers and oppressed against the oppressors. Let's go forward, forward to a workers party. Workers, blacks, Latinos, all the oppressed—join the Spartacist League, the party of the coming American workers revolution! ■

Stalinism vs. Trotskyism at Chicago SL Forum

CHICAGO—Nearly 100 people came out to a Spartacist League forum here on July 10. The forum followed the successful mobilization of 3,000 to stop the Nazis' attempted provocation against "Gay Pride Day" on June 27 in Lincoln Park. Many of those attending the forum had first met the SL through the labor/black-centered anti-fascist action, the largest of its kind in this area in decades. SL speaker Don Andrews stressed the black centrality of the SL-initiated demonstration, explaining the class-struggle strategy to smash the fascist menace (see "American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership" on facing page).

Andrews noted the importance of the participation of South Side blacks in the mobilization:

"There were a lot of courageous blacks that came out, knowing that they were going on alien turf...to demonstrate against the Nazis with an organization that they didn't know much about. But they came down because they know that the fascists are out especially to spill

their blood. And they know also that every fascist blow that's left unanswered...means they'll get bigger and bolder and more determined in the city of Chicago."

In this city with its infamous racist suburbs, a city wrenched by massive layoffs and gouging givebacks administered by a craven union bureaucracy under a grinding Democratic Party machine, June 27 was widely recognized as a ray of hope. It was the success of June 27 which sent the Spartacist-haters of the "left" into a tailspin, and even brought some of them to an SL public forum.

In his presentation, Andrews noted the rad-lib milieu's frenzied exclusion/slander campaign against the Trotskyist SL and explained the underlying political reasons: the SL comes out hard against the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, while the reformists and centrists duck the Russian question to court the Democrats. "In this period, the Russian question overshadows all questions,"

said Andrews. "You can't possibly deal with domestic questions if you don't fight the whole military program of American imperialism." He continued:

"For years these groups...the alphabet soup goes on and on, have sold to the masses the idea that the Democratic Party was the party of the people. Despite the fact that this is the party of the Bay of Pigs, the party of the Gulf of Tonkin, the party that dropped bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the party of Dixiecrats like Strom Thurmond and George Wallace, the party of the Ku Klux Klan, like [Klansman] Tom Metzger who runs openly in it. What's going on is that these [left] groups are trying to be the best builders of an anti-Reagan popular front, whereby labor's interests are subordinated to those of the capitalist politicians and their capitalist program. And that's why these very despicable betrayers call the cops on us. Because they are definitely afraid of revolutionary solutions. So they push very hard to silence and slander us in every imaginable way."

In the discussion period it was up to one Earl Silbar, a trendy Stalinoid

of some kind, to hold high the bright yellow banner of anti-Spartacism. He warmed up for the now familiar tales we have dubbed the "Big Lie" by declaring that "the Spartacist League gave full and unconditional support to détente in the middle '70s." In the manner of a little Joe McCarthy, Silbar claimed to have "proof" of this strange charge, but of course never produced any. He claimed that a caucus in the West Coast longshore/warehouse union whose work the SL politically supports had "endorsed détente as a means of upholding the interests of the American and Russian working class." Does this mean anything? Does it mean Silbar opposes the unionists' fight against the Meanyite bureaucracy's anti-Soviet grain boycotts? This would put Silbar considerably to the right of the détente-niks we oppose from the left.

But Silbar's primary purpose was to retail the "Big Lie": the portrayal of the SL as "provocateurs" or "crazies" or "Moonies" who "attack demonstrations" like the El Salvador protests or even the anti-fascist mobilizations which we ourselves have organized. Because he was facing a Chicago audience familiar with the June 27 action, Silbar had to acknowledge that "the Spartacist League played a major role." But what was the role? According to Silbar (and others like him), it was to

continued on page 10

SL Forum...

(continued from page 9)

have supposedly aided the cops by preventing people who wanted to stop the Nazis from doing so.

The "Big Lie," June 27 version, goes like this: According to Silbar, what was required to make the action a success was "throwing rocks and eggs," which is what he claims happened when the Nazis were run out of Lovelace Park in Evanston by concentration camp survivors and others two years ago. "It was the Spartacist guards," said Silbar, "who stopped people from throwing rocks and eggs and repeating Lovelace Park. It was your guards, and not just cops. We had to look over our shoulders at two people."

It would be hard to imagine anything more dangerously provocative than Silbar's admitted actions for the crowd which on June 27 faced the vicious, racist Chicago cops—mounted cops, lines of cops on foot, plainclothes cops distributed through the crowd, more cops in reserve. It's a damn good thing Silbar & Co. were not allowed to bring the cops down on the anti-Nazi demonstrators to beat and arrest them—the usual result of numerous groups' substitutionist "strategy." This would have turned the Nazi defeat on June 27 into a Nazi/cop victory. But for Silbar such an outcome is vastly to be preferred to the victory for the SL-organized forces that took place, because for him the Spartacists, not the Nazis, are the main enemy.

A black Spartacist League speaker took the floor to condemn Silbar's identification of stupid provocation with anti-Nazi militancy. The adventurists, he said, want to "go against the cops because they don't have an orientation toward mobilizing labor, blacks, Jews, gays in the mass to show up in the thousands to stand off the Nazis and the Klan." In Lovelace Park, he said:

"The Jewish citizens there, they led the way. They pushed the fence down. It wasn't the rocks and bottles. The lines the cops put up broke down. And then the Nazis were faced with Jews coming at them less than 15 feet away. And then the police came in and busted the stuff up. But that's what drove the fascists off, not the rocks and bottles.... Maybe next time, with 30,000, 50,000, we can do a whole lot more."

"Rivers of Blood Between Stalinism and Trotskyism"

It was Andrews' presentation of the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union through proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states which brought an elderly Stalinist to his feet in defense of the Kremlin. Boris Ross had spoken at the June 27 anti-Nazi rally recalling his days in the Soviet Red Army and as a fighter against Nazis "all

Stop the NAZI
Provocation
Against Jews
and Blacks
Member USWA



WV Photo

Chicago, June 27: CP strategy calls on racist U.S. government to "Ban the Klan"; SL bulds labor/black mobilizations to stop fascist terror.

my life."

Andrews' presentation had denounced the Stalinist sellouts in the context of Trotskyist defense of the gains of October against imperialism:

"Yes, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin clique, have suppressed cultural and political life. Yes, there's no working-class democracy. But who's going to bring it back? Ronald Reagan? The Schulzes? The Haigs? No, it's going to be class-conscious revolutionaries who understand that workers' political power has to be fought for [against] the Brezhnevs and Kosygin who stand in the way."

At the forum Boris Ross identified himself as "an admirer of Trotsky" and "not a member of the Communist Party, not that I don't agree with them entirely...." In a few short minutes Ross made his agreement with the Stalinists quite concrete: full support for the Kremlin's reactionary foreign policy around the globe and support to "progressive" Democrats at home.

Ross was all for "unity" on June 27, he told the forum audience, so he hadn't attacked the SL there. But now he would speak to the "wrong accusations" that "the Soviet Union is compromising with the capitalists." To begin with, we intended no submerging of political differences between participants on June 27. Ross and several other speakers appealed for empty, classless "unity"; Spartacist spokesmen presented a revolutionary program, the only way to achieve real unity of the workers and

oppressed, in struggle against the Democrats—and their captive union bureaucrats, whose pro-capitalist policies pit black worker against white, skilled against unskilled, American against Japanese.

Ross had boasted on June 27 of working with the FBI against the Nazis in Chicago, and claimed that it was only after Hitler "dropped dead" that U.S. imperialism picked up the banner of anti-Sovietism. Boris Ross spoke from our podium as a Stalinist supporter of the popular front; he spoke against it, for independent working-class struggle against capital. We never expected anything else. We sought unity in action against the Nazis on June 27, not in propaganda (see WV No. 309, 9 July for excerpts of the speeches).

Faced at the July 10 forum with a powerful presentation of the revolutionary program for black liberation, Ross tried to counter by citing the Kremlin's policies in black Africa. In his list of progressive causes he included both Angola and Ethiopia. For Stalinists there is no basic difference between the undeniably progressive role of Cuban troops fighting South African troops in Angola, on the one hand, and Russian aid to the butcher Mengistu in Ethiopia as he murders leftists and suppresses the national liberation struggles of the Eritreans and Somalis, on the other. For revolutionaries, there's all the difference in the world.

But given the forum's focus on the struggle against Nazi race-terror, Ross centered his defense of Stalinism on the popular-front view of World War II. Rhetorically he asked: "Hadden't the Soviet Union sacrificed 20 million people to destroy Hitler?... [Otherwise] there wouldn't be a black man free and not a Jew alive. So lay off your knocking the Soviet Union."

For Stalinists of all types (and for their liberal friends), it is an article of faith that World War II was "The Great Patriotic War Against Fascism." If Woodrow Wilson said the first inter-imperialist world war was fought to make the world "safe for democracy," Stalin claimed the second was going to make it safe from fascism.

But World War II was not a war against fascism, but an inter-imperialist conflict. The policy of authentic Leninists in the "democratic" capitalist countries was fundamentally the same as in World War I: the main enemy is at home! Revolutionary defensism toward the Russian deformed workers state, the Trotskyists were revolutionary defeatist toward their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie. The Stalinists, of course, with

their narrow, nationalistic policy of "socialism in one country," worked not for revolution in their own lands but for a popular-front alliance with their own ruling classes.

The notion of U.S. imperialism as a progressive force against fascism looks pretty threadbare in the sequel. The arrogant "world policeman" against communism, the terror bomber of Vietnam, U.S. imperialism works to preserve in power the most hideous torturers, mass butchers, feudalists and militarists, all over the world. As we observed in an earlier article:

"The enormous moral revulsion at the atrocities committed by the Nazi psychopaths should not obscure which contending imperialism was the greater force for global counterrevolution. Nazi Germany was a local power whose demented dictators were capable of great destruction, but not of being the guardians of world capitalism for a significant period."

—WV No. 116, 2 July 1976

The end of the war ushered in a period of great revolutionary opportunity. In the defeated countries there was a vacuum of effective state power; the rest of West Europe was an exhausted mess; the colonial countries were in ferment. The mass European resistance movements were mainly under Stalinist control. The Stalinists used their control to disarm the resistance fighters and in key countries participated in governments of "national reconstruction" to get capitalism back on its feet. The second imperialist world war should have been the convulsive death agony of capitalism, but with the help of the Stalinists it ushered in the brutal "American Century."

And who shares responsibility for the millions of Russian dead? Who purged the Red Army on the eve of war? This is not the least of the crimes the Stalinists have to answer for.

And who paved the way for the victory of Hitler in Germany? In Germany in the early 1930s the Stalinists had their most powerful party outside the USSR. Yet they allowed the Nazis to come to power without firing a shot! While Trotsky's International Left Opposition called for mass working-class united-front action against the Nazi terrorists, the Stalinists looked the other way: "after Hitler, us." It was on the basis of this betrayal that Trotsky declared the Third International "a corpse...dead for the revolution." No longer could class-conscious militants "bear even a shadow of responsibility for the Stalinists" ("It Is Impossible to Remain in the Same 'International' with Stalin, Manuilsky, Lozovsky and Company," 20 July 1933).

The Trotskyists at the Chicago forum confronted Ross on the "glorious" Stalinist tradition for black Americans. Popular-front support to the war meant spitting upon black struggles, a betrayal all the more important because the Stalinists had earlier achieved some influence among blacks. The *Daily Worker* denounced black militants

THE OLD ONE-TWO



CP's *Daily Worker*, August 1945, hailed Truman's A-bombing of Hiroshima as part of the "war against fascism."

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Chicago, 30 May 1981: CP calls cops to seal off revolutionaries at El Salvador protest—the same cops who protected the Nazis on June 27.

whose impulses were to join a planned March on Washington against Jim Crow rather than join the imperialist war effort. A black SL speaker from the floor pointedly observed:

"Stalinism betrayed black people! It wasn't because the Communist Party members were racist. It was because of Stalinist policy. 'All out to fight Hitler' meant blacks do not march upon Washington. Workers do not go out on strike. So Communism has a bad name to many [black] people.... It means betrayal after betrayal."

The CP's pro-U.S. jingoism also meant partnership with anti-Japanese racism. The CP supported the internment of Japanese Americans and hailed the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Another speaker took the floor to bring the logic of Stalinist betrayal closer to home:

"I remember a little over a year ago, May 30, a [Chicago] demonstration around El Salvador, and a bunch of reformists, including... the Communist Party, called in the cops to keep the Spartacist League out of the demonstration because we were calling for military victory to the left in El Salvador."

"Well at this demonstration June 27th we saw those same cops... those same horses—I recognized those god-

damned horses—and what were they doing? They were keeping the Spartacist League and people organized by the Spartacist League from getting those Nazis. The cops love Nazis. They hate communists. People who call the cops on communists do the work of the Nazis and they are protecting the Nazis for future reference....

"And the people who called the cops on the Spartacist League were doing exactly what the people who said Lenin was a German spy were doing.... They were just like the people who killed Rosa Luxemburg. So much for the 'Big Lie'."

When Boris Ross got a chance to speak again, it was to push support for black Democrats. Terming Ron Dellums a partisan of "anti-imperialism," he said of Harold Washington, a Chicago Democratic Congressman and mayoral aspirant: "He's not a reformist, he's a revolutionist."

Ross's remarks, concluding with an offer to debate us, drew a significant amount of applause at the forum. Some of it came from avowed opponents of the SL like Silbar, but not all of it. Perhaps people were responding to his good-guy "unity" talk; some were certainly taken with his avuncular manner and his past identification with the Red Army. "I can give you lessons in

international history and American history too," he offered. No thanks! Trotskyists have already learned those lessons, in Spain in the 1930s. In Coyoacán. At the first Smith Act trials, which the Communist Party supported because the defendants were Trotskyists. Comrade Andrews answered Ross and those who applauded him:

"[Stalinists] subordinate the social struggles of the oppressed throughout the world to the goals of Kremlin foreign policy.... And that policy means working-class revolutions are stabbed in the back time and time again.... You have to fight for the extension of the gains of the October Revolution."

"So we don't give a blank check to the bureaucracy. I mean look at Poland for heaven's sake. The historically socialist proletariat of Poland looking to Western imperialism and the Catholic church. Who's responsible for that? The Stalinists, who have lied to them for years about economic progress.... But we've also pointed out that the anti-socialist Solidarność was headed into the ranks of counterrevolution.... moving in the direction of overthrowing the Polish deformed workers state....

"Look, we understand that there's rivers of blood between Stalinism and Trotskyism. Because it's the difference between class collaboration on a world scale and international class struggle." ■

Black Activist Lawyer Builds for Anti-Fascist Action:

Conrad Lynn: June 27 Shows the Way

On June 24 Conrad Lynn, a black attorney and lifelong activist for black rights, was interviewed by the National Black Network (radio). We print below some slightly edited excerpts from his remarks.

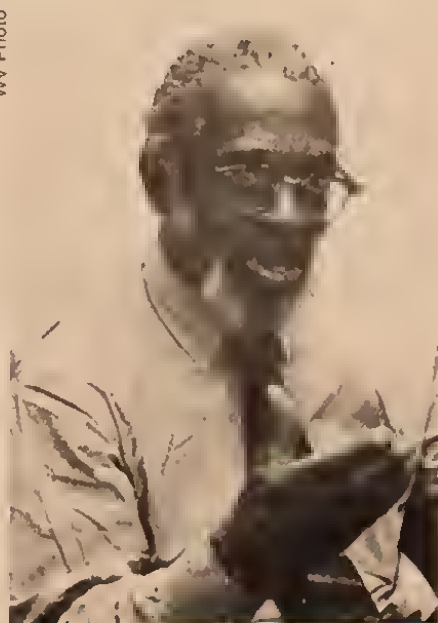
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The resurgence of the Klan and Nazis indicates that Reagan was correct when he replied to the question, "Aren't you afraid that with your program you are going to unite all the people who are suffering on the bottom?" And he said, "I don't have to worry about that, they are not going to unite, they are going to fight among themselves." He meant that groups like the Nazis and the Klan flourish in a time of great economic distress. That's why those 20 white youth killed that black man in Brooklyn the other night, and why I'm going tomorrow to Binghamton where a black man, Robert Hooks, was attacked by five white men who I believe were Klansmen. And he killed two of them and then he was convicted of first-degree manslaughter. I'm going up for the sentence tomorrow morning.

You can't ignore the Nazis—you must meet them. And that's what is planned to be done in Chicago like they did it in San Francisco and Ann Arbor. I have great faith in the American people in the end, if we take steps like the Spartacist League is leading in Chicago on the 27th to make sure we alert the people: do not ignore these people! You cannot hide from people like that and think that they will go away. They're not going away—they build on hate. And because of the greater and greater economic deprivation of so many millions of Americans.

I would be very pessimistic if we didn't have that kind of organization come out to show that all is not lost, because we don't have too much longer to go, you know. I'm just reading the *Times* today [about how] the way out is the way Argentina took, to seize the Falkland Islands in order that their own people can forget about the terrible dictatorship. And the same thing is true of England, Thatcher's government was thoroughly discredited by the unprecedented unemployment. So they did save themselves for the time being, they rallied the people

WV Photo



behind them, but that's a very short-term thing.

That demonstration in Chicago is so important because the Nazis really do stand for death. They stand for the genocide of all kinds of people—blacks, Jews and many others—and therefore it's absolutely necessary that we have a counterdemonstration for life and for the future and for the common people, the ordinary people who are deprived, for them to be able to take their destiny in their own hands.

Detroit Firebombing...

(continued from page 4)

tried to ban the anti-Klan demonstration and threatened mass arrests. Spartacist speaker Don Andrews told the crowd:

"You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means.... After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side...."

To Mayor Coleman Young, working people taking their defense into their own hands is more dangerous politically than the rampaging racists. Young is hardly in favor of racist nightriders, because the capitalist state wants its cops, army, etc. to maintain a monopoly of organized violence. (Of course, the white-sheeted racists not infrequently are his cops.) But his opposition to black self-defense is more fundamental. The ruling class Young works for will as a last resort allow its existing state to be eclipsed by extra-legal fascist bands. But labor/black defense—like factory seizures against layoffs/closures or mass militant picket lines against government union-busting—represents a challenge to the capitalist state from a different class.

As Reagan beats the drums for war on the Soviet Union, and proposes to pay for it by canceling school lunch programs and closing hospitals, factories across the industrial heartland of America stand idle and millions of workers stand in unemployment lines. Young's "program" is for workers to take it and take it, then vote in the Democrats and take it some more. He's got the union "leaders" eating out of his hand, and he's got his cops. And he can count on the appeal of the Democratic Party posing as the "lesser evil" alternative to Reagan reaction. Unless, of course, the labor movement as the champion of all the oppressed comes forward to use its own strength.

The elementary step of organizing to defend black residents against nightriding racists would be a beginning. The working class desperately needs to fight back economically and politically against capital. The potential power of labor organized at the point of production—the power to bring the system to a halt—must be expressed not only through class-struggle unions but in a workers party fighting to smash the capitalist state and establish the class rule of the workers.

The simple survival of black America requires this racist society be ripped apart from top to bottom. It must be rammed home to white workers that there is no way forward for them but to throw in their lot with their black comrades in socialist struggle for the interests of both. Right now: educate, organize, struggle! When the racist terrorists in their sheets come with their gas cans in the night: get 'em! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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National Guard Attacks Nebraska Meatcutters Strike

**For Massive
Labor Solidarity!
Defend the
Picket Lines!
Hot Cargo
Scab Goods!**

AUGUST 2—A sharp class struggle is raging after 2,450 workers in Local 222 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) struck Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) on June 7. When the company brought in scabs and "re-opened" the Dakota City, Nebraska plant in late July, the union responded with mass picketing to keep the strike-breakers out. Picketers were gassed, clubbed and jailed by state police, whose "Gestapo" and "storm trooper" tactics were denounced by Local 222 business agent Bill Schmitz. On July 27 Governor Charles Thone called in some 250 National Guardsmen with armored personnel carriers and helicopters to "protect" the scab plant. Backing up these thugs for the bosses is a restraining order issued by a district judge that restricts the union to one picket every 50 feet! Over 50 unionists have been arrested and dozens sent to the hospital. It's the workers versus the bosses and the bosses' government.

The entire labor movement must go into action to win this strike now. The first task is to shut down Iowa Beef and shut it tight. Unions throughout the region must mobilize their ranks in mass picketing at the plant. Damn the injunction; picket lines mean don't cross! Elementary labor solidarity demands that not one truck, Teamster-driven or otherwise, must move in or out of the Dakota City plant. Not one unionist must touch Iowa Beef products—Hot cargo scab goods!

Encouraged by the incredible cowardice of the AFL-CIO leadership—which collaborated in billion dollar givebacks and helped Reagan smash the air controllers union—IBP is demanding a four-year wage freeze from the UFCW. In addition the company wants the right to cut wages during the contract if any of 26 competitors institute lower pay scales (an increasingly common event in today's economy), the abolition of the guaranteed minimum workweek of 36 hours and the creation of a non-union work gang. When UFCW leaders tried to walk the giveback trail by offering a two-year wage freeze, the company flatly turned them down. Iowa Beef wants to butcher the union.

Founded in 1961, IBP has grown into the world's largest meat company by reinvesting heavily in modern equipment and by repeatedly attacking union wages and working conditions. Six of its eleven plants are reportedly non-union, and the company boasts that it never negotiated a contract without a strike (the last one in 1977 lasted 14 months). IBP succeeded in breaking down the skilled butchers job into many "unskilled" jobs, enabling the company to greatly multiply the number of cattle it could butcher, cut and box in one day. "We take cattle apart the way Henry Ford assembled cars," says one company official, and IBP's "disassembly line" netted \$58 million for the company



Bosses' state brings out the guns, troopers, National Guard to break month-long militant Iowa Beef Processors strike.

last year alone.

For the workers, the new production methods in capitalist hands meant a living nightmare of speedup. The meatpacking industry has a higher accident/disease rate than even coal mining, and the Dakota City plant is well above the industry average: the Dakota City Rescue Squad has "what amounts to a shuttle service" between the plant and local hospitals and "some days it will make four ambulance runs by noon" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 October 1978). As in other industries, the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) does nothing but slap the company's wrist; for example, it fined IBP \$800 after a cleanup worker was crushed to death by an unsafe pulley in 1976. The history of long, bitter strikes is a reflection of IBP's greedy unconcern for workers' lives.

UFCW officials are circulating a petition to the governor naively complaining about the use of state police and National Guardsmen as "a private

police force for Iowa Beef Processors"; the petition asks the governor to remove the Guard and "substantially scale down" the state police force at the plant. Of course this was not Local 222's first experience with the bosses' government: in the 1977 strike, for instance, then business agent Louis Anderson pointed out that the NLRB's move to bring charges against 49 strikers indicated that "Iowa Beef has a direct pipeline into the Kansas City [NLRB] office" (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 March 1977).

It's a bosses' government, and reliance on the governor's "good will" or NLRB intervention is the road to defeat. The reformist Communist Party (CP) shares the union tops' penchant for crawling to the government. CP leader Gus Hall has announced he is flying to the scene of the strike only to "release to the press his personal telegram to Armand Hammer of Occidental Petroleum, owner of Iowa Beef" (*Daily World*, 31 July). And Hammer is, of course, that great "friend" of the Soviet

Union and supporter of détente. Instead of the CP's reformist strategy of "providing pressure on the government to enforce federal labor laws," labor must mobilize its own strength to defend the Dakota City strikers!

The UFCW should appeal for help in *manning mass picket lines* from all the unions in the area, starting of course with other UFCW locals, like the 2,600-strong local in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which is now negotiating a new contract with John Morrell & Co. (which coincidentally was just bought by Occidental Petroleum, the owner of IBP). There are thousands of other meat processing workers in the area, some still working and others laid off by closing plants. The four other unionized IBP plants (UFCW and Teamster) should be called out in solidarity. And Teamster truckers should be called on to really enforce a hot-cargo call. For the workers to win, labor must use its muscle. Victory to the Iowa Beef strike! ■

Workers Face 25% Unemployment

Flint: Sitdowns, Not Democrats!

FLINT, Michigan—Hundreds of angry unemployed auto workers here are demanding their union fight for jobs. Some 500 of them came out July 21 to hear proposals from the "Committee to Promote Full Employment," organized by laid-off UAW committeemen. At that meeting, a Democratic Party speaker was booed, as was a speaker who pushed job retraining as a solution for jobless workers.

The condition of Flint workers is desperate, with an official unemployment rate of 25 percent. But unemployed workers who thought the Committee was going to launch a real fight for jobs are learning otherwise. Two weeks of impotent Committee "pickets" outside company offices at GM plants here have shrunk the demonstrations from 150-200 to a few dozen. Committee "leaders" don't want to fight GM—they want an electoral vehicle for the Democrats.

On July 28 the Committee leadership issued a leaflet boosting a local Demo-

crat for state office. This was the only leaflet the Committee distributed at AC Champion during that day's demonstration at shift change. Meanwhile another faction is backing liberal Democrat Zolton Ferency for governor. Ferency, a member of the Democratic Socialist Alliance, claims to oppose Doug Fraser but backs his program of racist protectionism against Japanese imports. Seeking salvation in the chauvinist, anti-union Democratic Party guarantees the workers' interests will be sold out.

What is vitally necessary is some old fashioned class struggle. Last winter, the Rouge Militant Caucus fought for a two-day sitdown strike in southeast Michigan against Fraser's giveaways, to open the road to a labor counteroffensive: no givebacks, for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay, for a decent union-level income for all the jobless. That program is gaining a hearing among Flint militants today.

The bureaucrats claim employed

workers won't lift a finger to fight for jobs. But thousands of Flint GM workers now on overtime know they could be on the streets tomorrow. Unemployed workers must forge links to employed militants in the plants, where the power to stop GM lies. A sign of receptivity to this perspective is the sales of *WV* carrying the headline "Sit-Ins, Not Soup Lines" at shift change: 75 were snatched up at AC Champion, 60 at Buick.

It wasn't begging that built the UAW—it was the organized power of auto workers mobilized in massive sitdowns. Screw the Democrats! Workers need their own party to fight GM and the whole capitalist system which consigns a quarter of the workforce in union towns like Flint to the scrapheap outright. Break with the Democrats—For a class-struggle union leadership! For sitdowns/plant seizures to smash layoffs, concessions, overtime! Dump the labor fakers—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Rail Drivers Sold Out

British Labor: Beat Back Thatcher's Union-Busting Offensive!

LONDON—Its victory over the even more degenerate Argentine junta has set Britain's rulers dreaming of returning to their days of imperial glory. And they know that in any attempt to restore British capitalism to a place in the sun, the main enemy is their own working class with its deeply entrenched trade unions. Even three years of depression-level unemployment have not broken the power of the unions, especially in the public sector. Just as defeat in the squalid Falklands/Malvinas war would have further isolated the Tory government and spurred class struggle, so Thatcher's victory—helped along by the social-chauvinist Labour Party and trade-union misleaders—has made this most unpopular prime minister in memory into a veritable national heroine. And the Tories set out to milk the engineered mood of "national unity" and patriotic euphoria in their war on British workers. Now they have won their first major battle, against the railroad workers, who were simply stabbed in the back by the Labourite union bureaucracy.

When the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) threatened an all-out strike on June 28 over a pay claim, the gutter press screamed: "Now for the Battle of Britain." With London already in chaos as a result of an Underground [transit] strike, with a series of regular one-day hospital strikes galvanising support among broad sectors of the trade-union movement in every region, with the miners too threatening to strike, and talk of a "summer of discontent" and even a general strike, the Tories started rolling out "the Falklands factor." The Tory party chairman railed: "Little more than a week after the liberation of the Falklands, there are trade-union leaders intent on bringing Britain to a halt. It is as if they had something to fear from the belief in themselves that the British people have rediscovered." Within 36 hours right-wing NUR leader Sid Weighell had called off the strike on the basis of a worthless promise of an arbitrated settlement.

Less than a week later it was the turn of the 24,000 members of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF). The strike began on a bad note since the drivers had refused to join the NUR strike, thus continuing a long history of mutual backstabbing between the two unions. There needs to

be one industrial union in British Rail (BR). ASLEF's militant but self-isolating craftwork tradition made it a perfect target for the Tories, intent on streamlining the heavily subsidised BR system through mass redundancies [layoffs].

The immediate issue of the strike was opposition to "flexible rostering," a direct attack on the union's hard-won guaranteed eight-hour day and its control over working conditions. But in every quarter it was clear that much more was at stake in this train drivers' strike: would the unions stand up to the renewed Tory onslaught? The London *Economist* (24 July), mouthpiece of the British bourgeoisie, summed it up:

"If Britain's train drivers had won their national strike, then the Thatcher government could have been blown away this winter in a whirlwind of born-again union militancy. Thankfully, the drivers lost."

And why did the drivers lose? The *Economist* answers:

"The best end to the strike would have been a revolt of the rank-and-file against the executive of Aslef, the train drivers' union. Instead, the train drivers stayed pretty solid, even under threat of the sack. It was left to the 'inner cabinet' of the Trades Union Congress to bring Aslef to heel."

Why the Train Drivers Lost

The Labour Party's support for Thatcher's nasty war in the South Atlantic made it easy for the British rulers to play "the Falklands factor" for all it was worth. Papers featured a front-page photo of troops returning on the Canberra bearing a banner reading, "Call Off the Rail Strike, or We'll Call In an Air Strike!" Yet despite the chauvinist hysteria against the strike it was solid and enjoyed considerable support. NUR members honoured the drivers' picket lines. Left Labour leader Tony Benn ostentatiously joined the ASLEF pickets. His trade-union counterpart, miners' leader Arthur Scargill, offered his union's "full support," which however, as usual, amounted to very little in practise.

Fifty or even thirty years ago a national railway strike would have brought the British economy to a halt within days. In the '26 general strike the Tory government used scabs to make sure the trains kept running. But times have changed. Less than 10 percent of the country's commuters normally use BR. And Britain is small enough so that

most goods are transported by lorry [truck].

Nonetheless BR, which was losing the equivalent of \$13.5 million a day, could not afford to wait out the striking drivers. So in a deliberate imitation of Reagan's union-busting tactics in the American air controllers' strike last fall, the Tories and BR threatened to fire the entire ASLEF membership unless they returned to work on the terms dictated. This brazen provocation only stiffened the drivers' resolve and in many areas what scabbing there had been came to a complete halt. With the drivers remaining solid, Thatcher then threatened to shut down BR entirely, locking out hundreds of thousands of non-striking workers. It was at this point that the Trades Union Congress (TUC) tops ordered the drivers to go back in defeat. Justifying his capitulation to the TUC diktat, ASLEF general secretary Roy Buckton exclaimed bitterly: "This is a battle which could not be won without the support and assistance of the whole trade-union movement, support which was not forthcoming."

This sellout caused an uproar among the striking drivers. A mass meeting of railwaymen in Sheffield expressed this anger with a resolution to disaffiliate from the TUC. The same sense of bitterness was felt by broad sections of the country's trade unionists. Workers in a National Health Service (NHS) strike carried the placard: "The TUC betrayed the ASLEF. Will they betray the NHS?"

That the TUC tops betrayed the train drivers is not in doubt. But what did the Buckton leadership of ASLEF do to gain the support of other unions, support he later moaned was necessary to win the strike? Nothing! He did not set up pickets to shut down the road haulers industry, which was undermining the effectiveness of the strike. Nor did he try to bring out the miners, whose industrial muscle still inspires fear in the bourgeoisie.

Significantly, Roy Buckton is not your typical Labourite union official. He is associated with the left wing of Britain's small and now deeply polarised Communist Party. He is on the editorial board of the pro-Moscow monthly *Straight Left*, which, for example, supported the Soviet Union's progressive intervention against the feudalism insurgency in Afghanistan. Yet "friend of the Soviet Union" Buckton approaches the class struggle at home the same way he approaches the Cold War internationally—with the politics of peaceful coexistence.

Break with Labourite Reformism!

The outcome of the train drivers strike was not just another episodic defeat. It was an important step in the British ruling class' drive to break the power of the unions, a drive fueled not only by its momentary intoxication over hesting the Argentine junta but by deep-felt capitalist needs. While the ASLEF strike was an important battle, it was not yet the decisive one. The heart of union power in this country lies in the coal miners, who, unlike the railwaymen, have their hands on the windpipe of industrial Britain. Thatcher is keenly aware that it was the miners who



Economist
TUC sellout angers ranks: striking nurses of the National Health Service.

brought down the last Tory government with their strikes in the early 1970s.

Yet ever since Thatcher entered Downing Street three years ago, the labour movement misleaders have backed away from industrial struggle and advised a strategy of waiting to elect a new Labour government. But now with Thatcher expecting to win the next election on "the Falklands factor," this waiting-for-Labour strategy—always a recipe for defeat—is exposed as fraudulent even on its own terms. The Benns, Scargills and Bucktons will not act on what they claim to stand for—industrial action against the Tories and opposition to the CIA-loving, NATO-loyal right wing of the Labour Party—because they are wedded to parliamentarism, which subordinates the class struggle to placing a united Labour Party in office.

The answer to traditional Labourite parliamentary reformism is not traditional Labourite union militancy. The typical British shop steward certainly believes in fighting the class struggle, but not in winning it once and for all. And now the decades-long decay of British capitalism has condemned large sections of the population to permanent impoverishment. Last summer desperate, jobless youth, white and black, burned down the slum neighborhoods of the bleak and dilapidated cities. And now the same conflagration is breaking out again in Liverpool.

The Labourite bureaucracy provides no way out from the progressive rot of British capitalist society, no future for working-class youth. The working class acutely needs a new leadership to defend its past gains and to take its struggles forward to socialist revolution which would be followed by some ambitious five-year plans to make Britain a decent place to live. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard
skips an issue
in August.

Our next issue will be
dated September 3.



Solid railway
strike sold out
by Labourite
bureaucrats.

Smash Zionist Genocide...

(continued from page 1)

they would not be the only U.S. "peacekeeping" forces in the region. U.S. troops are already in the Sinai as part of the Camp David agreement where they constitute the core of a "Rapid Deployment Force." In addition, landing the Marines in Beirut, where they would confront Soviet-backed Syrian troops only a few miles to the east, could well turn the Near East into a beachhead for Reagan's drive toward war with the Soviet Union.

Reformists/Nationalists Call Catastrophe "Victory"

The Zionist Blitzkrieg in Lebanon is driving hundreds of thousands of Palestinians into yet another exile and has so shattered their nationalist organization, the PLO, that Arafat must ask for U.S. Marines to guard the refugees. Yet this catastrophe is hailed as a "victory" by those who must be branded as *traitors* to the cause of genuine national and social justice for the oppressed Palestinians. An unambiguous example of this kind of treachery can be found as always in the pages of that armchair cheerleader for petty-bourgeois nationalist movements, the *Guardian* (28 July), which carried the headline: "Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon Grows as Israel Loses War Initiative." Likewise the West Coast paper of the Stalinist Communist Party: "The political successes have been the property of the Palestinian and Lebanese resistance and so too have been the military" (*People's World*, 17 July).

"Lebanese resistance"? The head of the Lebanese National Movement (which includes the Lebanese Communist Party), Walid Jumblatt, publicly pronounced the PLO "finished" and called on Arafat to surrender at the very beginning of the Israeli invasion. As for the Palestinian resistance, it is precisely our recognition of the courage of the PLO fighters struggling against the crushing weight of the Israeli forces that compels us to denounce those who call Arafat's negotiating the terms of surrender and the dispersal of his forces a "political and military" success. The CP and *Guardian* are cynically echoing the PLO's own rose-colored press releases, geared to seeking diplomatic acceptability.

A decade ago the PLO leadership

around Arafat saw the October 1973 war and oil boycott as a decisive shift in the balance of world forces in favor of the Arab regimes (as did most of the left which hailed both). The PLO leadership saw an opportunity to gain respectability and integrate itself into Arab and great-power diplomacy and therefore to win through political and economic pressure what it could not win through "armed struggle" against the U.S.-backed Israeli military machine. This perspective seemed bright when a year after the October war the various reactionary Arab regimes gathered at Rabat, Morocco and declared the PLO "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." Soon thereafter Arafat would be waving an olive branch in the UN.

But now the bankruptcy of depending on Saudi oil money and UN resolutions is pretty clear to everyone. As a *Wall Street Journal* (8 July) columnist observed:

"The harshest lesson for Mr. Arafat now is that moderation doesn't pay. The PLO campaign of the last eight years to restrict terrorism and gather international support—which led to PLO diplomatic missions in 85 cities and recognition from most of the world's nations—didn't stop a single Israeli tank."

As for those Palestinian nationalists who continued to emphasize "armed struggle," such as Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, this was simply a pressure tactic to mobilize the so-called "progressive" Arab regimes against Israel. These "progressive" regimes, grouped in the "rejectionist" and "steadfastness" fronts, proved no more steadfast than Arafat's Saudi sheiks. When Ba'athist Syria intervened in Lebanon in 1976 against the PLO, it demonstrated to Israel in the siege of Tel Zaatar how an entire Palestinian settlement may be strangled to death. And Colonel Qaddafi's Libya, that "progressive" Shangri-la of Gerry Healy & Co. and other corrupted ex-leftists, has now called on the PLO to "commit suicide so that their blood could rekindle the Arab revolution."

For Permanent Revolution in the Near East!

As is often the case in the absence of a strong proletarian class pole, a nationalist movement like the PLO is extremely heterogeneous both socially and politically. It embraces millionaire businessmen, desperately impoverished refugees living in tents and super-exploited

migrant workers in Israel. Politically, it extends from self-declared "Marxists" to weaselly operators like Arafat who is equally at home with feudal sheiks, bonapartist colonels and the grey Kremlin bureaucrats. The social heterogeneity is compounded by the degenerate character of much of the Palestinian refugee population. In fact, many Palestinian "Marxists" have reinvented their own version of an old labor-Zionist doctrine, which held that first the dispersed petty-bourgeois Jewish population had to be "ingathered" into its own state before there could be a significant class differentiation.

Yet already there does exist a significant Palestinian *proletariat* in Jordan and the occupied territories as well as in Israel itself. However, through the nationalist dogma of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of the Arab regimes, the PLO has prevented the Palestinian proletariat from class struggle even in Jordan, where Palestinians constitute a majority of the population, against the narrowly based Hashemite monarchy. Instead the PLO's nationalism channeled rebellions which could have taken a revolutionary direction—in Jordan in 1970 and in Lebanon in 1975-76—into self-isolating movements which were easily beheaded and in Lebanon contributed to the subsequent bloody communalism.

A look at any of the Arab regimes, whether ruled by colonels mouthing "anti-imperialist" rhetoric or by sheiks swimming in petro-dollars, demonstrates their inability to resolve any of the democratic and national tasks within their own borders, much less provide genuine support for Palestinian national justice. The Vietnamese were able to defeat U.S. imperialism because that struggle was part of a profound *social revolution*, albeit bureaucratically deformed by its Stalinist leadership. Yet the Syrian army with equipment far superior to that of the Vietnamese lost 101 planes and most of its anti-aircraft missiles without shooting down a single Israeli plane. That tells one a lot about the kind of society from which that army is recruited.

As Trotsky said of social struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy* and *national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses" ("What Is the Permanent Revolution?", 1930).

The nationalist outlook of the PLO also held that Zionism had in effect eliminated classes within Israel and united the entire Hebrew-speaking people into one reactionary mass. Now, of course, the PLO is forced to try to take advantage of the enormous contradictions within Israeli society. If there is any cause for hope among the Palestinian militants in Lebanon, it is in the growing opposition within Israel to the invasion. Begin has halted before Beirut not because he fears international opprobrium or even the disapproval of his American allies. He fears only an explosion within Israel itself if Israeli casualties mount into the thousands. One hundred thousand protesting the war in this highly militarized country of three million is very significant indeed.

But if this opposition is restricted mainly to the European-derived Jews, the historic base of the principal Zionist party, the Labor Party, it will be channeled into a parliamentary framework and result at best in replacing Begin with a Rabin or a Peres. Remember, it was three decades of Labor governments which paved the way for Begin and the right-wing Zionist fanatics to emerge on top. When one of those fanatics, Meir Kahane, writes in the *New York Times* (31 July) an open justification for mass murder against the Palestinian people ("if the only way to destroy the terrorists is by shellings and bombings that take the lives of people who cheer our death, we have no choice"), he here expresses the genocidal logic of Zionism and ultimately of every nationalism.

But despite the demented visions of the Begins and Kahanes, the three million Jews of Israel cannot win a permanent war of expansion against the Arabs. Over forty years ago Trotsky warned that the Zionist settlements in Palestine would create a deathtrap for the Jews. And now it is a deathtrap capable of igniting a world nuclear holocaust.

The working people of Israel, especially the intensely chauvinist but downtrodden Sephardic Jews from the Arab East, must be broken from Zionism. The Palestinian workers must be broken from the PLO, the organization of their would-be exploiters. Arab and Israeli workers must see that the main enemy is at home. Only a party with an internationalist and proletarian vision based on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution can unite Hebrew workers with Arab toilers in the desperately necessary struggle for a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Pro-PLO "Gabfest"...

(continued from page 5)

ghetto, when the half million Palestinians in Lebanon are facing extermination, Said chose to speak on "the idea of Palestine," an idea which is supposed to transcend the lives and deaths of the Palestinian masses. "So long as one Palestinian lives," he proclaimed, "the idea of Palestine will go on." This statement of *defeatism in the face of genocide* received clamorous applause. In Said's hands nationalist ideology becomes a kind of religious fatalism, a true opiate of the masses conditioning them to accept humiliation and oppression in this world in exchange for glory in some future world.

Said expressed in extreme, quasi-mystical form the Third Worldist, especially Arab, nationalism which predominated at the conference. (Playing for the folks back in rural Vermont, Dellinger contended that the United States too was "a colony of the multinationals.") The Marcyite Deirdre Griswold came to the defense of "the other Arab countries, many of which have a progressive position in relation to

imperialism, and they've tried to give some type of support to the Palestinians over the years."

If anything has exploded the illusion of "Arab unity" behind the Palestinian cause, it is the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The Arab League has now joined Begin and Reagan in demanding that the PLO forces must leave Beirut for parts unknown. U.S. imperialist and Zionist spokesmen are positively gloating over the obvious willingness of all the Arab regimes to see the PLO destroyed. The warmakers in Washington and Jerusalem themselves seem a little surprised that all is so quiet on the Arab front. As one pro-Zionist academic wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* (20 July):

"After the Syrians withdrew from combat... no other state offered to help the PLO—no cuts in oil sales to the West, no withdrawals of funds from the U.S., no breaking of diplomatic relations, no demonstrations in Arab capitals."

Even in the pages of the *New York Times* one can read savage attacks on the Arab regimes by PLO commandos in Beirut. "It's not Israel that broke us. It's the Arab world," said one bitterly. Yet no such words were uttered in this conference of self-styled revolutionary nationalists, radical socialists, Marxists and whatnot. Among the speakers only

the radical Pakistani intellectual Eqbal Ahmad denounced the Arab rulers, and this basically in moral terms:

"Our leaders are cowards, they are irresponsible, they are corrupt, and they do not know what to do except to have a loud mouth like Qaddafi or Assad or Sadat, or else think that they can beg and buy friendship and that begging and buying constitutes diplomacy."

It is not cowardice or irresponsibility, but their *class* interests that cause the Assads, Fahds and Qaddafis to betray the Palestinians to Zionism and U.S. imperialism. These bonapartist and feudal rulers of the Arab bourgeois states have the same attitude toward the national rights of the Palestinians as they do toward democratic and socialist aspirations among their own people—namely, one of implacable hostility. The Arab regimes use the slogan "fight Zionism" to divert class struggle at home, while sabotaging the Palestinian cause in a thousand ways. And in the unlikely event that one or another Arab state defeats Israel in a war, this will lead not to the national liberation of the Palestinians but to another subjugation. Remember it was not only Zionist Israel but also the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan that was carved out of the living body of the Palestinian people in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war.

The liberation of the Palestinians

cannot be achieved through purely national struggle. It demands that Zionist Israel and the surrounding Arab bourgeois states be exploded from within through revolutionary proletarian struggle to create a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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"Unions Must Lead the Fight Against Klan Terror!"

This speech was given July 15 at the CWA convention by Kathy Ikegami, a delegate from Local 9410 (San Francisco) and a member of MAC. The resolution under discussion was against Reagan's proposed tax breaks for segregated schools. The sentences in italics were censored out of the official published proceedings of the convention.

Brothers and Sisters:

I rise in support of this resolution. This proposal by the Reagan administration for financial aid to segregated schools is an outrage that must be stopped! Remember, brothers and sisters: Reagan and his platform was endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan. So of course it's no surprise that Reagan is sending black people back to the back of the bus, wiping out even the civil

rights gains of the '60s—gains which are rapidly eroding as racist mobs in Northern cities like Boston attack school buses and black children and as unemployment among black youth tops 50 percent.

As every minority person in this country knows, Klan and Nazi terror is on the rise. Last year, David Howard, a black CWA union brother in Fontana, California was shot in the back by a Klansman while working on a telephone pole. He was shot because the Howard family stood their ground and refused to be driven out of their home, which is in an all-white neighborhood. In southern California, Tom Metzger, a Klansman, ran in the Democratic Party primary. These fascists are not a tiny fringe group that can be ignored. Where they have run

openly, they have gained tens of thousands of votes. The fascists are emboldened, and are seeking to mobilize frightened white workers against their much worse-off black brothers. With Reagan in the White House, these thugs feel protected. The Greensboro Klan/Nazi murderers who shot down five civil rights and union organizers in cold blood got off scot-free! *Even here, at our CWA convention, Confederate flag emblems are being sold to raise money for COPE! Brothers and sisters: That is the flag of slavery and white supremacy! It doesn't belong at our convention!*

Unions can and must move into the forefront of the fight for full integration and equality of all races—and lead the fight against the rising tide of Klan

terror. We *cannot* rely on the Republicans or on the Democratic Party—the party of Dixiecrats—to wage this fight. They've never done it before and they won't do it now!

In April 1980 we helped mobilize 1,200 unionists, minorities and leftists which stopped the Nazis from marching in San Francisco. Both the San Francisco and Oakland locals endorsed and we had a powerful phone worker contingent. It is this type of mass mobilization of our powerful integrated labor movement, along with all of the oppressed in this country, that we need to crush these fascist vermin in the egg.

Brothers and sisters: I urge you to support this resolution. We must say *no* to segregation, *no* to Klan/Nazi terror and *no* to racism! Thank you.

CWA...

(continued from page 16)

that while we disagree how our government should treat us, we heartily agree with how our government expects the rest of the world to be treated."

Indeed, the CWA leadership is up to its eyebrows in the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a conduit for CIA dirty work. The AIFLD was instrumental in developing El Salvador's "land reform," which gave the junta a green light to massacre thousands of peasants. The CWA tops know the Democrats can be counted on to carry forward the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.

Capitalism's labor lieutenants, like Watts and Fraser, claim a Democratic administration would bring back the "good old days" of the New Deal. It's a lie. The imperialist war buildup necessarily entails intensified exploitation of the workers, more gutting of basic social services and the emboldening of the most extreme anti-communist/racist fringe—the Klan/Nazis. And the Democrats are prepared to trample all opposition: in 1979 MAC delegate Jane Margolis was dragged off the convention floor in handcuffs by Secret Service agents when she prepared to speak against invited guest Jimmy Carter's strikebreaking austerity program. Delegate Ikegami rose to counterpose a policy of working-class solidarity:

"We must use our *labor power* to support our international brothers and sisters around the world—black, white, yellow and brown—*not* by calling for trade sanctions and government action, but by strike action and labor refusing to make, load or ship military aid to repressive dictators in Central and South America and South Africa. "This [the CWA tops'] foreign policy is simply designed to whip up the workers here to endorse the suicidal policies of Reagan and the Democrats. And don't

tell us Jimmy Carter would have been any better. If he were in office now, Nevada would be a giant railroad for shuttling MX missiles which are designed for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union."

The CWA censors once again omitted the last two sentences from the official proceedings.

For a Workers Future!

Bureaucrats like Watts are accustomed to hand-raising unanimity, but the CWA convention was far from that. There were floor fights over a range of issues, from the Defense Fund and the split-up of the Cleveland local to the salary of Glenn Watts. But the only delegate who offered a consistent alternative strategy to Watts' pro-capitalist defeatism was MAC member Ikegami. In Watts' closing speech he complained, "We have been put down in royal order by a group called the Militant Action":

"I would leave you with this message: When we go into negotiations in 1983, especially here, especially in Cleveland, the Militant Action Caucus, the Socialist Workers Party, and a number of others under different titles, will be picketing our meetings, will be urging our members to strike and not settle no matter how good a settlement that we might get. They will be few in number, but the noise they make is going to be great. I would like not to be the only one that is putting them down by answering them."

We can assure brother Watts he needn't worry about the SWP reformists advocating a strike. But Watts' attack on MAC was also a challenge to any of the delegates who didn't quite march in step, demanding in effect: which side are you on? And indeed the 1983 contract period will be one of many tests.

But CWA members must not wait until 1983 to fight! According to the *San Francisco Examiner* (28 July) front page, Pacific Telephone plans to cut 16,000 jobs in California alone by the

end of next year! It was MAC which warned of these job cuts back in April, exposing secret company/union collusion (see "Ma Bell Plans Mass Firings," *WV* No. 304, 30 April). In response to MAC's campaign for strike action against the cuts, Local 9410 president James Imerzel went on a campaign of

still pending against Clark, a member of Local 9415 in Oakland. "Drop the charges!" demanded 265 outraged 9415 members in a telegram to the Detroit mayor; a resolution to this effect was unanimously passed July 20 by the local.

Watts and Imerzel are clearly worried

The Chair recognizes Delegate Ikegami at microphone No. 4.

DELEGATE KATHERINE IKEGAMI (Local 9410): Brothers and Sisters. I speak opposed to this foreign policy resolution. It is a virtual endorsement of Reagan's international foreign policy of aggression. The consequences of his policy would be to plunge us into World War III with the Soviet Union. And to pay for this war preparation, the working class is being squeezed tighter and tighter.

Our Union should not endorse his policy, which has as its domestic consequences the destruction of our unions, massive unemployment, risking fascist terror, and miles of soup lines. Indeed, we should mobilize for labor action to bring down Reagan. We must use our labor power to support our international brothers and sisters around the world — black, white, yellow, and brown — not by calling for trade sanctions and government action but by strike action and labor refusing to make, load, or ship military aid to repressive dictators in Central and South America and South Africa.

This foreign policy is simply designed to whip up the workers here to endorse the suicidal policies of Reagan and the Democrats. (Boos and uproar) This foreign policy is an outrage and I urge you to defeat it. (Boos)

Additionally, Brother Watts, I want to say that a union brother from local 9415 was arrested for the so-called crime of "leafletting." (Boos) as hundreds of others have been doing. His delegation from his local is helping to release him now.

... President Watts resumed the Chair ...

Watts' censors delete Ikegami's criticism of Jimmy Carter in official transcript of her speech against the foreign policy resolution.

his own, calling MAC a "lunatic fringe" and baldly denying there would be any firings or layoffs. According to a MAC leaflet distributed at the convention, Imerzel has brought charges within the union against Ikegami, a Local 9410 executive board member, for "bringing the union into disrepute." Over 350 Local 9410 members, angry at Imerzel's attempt to use a hand-picked trial body to kick Ikegami off the exec board she was elected to, have signed a petition in her defense.

The MAC leaflet recalls that Imerzel supported the Secret Service's 1979 attack on MAC delegate Margolis—a direct attack on the whole union. Even so, Margolis wrested a formal apology from Carter's thugs, and a \$3,500 settlement she donated to the CWA Defense Fund. The leaflet continues:

"So we're not afraid of this pint-size version of Jimmy Carter who fancies himself King James Imerzel. But this attack must be crushed in the egg. Otherwise the Imerzels of our union will expel all of the fighters for the workers from our union. The CWA needs thousands more militants like Kathy Ikegami."

Detroit cops came to the convention hall to arrest MAC member Gerry Clark as he was handing out this leaflet on the final day. A disorderly conduct charge is

about MAC's ability to grow in this period, and with reason. A MAC spokesman told *WV* that the caucus program was especially well received at the convention by blacks and by Southerners who directly perceive the threat to the unions posed by race-terrorists like the Klan. And they see that MAC takes its program into action, as when it organized a phone workers contingent in the successful labor-based anti-Nazi mobilization in San Francisco on April 19, 1982.

As capitalist America lurches toward race-genocidal fascism and nuclear war, a crust of pro-capitalist bureaucrats like Watts suppresses society's one hope: working-class struggle. The crust is brittle: Mine Workers chief Arnold Miller found that out when the 1977-78 strike got out of control and brought his career to an abrupt end. But in the absence of a class-struggle political alternative, another bureaucrat stepped into Miller's shoes. In the CWA there is a class-struggle alternative with a 12-year history, the Militant Action Caucus. MAC's program points the way to unleashing the potential power of the working class to reshape society. The fight to build such caucuses in unions all over the country is the fight to wrest the future out of the hands of the Reagans and the Kennedys. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Phone Militant: "I Say We Can't Fight Reagan With Democrats"

CWA Tops Turn Convention Into Mondale Rally

DETROIT—The Communications Workers of America (CWA) annual convention met here July 12-15. Phone workers are confronted by massive attacks against jobs and wages, union-busting, rampant social reaction and racism, the threat of imperialist war. Since the last convention AT&T has initiated a vicious "reorganization" scheme to dump thousands of phone workers through firings, layoffs and forced downgrades and transfers. The need for militant working-class action against Reagan reaction is sharply posed. But the Glenn Watts bureaucracy had one central objective at the convention: to channel working people's mounting anger into support for the Democratic Party. Watts' opening report set the tone: "We shall throw the rascals out this year. Out of the House and out of the Senate. Let me say further that we will finish the job of housecleaning—the White House, that is, in 1984."

Watts brought in no less than three Democratic Party heavyweights: Michigan senator Don Riegle (a Kennedy stalking horse) and presidential hopefuls Walter Mondale and John Glenn. None of these politicians attempted to stand on the Jimmy Carter record. Rather, they came to *bury* the memory of the double-digit inflation, the plant closures, the program of letting the cities rot, the Big Oil ripoff, etc. which prompted millions of workers to vote for Reagan. It was the Democrats who made Reagan reaction respectable by initiating killer cuts in basic social benefits, helping hard-core racists reverse other minimal civil rights gains and heating up the anti-Soviet war drive. Yet Mondale, Watts' favorite, blamed the *workers* for Reagan:

"Didn't you believe what Reagan said he was going to do? Wasn't 20 years of perfect anti-labor policies enough? Didn't Glenn Watts know what he was talking about when he said, 'Don't elect this man'?"

In other words, you got what you deserved. Mondale didn't mention Carter, but he did claim the recession only started with Reagan. He received the usual standing ovations, but the first time it took an embarrassingly long time to get more than a few dozen delegates on their feet.

It was fitting that the main guest trade-union speaker was Douglas Fraser, "giveback" president of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Fraser started by calling the UAW and CWA "philosophical soulmates on the great issues of the day": organizing for the Democrats, whipping up chauvinism against Japanese workers for "stealing" American jobs, and givebacks. Fraser noted his "exhilaration" over the \$5 billion concessions he rammed down auto workers' throats this year. This complacent, overpaid bureaucrat, who has never missed his paycheck, told the CWA delegates, "And it just might be



Glenn Watts tries to sell Jimmy Carter's veep to phone workers.

that going through this traumatic, difficult time might be good for the soul of the labor movement!"

Despite pervasive illusions in the Democrats, many delegates were not eager to give Watts a blank check for his no-struggle strategy. There were signs of dissatisfaction with the Watts regime, like the introduction of two separate motions to cut a proposed \$8,000 across-the-board pay hike for CWA national officers. And delegates refused to vote up the Report of the Committee on the Future, which virtually rubber-stamps Ma Bell's job-cutting "reorganization."

A significant minority of the delegates was also concerned that the strike weapon be preserved, arguing for a proposal to bolster the CWA Defense (strike) Fund. One delegate from Local 11505 (Arcadia, California) complained:

"...we can afford to spend millions of dollars to remodel the headquarters office, millions of dollars to finance politicians, millions of dollars to fly around the country for meetings, but yet we can't afford any more than \$30 per member if we should need to go out on a nationwide strike.... We can no longer accept help from the EEOC, or OSHA, or the NLRB. We must turn to the workers [who made] our union what it is today. Don't betray them. Vote money and muscle into our Defense Fund."

MAC: Labor Action Can Bring Down Reagan

Watts wasted no time getting formal convention backing for his pro-

Democrat strategy. During the opening day's afternoon session he brought in a resolution to endorse "Solidarity Day 11," the labor bureaucrats' plan to march workers to the voting booths on election day. Speaking against the proposal was Kathy Ikegami from Local 9410 (San Francisco). Ikegami, a member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), said the massive September 19 marches in Washington and San Francisco last year showed a willingness to fight the strike-breaking government. She recalled that Mondale was booed off the stage in S.F., and continued:

"The Watts leadership says our power is in the voting booth and that strikes are old-fashioned. Their program to fight Reagan is to vote for the racist strike-breaking Democratic Party, which is as much the party of big business as the Republicans. I say we can't fight Reagan with Democrats, just like we can't fight AT&T with company/union collaboration schemes....

"Instead of begging for crumbs, labor action can bring down Reagan!... It's time that the working people of this country stop all support to the twin parties of big business and organize our own political party—a workers party that fights for our interests. This party can then begin the fight for a workers government that will make this society one that eliminates racism and sexism, war and poverty, once and for all!"

These remarks were greeted with applause.

The most discussed resolutions were those in support of the ERA and against Reagan's policy of tax breaks to segregated schools. The large number of delegates who lined up to speak on these issues was evidence of unionists' readi-

ness to not only defend their immediate demands but to champion the poor and oppressed as well. But the conservative union bureaucracy, paper resolutions aside, adapts to pervasive racist backwardness under capitalism. Thus, one of the ways CWA officials raised money for the Democratic Party was by peddling pins bearing the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and lynch mobs! Ikegami sharply condemned this in her speech against segregated school funding. Outrageously, the CWA's official convention transcript deleted her protest that "the flag of slavery and white supremacy... doesn't belong at our convention!" (WV taped this speech and it appears in full on page 11.)

Watts: Reaganism Is Okay for Foreign Workers

Much of the final day was devoted to the national leadership's "free trade unions" foreign policy resolution, which aligned the CWA with the U.S. rulers against the working masses, from Afghanistan to Poland to El Salvador. But not all the delegates swallowed the strident Cold War line of the union brass. One black delegate protested the section on Cuban and Haitian refugees, which offered asylum to anti-Castro *gusanos* but not to blacks fleeing Baby Doc's right-wing terror. Another delegate unsuccessfully sought an amendment criticizing the U.S.' junior ally Britain for oppression and murder in Northern Ireland.

One delegate from Local 2336 rose to criticize the section on the Near East, which called Israel "a beacon in the worldwide march for peace"! He asked why CWA leaders spent three days attacking Reagan and then endorsed a resolution fully consistent with White House policy. "As I read the foreign policy statement," he said, "it appears

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Kathy Ikegami: convention delegate and Militant Action Caucus spokesman.