

No. 309

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June 27: Labor, Blacks, Jews, Gays Respond to Spartacist Campaign

CHICAGO-Sunday, June 27 here was a big victory for opponents of fascist terror throughout the country. It was the largest militant anti-Nazi protest in the area in decades, with more than 3,000 participating. And the presence of protesters from a broad cross-section of the Chicago population in a demonstration led by socialists is a landmark in anti-fascist actions nationally. As Ronald Reagan's killer cutbacks and the Klan/Nazis' guns target black and working people, it is clear that there is no future for the oppressed and exploited in this rotting system. The classstruggle strategy of the Spartacist League (SL), for labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror, shows how to fight back and win. June 27 proved it can be done. They came from the steel mills of East Chicago and the Harvester plant in Melrose Park, from heavily gay New Town and the largely Jewish suburb of Evanston. There were even East European Catholics from North Side neighborhoods. But most important in this the most segregated city in the U.S., with the meanest white suburbs in the country, they came from the giant South Side ghetto on Sunday to stop the Nazis and defend themselves. "Wherever the Nazis march, that means 'whites only'," they said. And wherever the fascists are stopped, it means hope for the future of black people and all the oppressed. On June 27 a breach was made in the wall of fear engendered by the racist front that

stretches from the Nazis to the White House.

When the gang of Nazi storm troopers drove a rented truck up to the edge of Lincoln Park Sunday afternoon, they found the site where they planned to stage a provocation against the Gay Pride Day march already occupied by several thousand anti-Nazi demonstrators who turned out in response to determined organizing by the SLinitiated June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. As the fascists were spotted, the crowd surged forward chanting "No Hitlers in Chicago-Stop the Nazis now!" Unable to enter the park, the two dozen Hitlerites in brown and black uniforms clustered behind a chain-link fence, protected by hundreds of Chicago cops, including a line of mounted cossacks.

little Nazi Führer paced back and forth behind the fence like a caged hyena. Next to the jackbooted brownshirts of the American Nazi Party from Chicago, the SS Action Group from Detroit, dressed up like a punk motorcycle gang, lamely waved their swastika-emblazoned shields. But no one could hear them as a steady din of anti-fascist chants effectively drowned out their "death to queers" poison. For an hour the crowd boomed out, "Chicago is a labor town, Chicago is a black town, Chicago is a gay town, Chicago is a Latino town, Chicago is a Jewish town-No room for Nazis!"

The demonstrators brought out by the June 27 Committee took over the "public forum" area of Lincoln Park where the fascists had threatened to goose-step on Sunday. The protesters were angry and militant and only the massive police presence stopped them from driving the fascists out. More than 165 uniformed cops were officially on hand, and many scores of plainclothesmen circulated in the crowd, ostentatiously sporting their red, white and blue buttons. Thirteen protesters were arrested during the afternoon, charged with disorderly conduct and released. But the crowd would not be provoked into a disastrous confrontation with the Chicago police force. The protesters drowned out the Nazis with spirited chanting for an hour, until the Hitlerlovers gave up and were ushered out by the police to a thunderous roar of "Nazis Out! Nazis Out!"

As the Nazis left, Don Andrews, a spokesman for the Committee and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, declared to the cheering crowd, "We did it! We prevented them from carrying out their provocation!" This was a victory for all decent people of Chicago, he said. More than 3,000 demonstrators had rejected the appeal by liberals and the official Gay Pride Parade Committee to ignore the Nazis. Instead, representatives of the labor movement, gays, blacks, Catholics, Jews, Arabs and others came out to block the fascists' attempt to victimize homosexuals. Someone had to stop these would-be killers, said Andrews, "so the Spartacist League did this simple decent thing, mobilizing labor and all the sections of the oppressed to defend

The whole rally—podium, sound system and all—charged up to the front lines as anti-Nazi demonstrators pressed against police barricades. The pudgy the rights of gays, blacks and Jews in this city."

The thousands who showed up at Lincoln Park Sunday came in response to the organizing efforts of the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. More than 75 individuals representing large sectors of the Chicago community endorsed the Committee's call to action. More than 250,000 Committee leaflets *continued on page 9*



NYC Transit Militants Protest Outrage Over Lynching of Black Transit Worker

The following leaflet was issued by militant New York City transit workers on June 23.

Monday night a racist mob clubbed to death car maintainer William Turks and beat up two other black transit workers. Maybe those club-swinging scum thought Turks had no friends and no union brothers. Maybe they didn't know Turks was a member of the Transport Workers Union, the most powerful in New York. Well, we better make it our business to see that them and their kind find out! They murdered Turks, whose right arm was in a cast. a few hundred feet from the Coney Island shop. That's union territory. One thing every union member knows is solidarity—we stick together, black and white. When you attack one of us, you're taking on all 33,000 of us.

Koch cries crocodile tears, but who paved the way for this outrage? 1980: Strikebreaker Koch campaigns on the Brooklyn Bridge to make us the scapegoat for what the banks and the bosses did to this city. 1981: The TA kills motorman Jesse Cole, then blames him (and all transit workers) for the collision. Koch and the city bosses put the gun to our head; is it any wonder that a bunch of racist punks pulled the trigger? In Koch and Reagan's America, unionists and blacks are considered subhuman. The racist vigilantes, the Ku Klux Klan, the Nazis get the message: they

think they can get away with murder. We demand that the racist murderers be jailed! But that won't put a stop to this sort of atrocity against the TWU and its members. The police have a special "task force" to find the criminals, but since when are cops friends of the working man? The cops recently shot down token clerk Anthony Ruggiero of Staten Island, and they've also got a lot of experience busting up picket lines. Koch wants to disarm us in every way-gun control and union busting. We need the right to bear arms, for one thing. If that right were exercised, William Turks might still be alive.

But most of all we need union action. The TWU must organize an immediate rally and march of mourning and solidarity-starting right at the Coney Island shop entrance. Every union and black organization in the city should be mobilized. Call your union rep now-call the TWU headquarters (873-6000). The New York City labor movement is largely minorityblack, Latin, Jewish. All are targeted by the Klan, which has begun leafleting Coney Island high schools. Let's nip it in the bud! The TWU can-and must-show the way against the racist terrorists.

Ed Kartsen David Brewer Keith Anwar members, TWU Local 100

Letter to the Gay Community News Big Lie: They Can't Sell It in Chicago

6 July 1982

Gay Community News Boston

To the Editor:

We are writing to object to your false and misleading report on the important anti-Nazi demonstration in Chicago on June 27 which appeared in *Gay Community News*, 10 July. Noting that the fascist American Nazi Party had scheduled a "Death to Queers" rally on Gay Pride Day in Chicago, your article in gross disregard for the facts attributed to something called the "Stonewall Committee" the sizable anti-Nazi mobilization which shouted down the fascist provocation. Your article then slanders the organizers of the anti-Nazi demonstration:

> "The counter-demonstration was further complicated by the presence of the Spartacist League, whose members used a large sound system to 'try to steal the whole show,' in the words of Stonewall member Richard Wilson. Wilson said the Spartacists refused to address the specific question of lesbian and gay pride. He told GCN that in several cases Spartacists aided the police by pointing out to them persons who had thrown objects at the Nazis."

This is a lie from start to finish! Everyone who was there in Lincoln Park on June 27 knows that the anti-Nazi mobilization was organized by the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, initiated by the Spartacist League working with Chicago-area unionists and neighborhood groups. The crowd of 3,000 which turned out to "greet" the Nazis with chants of "Chicago is a labor town, Chicago is a gay town, Chicago is a Jewish town, Chicago is a black town-No room for Nazis!" were mobilized by the work of June 27 Committee volunteers who distributed 260,000 leaflets and soapboxed at union halls and plant gates, at schools and in working-class, black, Jewish and gay neighborhoods.

The "Stonewall Committee" was from the beginning a parasitic and contradictory venture which split under the impact of June 27 Committee organizing efforts. Though the Stonewallers differed with the official Gay Pride organizers' plans to avoid confronting the Nazis directly, they also opposed the June 27 Committee's broad-based, labor/black-led strategy of anti-fascist work. The Stonewallers' own "strategy" was premised on the old New Left sectoralist notion that nobody but gays will defend gay rights; they confined their "organizing" to empty gestures like a Stonewall march through the gay community consisting of *six* people! These are the people who are now spreading, with your assistance, slanders against the organizers of the anti-Nazi mobilization.

Most of your readers, unfortunately, will have no way of knowing what really happened. But all over Chicago are plenty who do. Prior to the demonstration, Chicago's gay weekly (GayLife, 25 June) provided serious reporting of our organizing efforts. While making clear the Pride Week Planning Committee's "decision not to facilitate a confrontation with the Nazis," GayLife also reported on the June 27 Committee press conference where a former leader of the Los Angeles-based Lavender and Red Union, Gene Shofner of the Spartacist League, called for a "mass mobilization of labor, blacks, minorities and gays to stop the Nazis" and explained the June 27 Committee's determination not to engage in futile (not to say suicidal) confrontations with the Chicago police. GayLife noted as well the formation of a separate Stonewall Committee and the split from it of a dozen members who were critical of the manipulations of the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The subsequent 2 July issue of *GayLife*, in an article headlined "No Room for Nazis!" accurately reported on the demonstration:

"The largest contingent of counterdemonstrators Sunday appeared to be members of the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis, which was initiated by the Spartacist League... The committee received a permit June 24 to bring sound equipment to the site and set up a platform Sunday from which black and labor representatives and [Spartacist] league members spoke...."

We do not claim to understand why the Gay Community News has solidarized with and given currency to a dirty, factionally motivated smear job. By so doing you have misinformed and disoriented your readers. You have also destroyed your credibility among the hundreds of Chicago gay militants who turned out against the Nazis under the banners of the June 27 Committee.

Gene Shofner Alison Spencer for the Spartacist League



SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Black Miners Massacred in South Africa

Strikebreaking cops and company guards killed eight black miners near Johannesburg last weekend in South Africa's most explosive labor struggle this year. Police used attack dogs, tear gas grenades and a helicopter to disperse angry strikers, who burned down an administration building at the West Driefontein mine on July 2. Firing into the crowd, the apartheid killers shot seven black miners dead, while another was stabbed to death. Two days later 1,000 miners refused to go underground and left for home.

The miners, contract laborers from the black "homelands" and neighboring states, live in concentration camp-like barracks and work in horrendously dangerous conditions in the world's deepest mines. Tension was high at West Driefontein and other mines of the Gold Fields of South Africa company after the bosses refused to match 16 percent pay increases (equal to the inflation rate) granted by rival Anglo American Corporation. The miners' anger overflowed after the death of six black workers in a Gold Fields mine accident



June 27. By the following weekend a wildcat walkout had spread to four area pits.

The contract labor system is at the heart of the apartheid regime's strategy

to divide and repress the black working class of South Africa. Denied permanent employment, or even the rights of citizenship in their own country, the contract miners are forbidden to live

Gold miners

toiling in

racist hell.

aurė/Woodfin Camp

with their families, forbidden to leave the prison-like compounds, paid wages only a fifth of white miners' and are regarded by the mine owners as more expendable than any slaves. Many are imported from Mozambique and other black-ruled states whose governments, despite ritual condemnations of apartheid, value the South African currency the miners bring home more than the rights and lives of their citizens.

The murder of the West Driefontein miners is not just another in the endless racist atrocities committed against helpless blacks. For despite the prisonlike conditions, despite the savage repression, the five-million-strong black proletariat is undermining the apartheid system. The recent period has seen the creation of mass unregistered black unions. The black workers of South Africa occupy a strategic position in the heart of the industrial powerhouse of the entire continent. They have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery and free the entire region from the white racist gold-and-diamond capitalists.

Feinstein Bans Handguns in S.F. SL: No to Gun Control!

SAN FRANCISCO-Mayor Dianne Feinstein has just signed into law her draconian ban on handgun ownership, demanding gun owners turn in their weapons in 90 days or face up to six months in jail and a \$500 fine. (Of course, the law exempts cops and a few select groups such as store owners and "gun collectors.") The new law had been approved by the Board of Supervisors despite the protests of hundreds of people from a broad spectrum of the population-white conservatives, the National Rifle Association, the White Panther Party and a group called Gay Guns. So-called "progressive" labor leaders like Charles Lamb of Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2 and the ILWU's Jimmy Herman joined with the guardians of the bosses' "law and order," such as former SF sheriff Richard Hongisto (now an SF supervisor), in supporting the disarming of working people.

But in the first two days of its passage no one had turned in their guns; instead



the Police Department reported receiving a lot of calls about qualifying for a permit, and the local DA held off enforcement pending a legal battle. Meanwhile, the ominous anti-gun offensive is spreading: Berkeley passed a similar ban, Oakland is talking about holding hearings, and a statewide November ballot initiative threatens to put a freeze on all handguns with a registration requirement.

Just as the gun control proponents try to appeal to anti-black racism over street crime, many of the anti-guncontrol witnesses at a June 10 public hearing in SF tried to make use of racist arguments. All more or less openly agreed that cops should have guns. All except one, that is. Spartacist League spokesman Diana Coleman rejected controls as a threat to minorities in particular, pointing out that "if guns are banned, only the cops and the Klan will have guns." (To their credit, the Gay Guns' spokesman was the only other speaker to note that gun control hurts blacks, women and gays.)

While some conservatives and racists hissed and interrupted Coleman's remarks, she was greeted with considerable applause as she finished. We reprint below her testimony: violence we saw last September at the anti-Duarte El Salvador demonstration when mounted police charged demonstrators in an example of unprovoked police brutality? And more generally, the wholesale murder of the Black Panther Party by cops and the FBI? And the everyday police violence that every black ghetto in this country, from Watts to Miami, has endured? [SF police chief] Murphy and Hongisto want gun control because they want the cops to have the monopoly on guns.

We were shown earlier in the hearings the gun that killed [city supervisor] Harvey Milk, and we were told that this is an argument for gun control. But it isn't. Because Feinstein's ordinance would allow selected individuals to keep their guns. And of course off-duty cops or ex-cops like [Milk's murderer] Dan White would never have trouble getting a permit. The gay Democratic clubs are for gun control-well, maybe if Harvey Milk had had a gun he wouldn't be dead now. And maybe if the old people at the International Hotel had exercised their constitutional right to bear arms, [then SF sheriff] Hongisto would have been a little less free in sledgehammering down their doors. Then there's the rising tide of fascist violence in this country, and of course they're armed to the teeth. When the Nazis wanted to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the police gave them a permit, and Feinstein and the Board of Supervisors agreedadvising people to ignore this threat. It was only a united front of unions and minority organizations organized by the Spartacist League that stopped the Nazis from preaching and practicing racist terror in this city. Those who rely on the police to protect them from the fascists will soon find out that a goodly number of those who burn the crosses and wear the white hoods at night are wearing blue uniforms during the day. Labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists!

and the second second These days the liberal-authoritarian, "we know what's good for you" movement takes in everything from gun control to outlawing smoking and banning pornography. The smugness of the whole thing is repulsive to the average person who has to live in the grubby real world. So the liberals try to make gun control palatable by appealing to everyone's real fears of being mugged, raped or murdered. There's no solution to crime under capitalism, but self-defense is sure a whole lot easier when you've got a gun. Unlike the feminist alternative of karate lessons, the handgun is rightly seen as the Great Equalizer.

The hypocrisy of people like Feinstein is appalling. She's known to have carried a .38; she's got a bodyguard; she's got a private limousine and a chauffeur at taxpayers' expense. And she's telling those of us who have to ride the Muni bus that we shouldn't be allowed to have a gun-or for that matter, unions, decent working conditions or affordable housing. She's a representative of the ruling class of this country, who are determined to make the working class pay for capitalism's crisis. (Shouts of "Out of order!") So while restraints on the fascists are being relaxed, the push is on to disarm the working class, especially blacks, as part of a drive toward a bonapartist state aimed at keeping working people down. We better fight these anti-democratic measures while we can. Gun control kills. It kills blacks in particular. It kills in the service of a desperate ruling class which long ago became a bar to human progress and will seek to maintain its position through naked state terror. It is this class and its thugs which must be disarmed, through victorious proletarian revolution. No to gun control! For the right of black armed self-defense against racist terror! For labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists! Thank you very much.

VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Charles Burroughs PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura (Manager). Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Linda Jarreau

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Mark Kellermann, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Marjorie Stamberg

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My name is Diana Coleman, and I'm speaking on behalf of the Spartacist League. As socialists we oppose Feinstein's gun control measure and all of the other gun control measures being proposed here. If guns are banned, only the cops and the Klan will have guns. Police and fascist violence are on the rise in this country, and gun control would leave blacks and other minority people defenseless in the face of racist terror.

Feinstein and the police chief talk about fighting violence, but the bestorganized perpetrators of wanton handgun violence are the cops. Yet of course these thugs in blue are deliberately exempt from the liberals' gun control campaign. What about the kind of

Spartacist Don Andrews Speaks on Chicago Black Radio Blacks Under the Gun

We print below excerpts from a radio interview with Don Andrews of the Spartacist League and June 27 Committee Against the Nazis broadcast live on WVON, Chicago's leading black radio station, on June 26.

Richard Steele: Why have you formed the Committee Against the Nazis?

Don Andrews: Well, the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis was initiated by the Spartacist League in response to the Nazis and the Klan [threat] to march on Gay Pride Day. Certainly the gays are on their hit list, but they have other targets in this city. Especially they want to go after blacks, and Jews. I understand that not so long ago they demolished the home of a Jewish family in Evanston. And they would like to preach their "White Power" madness in the city of Chicago. Steele: Why not have a demonstration at another day, at another time, as opposed to that time and that place on Sunday?

Andrews: The underlying assumption that's behind that is that if you ignore the Nazis and the Klan, they will ignore us. You see, the Klan and Nazis are a deadly threat right now. Under Reagan's war against black people, against labor, against women and all minorities, and gays, in this country, the Klan and Nazis feel that they can come into a powerful industrial center like Chicago and carry out attacks on one of the most vulnerable sections of the oppressed, the gays, and then from there to launch a drive for genocide against black people, and the Jews. Since Reagan has come to power they have grown enormously: they number 10,000, they have 100,000 supporters.

Steele: Also psychologically they have gained probably a lot of strength based on what is the perceived attitude of the current administration.

Andrews: Yes. Bill Wilkinson of the Klan, shortly after Reagan was elected, made the statement that his platform could have been written by a Klansman. And that is not far from the truth. The Reagan government certainly has protected these fascists. They see the possibility of unleashing them, particularly in the context of a resurgent,

> Stop the NAZI Provocation

Against Jews

and Blacks

fighting labor movement that champions the right of labor and blacks and all of the oppressed. They may need these shock troops to drown in blood the workers movement, the struggle for black equality in the future.

Steele: I haven't seen too much in the major media about the event on Sunday.

Andrews: Well, they certainly didn't mind playing up Greensboro as a "shootout" between two "extremist" organizations, and of course whitewashed the Klan/Nazi killers. Where was the liberal outcry when the antiracist militants were gunned down in broad daylight in Greensboro? One of our purposes, since the major media have maintained a conspiracy of silence on this issue, has been to make this an issue among blacks and Jews and working people in this city, and other ethnic minorities, and the response we are getting is very, very positive. There are a lot of angry people who do not want to see the Nazi/Klan filth raise their heads in this city, to get a recruiting station in order to recruit to genocide. They dream of their death camps; they dream of making Chicago a vast cemetery of Jewish, black and labor corpses. We have to do everything in our power through a labor-led fight to organize black people, Jewish people and all of the oppressed to stop the Nazis and the Klan from raising their heads in the city.

Steele: Let me ask you, what is the Spartacist League?

Andrews: We're a labor-socialist organization and, very simply put, our struggle is to build a racially integrated workers party in this country that can fight for the rule of the working class. Talking about combatting Nazi/Klan terror in the industrial centers throughout this country: I'm from Detroit, and one of the things the Spartacist League did along with militant auto workers right in the aftermath of the Greensboro killings was we were able to mobilize blacks, many of whom were auto workers, socialists and black youths, to stop the Klan from riding in downtown Detroit. This was in the face of determined opposition on the part of [Mayor Coleman Young and the Democratic Party administration, who threatened to arrest anti-Klan militants who



Don Andrews

showed up. Also in San Francisco in April '80, labor, minorities and gays stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. Our strategy is one of mobilizing the power of the labor movement, alongside its allies, to prevent such race-hate organizations from gaining a foothold.

Steele: What's the City's attitude at this point?

Andrews: Well, they would like people to stay home. They would basically like to give the Nazis and the Klan a platform on Sunday under the guise of their "right to Constitutionally protected free speech," which is another way of saying the "right" to organize lynch mobs against blacks and others. From the very beginning we have been very determined to make one thing absolutely clear: our strategy is to avoid confrontation with the police. We are out there to demonstrate our outrage against the Nazis and the Klan.

Steele: There may be people who are not affiliated with any organization, and you have no control over them.

Andrews: The truth of the matter is, where does the violence come from? Who has been maiming and murdering and bombing black people's homes and other minorities' homes from coast to coast in this country? The violence comes from these race-hate terrorist organizations. I can spell that out very graphically. For example, even in Detroit recently three Klansmen were convicted for blowing off the hand of a black woman. I have a friend who was a phone worker in California, who was shot down off a pole by the Ku Klux Klan. And also Greensboro. These are not isolated incidents. This comes in a context of a decaying economy, a crumbling capitalist economy that cannot provide the smallest reforms. They are taking away every single gain that black people and working people have fought for in the past and so these Nazi and Klan organizations feel that it's open season on blacks and working people and Jews and gays. By the way, our organization, in terms of defending the democratic rights of homosexuals, we have done that even before there was a gay movement, because our party views itself, and we are in reality, the tribune of the people. We want to fight every single instance of oppression and tyranny that this capitalist government visits on people, because the only way we're going to get out of this situation is by stopping the Nazis and the Klan and laying the basis for an *integrated* fight for jobs for all. That's why on June 27 it's so important that we turn out masses of people who are the enemies of fascism. The Spartacist League is a socialist organization which has initiated this, but we can't do it by ourselves. We are a small socialist organization of black and white revolutionaries who have a vision of a better world, a world in which the working class can rule and black people can finally have their equality. That costs money, that means time and dedication, and that means bodies. We think a lot of people will see its importance by being there on the 27th.

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Caller: I'd like to say I appreciate their cause, and I'm certainly going to be at the park. Another thing, they are also against Catholic people.

Steele: You're talking about the Nazis. **Caller:** Yeah, and the Ku Klux Klan. I don't know how they could let them be there with a Nazi uniform. I believe what he is talking about tonight.

Steele: So you're going to be out in support, is that it?

Caller: I certainly am. I told my husband I'm going to be there. I just wanted to give credit for what they're doing.

* * * * *

Caller: I want to appreciate what they're doing too. Every black person should be there. All of those Jews out there in Evanston, when they [the Nazis] were supposed to march out there, they stopped them. And that's what we should do. Every black person, every Jew and everybody should be down there. I'll be there. I will. And I want to get the number where I can send some money to help them along. Where should I send the money to?

Steele: Let's get you a phone number, and then you can call. What is that number again?

Andrews: That's [312] 427-0003.

Steele: Let me ask you a question before you go. Doesn't it bother you about the prospect that there is always a possibility of some direct confrontation?

Caller: Sure it bothers me. But what are you going to do? If we don't stick together and be there, what're we going to do? Every word they said tonight is really true. It's getting worser and worser.

Steele: So basically, your feeling is the cause far outweighs the negative thought....

Caller: Just like the lady [said] who called just a while ago. Why would the government let them [the Nazis] demonstrate like that? Why? Anything a black person tries to do, they cut it down.

* * * * *

Caller: I would like to ask, do they foresee a possible reformation of the Black Panthers, or some other ethnic



Blacks know Nazis/Klan are a deadly threat.

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organization that will fight, maybe physically, against the Nazis?

Andrews: Well, I'd like to comment on that. First of all, black people today are absolutely leaderless. They're vulnerable, they're disorganized and they are full of despair. Because, for the most part, the black "leaders" in this country, what they're about particularly now is finding another racist Democrat to sell to us. People have their eyes on Teddy Kennedy. Do you know what Teddy Kennedy did when the racist mobs were menacing and attacking black schoolchildren in Boston during the fight for school integration? Absolutely nothing. He turned a blind eye.

On the question of the Black Panther Party and what happened to it, I'd like to comment first of all that the only way black people can attain their freedom is *continued on page 11*

Special Ipplemen WORKERS VANGUARD



"No Hitlers in Chicago, Nazis Off the Streets!"

Printed below are excerpts from speeches given at the rally of the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis in Chica-

go's Lincoln Park.

Ed Kartsen

Chairman of the rally and New York City transit worker.

I'd like to welcome everyone to this rally to stop the KKK and the Nazis. I'm glad to see people come out here to stop this Nazi filth. They come out to carry out terror, and I know from what happened to one of my fellow transit workers on Monday that they mean business: the racists clubbed him to death in Brooklyn, with iron pipes. That's what the Nazis mean. Here in Chicago many of you are familiar with what went on in Marquette Park, where the Nazis carried out racist terror against the black community. You're familiar with what went on in Evanston, where the Nazis burned down a Jewish home. They think that gays, blacks should be exterminated. They think the labor movement must be smashedthey're for slave labor. They want to prepare this country for war. But we are here to stop them! We want to let them know that we will not tolerate their presence in Chicago! We will not allow them to come here to build for race terror, for anti-gay terror, for anti-union terror! We are here to say the Nazis will not march in Chicago! [Chanting: "Chicago is a union town-No room for Nazis! Chicago is a black town-No room for Nazis! Chicago is a Jewish town-No room for Nazis! Chicago is a gay town-No room for Nazis!"]

These Nazis, when they carried out their racist terror down in Greensboro, North Carolina, the people that were on the other side of their gunsights were labor union organizers, civil rights workers, black women and leftists. They target all of us for the extermination camps. They want to put all of us into meat grinders, and they want to make this country go to war on the basis of race, god and country. They are here to put everyone in this demonstration in



extermination camps or forced labor camps and use us for cannon fodder in the next war. But we are here to say no, they will not do this, we will not allow them.

Willie Harris

Secretary-Treasurer of Local 372, Service Employees International Union.

Well, today, brothers and sisters, I think it's a serious test. I admit to you the labor movement has been lax on some issues. But on this issue, we've got to come to the forefront. And it's not



just the Nazis. They're just one sick group that couldn't make it. We've got a bigger problem. And I'm joining you, the labor movement's joining you, and all these groups are joining you to tell you that there's a sicker group-and they're sitting right up on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C.! What are we going to do? We're going to stop the Nazis, number one. But number two, we're going to organize.

We're in a serious situation. They're trying to divide the workers, and make them think you don't need a union, you don't need this, you don't need that. What you need is unity-and we're going to get it. And today is just one stride forward. On behalf of Local 372 and all its 6,000 members, I want to say to you: I'm proud to be out here today! I'm proud to be a part of this type of organization. But I will not be satisfied until we come together as one and knock those big Nazis out of the Capitol and say to ourselves, we've done the job! This is only one phase-Washington, D.C. is the next!

Ed Kartsen, left; Jackie Brooks.

Myra Owens

Spartacus Youth League.

The Nazis are using the gay demonstration as a scapegoat. The real focal point is the black community. But we are here today to stop them again, and we will if they show their faces! It is only the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League who raise the fight to stop the Nazis and the Klan. There is not one black organization, like Rev. Daughtry's Black United Front or Ben Chavis' National Black Independent Political continued on page 6

9 JULY 1982

"No Hitlers in Chicago"...

(continued from page 5)

Party or Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, that even raises a finger to stop Reagan's Cold War drive or even to fight against the Nazis and the Klan. Their main concern is building a future in the Democratic Party. But there's no future for you in the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. They're both equally dedicated to the anti-Soviet war drive that fuels the growth of the Nazis and the destruction of humanity.

So we need our own party, you need your own party, which is a workers party, a party that will fight in your interests. And that party is the Spartacist League and its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League. With the growth of the Nazis and the Klan, there are candidates of the Nazis and Klan in both ruling parties. Remember Tom Metzger, the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan who got the Democratic nomination in San Diego? Neither party has anything to offer black youth in this country. But the Spartacus Youth League does, and we want you to join us. Just like we said on El Salvador, it applies to blacks: Take a side! It is revolution or death for black people in this country!

It is blacks who will be in the forefront of fighting against the Nazis and the Klan. If the cops don't get blacks, the Nazis will. Remember the Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, murdered here in Chicago? Remember Ron Settles, murdered by the Signal Hill police in Long Beach, California? Recently two black GIs were killed in Germany by a Nazi-lover, and one of them was a sergeant in the Army. And just last week a black transit worker in New York was murdered by a racist gang.

It's great that you're all out here to fight the Nazis. But the fight is not over today. We must continue to fight and we must win that fight. The Spartacus Youth League has a future for blacks. Come and join the organization that initiated this demonstration. Have a shot at something else besides being the burnt-out ash of history. There are some of you out there who want to fight and give a shot at socialism. So come and join the Spartacus Youth League. Join us today, because tomorrow might be too late. We have the world to win!

Chuck Marino

Member, United Auto Workers Local 6 (International Harvester).

Besides myself, other endorsers from the Local include Vice President Jim West, Committeeman Dan Johnson, stewards Melvin Lewis, Miller Rogers, Charles Graham and several other rankand-file members. UAW Local 6 has a history of fighting against race terrorism in this area. In 1975 one of our brothers, C.B. Dennis, moved into an all-white section of the suburb of



Labor Must Show the Way



Steel, auto, construction, housing: millions are out of work and the conditions are continually getting worse. I have ten years service out there at Harvester and I've been laid off since January. There's a good chance I'll never see the inside of that plant again. Right now they're literally dismantling it piece by piece. There's a thousand people working there—in '73 they had 3,500 people working. And our socalled union leaders like Doug Fraser say there's nothing we can do, times are tough, we have to grant these concessions to keep the companies going. They



have the slogan, "When the going gets tough, throw in the towel." I say that it's time to fight these concessions. The UAW was built when millions of auto workers and other workers throughout this country sat down and instituted industrial unionism in this country. That kind of solidarity is what's necessary to stop the layoffs and plant closings.

[The Nazis arrive. Chants: "The Nazis killed six million Jews! Stop the Nazis now!" "Labor, blacks, Jews, gays-Unite to stop the Nazis!" "Nazis want to destroy us all-Nazis off the streets!"

"Labor must show the way-Stop the Nazis and KKK!" "Remember Nazi death camps—It must not happen here!" "Remember Auschwitz! Remember Treblinka! Remember Dachau! Remember Lidice! Remember the Warsaw Ghetto! Remember Greensboro! Nazis off the Streets!" "No Hitlers in Chicago-Nazis off the streets!" "Smash the Nazis, this is the hour-Labor and blacks have got the power!" And finally, as the Nazis leave, "Nazis out! Nazis out! Nazis out!" Cheers.]

Don Andrews

Spartacist League Central Committee. You people did it! We all did it! We drove the Nazis out of here! We can be proud of ourselves that we stuck together here. [Cheers] Black people stuck together. Jews stuck together. Labor stuck together. Gays stuck together. And we can do other things when we stick together. There's no room for Nazis here. There's no room for the Ku Klux Klan. There's no room for those who want to kill gays and blacks and Jews. But there's room for those who want to fight for the oppressed in this country. Because we aren't going to

Broadview, and his new home was firebombed on several occasions. He brought his problem to a Local membership meeting and we passed a motion to immediately institute a civil rights defense committee. We contacted local unions throughout the Chicago area. Over 200 workers participated in my local, plus other workers from the Steelworkers, Meatcutters, etc. We stayed out at C.B.'s home for three months. Our defense proves that once labor stands up to these Nazi and Klan scum they crawl right back into their holes. I'm very happy to say that C.B. Dennis is still living in that house, and that section of Broadview is now completely integrated.

You know, every major industry in this country is literally falling apart.

6

List of Endorsers, June 27 Committee to Stop the Nazis

Mohamad Akhgar, The Crescent Mildred Cornelius, member, Teamster Robert Allen, Editor, Black Scholar Local 743 Keith Anwar, member, USWA Local 1010, Wallace Davis, Jr., Working Hard to Insure fired for honoring picket line **People's Protection** Karl Armstrong, Student Government, Patricia Dejean University of Illinois/Chicago Circle Asa D. Dempsay, President, UAW Local 588 Roberto Flores, Financial Secretary, USWA Lee Brooks, University of Chicago student Jan Carew, Co-convener, Dennis Brutus Defense Committee; Professor, i ocal 1010 Leslie Friedman, Chairman, Chicago Northwestern University Greensboro Justice Committee Dr. Joy Carew, Dennis Brutus Defense William Gailes, First Vice Chairman, Committee Grievance Committee, USWA Local 1010 Edward Clark, President UAIA; Steward, Manuel Gaspar, Latino radio announcer Letter Carriers Union of Canada Local 1 Gay Academic Union of the University John T. Coffey of Toronto William Cook, member, ATU Local 241 Charita Germany, postal clerk

Jay Goldberg, member, Stonewall Committee Gilbert Gorden, former Senior Attorney, Village of Skokie Charles Graham, Alternate Steward, UAW Local 6 **Greek-American Union** Joe Gutierrez, Griever, USWA Local 1010 Joseph Gyurko, Chairman, Grievance Committee, USWA Local 1010 Willie Harris, Secretary-Treasurer, SEIU Local 372 David Harrison, member, ATU Local 241 Rocky Heng, student, Loyola University Daniel Herwitz, Amnesty International, Hyde Park Chapter Elisa Horowitz, Secretary, University of Illinois/Chicago Circle Hillel Dan Johnson, Shop Committeeman, UAW Local 6 Jackie Jordan, Executive Board, CWA Local 4050 (Detroit) Lisa Katzman, graduate student, University of Chicago



-Stop the Nazis and KKK!

let these people come out here to try and destroy us and goose-step here. They didn't expect thousands of people to stand in their way. They were wrong, weren't they. [Shouts of "Yes!"] So, brothers and sisters, we should all be proud of being able to mobilize our forces successfully today and prevent them from carrying out their program.

I'm from the Spartacist League, and when we heard that the Nazis were going to be here, we said somebody had to do something. We said we believe that the labor movement and other sections of the oppressed would defend the rights of gays. We know that the Nazis and the Klan have gays at the beginning of their hit list, but they mainly want to kill blacks. And where were the so-called black organizations today? Like Operation PUSH-where were they, these socalled leaders? They're busily running around to the stinking racist Democrats. Like Jimmy Carter. Like Ted Kennedy. Like Jane Byrne, who wanted us to ignore the Nazis and the Klan. She told us to stay at home today. They don't ignore us, right? So it's important that we came out here and we mobilized our forces. Because there's a lot of wind being put in their sails by the racist in the

White House, by both Democrats and Republicans, who are waging a war on labor, blacks and all of the oppressed.

So we put out thousands of leaflets, hundreds of thousands of leaflets raising the question, "Who Are These Nazis? What Do They Want to Destroy? Who Do They Want to Kill?" We've all got to get together to fight this Nazi threat. Because you see the bosses in this country are desperately trying to set us at each other's throats. We have to begin

to crack the divisions that divide the working people in this society. That's why the Spartacist League did the simple decent thing, mobilizing labor and all sections of the oppressed to defend the rights of gays, blacks and Jews in this city. You see the fascists can be stopped.

Now Reagan is talking about peace and we know he means war. And they're driving toward a war against the Soviet Union, to overturn the gains made by



Cliff Mezo

the Russian working people and peasants in 1917. Gains which the capitalists would like to take back. Those gains belong to us. There's plenty of problems in that country, like the absence of working-class democracy. And we Trotskyists fight to overthrow the bureaucrats that are against world working-class revolution. But we have a program that makes sense to the working people, the blacks, the Jews, the minorities in this country. A program that says we've got to rely on our own strength and build that into a powerful movement for socialism, to fight for a workers government, for a planned economy, for jobs for all....

We desperately need a fighting workers party in this country. The only way we're going to stop the Klan and the Nazis, is through mobilizing labor and all of the oppressed. The Spartacist League is the party for those who really want to fight this racist dying capitalist system. I want to appeal to people here. Don't sit on the sidelines. Join the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, because our organization shows the way forward to a socialist future, in which the working class has taken the power out of the hands of the capitalists. And you've got to fight for it, because it's not going to be given to you.

Norm Roth

Former presicent, United Auto Workers Local 6 (Melrose Park, Illinois).

First let me congratulate all those who organized this demonstration against hate, who organized this demonstration for democracy, for the American people, on behalf of all the people who suffered in World War II. The world has paid its price. It was former Supreme Court justice Jackson, who was the American counsel at Nuremburg, who said that the world cannot endure a revival of Nazism and fascism. Such a revival would mean the end of all civilization. What is the real meaning of the Nazis and the Klan, those who preach hate and division? They are the bulwark of reaction, those who would tear apart the people's movements when the people fight for a decent life, for unity and democracy.

There is no reason on earth why this, the wealthiest nation in the world, should have about 15 million unemployed. This is the danger to American democracy, something that cannot be tolerated in America. And in order to keep us from solving this problem the Nazis and Klan are nourished, by those who led us into World War II and now hope to turn the people's fight for peace, an end to nuclear armaments. Peace and friendship around the world with all nations, and resolving our problems through the United Nations through discussion and give-and-take bargaining instead of the dead-end way of war. There are no nuclear wars, it's only mutual suicide.

I say once again: do not look for division, look for unity. The people yes! You have showed your strength today.

Joesephus King, President, AFSCME Local 23 (Detroit) LeBlanch LeDree, member, ATU Local 241 Mildred Leonard, member, USWA Local 1010 Mike Logan, Editor, The Banner, Loop College student newspaper Conrad Lynn, attorney and civil rights activist Stephen MacDonald, member, The Body Politic Collective, Toronto Clay Martin, former member, Teamsters Against Racism Tim McCaskell, member, The Body Politic Collective, Toronto Otis McDonald, Vice President, University of Chicago Council of SEIU Local 321 Chuck Marino, member, UAW Local 6 Eugene Melvin, Steward, UAW Local 6 Ralph H. Metcalfe Michael Mezo, Griever, USWA Local 1010 Al Miller, Professor, Political Science Department, Mundelein College Kathy Mills, member, ATU Local 241 Roberta Morris, Instructor, School District 201-U CMEA Reverend John Norwood, Pastor

Organization of Nigerian Students, University of Illinois/Chicago Circle John Park, bus driver Partisan Defense Committee William A. Pelz, Political Science Department, **Roosevelt University** Keith Phelps, LIUNA Local 1165 Darral Pugh, member, Gay-Lesbian Illini **Red Rose Collective Rod Rhodes** Geri Richman, member, ATU Local 241 Luis Rios, member, Teamster Local 743 Rouge Militant Caucus, members, UAW Local 600 Miller T. Rogers, Committeeman, UAW Local 6 Rich Rubenstein, Academic Dean, Antioch School of Law Israel Shahak, Chairman, Israeli League for Human Rights; survivor of Nazi Bergen-Belsen concentration camp Lorrie Shaw, member, Teamster Local 743 Robert Simpson, Business Agent, Teamster Local 743 Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League

- Landon S. Stigall, member, Teamster Local 743
- Ronald Strong, Black Student Association, Jane Addams Graduate College of Social Work
- David C. Thomas, Associate Professor of Law, Chicago-Kent College of Law
- David Thorstad, gay rights activist and co-author of "The Early Homosexual Rights Movement, 1864-1935"
- R. Trebotich, Steward, CWA Local 5050 Universal African Improvement Association
- Alan Vukman-Tennenbaum, Secretary-
- Treasurer, Labour Rights for Domestic Workers
- Alphonso Wells, Executive Board member, UAW Local 1776 (Willow Run, Michigan) Jim West, Vice President, UAW Local 6 Meredith White, Alternate Steward, UAW Local 6
- Preston Williams, member, AFL-CIO 18B Women's Building, Bay Area Working Hard to Insure People's Protection

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only

Maintain it and go on to a victory that will produce a bigger and better America in a world of peace, where all can live together and Nazism belongs with the dinosaurs in museums.

Cliff Mezo

Vice president, United Steelworkers Local 1010 (Inland Steel).

The labor unions around the area should be represented in a great more numbers than they are here today, because the goal of the Nazi party has been and was in Germany to break up the unions. In their quest for power they prey on racial prejudice, any prejudice, but their real goal is to enslave the workers once they come to power. And this is what happened in Germany. continued on page 8

7

9 JULY 1982

"No Hitlers in Chicago"...

(continued from page 7)

When they were coming to power they persecuted the Jews. In this country they try to stir up prejudice against the blacks, the Latinos and the gays.

I think the biggest fear we have is laughing at the clowns who were across the street and not really taking them seriously. This was what was done in Germany. Everyone laughed at that little paper hanger with the funny mustache: "Nothing serious could come of that." And people say, "Well, this is not Germany. Our people aren't like that. It can't happen here." I tell you it was happening here, brothers and sisters. Before World War II there were huge demonstrations and the Nazi sympathy ran rampant in this country. There were German-American Bunds and youth movements. There were prominent people-Lindbergh, movie stars-who were openly sympathetic and helping the Nazi movement in Germany.

If we don't take the Klan and Nazis seriously, they will succeed in stirring up

"Labor Must Defend the Rights of Gays!"

Statement from Jim West, vice president of Local 6, United Auto Workers, at International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois.

I, Jim West, Vice President of UAW Local 6 at International Harvester in Melrose Park, have endorsed the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. It is important that we stop the Nazis. Today they are going after gays because they represent the weakest link. But if they chop off the weakest link today, tomorrow the next oppressed group becomes the weakest link-blacks, minorities, the trade unions and so on up the chain. I encourage the entire labor movement to turn out on June 27 in Lincoln Park to stop the Nazis.

prejudice, and once they gain a foothold your workers are through. They're little more than slaves.

Gene Shofner

Spartacist League Central Committee, formerly a leader of the Red Flag Union/Lavender & Red Union, a leftwing gay collective in Los Angeles.

Brothers and sisters, this was an important day today, because the



people of Chicago came out in the thousands to oppose the Nazis here. They said the Nazis will not march in our town. There were some people who said you should ignore these Nazis. When you ignore the fascists it's like ignoring poison. If a rattlesnake bites you in the leg and you ignore that, vou're dead in 15 minutes. The economic conditions in this country breed rightwing reaction. These fascists tried to unite the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan and the America First Committee to come out to call for "Death to Queers." And the people of Chicago said, "No! We will not allow ourselves to be piecemealed to death." That's why it is very important that labor came out and blacks came out and minorities and Jews came out with the gays to fight against this fascist reaction. That's an important victory.

Joe Lamm

Vice president, Service Employees International Union Local 372.

I want to congratulate all of you for the tremendous demonstration today. But I'd like to add caution that if there's anybody here today who thinks that by coming here that's the end, they're wrong. Because the Nazis can only exist when there's a climate of hate, oppression. And we've got to all stick together as a coalition. The greedy and the corporations are united. Whatever their differences are, they take a firm stand against the working people in this country. And unless we stick together and set aside our differences, only they can benefit from that.

There are only 20 percent of American workers that are unionized. That means a lot of people right here are working in factories where they have a dictatorship of the boss that oppresses them. People fought and died for the right to have unions, and we've got to take advantage of that and unionize every factory that every one of us works in. Because the first thing any totalitarian country does is to get rid of trade unions. And Ronald Reagan and all of his henchmen are doing their best to crush unions and working people in this country.

People today that have come out here have shown that we do have the power to fight back. We've sent the message loud and clear from our demonstration. Let's not let it die. Let's go back and make it work in our communities, day and night, until we have victory.

Boris Ross

Fought with the Red Army in the Ukraine in 1918 during the Civil War, long-time activist in anti-fascist organizing in Chicago.

Friends, fellow workers and anti-Nazis. All my life since I was 17 years old I fought against Nazism. I fought against the White Guardists who were trying to massacre the Jews in the Ukraine. They were supplied with American guns and American weapons. And we had to fight against them. If the Red Army hadn't given the Jews guns to organize the self-defense groups, there wouldn't be a single Jew left in the Ukraine. Now here in the United States I had a very bitter experience. I saw the danger of Nazism coming. In 1931 we called a demonstration against the Nazis, when everyone was poohpoohing them. Twenty-five thousand people were marching from Douglas Park to Grant Park and we organized the Anti-Nazi League.

Now who are the Nazis? The Nazis were a bunch of hired hoodlums of the capitalists in Germany, and now they are being supported by the multinational corporations in the United States. The multinational corporations decided they want to reduce the status of the American working class to work as cheap as the workers in Taiwan, the workers in Hong Kong, the workers in South Africa. We have over 12 million unemployed today, and that's only the people who are getting unemployment insurance. There's six millions who were never employed. Black Americans who graduate high school, who dropped out of high school, who lost all hope for a job, and then they blame them, say they're criminals.

We have to organize the workers, organize them and take over the factories. The workers can run the factories without the bosses. The bosses cannot run factories without help. From the day Hitler dropped dead, the American imperialists took over the anti-Soviet flag. All over the world they're fighting Sovietism. But the Soviets destroyed the Nazis. They sacrificed 20 million people! Organize and fight!

Jackie Brooks

Activist in the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis.

Thank you all for coming out here today. I didn't think we'd have this large a turnout. I was very happy for this. Everybody in the League worked hard for the past month or so. And I'd like to make a point that we have people with buckets out here. We'd like to solicit your donations. This whole thing cost us a lot of money and we need your support to help us offset it.

I want to tell you how I got affiliated with this. I saw someone distributing leaflets and I read it and I said: "Wow, this is of importance. Is there anything I can do to help?" I was reading the leaflets where the Nazis were talking about a final solution for blacks as being canned for dog food, and it reminded me that their final solution for the Jews was to exterminate them, six million. And it jolted my memory as to the 60 million blacks that were killed during slavery by people of the same racial mentality. Which is totally psychotic to me.

You people out here today, we love you all for coming out here and really supporting this. And don't think that it's over just because we ran them off. They'll show up again. They showed up in Marquette Park, telling us we can't come over here, we can't come across the tracks, we can't move here, we can't shop here. We can't even just drive through there. And that's crazy. I mean, we all work, and those of us who don't we wish we were. Me for one. We pay taxes and this is a so-called free society. We're supposed to have the pursuit of so-called life and so-called liberty. But people like these fascists tell us we can't do anything, I don't see how that can happen.

[Chanting: Chicago is a labor town— No room for Nazis!]

Spartacist League Forums

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League

Videotape and Eyewitness Accounts of Chicago Raily

3,000 Mobilize to Stop the Nazis in Chicago!

Reaganism Breeds Fascism from El Salvador to Chicago: For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Speaker:

Don Andrews, SL Central Committee; Detroit socialist candidate for City Council; organizer, successful anti-fascist mobilizations, Detroit '79, Ann Arbor '82

Saturday, July 10, 7:30 p.m. Second Unitarian Church 656 West Barry For more information call (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

8

"Labor Must Show the Way! Stop the Nazis and the KKK!" Thousands Mobilize to Stop Nazis in Chicago

Lynch Mob Murders Black Transit Worker William Turks—Chicago Rally Shows the Way to Stop Racist Attacks!

Speakers:

Gene Shofner, SL Central Committee, formerly of Red Flag Union/Lavender & Red Union Myra Owens, SYL National Committee Guest Speaker:

Ed Kartsen, NYC transit worker; chairman of the June 27 Chicago mass rally to stop the Nazis

Saturday, July 10, 7:30 p.m. Machinists Hall, 7 E. 15th St. For more information call (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Speaker: Diana Coleman, SL candidate for SF Board of Supervisors

Friday, July 16, 7:30 p.m. UC Extension, Room 202 55 Laguna, San Francisco For more information call (415) 863-6963

Saturday, July 17, 7:30 p.m. Laney College, D-200 9th & Fallon, Oakland For more information call (415) 835-1535

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 Phone: (312) 427-0003

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Trotskyist League of Canada

 Toronto

 Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.

 299 Queen St. W., Suite 502

 Toronto, Ontario
 Phone: (416) 593-4138

Thousands Mobilize...

(continued from page 1)

1

for the protest had been distributed in the area over the previous two weeks. At the demonstration members of dozens of local unions were present. Speakers included Norm Roth (former president, United Auto Workers Local 6), Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo (vice president, Steelworkers Local 1010), Willie Harris and Joe Lamm (secretary-treasurer and vice president respectively of Service Employees International Local 372). A B'nai B'rith concentration camp survivors chapter mobilized for the demonstration, and a Palestinian support committee turned out as well. Some feminists and gay groups, the Red Rose Collective and various self-proclaimed socialists also showed up.

Black participation in the demonstration was key. To come up from the South Side to Lincoln Park on a Sunday morning took not only commitment but guts. Black people have been stoned by racist mobs when they marched for integration. Terrorist nightriders have firebombed their homes when they moved into the "wrong" neighborhood. They remember the cop murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton as he lay in his bed. They remember the Nazis' "white power" rallies in Marquette Park. Jackie Brooks, a young black militant who worked with the June 27 Committee, recalled that "even a dog that belonged to a black person wouldn't cross the railroad tracks there." But blacks also know that they are No. 1 on the Klan/ Nazis' death lists, and you've got to do something.

But not everyone sought to mobilize mass opposition to the Nazis' death threats. The mainstream gay organizations chose to "ignore" the Nazis, making sure that their march didn't arrive at Lincoln Park until after the storm troopers were gone. And while labor officials endorsed the socialistinitiated demonstration, many "leftists" did their best to defeat it. The Communist Party (CP) got out of the way of this rally, although various of its supporters such as Roth, a leader of the CP's "Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy" group, came and spoke. **Progressive Labor and its International** Committee Against Racism (PL/ InCAR) worked against the demonstration. First InCAR honcho Finley Campbell claimed disingenuously that it was a "trap" by Mayor Byrne (who endorsed the Gay Pride march), later admitting that PL's real position was Moral Majority bigotry ("The SL is stopping the Nazis for a bunch of 'fags' who are part of the Nazi movement"). Meanwhile, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), which postures as macho Nazi fighters, retreated for cover into the gay milieu. The RSL formed a Stonewall Committee which soon crumbled as its defeatist policy was swamped by the organizing of the SL-led June 27 Committee

sage said to "turn to your bibles...to find out why god says the queers and their supporters must be put to death." As the June 27 Committee's campaign picked up steam we began getting hatecalls from crazies calling themselves the "Committee to Put Jews in Ovens," who cackled about Auschwitz. Just rhetoric? What about the Jewish couple in Evanston whose home was ransacked and covered with swastikas?

The main recruiting pitch of the fascist terrorists has been "White Power," and their focus has been the neighborhood of Marquette Park, a racist pocket of East European "Captive Nations" emigrés on Chicago's South Side. This has given these little Hitlers a degree of credibility they lack elsewhere. Meanwhile, the homosexual population is an isolated minority here in the heart of "Middle America." The June 27 Committee leaflet, "Who Are These Nazis? What Do They Want to Destroy? Who Do They Want to Kill?" pointed out: "The Nazis have targeted Gay Pride Day, because they know that homosexuals are the weakest link in their chain of terror. But in the factories, union halls and neighborhoods, Chicagoans know that this attack on gays is only a beginning.... The Nazis have their guns loaded and pointed directly at you!" We cited the famous statement by German Protestant theologian and World War I U-Boat commander Martin Niemöller, which begins, "First they came for the communists, but since I was not a communist I did not protest....

We said, "Chicago is a union town, a black town....a city of ethnic minorities." In particular, the Spartacist League leaflet warned of the Nazi/KKK threat to blacks:

"For blacks—the central and immediate target of Nazi/Klan raceterrorists—a Nazi rally in Chicago is an especially ominous provocation. The Nazi program for blacks makes the apartheid butchers of South Africa look like benevolent liberals. The racist rulers of South Africa think blacks should be forcibly segregated and viciously exploited; the Nazis think they should be exterminated and canned for dogfood. Black Chicagoans had better turn out in the thousands to stop these organizers for racist genocide!"

The Spartacist League campaign touched a responsive chord in the city, particularly in the labor movement and black community. Early on support came from the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park (UAW Local 6), where in 1975 the union had organized a civil rights defense guard to protect a black union brother's house from nightriding racists. The executive board of UAW Local 551 (Ford Sterling Heights stamping plant) sent the Committee a letter announcing their "decision in favor of giving their support to the demonstration to stop the Nazis."

A number of officials and union militants at the Inland Steel plant in East Chicago (USWA Local 1010) also supported the demonstration. Inland has been the site of an important picketline defense case around class-struggle militant Keith Anwar. The largely black and Latino bus drivers were among the most enthusiastic backers of the anti-Nazi protest. They took piles of leaflets,



These Nazi creeps claim to be the "master race"!

seat. One drove around the block so that a Committee activist could take up a collection before getting off. Phone company workers formed a small contingent that made their banner in a bar.

Understanding that labor could be next on the fascists' hit list, the unionists were not afraid to defend homosexuals. And they were not the only ones. A declaration by the Greek-American Union, printed in the national Greeklanguage daily Proini (24 June), stated: "The Greek people have suffered as few others have from the brutality and blind violence of the Nazis.... Our dead call for the full participation of the Greeks of Chicago at the anti-Nazi demonstration in Lincoln Park." A chapter of B'nai B'rith named for Warsaw Ghetto uprising hero Janusz Korczak sent out a notice "calling on you to be present in Lincoln Park.... We as Holocaust Survivors have a moral obligation to protest any Nazi rally." In Evanston, where the Nazis were driven out of Lovelace Park in 1980, people applauded Committee leafletters and more than \$100 was collected at a community art fair. At the moment of Zionist terrorist Begin's monstrous crimes in Lebanon, the question of opposing Nazi murderers at home sharply split Chicago-area Jews.

Especially among Chicago blacks we received an enthusiastic response. An early endorser was Wallace Davis, Jr., who was shot in the back by Chicago police in 1977, successfully sued the city and now heads a black organization against police brutality. While the major TV stations and daily newspapers maintained a conspiracy of silence about the anti-Nazi demonstration being planned, every black radio station in the city picked up the news and broadcast it across Chicago (see WVON interview with SL spokesman Don Andrews, page 4). Around 63rd and Halsted every liquor store in the neighborhood took at least 100 flyers. And people would come up to the Committee sound car at stoplights and ask for stacks of leaflets to hand around. At the rally, while many left after the Nazis drove off, a lot of blacks stayed to the end. Black people know that in this cist country every rotten thing is going

killer psycho scum are the worst. That's what brought them out.

For homosexuals the Nazi provocation posed an unavoidable political choice. Although the Gay Pride Parade Committee sought to ignore the fascists, hundreds of Chicago gays turned out to confront the fascists. Hardly a bar in New Town did not have a stack of leaflets, and the widely read weekly GavLife reported fully on the press conference by the June 27 Committee Against the Nazis. On Sunday as the Gay Pride parade entered Lincoln Park, marchers cheered our bullhorn announcements that thousands had stopped the Nazis. As a dozen gays stood around a Committee leafletter, one argued that you should ignore the Nazis; the rest vigorously objected, "That's crazy...these people did the right thing."

The victory party held after the anti-Nazi rally at a nearby bar was attended by 350-400 people, a third of them black. Many were interested in talking with members of the Spartacist League, which had initiated the mass protest against fascist terror, and learning about Trotskyism. People applauded as a new member joined the Spartacus Youth League and a *chervonetz* gold medallion was awarded to a supporter for meritorious service at the March 27 El Salvador march in Washington, D.C. The *Internationale* was sung at the conclusion.

Big Liars Caught Red-Handed

But the day thousands streamed into Lincoln Park to stop the Nazis was a day of infamy for the motley crew which makes up the Anti-Spartacist League. Through petty sabotage—Stonewall leaflets pasted over Committee posters, trying to rip up leaflets-the Revolutionary Socialist League in particular tried to undercut the anti-Nazi protest on June 27. First of all, their maneuver in the gay milieu blew up in their face, with full accounts of the fiasco published in the local gay weekly. Then after the RSL's Stonewall Committee collapsed, they were unable to organize anyone at all. Worse yet, the supposedly "sectarian" Spartacists managed to bring out more than 3,000. The SL-

Committeev.

First They Came for the Gays

The Chicago outfit which calls itself the American Nazi Party announced that it would hit the Gay Pride march in Lincoln Park. For years this little band of swastika-brandishing thugs was led by a two-bit Führer, Frank Collin, until he was arrested in 1980 as a "child molester" and "exposed" as half-Jewish. The Chicago Nazis were then "cleaned out" by the North Carolina fascists of Greensboro infamy. The Nazis' planned provocation followed an increasingly familiar and ominous pattern. Working the fringes of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and appealing to reactionary Christian fundamentalists of the Moral Majority, the fascists proclaimed: "Smash the Communist-Queer Alliance." Their "Dial-a-Nazi" hate mesmaking sure they were placed on every

to hit them hardest. And the Nazi/Klan



initiated June 27 Committee Against the Nazis got numerous endorsements and participation from the labor movement—which isn't supposed to move for anything but dollars and cents, says the RSL. But there they all were occupying the site where the fascists planned to strut.

Faced with the SL's strategy of labor/ black mobilization translated into reality, the RSLers resorted to downright provocation, trying, again unsuccessfully, to turn the protest into a confrontation with the cops. Their usual M.O. is to dress up in football helmets and heave rocks, resulting in a bash with the police in which the fascists get off scot-free. This time, in a demonstration that was confronted by mounted police and shot through with more than a *continued on page 10*

9 JULY 1982

Thousands Mobilize...

(continued from page 9)

hundred clearly marked plainclothesmen traveling in groups of up to a dozen, their scheme was to get young militants to start throwing things. When security squads of the Committee Against the Nazis warned them that we wouldn't tolerate any stunts to get people beaten and arrested, the RSLers let fly with a stream of cop-baiting. They also directly provoked arrests. In one case, when marshals were restraining a demonstrator, an RSLer came up yelling "let him do what he wants"; the fellow threw an egg and ten seconds later was arrested by the cops, while the RSL provocateur started screaming about SL "fingermen"!

On June 27, it was not just 3,000 anti-Nazis against two dozen fascist punks. Directly confronting the crowd was the Chicago Police. And those stupid adventurists who simply identify the state power with these tiny gangs are capable of *criminal* provocations. In the 1930s, Leon Trotsky wrote of an incident in Paris where the Stalinists provoked a confrontation with police protecting a fascist meeting.

"In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate.'... Politically it is part of the nature of a pre-Bonapartist, 'arbiter' state that the police hesitate, hold back, and on the whole are far from identifying with the fascist gangs. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point.'

-letter to the French Communist League, 2 March 1934 in Writings of Leon Trotsky, Supplement [1934-40]

June 27 was an important show of force to stop the Nazis; it was built in political struggle against liberals and others who would "ignore" the fascist threat. True, there should have been tens of thousands to run off the Hitlerite creeps, and this time the cops stood in the way. But we showed it can be done.

In the context of Reagan reaction and a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, there has been a sharp political shift to the right in this country, including by the bulk of the so-called "left." As the Spartacist League increasingly stands out as the clear communist pole, various pseudo-socialists have resorted to slander and provocation against us. In order to keep El Salvador protests "ready for Teddy" Kennedy, they call on the capitalist cops to exclude the SL because of our call for military victory to leftist insurgents and for defense of Cuba and the USSR. As we have successfully mobilized labor and blacks to stop the fascists from penetrating northern urban centers-Detroit, November 1979; San Francisco, April 1980; Ann Arbor last March 20 and Chicago on June 27-these fakerevolutionaries resort to ever more absurd lies to cover their own capitulation to the liberals. And these Big Lies by little centrist clots are then picked up and circulated by the far larger reformists to smear the reds. In Chicago, the RSL claims we fingered anti-fascist militants to the cops and condemns the SL as anti-gay! Their sidekick, Peter Sollenberger, guru of the tiny Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), claimed the "Sparts" didn't bring people out, the Nazis did. This is not the first time they have stooped to slanders. The RWL labeled Detroit, November 1979 a "fraud," saying black demonstrators were "passers-by" who had been "duped." In

10

Urgent!

The successful anti-fascist mobilization in Chicago June 27 cost money! Especially given the blackout in the major news media, the action was built by street corner soapboxing, appeals to labor and neighborhood organizations and mass leaflet distribution. Altogether 260,000 leaflets were given out and more than 5,000 placards were posted.

The June 27 Committee reports that it has raised \$3,689.44 in Chicago. Over \$1,100 of that was collected in small amounts on the streets of black, working-class, gay and Jewish neighborhoods. Elsewhere, another \$1,525.98 was contributed at the large San Francisco gay pride march and \$234.24 by New York gay marchers. But much more is still needed to cover printing costs, sound equipment rentals, legal fees, telephone bills.

Workers Vanguard salutes the 3,000 militants who turned out on June 27 in Chicago to oppose the Nazi provocation. We appeal to readers around the country who would have liked to be there too to support that action now by sending generous donations to:

June 27 Committee Against the Nazis Box 6441, Main P.O. Chicago, IL 61820

Ann Arbor, where 2,000 responded to the SL campaign and ran the Nazis out of town, the RSL/RWL claim we attacked our own demonstration, because we blocked their attempt to take it over with their own sound system. And in Chicago, June 27 their ludicrous line is that we brought out thousands, distributed a quarter million leaflets in little over two weeks, put up 5,000 posters in three days-all calling to "Stop the Nazis"-just so that when masses came out we could prevent them from doing just that! As Stalin said, paper will take anything written on it. But who will believe them after Chicago?!

The RSL's adventurism is based on its lack of faith in the capacity and will of the working class to fight for the oppressed. Its defeatist sectoralismtelling each sector of the oppressed to go it alone-and reliance on the liberals have the same roots. On March 20 in Ann Arbor, the RSL/RWL sought to conciliate the "ignore the Nazis" Democrats. Later they denounced the Spartacist League for "trade union fetishism," simply asserting a supposed "failure of the trade-union movement to mobilize seriously against the Klan and Nazis." Yet it was precisely labor support that turned Ann Arbor into a mass protest. In Chicago they tried to tail after "ignore the Nazis" Gay Priders, while the SL mobilized labor, blacks, Jews and gays to stop the fascists. Those who walk in the middle of the road are bound to be run over. And by the end of the day on June 27 you could almost see the tire tracks where the Anti-Spartacist League had been run over by 3,000 anti-Nazi fighters. With their sectoralism, the RSL/RWL didn't defend gays; with our political opposition to sectoralism, we did.

Smash the Fascists—For Workers Revolution!

In the aftermath, the demonstration of several thousands in Lincoln Park against the fascists was the object of a violence-baiting media campaign.

3,000" were present at the anti-Nazi protest, the wire services and daily papers said 1,000. "13 Foes of Nazis Arrested During Lincoln Park Rally" was the Sun-Times headline. The Associated Press wrote: "The Chicago gay parade, its 13th annual, was marred by protesters who hurled rocks, eggs and smoke bombs. It was not immediately clear which of the three groups was responsible for the violence and which groups the arrested demonstrators represented." Yet in interviewing a spokesman for the June 27 Committee, AP Chicago correspondent T. Lee Hughes had asked: "Were you surprised that there wasn't any violence?" Of course, the real source of violence is the fascists, and the capitalist society that breeds such terrorists. But the capitalist press, which treated the Greensboro massacre as a "shootout" between "extremists" (equating the leftist victims with their Nazi/Klan murderers), wasn't interested in that story.

June 27 was not merely a gathering of several thousand people who oppose the Nazis. It gave a taste, but only a taste, of the social power of a labor and black militant mobilization which can sweep away the unspeakable Hitler punks and defend embattled minorities. A fullscale mobilization of the workers movement and minorities would send these mad-dog elements of the enraged middle class packing.

As several speakers emphasized, the fascists feed off the present depression conditions. They are the fringe products of the anti-Soviet war drive backed by both Democrats and Republicans, a renewed Cold War that seeks to "roll back" not only Communism abroad but every gain won by the union movement and minorities at home. The fascists' appeal is to increasingly desperate and backward working-class and lower middle-class white layers who are persuaded not by rational arguments but by force. The Nazis and Klan understand this well: their "propaganda" consists of lynchings, cross burnings and swastika painting. As it was in Spartacist League.

This is the program for the emancipation of black people enslaved by the chains of racist American capitalism. Blacks know the Nazis and KKK are an immediate, lethal threat. Recent history in Marquette Park was written in black blood and white terror. But they also remember that it was in the Chicago suburb of Cicero that Martin Luther King, Jr. was stoned by white racist mobs when he tried to bring the liberalled civil rights movement north. That movement ran head-on into the capitalist economic basis of black oppression. And ever since then the token gains for black rights have been steadily eroded: busing dead, CETA terminal and overt racism in the saddle from the White House to the courthouse. In Reagan's America, more than two-thirds of all black youth are unemployed. Black parents, many jobless and despairing, can't keep their kids off the street and their grandmothers on welfare.

It has become a commonplace to say that decaying capitalism underlies racist oppression in the U.S. Most of the "last hired and first fired" haven't had a steady job since the 1974-75 recession. But many have become demoralized by unrelieved oppression. Black misleaders say that salvation can be found in the "lesser evil" Democratic Party of Jimmy Carter. After the demonstrated bankruptcy of civil rights liberalism and



radical pseudo-nationalism, many black militants are open to a class-struggle road to black emancipation. The Spartacist League alone raises that program, fighting to finish the Civil War at last. On the streets of Chicago and Detroit, the SL organizes to crush the race terrorists, to harness the power of labor to the struggle for equality, building a communist vanguard party that fights for revolutionary integrationism and socialism. It is desperately necessary to fight! Failure to do so means descent into race war and destruction. But the key to victorious labor/black struggle is the forging of black leadership in a communist vanguard party. With only a few hundreds and a growing black component, the Spartacist League was able to bring out thousands to stop the Nazis in Chicago on June 27. With a few thousand militants gained in massive black recruitment, the SL can lead the way to black liberation through socialist revolution. In this race-divided country, the Spartacist League is America's last, best hope.

While TV news accounts said "close to



Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116 Germany, the question is: who will win, who will die? Will the Red Guards or the storm troopers prevail?

The fascists' ultimate function is as capitalism's shock troops to destroy the unions, to whip up genocidal racism against minorities. Today they are small gangs waiting in the wings to be used on a grand scale tomorrow. But in Reagan's America they have demonstrated their appeal, occasionally winning tens of thousands of votes in white racist pockets-North Carolina, Detroit suburbs, southern California's Orange County. They must be crushed in the egg! The means are not small-group confrontations with the cops, or suicidal and idiot appeals to the capitalist state which systematically protects them, but militant class struggle leading to the conquest of power by the working class. This latter is the strategy of the

Black Radio...

(continued from page 4)

through joint struggle, united struggle with white workers. And we haven't seen that in years. The idea of blacks attempting to overturn racist American capitalism by themselves without being part of a socialist organization of workers of all races is the road to defeat. And the Black Panther Party, despite the heroic effort of many of its militants to fight against the racist status quo, had no strategy that could show the way out. Unfortunately they were a nationalist organization, which meant that they wrote off the working class, the white and black workers. And that's where the power is in this society-in the factories, where the black and white working people face their enemies.

Steele: Isn't that power right now being eroded by the fact that there are many people who are obviously out of work, people are scared about their jobs? I would think that people are so concerned and hesitant about speaking out in many situations because your first thinking is, "I want to keep my job."

Andrews: Well, first of all we have to understand about the demoralization and despair among working people, who's responsible for it? It's the fat cat labor sellouts who have given up every single gain imaginable. Look at Doug Fraser, who sits on the board of directors of the Chrysler Corporationhe gave away five billion dollars and now is talking about giving up more to the greedy companies. The only way to respond to such a situation is for the workers to use their power through sitdown strikes, to occupy those plants and to appeal to other sections of the working class and the poor. The Spartacist League, especially in the current period, has fought for this perspective. Our supporters, for example in the Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit, recently energetically fought for a two-day sit-down strike throughout southeast Michigan, but especially centered on the powerful Ford River Rouge plant, to show the way out to the concessions/giveback fever.

What I'm pointing out is that the black workers who are at the point of production, like their white class brothers and sisters, in united struggle can turn this situation around by fighting for jobs for all. You've got a lot of impoverished blacks and other minorities who are trapped in the ghettos and the barrios in this country who would love to join a picket line that is to fight for jobs for all. And of course, the only way we're going to get that is to dump the labor fakers, the so-called leaders of these major industrial unions who see their role as defending the interests of the company.

The fight against the Nazis and the Klan is the fight against the rotting system that we live under. We say that the factories, the banks, the mills and the mines-we want to mobilize the working class to take these into their own hands, to fight for their own government. You'll be hearing from us because the fact of the matter is, we have the only program that can stem the tide of racist attacks, that can stop the layoffs when we fight for sit-down strikes in the plants, that actually has an answer to the two bankrupt capitalist parties. You know, if the Ronald Reagans of the world tell you to stay away from groups like the Spartacist League that fight on the basis of principles, then people better start checking it out.

for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan, for sit-down strikes against layoffs, and for fighting the anti-Soviet war drive, which is one of the important aspects of the political program of both capitalist parties.

Steele: And part of that is through what you are planning to do on Sunday, as it relates to the Nazis....

Andrews: Yes, it's part of a whole struggle to change this system from top to bottom, so that we have a workers government, a planned economy in this country. The question of jobs for all, the question of decent housing, the question of decent education, the elimination of Klan/Nazi terror. People will see how barbaric this system is, that it can't even provide the slightest reforms, the smallest improvement in the people's conditions of life. We can't get our justice under this system, and that's why we have to build a racially integrated workers party....

* * * * *

Caller: I am black and I think that I would have to take a neutral stance on this issue, because I'm not pro-gay nor am I pro-Klan. It just appears to me that when the economy is bad and everything seems to fall apart, blacks are always called upon to rally behind this group and that organization. I would just like to throw the question out, if it's not too demeaning to your two guests, as to whether they are gay.

Andrews: We have gays in our organization who are socialists. We are socialists and we have all types of people in our organization. You hear Reagan and everybody talking about getting the government off our back. Well we're for the government getting out of the bedrooms. People should be able to be what they want to be. And as far as we're concerned, we don't surrender to that anti-gay bigotry. We fight it tooth and nail. The crucial issue is the gays are on the Nazis' and the Klan's hit list. They want to go after them because they're isolated, and we want to prove just the opposite: that there are intelligent, thoughtful working people, decent people in this city who will rally to the cause of defending the democratic rights of the oppressed, gays and everybody else.

Caller: But the gay professionals, the gay businesses are just as much antiblack as the Klan. That's why I take a neutral point of view. And I hate to see any group pull in blacks, to use blacks. Andrews: Well, is it in the interests of black people along with other oppressed sections of this society to stop the Nazis when they try to come to a city like Chicago?

Caller: I think that any group which is cancerous, which is backstepping, which is an oppressive group should not have certain rights. And I just think it's a very bad atrocity to have people use downtrodden people.

Andrews: The Democratic Party does

Caller: That's right.

Andrews: So we're against the Democratic Party.

Caller: Well what party are you in favor of?

Lebanon...

(continued from page 12)

Washington Shultz reunites with another Bechtel alumnus, its former chief counsel Cap Weinberger, Haig's arch-rival.

Closely tied to the oil majors, the Bechtel gang represents that section of the American bourgeoisie which believes the key to Near East policy must be good relations with the "moderate" Arab regimes, centrally the house of Saud. Consequently, they regard onesided support to Israel (in part a result of domestic pressure by American Jewry) as being against the true interests of U.S. imperialism. Moreover, the company lobbied hard (and successfully) for the U.S. sale of AWACS surveillance planes to Saudi Arabia last fall. When asked in 1980 what he thought of the Republican presidential candidate, Bechtel president Shultz replied that "if I have any differences with Reagan, it's about Middle East policy.'

Since Reagan personally admires the martial spirit of Israel (much as many American rightists in the 1930s admired the discipline of Nazi Germany), Shultz's appointment may not lead to an immediate sharp change in line. In any case, the Bechtel gang are no more concerned with Palestinian national rights than is Haig. Like the late "vicar," Weinberger/Shultz want to convince the Arab sheiks and colonels that only the U.S. can restrain Israeli expansionism. Unfortunately for U.S. imperialism, the only way to restrain Menachem Begin would be for the CIA to kidnap him and put him in a straitjacket.

Cracks in the Israeli Juggernaut

If madman Begin has not yet ordered the final assault on west Beirut, this is not due to the minimal American pressure or the mealy-mouthed declarations of the Common Market countries. Rather Begin's adventure in Lebanon has produced a certain disunity within the Zionists' ranks.

Zionist terror against innocent civilians is not at all new. But the scale is unprecedented. The Lebanese invasion has now become Israel's longest war since 1948. Given the chauvinist elitism of its relatively small population, even the 270 Israeli battle deaths are considered heavy, and there is fear of Lebanon turning into Israel's Vietnam. Although Israel is now up against only Palestinian guerrillas, casualties are climbing toward the losses in the 1967 "Six Day" war, when it fought the armies of several Arab states. And the 2,000 deaths in the 1973 October war led to the fall of the Meir/Dayan government and gave rise to the "Peace Now" movement initiated by officers in the army reserve.

For the first time in Israeli history a large domestic protest movement has broken out in the middle of a war. In Tel Aviv 20,000 people demonstrated under the sponsorship of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon. Typical of their slogans were "How many more dead will it take?" and "We have no future on the graves of the Palestinians" (Jerusalem Post, 27 June). On July 3, 50,000 protested in Tel Aviv. Perhaps even more significantly, in Jerusalem a group of 30 soldiers, returned from the front, demonstrated against the war. One of them called it tragic "to confront civilians with our weapons." But these dovish protests have not escaped the bounds of "left" Zionism, hankering after days when Israel was supposedly a society oppressing no one. But there never was such a period. The Zionist state was founded in 1948 on the graves of the Palestinians. While Zionist propagandists were producing films about idealistic "socialist" kibbutzim planting orange groves, the Palestinian Arab population was being systematically terrorized into leaving their homeland. Today the "liberal" Zionist picture of Israel lies buried, along with thousands of Palestinians, in the rubble that

was once Sidon and Tyre. Even longtime American Zionist scribblers Nathan Glazer and Seymour Martin Lipset, certified political swine, have called the war "ill-advised" and argued that "Israel must recognize that it cannot have peace or an end to terrorism without giving the Palestinians the right to self-determination" (New York Times, 30 June).

What does self-determination for the Palestinians mean concretely? The usual liberal answer is some variant of a West Bank mini-state, with the Gaza Strip thrown in. But this small, impoverished area cannot possibly support the four million Palestinians dispersed throughout the Near East. Even assuming such a state could be created, it would become simply a "bantustan" in which Israel and the neighboring Arab states would dump their unwanted Palestinian populations.

A genuine solution to the Palestinians' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, through the destruction of the Hashemite monarchy and the Zionist clerical state. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people. While the Hebrewspeaking nation is today an oppressor of the Palestinian people, a democratic solution is not one which simply reverses the terms of oppression-that is, an Arab Palestine in which the Hebrews are denied their right to selfdetermination. Only within the framework of a Socialist Federation of the Near East can there possibly be a just solution to the conflicting national claims of both the Arab and Hebrewspeaking peoples.

Arab Nationalism at a Literal Dead End

If Begin's invasion of Lebanon exposed the genocidal logic of Zionism, it also exposed the Arab bourgeois regimes, the "radical" ones as well as the "moderates," as his indispensable collaborators. Not a single Arab government has come to the aid of its beleaguered PLO "brothers" in Beirut. "It's not Israel that broke us. It's the Arab world," exclaimed one PLO commando bitterly. Its commitment to Arab nationalist ideology has now led the PLO into a deathtrap, isolated in west Beirut facing eight Israeli divisions. "Curse their mothers," exclaimed a Palestinian militant waiting for the final Israeli assault:

> "You see where the Israelis are. Well behind the Israelis is King Fahd and Hafez el-Assad and King Hussein. They are all in this together, and every Palestinian, every child, will know what to do with them.

—New York Times, 4 July

But if there is one thing that is now proved, it is that the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the PLO (whatever their personal courage) do not know what to do with Begin's Israel, Hussein's Jordan, Assad's Syria and the rest of the reactionary regimes of the region. Since the calamity of 1948 the Palestinians have suffered defeat after defeat, betrayal after betraval. How to break out of this tragic cycle?

The Spartacist League, as I indicated earlier, is a small socialist organization. We have been in existence since 1963. fighting for black rights and fighting for the interests of the working class. We also participate on our socialist program in elections. I ran for city council in 1981 in the city of Detroit on the program I'm talking about right now,

9 JULY 1982

Andrews: I'm in the Spartacist League. We're in favor of building a workers party in this country, and our work on behalf of black people, on behalf of the working man and working woman and on behalf of defending the democratic rights of gays, is part of our struggle to change this whole society. In Boston we were the only ones calling on the labor movement to stand by those black schoolchildren in the face of those racist mobs out in the streets. The fact is that our perspective of the way to achieve black freedom is to base yourself on the power of the labor movement. It sounds like you've given up on the fight. But there are others who see the necessity of building a racially integrated workers party. Black workers have potentially the power to lead the kind of fight we are talking about.

The liberation of the Palestinians cannot be achieved through a purely national struggle of the Palestinian people, or through some utopian rapprochement between Zionist "doves" and PLO "moderates." It requires that Zionist Israel and the surrounding Arab bourgeois states be exploded from within by revolutionary proletarian struggle. The emergence of antiwar protest within Israel, extending even into the ranks of the army, demolishes the Third World nationalist notion of the Zionist state as a reactionary monolith without deep internal contradictions. What is desperately needed is a communist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Husseins and Assads, who promise only endless bloodletting, and open the road to a Socialist Federation of the Near East.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Palestinians! Zionist "Final Solution"

After killing thousands, leaving hundreds of thousands homeless, totally destroying the cities of Tyre and Sidon, the Zionist Blitzkrieg stands poised at the gates of west Beirut. The Israelis are now preventing all food, water and fuel from reaching the besieged population of half a million Palestinians and Lebanese Moslems, attempting to starve them into submission. Seven thousand PLO commandos trapped in the city are said to be dug in, vowing to fight to the death against overwhelming odds. Meanwhile, Reagan is talking about sending in the Marines as Eisenhower did in 1958. Zionist expansionism and U.S. imperialism join hands in the rape of Lebanon.

As Israeli planes, tanks and artillery reduce west Beirut to rubble, even one American military officer is reminded of the Nazi Holocaust. "In the end, Beirut would look like the Warsaw ghetto," he predicted (*Newsweek*, 5 July).

Indeed, just as the SS demanded the surrender of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943 in order to "resettle" them at Auschwitz and Treblinka, so the Israelis have dropped leaflets telling the population to move out and have demanded that the PLO lay down their arms and "go to another country." We are "not out to harm innocent citizens," the Israeli leaflets claimed. Tell that to the innocent citizens of what were once Sidon and Tyre, cities totally destroyed by Israeli bombs. Palestinians who managed to survive (and "suspect" Lebanese) were then marked with a black X and shipped to secret concentration camps in Israel. Instead of using boxcars, the Zionists transported the Palestinians in nets suspended from helicopters as if they were fish.

One opposition member of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) protested that "it was as if the Government did not even consider the Palestinians human beings." It doesn't. The Israeli military has announced repeatedly that the internationally recognized treatment of prisoners of war will not apply to the Palestinians. Hence, no right to contact their families, no right to receive Red Cross parcels, no rights period. The 100,000 Palestinians who once lived in Sidon and Tyre have largely disap peared into the Zionist night and fogkilled outright, shipped to concentration camps in Israel, left to die of starvation and disease wandering in the wasteland of war-battered Lebanon. Even the pro-Zionist New York Times (3 July) admits that the Israeli army has "a difficulty in separating the fighters from the noncombatants who support them, or who are their wives and children." "They are all terrorists," in the words of one Israeli officer, meaning the only good one is a dead one. Why do the Palestinian militants in west Beirut appear willing to fight against fearsome odds rather than surrender? For one thing, they understand (despite all the rhetoric about "Arab unity") the fate that would await them in Assad's Svria, Hussein's Jordan or Mubarak's Egypt. The Palestinians well remember Black September 1970



Israeli Blitzkrieg levels Sidon. Now west Beirut is targeted for destruction.

when the Jordanian Arab Legion massacred thousands of them with the Israeli army ready to join the slaughter and the Syrians turning a blind eye. "We have nowhere else to go," said a senior PLO official waiting for the end in west Beirut.

The PLO's situation is not as absolutely hopeless as it may first appear. The Palestinians can turn to their advantage the extreme chauvinism and racism of Israeli society, the Zionist belief that one Jew is worth hundreds of Arabs. If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy their own, there could well be a rebellion on the home front against Begin's Lebanese adventure. And the Palestinian commandos seem to grasp this. As one declared, "Maybe the Israelis will come and maybe they will win here, but I promise you it will be a big cemetery for them" (New York Times, 4 July).

Reaction against the atrocities of the Israeli war machine and, more importantly, fear of never-ending casualties in a prolonged occupation of Lebanon have already produced significant fissures within the Zionist camp. Tens of thousands have taken to the streets of Tel Aviv to protest the war. One poster showed defense minister Ariel Sharon drenched in blood with the words: "The Butcher of Lebanon." Another said: "Begin-Sharon—You Murdered My Son." A Rakah (Communist) member of the Knesset shouted at Sharon, "You are the biggest terrorist of all!" It is beginning to dawn on the Hebrewspeaking people of Israel that they cannot conquer and subjugate millions upon millions of Arabs and that the occupation of Lebanon is a sure path to self-destruction. But internal opposition to the war right now depends, above all, on how many Israeli soldiers come home in coffins.

With Israel's economy under siege from the draining of Jewish workers by the army's mobilization, Arab labor from the occupied West Bank assumes an ever greater importance to the maintenance of the Zionist garrison state. If the present general merchants' strike in the West Bank over the Israeli invasion were extended to the 100,000 super-exploited Palestinian migrant workers, this would strike a crippling blow to Israel's economy and further tax its overextended army. Certainly Begin/ Sharon would react with savage reprisals as they are now doing with the merchants' shutdown, but the fate of the Palestinian people now hangs in the balance. Defend the Palestinians! Israel Out of Lebanon! U.S. Imperialism Hands Off!

Haig Out, Bechtel In

Begin faces not only mounting internal opposition, but also possib lems with his American godfather. Washington has up to now supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon. At the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick torpedoed a French resolution calling for Israeli withdrawal. And while a few Congressmen mutter privately about the "misuse" of American weapons (like cluster bombs used to massacre civilian populations), there is no move to cut off the arms supply-especially F-15 and F-16 warplanes, which to the Pentagon's delight have taken out the Sovietmade missiles which the Syrians deployed in the Bekaa Valley. (Even New Left Democrat Tom Hayden and his wife, rad-lib superstar Jane Fonda, have dropped their usual enthusiasm for Third World causes and are supporting the Zionist war of extermination.) Still, this "all the way with mad bomber Begin" line has created serious

problems for U.S. imperialism. Certainly Washington is happy to see the PLO destroyed and the Moscow-allied Syrians humiliated and perhaps driven out of Lebanon. At the same time, the Reagan administration has sought to put together an anti-Soviet alliance in the Near East (the so-called "strategic consensus") embracing both Begin's Israel and various reactionary Arab sheiks and colonels. The frustrating efforts to achieve this impossible dream have produced certain, at times sharp, divisions within the American ruling class.

In the middle of Begin's Lebanese adventure the most prominent partisan of Israel in the Reagan administration, Alexander Haig, is suddenly out of a job. Just how much this reflects differences over the current crisis remains to be seen. Charging that his hard pro-Israel line was being undercut by Vice President Bush and Pentagon chief Weinberger in their discussions with Arab leaders, Haig submitted his resignation to Reagan for the umpteenth time. This time it was readily accepted. Haig says he left over policy differences, while the White House gang dismisses it as a personality clash. He just wasn't a "team player." Certainly a megalomaniac like "I'm in charge here" Haig must have appeared to Reagan and his inner circle as uncontrollable. But the would-be "vicar" of U.S. imperialism not only played wildly, he played a different position than will his successor, George Shultz. Shultz comes to the Reagan team from the presidency of Bechtel, a major construction and engineering company well known for its massive investment in Saudi Arabia. Bechtel was the only American firm charged with violating antitrust laws for complicity in the $197\overline{3}$ Arab oil boycott against the U.S. In continued on page 11

9 JULY 1982