

Skokie Pullback No Victory

Labor Must Drive Nazis Out of Chicago!

**Courts Okay
Brownshirt
Marches in
Jewish Suburb,
Southside Ghetto**

CHICAGO - With the recent Skokie court decisions, the capitalist judges have handed Frank Collin's punk brownshirts what they wanted all along: cop-protected free access to the streets and parks of Chicago for organizing murderous racist terror. Federal judge George Leighton ruled June 22 that the Chicago Park District could not require an insurance bond from the Nazis, thus opening up Marquette Park as a staging area for Collin's thugs. It was in this ethnic stronghold of white racism that the Nazis managed to lead "white power" mobilizations against open housing marches two years ago. The quick court action was part of a deal made with the Nazis to call off their threatened June 25 provocation in the heavily Jewish suburb of Skokie.

Collin, a sociopathic little creep who fashions his hair and politics

after Hitler and dreams of a second holocaust, was delighted with the Skokie-for-Marquette tradeoff. He declares the Nazis will indeed rally in Marquette Park July 9. "I'm more interested in Marquette Park. It's our home base. It's only a stone's throw from our headquarters, and I can't speak there," he complained as he set forth his conditions for the deal.

Backed up by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in the courtroom and in the press, the Nazis have played the "human rights" angle for all it is worth. Sitting at his desk in "George Lincoln Rockwell Hall" in front of his giant swastika flag and flanked by uniformed stormtroopers, the "little Führer" crowed to reporters that the decision guaranteed the Nazis' "rights":

"It was pure agitation to restore our right to free speech. This agitating pressure has now worked. I have decided that because our rights were restored, the demonstration scheduled for Skokie is cancelled."

- UPI, 22 June

What has "now worked" for Collin is the capitalist state—the *continued on page 2*



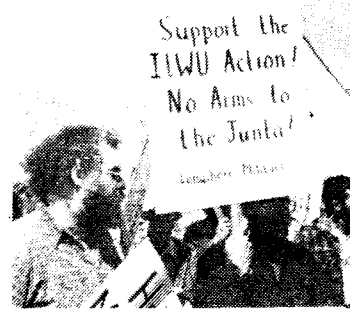
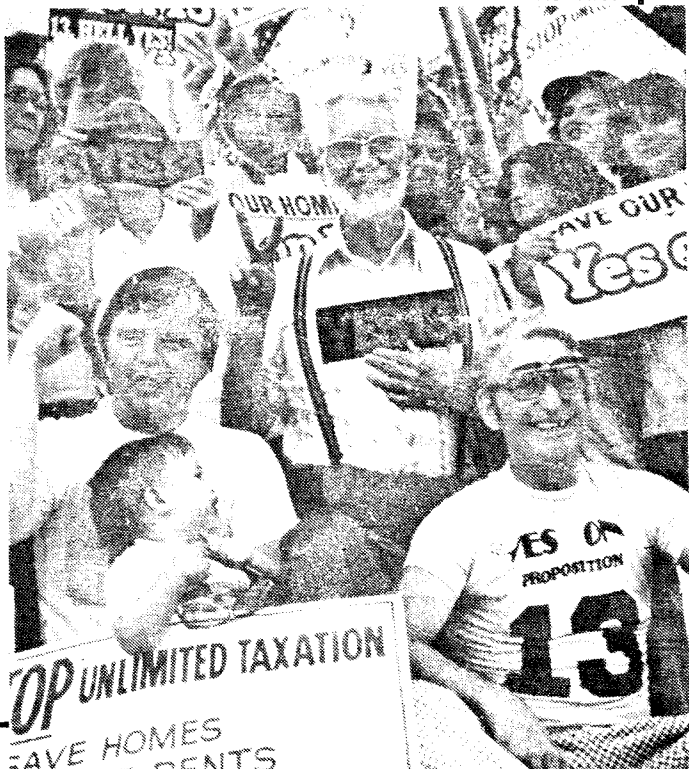
Chicago cops mobilize to defend two-bit Führer Collins (with bullhorn) and his Nazi scum from angry protestors. UPI

A Ruling-Class Squabble

Right Wing Whips Up Tax Revolt Fever

"Slash taxes!" is the new rallying cry of middle-class backlash in America. The June 6 landslide vote for the Jarvis-Gann amendment (Proposition 13) in California, which slashed property taxes 60 percent for big business and homeowners alike, has touched off an explosion of aggressive right-wing politicking and sent elected officials across the nation scrambling to jump on the budget-cutting bandwagon.

This outburst against high taxes and government spending is fed in part by widespread grievances against spiraling taxes and government corruption and inefficiency. With inflation at record levels in recent years, many small homeowners have seen their property taxes triple, quadruple, even quintuple over the past ten years. But *continued on page 8*



ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile

3



Behind the JDL Turn

4



"Eurotrotskyists" Fête Euro-communists

6

Thousands Massed, Scab Trucks Stopped

Strikers Backed Down Daily News

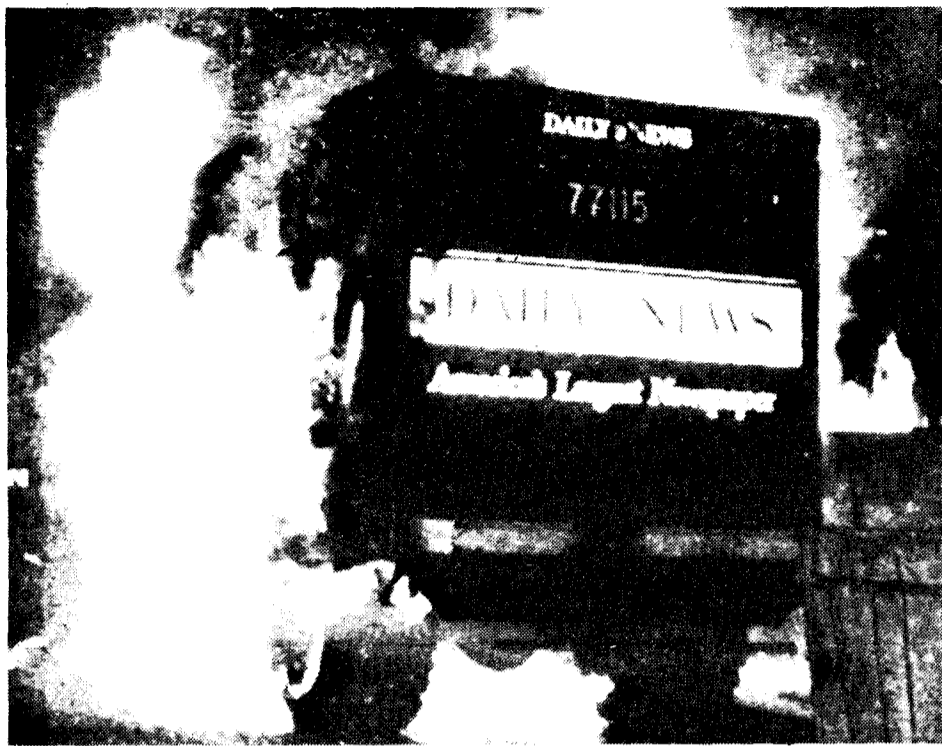
Labor solidarity and militancy won the day for the Newspaper Guild when, after three days of strike against the New York *Daily News*, management was forced on June 17 to abandon an aggressive assault on journalists and other newsroom employees. One of the most electric strikes in NYC during recent years was marked by three tense days in which the striking Guild members were joined by thousands of angry fellow workers in surrounding the *News* headquarters building on East 42nd Street almost 'round the clock.

Groups of "strollers" tied up traffic as they slowly crossed and recrossed intersections; hundreds of militants harassed scab drivers at the loading docks, occasionally tossing bottles; one driver very nearly received an unforgettable lesson in the consequences of strikebreaking, and two delivery vans were torched before the strikers managed to stop the trucks. But by then the *News* bosses had had enough and decided to bide their time until a better opportunity.

The turning point in the five-day strike came on the third day when rank-and-file pressure forced the president of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union, Doug La Chance, to call out the delivery drivers and join eight other craft unions in support of the 1,340 Guild strikers. In the face of this unanticipated union militancy, the *News* owners resumed negotiations and quickly agreed to a contract which deleted the lengthy list of so-called "retrogressions" in union benefits, job security, automation protection and pay raises which they had originally demanded.

It was the *News* publishers who forced the walkout by rejecting a contract proposed by federal mediators (and approved by the Guild) which would have included cutbacks in sick pay and other benefits. In demanding numerous unacceptable "givebacks," such as a proposal to award 75 percent of all pay raises on the basis of management-determined "merit," the *News* owners' goal was obvious—to provoke a strike which would weaken the power of the Guild and craft unions to block future automation and union-busting attempts. "In the entire time I've been here," one reporter observed, "I've never seen management so intent on a strike" (*New York Times*, 16 June).

For many years the printing trades unions have been steadily ground down by massive automation and attacks on union-enforced work rules. In a series of



Monaster/N. Y. Daily News

Daily News delivery truck burning near the News building before drivers agreed to honor Newspaper Guild picket lines.

lengthy strikes at such papers as the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* and more recently the *Washington Post*, newspaper unions have either been crippled or outright broken. The key in each of these defeats was the ability of the publishers to print and distribute scab-produced papers. The *News* followed this pattern by importing live-in strikebreakers from Chicago and the notorious Publishers Association scab-training school in Oklahoma City. If management had succeeded in printing and delivering their scab paper the very existence of the Guild as an effective union would have been called into question.

Victory or defeat for the Guild strike thus hinged on the willingness of ten other unions at the *Daily News* to honor Guild picket lines. Strikebreaking by one or more unions has unfortunately been the rule and not the exception in newspaper strikes. During this *News* strike printers in the International Typographical Union betrayed their union brothers and scabbed from the outset. But eight other craft unions whose contracts had expired along with the Guild's honored the picket lines. Despite their support, however, management and scab labor succeeded in producing a reduced-size paper on June 13, the first night of the strike. The question in everyone's mind was whether or not the drivers, whose

contract had already been negotiated, would deliver it.

Two thousand picketers chanted "Keep 'em out!" as Doug La Chance, the drivers' union leader, walked past police lines into the *News* garage Tuesday night. Half of the *News*' 760 drivers failed to report for work but 176 of those who did obeyed La Chance's order to scab and trucks began pulling into the loading docks at about 11 p.m. One hundred fifty cops were on hand to hold back the picketers and usher the scab trucks out onto the street. The scab-herding cops quickly moved in to drag off and arrest strikers who tried to block the trucks and nightstick-swinging mounted police repeatedly charged the picket lines. As each truck careened out of the loading dock and swerved down Second Avenue, a squad car with flashing lights shot out after it to escort the scab trucks past the angry strikers. By the next morning less than half the usual circulation had been delivered.

On the picket lines the next day, Wednesday, June 14, the mood was sour and angry. Cheers greeted Guild units from the *Times* and *Post* as they joined the line but strikers were bitter about the police violence. Many swore they would never support the threatened New York police strike. Several strikers were nearly trampled as mounted police charged into a group of "strollers." One man was beaten and arrested just for

crossing the street without permission. Two strikers were struck by cars that night—one after dodging ice cubes and fruit thrown from the roof of a luxury apartment building.

After hours of closed-door meetings a group of drivers emerged to join the picket line at 10 p.m. carrying hand-lettered signs reading, "This Driver Supports the Guild." Rumors were flying, however, that La Chance had ordered the drivers to scab in exchange for a promise by the *News* to write off the huge damages assessed against the Deliverers Union by a court in the aftermath of a drivers' wildcat last year. At 11 p.m., as on the previous night, the trucks began to pull out, dispatched by a detective with a walkie-talkie. Strikers succeeded in trapping one truck and pulled the driver out of the cab. Only a police charge saved the scab from his well deserved reward. Just two blocks away a striker had been knocked to the ground with a metal pipe by a scab driver returning from deliveries. At midnight more drivers defected to the Guild side of the picket lines, to the cheers of the strikers. The night's business ended at four in the morning when two *News* trucks parked nearby were allegedly firebombed.

On the third day of the strike, June 15, the management of the *Times* entered the fray by canceling their contract with the Guild and announcing their solidarity with the *News* bosses by unilaterally ending the closed shop and dues check-off rights of the union. In addition, the *Times* hinted that it would shut down and lock out *Times* workers if the strike continued. However, pressure continued to mount on La Chance to call out the drivers. After a meeting in the *News* garage the drivers walked out with their fists in the air at 10:20 p.m. and jubilation spread through the Guild ranks. "We're gonna win! We're gonna win!" they shouted. A chorus of picketers addressed the scabs in the printing plant: "Back to Oklahoma! Back to Oklahoma!" The *News* didn't even attempt to publish that night and attention shifted to the negotiations which had resumed the previous day. Late Friday night a contract was approved by Guild negotiators and ratified by an overwhelming majority of members on Saturday.

The strike ended as a partial victory for the Guild only in the negative sense that the worst of the *News* owners' demands were rejected and the Guild was not weakened in a long losing strike. But the contract is worse than even the federal mediator's proposal! Sick pay, severance pay and medical benefits were all reduced. In addition all future employees will be hit with lower wages, reduced job security and other cuts in benefits. Most importantly, the eight craft unions that honored Guild picket lines returned to work without a contract. Whatever these workers may win without a strike would surely have been improved if the picket lines had stayed up until all workers had settled.

The Guild's partial victory is most impressive when compared with the long string of broken newspaper strikes culminating in the *Washington Post* debacle—and is a real tribute to the trade-union militancy of the *News* workers. But the basic question in this industry, job security in the face of massive automation, was not settled in the *News* strike and will not be settled without a fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This struggle, in turn, can be waged only by fighting for a class-struggle leadership in the newspaper unions. ■

Skokie...

(continued from page 1)

courts, cops, troops and prisons which wait for any "disrupter" of the Nazis' "right" to organize racist terror and anti-Semitic provocation. Just how well it worked was demonstrated within days after the court decision. At the Nazi victory rally June 24 in the downtown Loop, 800 Chicago cops protected Collin's 25 stormtroopers by cracking heads and arresting some 14 of an estimated 2,000 anti-Nazi demonstrators.

The Nazis arrived at the Federal Plaza in a police paddywagon and emerged from the Federal Building behind a solid wall of riot-helmeted cops who surrounded them on three sides. The counterdemonstration—a pale reflection of the confrontation which had been brewing between the Nazis and community groups, leftists

and labor organizations over Skokie—consisted primarily of the hard core of right-wing Jewish Defense League supporters and a broad range of leftists.

As the Nazis goose-stepped behind their cop escort, the crowd surged toward the police line. Eggs, wooden staves and debris began arching over the wall of cops, striking Nazis (who were armed with wooden shields) and photographers. Several times the cops beat their way forward to drive back the crowd, while plainclothesmen and federal marshals picked out individuals and dragged them away.

Swastikas in the Land of "Human Rights"

The showdown which was shaping up for Skokie had become a national issue. The Nazi mobilizations were debated in the highest bodies of government, which decided that the Nazis' "human rights" were to be

secured at bayonet-point if necessary. It is no surprise that the swastika comes wrapped in the stars and stripes.

The word went down from Washington: let the Nazis organize. And so it was done. For the ACLU, which has acted as the consistent civil libertarian defender of fascists from Camp Pendleton to Far Rockaway, the decision was "a ringing victory for democracy." The *New York Times* (25 June) was similarly wont to let freedom ring for the Nazis, editorially "gratified that his [Collin's] right to speak has been upheld." The *Times* editors echoed the developing liberal consensus: "As for the Nazis, let them march."

For the bourgeoisie and the Nazis, the real victory consisted in defusing the momentum toward what might have been the largest anti-fascist mobilization in this country in decades. Skokie had become a focus for

continued on page 9

First U.S. Union Action Since '73 Coup

ILWU Stops Bombs to Chile!

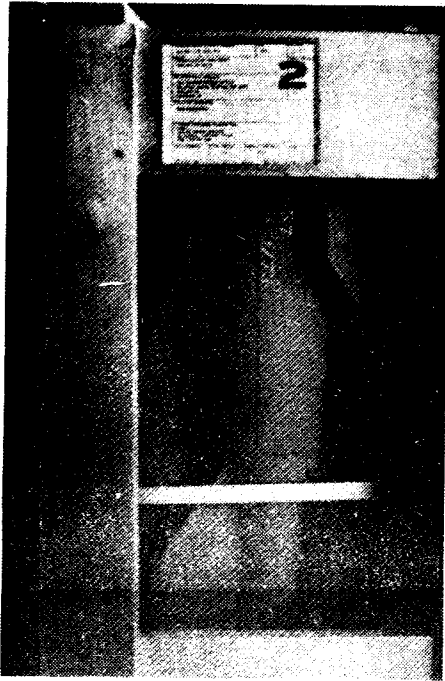
SAN FRANCISCO, June 25—For over a month, a shipment of 21 crates of bomb assemblies bound for the blood-drenched Chilean junta has been stranded in the Bay Area, thanks to the exemplary action of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)! The refusal of ILWU longshoremen to load the deadly cargo on any ship marks the first time since the CIA-backed Pinochet junta overthrew the democratically elected Allende government, outlawed trade unions, and jailed and killed tens of thousands of Chilean workers that an American trade union has implemented such a genuine act of solidarity with their Chilean class brothers.

According to an account carried in the ILWU *Dispatcher* of 16 June, the union learned via a phone call from an anonymous longshoreman of the presence of the cargo at Pier 32 in San Francisco, where it was awaiting the arrival of the Prudential Lines ship, the SS *Seajet*. The *Dispatcher* asserts that on May 31 the ILWU notified the Crescent Wharf and Warehouse, the employer responsible for loading the cargo, that they would not handle the bombs. (In fact, however, the ILWU policy was not made public until two weeks later.) Meanwhile, the cargo had been moved from the San Francisco docks and was again "discovered" by the ILWU—ostensibly through another anonymous tip—to be at the Oakland Army Base, where it was awaiting another ship.

When the ILWU action became front page news in the *San Francisco Examiner* on 18 June ("ILWU Halts Bombs to Chile"), a U.S. Air Force spokesman in Washington tried to defend the shipment on the grounds they were merely "practice bombs" with no explosive charges! But the ILWU rightly continued to refuse to load the cargo. A few days later, a spokesman for the Oakland Army Base announced that "As of now, they are not going to be loaded, period, on any ship" (*San Francisco Examiner* 23 June).

In a statement issued June 14, ILWU president Jimmy Herman asserted that the refusal to work the military cargo was in accordance with past ILWU policy, including convention resolutions authorizing a boycott of all shipments of cargo to Chile. This self-congratulatory claim is a complete phony. For the past few years, the ILWU International has repeatedly ignored calls for dockworkers' action against the Chilean junta. For instance, when the International Transport Workers Federation issued a call for a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo on 18 September 1974, the ILWU International did nothing to mobilize the ranks, and in Los Angeles ILWU president Harry Bridges personally ordered the unloading of Chilean cargo. It was only the efforts of militants who later formed the "Longshore Militant" group, along with picket lines initiated by the Spartacist League, which stopped Chilean cargo in L.A. and San Francisco in that two-day period.

As recently as May 25, the Local 10 executive board voted down a motion by "Longshore Militant" publishers Stan Gow and Howard Keylor demanding that the bombs be hot-cargued. Gow and Keylor first learned of the shipment on May 20—a full three days before the ILWU ostensibly got its anonymous tip!—when now retired Communist Party (CP) docks leader Archie Brown mentioned the presence of the bombs during a rally against the Chilean torture ship *Esmeralda*. Five days later



Karen Kerschen

ILWU refused to load bomb casings (left) destined for Pinochet junta. At June 24 support demonstration (right), Stalinists tried to censor slogans against popular frontism.

Gow and Keylor presented their resolution:

"21 crates of bomb fins are sitting on the dock at Pier 32 consigned to be shipped to the Chilean Air force on the Prudential *Sea Jet* June 4. Local 10 will not handle this shipment of military goods to the Chilean Junta (by executive action).

"This Local refuses to load any military cargo for shipment to the Junta which destroyed the trade union movement and suppresses the Chilean working class."

"Longshore Militant," 2 June

Without batting an eyelash, and with hardly any discussion, the executive board majority routinely voted the motion down. But the heat was on. On June 2 Gow and Keylor issued a leaflet blasting this treachery and demanding an end to the inaction of the bureaucrats. While the *Dispatcher* now asserts that the union informed the stevedoring firm as early as May 31 that it was not handling the bombs, the ILWU membership was kept in the dark until mid-June. The Local 10 executive members who earlier voted against the Gow/Keylor motion are now walking around with egg on their faces, while Local 10 secretary-treasurer Herb Mills, who was not present at the May 25 vote, is belatedly and hypocritically praising the "progressive" tradition of the ILWU.

Whatever the truth about the murky chronology of events that underlie the abrupt reversal in ILWU policy, what seems unmistakable is that the actions of Jimmy Herman & Co. have been closely synchronized with a shift in the attitude of Democratic Party leaders toward the Pinochet dictatorship. After a period of pressuring the junta to adopt cosmetic reforms, the Carter administration has recently begun openly expressing displeasure with Pinochet—an obvious invitation to a palace coup to overthrow the tyrant the U.S. helped install. Herman's June 14 press release announcing the boycott was swiftly followed by an endorsement from Senator Ted Kennedy, just returned from Geneva and a meeting with Chilean exiles participating in a widely publicized hunger strike initiated in Santiago, whose purpose was to pressure the junta into disclosing the whereabouts of over 2,500 "disappeared" political prisoners. Kennedy piously urged the Carter administration to halt the shipment of bombs "at least until the human rights situation is clarified in Chile."

The bureaucrats "discover" interna-



WV Photo

tional solidarity only when it coincides with U.S. imperialist hypocrisy. Both ILWU International and Local 10 officers have been quick to note that the boycott had the backing of Senator Kennedy. And in a later press release, dated June 21, Herman declared: "We hope to get the White House and the State Department to take a very close look at what they are doing to further involve the U.S. in support of a brutal military regime—the final answer must come from the White House."

In line with this, State Department spokesman John Trattner announced in Washington that the bomb shipment "will not be loaded while this assessment of the human rights situation is going on" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 June). The same day as this statement the U.S. recalled its ambassador to Chile, officially because of the foot-dragging of the Pinochet regime (not to mention that of the FBI/CIA) in the investigation of the assassination of Orlando Letelier two years ago. Presumably after the U.S. "assessment," the bomb shipments will be resumed unless longshoremen take matters into their own hands.

As for the role of the Stalinists, they pursued their usual course of tailing the ILWU bureaucracy. When Archie Brown's associate Billy Proctor was approached by Gow and Keylor at the *Esmeralda* rally May 20 for a joint appeal to Local 10 and the International to hot-cargo the bombs, Proctor refused, urging instead moral appeals to Carter and declaring: "We have to support President Carter against the U.S. military, which is getting out of hand!" ("Longshore Militant," 2 June)

Of course, after the ILWU officials reversed their policy, the Stalinists hailed what they had opposed! On June 24 a demonstration of about 75 people took place at the Oakland Army Base to support the ILWU action. The rally was addressed by such speakers as CPer Archie Brown, ILWU bureaucrat Herb Mills and a representative of Chile Democrático, which politically supports the Chilean popular front. The Stalinists, trade-union hacks and Chile Democrático all have in common their kowtowing to bourgeois politicians and the capitalist legal order. In fact, it was the illusion, sowed by the Allende government, that the Chilean military would abide loyally by the constitution that left the working masses unprepared and defenseless before the savage coup

carried out by Pinochet and his generals.

Demonstrating their deep hatred for those who challenge and expose their reformist treachery, the rally organizers attempted—unsuccessfully—to exclude contingents from the Spartacist League, the "Longshore Militant," the Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 and the Committee for a Militant UAW. Stalinist goon Tony Wilkinson, a member of the Local 6 executive board, denounced the class-struggle contingents as "fascist," while Billy Proctor of Local 10 objected to their signs and chants, at one point trying to grab the SL megaphone. (The SL banner read "Support ILWU Action—No Pop Front Illusions—For Workers Revolution in Chile.")

The hot-carguing of the bomb shipments is certainly a step forward by the longshoremen. But genuine international labor solidarity cannot be consistently carried out by reformists who tie themselves to the dictates of the imperialist U.S. government, which helped engineer the bloody 1973 coup and which tomorrow will again seek to throttle the Chilean masses. Real solidarity can be achieved only through an independent class policy: No faith in the imperialist Democratic Party! No popular front coalitions with the bourgeoisie! Boycott all military goods to Chile! For workers revolution in Chile! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION: Darlene Kamiura

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Beech

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

Published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/48 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 210

30 June 1978

Behind the JDL "Turn"

How Jewish Backlash Aided U.S. Neo-Nazis

On 9 May 1969 the well-known black militant James Forman was supposed to appear at Manhattan's prestigious Jewish synagogue, Temple Emanu-El, to demand "reparations" for the centuries-old oppression of his people. That day a small group of young men armed with lead pipes and baseball bats stood in front of the Temple and said they would "break both Forman's legs" if he showed up. He didn't.

Shortly thereafter this little-known group placed an ad in the *New York Times* (24 June 1969) headlined: "Is This Any Way for Nice Jewish Boys to Behave?" The answer:

"Maybe there is only one way to get across a clear response to people who threaten seizure of synagogues and extortion of money. Maybe nice Jewish boys do not always get through to people who threaten to carry teachers out in pine boxes and burn down merchants' stores."

Thus the world was introduced to the Jewish Defense League (JDL).

Last month, almost nine years later, the JDL once again placed an ad in the *New York Times* (28 May). This time, however, the target of the JDL's hostility was quite different:

"We have watched the rise of anti-semitism in America over the past decade, and we are frightened. We see Nazi parties springing up around the country and gaining momentum each year...."

"In view of this, our National Board has decided that for the present and foreseeable future, that our main priority will be fighting the Nazis in this country."

This seemingly significant shift in activity represents not so much a change in the nature of the JDL as in the political climate in the country since the late 1960's. And the anti-black, anti-communist JDL helped create the present political climate in which "white power" fascist groups are growing.

Jews Join the White Backlash

While the JDL gained international notoriety by its attacks on Soviet diplomats in the early 1970's, it originated primarily as an anti-black nationalist organization. The emergence of this right-wing para-military Jewish organization was in the main a reaction to the aspirations and activities of late 1960's black radicalism. Even more so than other white urban ethnic groups, the demands of black militancy affected the traditionally liberal and heavily middle-class Jewish community. A large proportion of merchants, landlords, etc. in poor black neighborhoods were Jews and they were a natural target of the ghetto outbreaks of the 1960's. Even more importantly the path out of ghetto squalor for a small percentage of black youth—through the public colleges and a career in the government bureaucracy threatened the narrow economic base of the Jewish middle class. Black demands for a larger share of college admissions and civil service posts affected the Jewish population more than the Italian, Irish, Polish, etc.

The most important confrontation between black nationalism and the "Jewish community" was the 1968 New York City teachers' strike (which occurred a few months after the JDL was founded). In the name of "community control," a black school district superin-



JDL contingent at Skokie demonstration against Nazis last year.

UPI

tendent in Brooklyn, Rhody McCoy, attempted to break the heavily Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in his district and turn the teaching staff into his personal fiefdom. This fit neatly into plans by New York's liberal mayor, John Lindsay, and the Ford Foundation to bust the power of the UFT and set minorities against the unions by decentralizing the school system. The Spartacist League was one of the few left organizations which defended the organized labor movement against this major attack by black petty-bourgeois hustlers and their bourgeois liberal allies.

In this period when blacks and Jews were clawing at each other over jobs, college placements and social services, the Spartacist League strived to turn black militancy instead against the capitalists. One of the black demands which furthered the growth of the JDL was that admissions to New York City's public colleges be proportional to the ethnic make-up of the high school student population. While we critically supported this demand as preferable to the class- and race-biased "merit" system, we campaigned for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend for all students.

The kind of appeal which the JDL made to the economic insecurity of the Jewish middle class is indicated by its founding leader, Meir Kahane, in his book, *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* (1975):

"Merit was the only yardstick that guaranteed hundreds of thousands of lower middle-class Jews the opportunity to make a living. Now Blacks (and following them, other ethnic groups) were demanding an end to the system and calling for reverse discrimination and quotas, a return to the *numerus clausus* of Europe that had seen Jewish opportunity limited to their percentage of the general population."

The JDL was the terrorist wing of the Jewish backlash. Formed in May 1968, its first public act was picketing New York University to demand the ouster of John Hatchett, head of the school's Afro-American Student Center. Hatchett, a black nationalist, had been dismissed as a New York public school teacher in part for denouncing Jewish "domination" of the educational bu-

reaucracy. In early 1969 the JDL broke up a meeting of the New Left-Stalinoid Freedom and Peace Party which featured Leslie Campbell, Jew-baiting leader of the Afro-American Teachers Association, a black nationalist group out to destroy the UFT. A few months later JDL goons marched onto the largely Jewish Brooklyn College, beat up some SDSers, forced their way into the dean's office and warned him not to give in to the demands of "Third World students." Throughout this period the JDL operated vigilante squads to bring "law and order" to the Jewish neighborhoods of Brooklyn and Queens.

Terrorist Wing of International Zionism

However, the JDL was more than another ethnic "white backlash" group, a Brooklyn Jewish version of the South Boston Marshals. Its leadership had global political ambitions and connections. Meir Kahane was not only a veteran Zionist agitator, but also a professional anti-communist. The original JDL manifesto contained an attack on the left and black radicalism that could have been written by a more literate version of Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan:

"The Left has arisen with startling speed, nourished by youthful boredom, personal rebellion, the search for new excitement and meaning, the lashing out against parental, school and all other authority. Seizing upon a universal desire for peace, plenty and justice, the Left cynically uses the young to attack authority, destroy order, incite hatred and bring closer the day that democracy and freedom perishes. Tyranny and totalitarianism is the Left alternative."

"A minority of Black Nazis has suddenly arisen to declare war on white skins in an obscene and ironic duplication of the worst of Klanism. This movement would destroy its own people even while vowing to destroy white America. Its baggage is intellectual know-nothingism, brute force, the molotov cocktail and the incendiary speech."

Jewish Defense League,
A Manifesto

A year before he formed the JDL, Kahane co-authored *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam* under the pseudonym of Michael King. When the black nationalist wave ebbed in the early 1970's, most

local right-wing white ethnic groups folded up. In contrast, the JDL turned toward another target, exchanging its lead pipes for fire bombs.

While most Jews in the U.S. and West Europe have greater or lesser sympathy for Israel, few intend to go there and settle. The only potential significant pool of Jewish emigration to Israel is in the Soviet Union. In the early 1970's right-wing Zionists in the U.S. and Israel were determined to force the mass emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. Some Russian Jews did want to emigrate to Israel and were prevented from doing so by the Soviet bureaucracy. Many Soviet Jews who did go to Israel discovered that they didn't like the Zionist "Promised Land" and tried to re-emigrate to the U.S., West Europe or even back to Russia. However, right-wing Zionists conspired to force the Kremlin to encourage Jewish emigration. Moscow obliged in order to appease Western public opinion.

What we had here was a genuine international Zionist conspiracy against the USSR, and Kahane's JDL was at the heart of it. In the early 1970's these Zionist criminals waged a campaign of violent harassment and terror against Soviet diplomatic, economic and cultural activities in the U.S. and also West Europe. In 1971 Kahane publicly proclaimed: "The life of every Russian here will be made miserable" (quoted in *The Story of the Jewish Defense League*). Actually, the JDL's terrorist tactics were not limited to harassment. Kahane's gang attempted to make the lives of Soviet citizens in the U.S. not only miserable, but shorter.

- In January 1971 a fire bomb exploded in the Soviet embassy's cultural building in Washington, D.C.

- In April 1971 Soviet trade offices in Amsterdam, Holland were fire bombed.

- In October 1971 four shots from a high-powered rifle were fired into the Soviet UN mission in New York City.

- In June 1972 the offices of Sol Hurok, a major promoter of Soviet cultural events in the U.S., were fire bombed. One woman was killed and thirteen other people injured. After each of these terrorist acts, the police or newspapers were called by people who



Der Spiegel

Russel Kelner at JDL office in 1974 threatened to kill PLO leader Arafat with .38.

used the JDL slogans "Free Soviet Jewry" or "Let My People Go."

While its terrorist acts against the USSR were capturing front page headlines throughout the world, the JDL was also using its weapons against American leftists who agitated against Zionist repression of the Palestinian people. Our own organization had occasion to defend itself against Kahane's armed thugs. In early 1973 the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth (predecessor of the Spartacus Youth League) initiated a united-front defense campaign for members of two Israeli leftist organizations who had been imprisoned and tortured. A few days before a planned demonstration outside the Israeli UN mission, we received a call in the name of the JDL threatening to "kill" all "the commies." We were not cowed by the Zionist thugs and the demonstration took place as scheduled. In the middle of the demonstration JDLers armed with iron pipes and brass knuckles charged from across the street. They were effectively repulsed with only slight injuries to the anti-Zionist protesters.

While reportedly one policeman was seriously injured by the JDL attack, the Zionist gangsters involved were only charged with "disturbing the peace." In general, these self-avowed Zionist terrorists were treated exceptionally leniently by the U.S. authorities, except when the Soviets really turned on the diplomatic pressure. For example, on public television JDL leader Russell Kelner threatened to kill Yasir Arafat when the Palestinian leader visited the UN in 1974. For this act he was given a one-year suspended sentence! One can imagine what would happen to an American leftist who publicly threatened to assassinate Chilean butcher Augusto Pinochet on a visit to Washington.

The JDL, Israel and American Fascism

The JDL arose out of a convergence of extreme right-wing Zionism and the Jewish component of the white backlash—a kind of cross between the Stern Gang and the South Boston Marshals. However, Zionism and American Jewish communal politics do not always march arm in arm. Kahane himself is an extreme Zionist fanatic, and not only in the sense that he wants to exterminate any and all possible enemies of the Israeli state. He stands for the immediate "return" of all Jews everywhere to Israel. While the JDLers are all hard-line right-wing Zionists, most have no more desire to emigrate to Israel than does the rest of American Jewry. The JDL was founded primarily to preserve the economic and social position of the Jewish population in this country.

In 1972 Kahane put his doctrine into practice and emigrated to Israel, where he allied himself with Begin's right-wing opposition bloc. Since then Kahane's provocations have embarrassed successive Israeli governments. In late 1972 he was arrested and charged with smuggling arms to followers in Europe for anti-Arab terrorist actions. In July 1973 he was arrested again, this time for conspiring to disrupt Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. He admitted instructing his followers to bomb the Soviet embassy in Washington and kidnap Russian diplomats. For this he was given a two-year suspended sentence for "conspiring to damage relations between Israel and the U.S.!" More recently he has been involved along with the Gush Emunim in trying to establish settlements of Zionist fanatics in the West Bank.

Although Kahane has returned to the U.S. for lengthy stays since 1972, his political concerns have basically been Israel-centered. In 1974 he resigned as official head of the American JDL, saying he would remain its "spiritual leader." However, Kahane's increasing distance from the New York-based JDL

was not so much geographical as political.

Following the 1973 Near East war and Arab oil boycott, the Nixon/Kissinger regime put increasing pressure on Israel to give up most of the occupied territories. Like most right-wing Zionists, Kahane reacted with violent outrage to America's "betrayal" of Israel. Upon returning to the U.S. in late 1974, Kahane attempted to turn the JDL into essentially the far right wing of the Israel lobby. In 1975 he set up another organization, Committee Against Israeli Retreat, whose slogan "Not One Inch!" (of occupied Palestinian land) displaced the JDL's earlier slogan of "Never Again!". Kahane's main activity during this time was a petition campaign for the dismissal of Henry Kissinger as secretary of state.

Many JDLers evidently did not share Kahane's Israel-centered political outlook. They viewed the JDL primarily as the militant defenders of American Jews against their specific enemies. In the late 1960's black radicals and their left and liberal allies were seen as the main enemies of the "Jewish community," but by the mid-1970's black nationalism and the New Left were rapidly fading memories. The politics of the country were shifting increasingly rightward, in



Former JDL leader Meir Kahane speaking at 1975 rally in New York City.

part as a result of the earlier white backlash. In this more favorable climate of opinion, fascist organizations were growing and becoming far more aggressive. The JDL began to see in the Nazis a serious, deadly threat to American Jewry.

Around 1975 Kahane's views and those of the mainstream JDLers began to diverge. He wanted the JDL to devote itself to pressuring Washington to support Israel; they wanted to turn their energies more against the Nazis. As an extreme ideological Zionist, Kahane is and must be fatalistic about the triumph of anti-Semitism in the U.S. In *The Story of the Jewish Defense League* he writes: "... so long as one gentile lives opposite one Jew, the possibility of a Holocaust remains." For Kahane the growth of American Nazism can be slowed, but it cannot ultimately be stopped. The only possible salvation for Jews is their own national state—Israel.

Last July the rift between the Israel-centered Kahane and the American Jewish communalists in the JDL led to an organizational parting of the ways. Since then Kahane has publicly criticized the JDL's anti-fascist militancy. He even claims that militant JDL attacks on the Nazis help the Hitler-lovers grow by publicizing their existence (!):

"...the Jewish militant groups who

protest Nazis and demonstrate against them, do enormous harm for they do indeed give the Nazis publicity. One of the grave mistakes I railed at (from Israel) was a JDL demonstration in Philadelphia against Nazis. What happened was that not only did the press and television turn out to announce to previously ignorant sympathizers that a Nazi office existed, but the neighborhood poured out also to fight the JDL."

Jewish Press, 24 February 1978

In turn, the JDL has implicitly criticized the period of Kahane's leadership for misdirected priorities, or rather lack of any:

"Many people have been asking where the Jewish Defense League is going since our break from Meir Kahane last July.... When JDL was originally conceived, its purpose was to protect Jews from the growing anti-semitism in this country through physical action. However, JDL was more than a tough street gang—it was an idea and philosophy based on 'Ahavat Yisrael,' the love of Jewish people wherever they were. Based on this theory, we could not ignore the cries of our brethren behind the iron walls of the Soviet Union or fenced inside the ghettos of Damascus. JDL launched a full scale program on almost every international issue that dealt with Jewish suffering. In doing so, however, we wandered far from our original intent. Looking back, we have no regrets about the diversity of our priorities—we only regret there weren't

ists, implying they are simply anti-fascist militants. Also the virulently anti-communist JDL is capable of turning against leftists in the context of anti-Nazi actions. Furthermore, a Leninist revolutionary vanguard seeks to mobilize the labor movement against fascism, while the JDL is committed to adventurist tactics which often involve attacks on the police who are protecting the Nazis.

Why American Fascists Must Attack the Jews

Because the JDL was the most aggressive, violent anti-communist organization in the U.S. in the early 1970's, many left groups raised the cry of "Jewish fascism." As Marxists, we rejected this superficial view. In an article entitled "Jewish Defense League: Jews and American Fascism" in the March-April 1972 issue of the *Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* (forerunner of *Young Spartacus*), we pointed out that Jews will be the victims, not the shock troops, of American fascism:

"Drawing on Christian fundamentalism, American fascism will be deeply anti-black and anti-Semitic. Thus Nixon's support for Billy Graham and George Wallace's drive for power based on racist and populist sentiment are far more ominous portents, within bourgeois democracy, than the JDL and Leroi Jones."

We further pointed out the nationalism of the JDL, unlike that of the "white power" fascists, was not simply the chauvinism of the oppressor:

"Right-wing Zionism bases itself partly on the numerically insignificant small Jewish businessmen who exploit the black ghetto.... and partly on those Jewish skilled workers and petty bourgeois who feel threatened by the desire of black people for good neighborhoods, college education or civil service jobs. But the JDL—with its slogan of 'Never Again,' referring to the Nazi extermination of the Jews—also bases itself, ideologically and emotionally, on the historic oppression of the Jews and their insecurity in a Christian society."

Given the intense black-white polarization in late-1960's America, many Jews believed that they were now part of the dominant majority, safe in the U.S. from reactionary anti-Semitism. This was a major factor in the American Jewish community's rightward political motion in the past decade. However, the notion of a "white community" was always a fiction. Anti-Jewish prejudice remains significant in American society. For the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant section of the ruling class, Jews are a good deal less than white. The attitude toward Jews in the dormitories of West Point (the training ground for the trigger-men of the American ruling class) is not much more liberal than it was in the military academies of Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany.

It is obvious that the rightward motion in this country, associated with Carter's religious fundamentalism and Cold War anti-Sovietism, encourages the growth of fascist groups. It is less obvious to many that fascist groups should attack the Jews, at least at the present time. It is of course recognized that blacks will be the main target of the fascists. One often hears the notion in the radical/liberal milieu that if the Nazis were smart, they would concentrate on attacking the blacks and leave the Jews alone. After all, present-day American society is very different from Weimar Germany.

However, the Nazis' announced march into Skokie was not just a mechanical copying of Hitler's movement, having no relation to American social reality. The fascists' attacks on Jews are not so much a substitute for attacks on blacks, as complementary to them. Even white racists know that blacks are poor and powerless. Demagoguery about welfare chiselers aside, no one believes that "shipping the blacks

continued on page 8

"EUROTROTSKYISTS" FÊTE EUROCOMMUNISTS

It was a Pabloist's dream come true: a star-studded gallery of Eurocommunist notables, prominent social democrats, "progressive" generals and Soviet dissidents, all brought to you courtesy of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). Not content with the company in the little cesspool of "far-left" opportunism, these pseudo-Trotskyists have been looking for an opportunity to jump into the reformist swamp of class betrayal where they can swim with the big boys. They saw their chance and leaped with both feet, turning the LCR's *Rouge Fête* into a gala weekend in honor of Eurocommunism. More than 10,000 attended the May 27-28 gathering at the Porte de Pantin on the outskirts of Paris, entitled "May 1968 - May 1978: Reform or Revolution?"

The LCR lost no time making clear which it was for. In this grand celebration of classless "democracy," they courted the right-wing Communist Party (PCF) dissidents, who in recent weeks have become the darlings of the bourgeois press, and defended "socialist" officers of the French imperialist armed forces against enraged protest from the audience. Guests of honor at the "fraternal debate" included noted French Eurocommunists Jean Elleinstein, Jacques Frémontier and Jean Rony, "premature Eurocommunists" Roger Garaudy and Fernando Claudin, an official delegation of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), French Socialist Party (PS) national secretary Gilles Martinet, Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch and military reserve officers air force General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti.

The bourgeois press took note of the unusual event. *Le Monde* of 30 May observed that the weekend gathering "made it possible for representatives of the families of the left and the far left to begin the dialogue." Even the *New York Times* (4 June) covered it, commenting that "A new current is stirring in the French left, bringing together representatives of a broad sweep of views from extremists to ecologists and moderate reformers in opposition to Communist Party orthodoxy." And although the presence of the PCE delegation stayed the hand of the French Communist Party from taking direct reprisals against the PCF dissidents who participated, this did not stop *L'Humanité* (29 May) from furiously denouncing the meeting as "a factional undertaking directed at the Communist party, its policies, principles and leadership."

The weekend fête was indeed designed to capitalize on the current uproar in the PCF, which has spilled over into a heated public controversy, as leading party intellectuals have taken to the pages of *Le Monde*, the leading French daily, to denounce the PCF leadership as responsible for the recent electoral defeat of the Union of the Left. Neo-Stalinist philosopher Louis Althusser published a four-part copyrighted series entitled "Things



From left, "premature Eurocommunist" Fernando Claudin, LCR leader Henri Weber, Ukrainian dissident Leonid Plyushch and translator, French CP dissident Jean Elleinstein and French Socialist Party National Secretary Gilles Martinet. Elleinstein hailed "the original path toward socialism" which "is neither that of Stalin or Mao, but which is also not that of Lenin or Trotsky ... the Eurocommunist path."

Can't Go On This Way in the Communist Party," and historian Elleinstein, deputy director of the PCF's Center for Marxist Studies, called in *his* series for dropping the name "Communist" as a liability before French public opinion. At the *Rouge Fête* the LCR provided a platform for the most thoroughgoing Eurocommunists seeking to pressure those CPers resistant to exchanging pro-Soviet Stalinist reformism for anti-Soviet social-democratic reformism.

Although at first glance the speakers' platforms at the fête appeared contrary to nature, there was in fact a political logic uniting PCF right wingers with LCR "far leftists": both accused the Communist Party leadership of being responsible for the

March 19 electoral defeat of "the left" by breaking the "unity momentum." This charge, raised by a "Declaration of 100" PCF militants (*Le Monde*, 17 May), is the theme of a propaganda barrage initiated by PS leader Mitterrand and picked up by virtually the entire bourgeois press. It ignores the fact that the PCF's reflexive "hardening" came in response to threats to its electoral base by the Socialists and indications from Mitterrand that the PCF would have little effective power in a Union of the Left government. Thus the Pabloists and super-Eurocommunists find common ground on the rightist program of unconditional unity of the reformist bureaucrats.

Commenting afterwards on the star-studded weekend, the LCR's first

crack at the big time, LCR leader Alain Krivine underscored the significance of the *Rouge Fête*.

"For us this was not a publicity stunt or a factional operation, but the application of a policy for which we have been fighting for years and years, frequently against the stream: the policy of the unity of the working people in action against the common enemy...the breach has been opened, the precedent set, nothing will be the same as before."
Rouge, 30 May

Discovery of "Eurotrotskyism"

Leading off the discussion on Eurocommunism Elleinstein reaffirmed his support to a Union of the Left and declared that "unity is debate." This was music to the ears of the LCR, which had been seeking debates with the PCF ever since well before the March elections. Elleinstein also called for joint action between the Eurocommunists and the LCR, between "we who are in the Party and you who are a vital force but who today are feeling the dead end you are in." But the basis for such collaboration, he specified, must be:

"...a line which of course is neither that of Stalin nor of Mao, but which is also not that of Lenin or Trotsky, a path which is the original path toward socialism imposed on us by history and is precisely, I'll say it: the Eurocommunist path."

This meant, said Elleinstein, first of all support for "representative democracy" and the "extension of public liberties." He added, "I think that in many respects Rosa Luxemburg was right in 1918 in criticizing certain aspects of the Russian Revolution," endorsing in particular her claim that "lack of representative

Eurocommunism and the State

Santiago Carrillo

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain



The path of Eurocommunism leads straight across picket lines, into the arms of Carter's "Human Rights" On book cover, PCE leader Carrillo scabbing on Yale strike.

democracy" would lead to "the domination of a bureaucracy."

"Eurocommunism," said the PCF historian, "implies total independence from the Soviet Union." The representative of the PCE, Malo de Molina, declared that it "assumes the negation of the model of the Soviet revolution, the model of class against class, and the model according to which one must end up with the destruction of the state." Neither here nor at any time in the weekend did the LCR defend the Leninist "model" or even mention the need for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism.

There were a few murmurs from the audience when Molina praised the Italian Communist Party's austerity policy as a "theoretical innovation" and went so far as to oppose cost-of-living escalators as "inflationary." LCR spokesmen attacked this apology for the anti-working-class, wage-cutting policies of the Andreotti and Suárez governments, but refused to criticize the policies of the French Union of the Left. Not only did they fail to denounce this coalition as a popular front, tying the working class to the bourgeoisie, but throughout the weekend these fake-Trotskyists hardly even mentioned the Communist-Socialist-Left Radical bloc which has dominated French politics for the past six years.

In contrast there was stormy applause when PS national secretary Martinet, an ex-Stalinist and Krivine's father-in-law, denounced anti-Trotskyism as "the anti-Semitism of the workers movement." Fernando Claudin, the former member of the PCE central committee expelled in 1964 for ultra-reformist positions similar to those of the present-day Eurocommunists, went even further, suggesting that the debate be extended to include "Eurotrotskyism," since they were in the presence of "non-sectarian" Trotskyists:

"...this is perhaps the sign that there is also a 'Eurotrotskyist' phenomenon, that is a certain opening of Trotskyism toward other currents of the communist movement."

In response, LCR leader Daniel Bensaïd returned the compliment and went out of his way to demonstrate the compatibility of "Eurotrotskyism" with social-democratizing Eurocommunism. Thus he defended the Pabloist perversion of Trotskyism against charges of "underestimating the struggle for democratic rights" by saying: "It seems there is agreement—everyone says 'representative democracy, democratic rights,' and we defend them too..." Bensaïd also solidarized with Rosa Luxemburg's critique of the Russian Revolution for "limiting freedom of the press, limiting freedom of association, which leads to sclerosis of democracy" and approved of Elleinstein's use of this reference which has been cited for decades by social democrats as part of their attack on Leninism.

In answer to Claudin's opposition of parliamentary to non-parliamentary forms of democracy, Bensaïd made a fundamental and far-reaching revision of Leninism on the central question of the state:

"You will find the debate on the articulation of parliamentary democracy and grassroots democracy with Lenin vs. Kautsky on the subject of the constituent assembly in Russia, you will find it between Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin on the same problem, you will find it in Trotsky, you will find it broadly among some people who are coming back into style today, and not by accident, that is the Austro-Marxists like Adler. However (left-wing) social-democratic they were at the time, they said that parliamentary forms and forms of self-organization

could cohabit, but that the forms of self-organization must have the last word... As for us, we say it is necessary to take the question to its conclusion and say which should predominate."

So... instead of smashing the capitalist state, and with it bourgeois parliamentary forms of government, to replace it with the proletarian democracy of soviet rule, it is necessary to *combine* them, to "articulate" them; and like the Austro-Marxists, this arch-Pabloist says that it is simply necessary to specify that forms of "grassroots democracy" should predominate over parliamentary forms!

The reference to Austro-Marxism is, as Bensaïd remarks, not an accident. Together with the German Independent Social Democrats, the Austrian Socialist Party was the mainstay of the ill-fated "Second and a Half International" set up in reaction to the proclamation of the Comintern, and Friedrich Adler was its architect. As far as the "cohabitation" of parliamentary and soviet democracy, this program was actually carried out by the Austro-Marxists, who used their domination of the Vienna Workers Council to prevent any revolutionary attempt to sweep away the institutions of capitalist rule. In Berlin, where the Spartakusbund had found support among sectors of the proletariat, this "articulation" was achieved by the bloody massacre of the January 1919 uprising and the assassination of Luxemburg and Liebknecht! Bensaïd will no doubt say that there the wrong element predominated, but it was only because the Independent Social Democrats refused to call for all power to the workers councils, instead hoping for peaceful coexistence between the councils and the national assembly, that the "majority" social-democratic butchers Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske could carry out their bloody work, eventually suppressing the workers councils as well. These are the fruits of the tradition with which the "Eurotrotskyists" solidarize!

Comrade Bensaïd has a history of getting carried away with whatever is the current line of the majority of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), as when he proposed importing to Europe the USec's guerrillaist policy for Latin America. However, in this case he is simply making explicit the capitulationist policy toward Eurocommunism authored by the USec's top theoretician, Ernest Mandel. Thus in the introduction to his book, *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*, Mandel refers to the Eurocommunist current as analogous to "classical Social Democracy of 1910-1930, which should not be confused with contemporary Social Democracy." Social Democracy *before* World War I, the world historic event which marked the passage of social democracy to the camp of defense of the bourgeois order? Without saying so explicitly, Mandel is implying that the Eurocommunists have not yet definitively betrayed.

As for Bensaïd's defense of "representative democracy" and political pluralism, this is already foreshadowed in the USec resolution on "Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (*Imprecor*, 7 July 1977) in which the Pabloists reject the Trotskyist position of democratic rights for all parties standing on the gains of the October Revolution, instead calling for "freedom for the defenders of reactionary ideologies [presumably including fascism] to defend these ideas, [for] ideological cultural pluralism" even for active counterrevolutionaries, just

The "Progressive" Generals vs. The LTF

The following exchanges took place in the forum on the army at the Rouge fête sponsored by the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire. On the platform were "socialists" General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti, who were repeatedly confronted by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Becam: "What do I think of the wars I participated in? Well, we participated in the World War in '39 to '45... What helped the people who carried out these operations [bombing missions] not to pose these problems about what they were doing was the risk they ran. Because in spite of all the bombing gear they ran an absolutely enormous risk during the war and only one out of two survived..."

LTF: "Bombed the German proletariat with a little risk—that's what you were doing!"

Becam: "It was a question of beating German fascism..."

LTF: "Hamburg was German fascism?!"

Becam: "...and I do not regret this war at all, absolutely not. Then I was in the Indochinese war..."

Sanguinetti: "A draftee army is better able to maintain order... You need numbers to search and destroy. When we had to carry out search and destroy operations in Algeria, our strength rose to two million men..."

LTF: "It's a scandal, the way the speakers platform is composed..."

Chairman of the session protests: "...against the insults addressed to the Admiral inside this hall."

Becam: "An army cannot be really efficient if it's not democratic... There was a certain democracy in the Wehrmacht, that's why it was so efficient... But you have to watch out for workers militias, they risk becoming even less democratic than the army... There is an example of a workers militia: the German SA. A workers militia can rapidly resemble the SA..."

[Cries of protest in the hall]

LTF: "That's what comes of making blocs with the General Staff... This man is consciously fighting against the working class. He just said it. He bombed the German proletariat, with no regrets."



Spokesman of Ligue Trotskyste de France denouncing presence of French imperialist officers at Rouge fête. At rear on podium, General Bécam, Admiral Sanguinetti.

so long as they are not caught bomb-in-hand. The remarks by Bensaïd during this debate constitute a deliberate attempt to present a common platform on which the Eurocommunists and Pabloist "Eurotrotskyists" can "cohabit": namely, left-talking social democracy, formally independent of the Second International and modeled on post-World War I Austro-Marxism.

Defending the Popular-Front Butchers

While Bensaïd's discourse on the "articulation" of bourgeois and proletarian democracy provided the political framework for a Eurocommunist/"Eurotrotskyist" lash-up, it was in the forum on the army that the LCR most vividly demonstrated the depths to which it will descend in order to gain admission to the reformist swamp. Krivine, Bensaïd & Co. have been assisting in the formation of a Committee for Rights and Freedoms in the Military Institution, organized by the

bourgeois League for the Rights of Man with the participation of two ranking reserve officers, General Bécam and Admiral Sanguinetti. These two general staff officers had star billing in the oh-so-fraternal "debate" on a podium chaired by the LCR leadership.

Sanguinetti, who had run for parliament in March on the PS ticket, justified attempts to "democratize" the army on the grounds that it would be more "efficient" in "maintain[ing] order." Likewise, he pleaded for a draftee army as necessary to provide the numbers necessary for such tasks as "search-and-destroy operations in Algeria." After a supporter of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, protested the scandalous composition of the speakers platform, the LCR chairman of the session denounced "the 'insults'"

continued on page 9

Tax Revolt...

(continued from page 1)

basically it is an explosion of pent-up petty-bourgeois resentment against the traditional conservative bugbears of big government, big labor (in this case, unionized public employees) and big welfare rolls. One Jarvis fan, a southern California grandmother, brought out into the open the implicit racist appeal that lies just below the surface of the "tax revolt" fever, remarking: "It's these social services that annoy the heck out of me - social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth. Who wants to pay it all in taxes that go for things like that?" (*Newsweek*, 19 June).

Howard Jarvis himself, sponsor of Prop 13 and long-time director and lobbyist for the Los Angeles Apartment Association, has become a new middle-class folk hero to such types, who roar approval of his down-home homilies like, "The only way to cut the cost of government is not to give them the money in the first place." (The latest southern California fad is a pop wrist-watch featuring Jarvis' walrus-like profile, which is reportedly outselling the more classic Mickey Mouse model.) But the outcry over taxes has quickly gone far beyond the affluent L.A. suburbs.

In June primaries around the nation opposition to government spending was the common theme in a series of upsets. One of the biggest was the defeat of veteran liberal Republican Clifford Case of New Jersey by brash young conservative Jeffrey Bell, who campaigned almost entirely on his strong advocacy of the Kemp-Roth proposal, which calls for a 30 percent cut in federal income taxes over three years. In Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio (and in Illinois) voters rejected school tax increases, even though warned that without them many schools would be forced to close in the fall. Meanwhile, a constitutional amendment to ban federal deficit spending has actually been approved by 23 state legislatures! Congressmen in Washington, always attentive to the polls, took a look at the June 6 primaries and in one week slashed roughly \$1 billion from various federal programs.

Many conservative politicians have seized on the great "taxquake" with jubilation, sensing in it the best gut-level emotional issue since "law-and-order." But the Democrats are hard on their heels, with everybody from small-town mayors and California governor Jerry Brown, who's heard "the voice of the people" and is quickly learning to love Prop 13, to President Carter joining in to praise "the people's" wisdom.

Governor Brown, whose run for reelection as governor this fall is a warm-up for the 1980 presidential elections, executed a deft spin on Prop 13, which he had opposed before its victory. He righteously reminded the nation that it was he who "began the effort at government frugality, and what I hear out of this vote is that people want more of it." Jettisoning his own pet projects to heat the state capitol with wood chips and launch California's own space satellite, Brown announced "bone and marrow" cuts to offset the expected loss of some \$7 billion in state revenues resulting from the property tax cut. These included: a ban on hiring and a wage freeze for all state workers, an across-the-board 9.8 percent cut in all state operating expenses and a \$256 million cut in support to health and welfare programs.

San Francisco mayor Moscone was empowered by the board of supervisors to lay off 2,000 city employees, eliminate overtime pay, rescind an \$11 million pay hike for 16,000 employees and double city transit fares. In Los Angeles, Mayor Tom Bradley initially announced an immediate cut of 8,300 employees, which is now being "negotiated" with labor tops. Across the state municipalities instantly began shutting down

public playgrounds and libraries, canceling summer school programs, laying off fire fighters and other local government employees.

The initial cutback fever seems to have subsided recently, as Brown has let it be known that \$5 billion in surplus state revenue will be made available to cover the gap. Estimates of mass layoffs have been drastically revised downwards, so Moscone, for example, currently projects laying off "only" 200 workers. However, the state legislature has moved to impose a freeze on any cost-of-living increases for both government workers and welfare recipients, who together make up ten percent of California's population.

Taking Money from the Left Pocket Instead of the Right

The politicians' chorus of approval at the California voters' decision is for the most part sheer ballot-box opportunism. Many are no doubt grinding their teeth in private, as their precious fiscal and legislative pork-barrel wheeling and dealing has been rudely undercut by the voter referendum. Such "popular referendums," particularly on vital questions like money, are in fact not at all popular with bourgeois politicians.

The reaction of many leading capitalist spokesmen who don't have to worry about getting elected has been wary if not out-and-out disapproving. Speaking for the "responsible" bourgeois establishment, such organs as *Business Week* and the *New York Times* warned against the dangers of drastic measures like Prop 13. The *Times* (19 June) has taken the sober world statesman approach, warning "Anti-Tax Movement Poses Danger to Foreign Aid Bill," while *Business Week* of the same date points out that the amendment is riddled with inequities. The 1 percent property tax assessment, for example, is good *only* so long as no moves or improvements are made, so that "A new homeowner could pay double or triple the property tax of a

neighbor who has not moved for years."

Further, *Business Week* noted, "Most cities will probably also boost fees for services, such as refuse collection. Los Angeles and other cities are studying a 'license fee' on the salary of employees who work there; the state's supreme court upheld such a fee, of 1 percent, in Oakland last month. Thus, if politicians show their usual resourcefulness, it may well be that Jarvis-Gann's net fiscal impact will be to pull money from the taxpayer's left-hand pocket instead of the right." In San Clemente, where Richard Nixon stands to save some \$27,600 in taxes on his hideaway, they've already instituted a new \$160-a-ride (!) charge for ambulance service.

The Spartacist League called for *abstention* at the California polls on Proposition 13 (and Proposition 8, a more moderate version cooked up at the last minute by Governor Brown), because the issue involved is at bottom a dispute within the capitalist class on how to finance their government, in which the working class does not take sides (see "California Property Tax Squabble," *WV* No. 208, 2 June). While calls for "tax revolts" are a favored theme of ultra-rightist demagogues trying to find a mass base of opposition to "welfare state" measures, socialists are not for high taxes, which will inevitably fall heavily on the working population. As long as the government controls the money supply, it can always finance any level of expenditure it feels necessary. Through deficit spending, Lyndon Johnson spent tens of billions for the Vietnam War without new taxes. Thus the present tax squabble is part of a broader argument between the liberal inflationists and the right-wing deflationists which has dominated bourgeois economic policy since the Great Depression.

The position of Marxists in such debates is quite clear. As Leon Trotsky wrote over 40 years ago:

"In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, inflation and defla-

tion are two complementary instruments for throwing on to the people the cost of decaying capitalism. Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife." [emphasis in original]

"The Belgian Dispute and the De Man Plan," in *Writings*, 1934-35

Strike Against Layoffs!

The credibility of the current layoff/cutback scare has been somewhat diminished by Brown's discovery of the state surplus. However, the politicians' eagerness to seize the knife and begin hacking away at social services and jobs demonstrates quite clearly that it will be the working class and poor who must pay if any cutbacks are to be made.

The amendment is now being challenged in the courts on at least five counts and it is, at best, unclear that it will be upheld. Between 1960 and 1976 five of the seven California initiatives passed by the voters were totally or partly overturned by the courts. But in the meantime the capitalist politicians are trying to use Proposition 13 to demonstrate their "fiscal responsibility." Rallies and meetings have already been held by some AFT and AFSCME locals in Los Angeles. However, up to this point, union leaders have channeled all opposition to "Prop 13" layoffs and cutbacks into court suits. This legalism has provided Jarvis, Gann et al. with the convenient pretext to paint the unions as the real enemy of small property owners.

Now is the time for labor to rally the support of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie who are also threatened by the proposed cuts in social services. For a statewide strike to stop the cutbacks and layoffs! Don't be fooled by the Prop 13 scare! Cancel the debt service on city and state bonds! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

JDL "Turn" ...

(continued from page 5)

back to Africa" would improve conditions for lower-class whites.

It is different with the Jews. They are highly visible in the upper reaches of American society - in the mass media, high finance, the universities, the Washington elite (from Bernard Baruch to Henry Kissinger). The notion that the Jews really run the country (indeed the world) is widespread among lower-class whites, particularly those from Protestant fundamentalist and ethnic Catholic backgrounds. And, of course, U.S. support to Israel strengthens the notion of a powerful international Jewish-Zionist conspiracy.

The fascists' attacks on the Jews provide the *populist* element in their appeal. If only we get rid of the Jews, they say, and replace them with a "real white man's government," things will get better. Many decades ago the German social democrat August Bebel said: "Anti-Semitism is the socialism of fools." This is still true. In attacking the Jews, the Nazis seek to channel the economic discontents of white petty bourgeois, lumpenproletarians and backward workers in a reactionary direction. American fascists attack the blacks because they are economically below those they appeal to, the Jews because they are a vulnerable target above them.

Zionism: Suicide for Jews

The JDL was part of - in some ways in the vanguard of - the white backlash. And under the slogan "Free Soviet Jewry," the JDL turned out to be the advance guard of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade against "Soviet totalitarianism." But the most consis-

tent haters of black militancy, the most bitter and violent enemies of the left and the workers movement are the fascists. Where Meir Kahane puts down the lead pipe in order to lobby for Israel a Frank Collin picks it up. The fact that Collin intends to use it to beat Kahane's erstwhile followers to death does not change the fact that the JDL helped create the climate in which Nazis and other fascist groups could reassert themselves after some years of quiescence.

The JDL's specific contribution to the growth of fascist groups is but one aspect of a larger historic truth: Zionism means suicide for the Jewish people. In 1937 when Hitler's atrocities were spurring the Zionist immigration into Palestine, Leon Trotsky commented in an interview with a liberal Yiddish paper:

"But the facts of every passing day demonstrate to us that Zionism is incapable of resolving the Jewish question. The conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine acquires a more and more tragic and more menacing character."

Leon Trotsky, *On the Jewish Question*

Despite 30 years of Zionist war victories and the build-up of a powerful Israeli war machine, the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East are closer to annihilation today than they were in 1948. *Israel is a death trap for Jews*. It does not have the long-term military and economic strength to dominate its Arab neighbors, and the U.S. alliance which the Zionist leaders have depended upon in the past is not a blank check to create the Greater Israel, stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, of which Begin and Kahane dream. The arrogant racialism and expansionism of the Zionist state invite "the Holocaust" of an all-out Arab "holy war" to drive the Jews of Israel "into the

sea," which could even trigger the ultimate Holocaust of nuclear incineration, engulfing the rest of humanity in World War III.

In the U.S., too, Zionism breeds anti-Semitism. The Jewish community's intense solidarity with their "own" national state of Israel reinforces fascist propaganda that Jews are an alien, unpatriotic element in American society. As Washington shifts toward a more pro-Arab stance, ruling-class opponents of the Israel lobby, like General George Brown, will make little-disguised appeals to popular anti-Semitism. "American foreign policy should not be controlled by the Jewish vote," is likely to become a more prominent theme in American politics. Already the fascist National States Rights Party puts out a bumper sticker: "Oil, Yes—Jews, No." How many Americans will make serious sacrifices for the cause of Jewish nationalism?

The connection of anti-Semitism with imperialist militarism, religious obscurantism and the political right wing has long been well known. That is why the Jewish population in Europe and the U.S. has traditionally been left-of-center politically, with a disproportionate number of Jews participating in the socialist movement. In the past decade the pyrrhic victories of the Israeli state and narrow-minded ethnic politics have caused the American Jewish community to swing right. The JDL is the most extreme expression of this rightward motion. But neither aggressive Jewish communal militancy in the U.S. nor Israeli militarism offers a future for Jews. As long as Jews live in this racist capitalist society they will live in the shadow of another Auschwitz. Only the victory of proletarian socialist revolution can destroy fascism once and for all. ■

Skokie...

(continued from page 2)

the confrontation, a symbol of a continuing battle to stop the racist and anti-Semitic provocations. That this fascist band meant to brazenly wave its blood-stained swastikas in the faces of the survivors of Hitler's death camps was justly seen as an unendurable provocation. It was a provocation not only against the Jews of Skokie, whose hatred of Nazism is burned permanently in memory as it is burned into the forearm. It was also a provocation against the black population, most immediately threatened by the stirrings of genocidal reaction, and against foreign workers, leftists, unionists, anyone labeled "social deviants" and others who make up the Nazis' mass "hit list" for cyanide chambers, flaming ovens and concentration camps.

Jewish organizations, some black groups and the left, with support from the labor unions, had promised to mobilize upwards of 50,000 for an anti-Nazi counterdemonstration. For the first time in years, the powerful organized labor movement was talking about fighting fascism; the Chicago Federation of Labor had sponsored the planned mobilization, and out-of-town unions including Detroit's massive UAW Local 600 were considering sending buses to Skokie.

As the mood of confrontation built, the Nazis' fear of being crushed and humiliated in Skokie became evident as Nazi henchmen talked of "suicide" and Collin threatened his bully-boys with expulsion if they refused to show up in Skokie. Splits in the Nazi front were developing as the government came to their rescue. Washington therefore jumped at Collin's offer to trade the Skokie provocation (temporarily) for permanent free access to Marquette Park. The Justice Department's "Community Relations Service," formed in the mid-1960's as flak-catchers for local racist officials, intervened behind the scenes to find "alternatives" to the Skokie march. According to Midwest director Richard Salem, the point was to "avoid a Skokie demonstration" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 9 June).

No Tradeoffs! Defend Skokie and Inglewood!

The "tradeoff" and court decision were heralded by Skokie mayor Albert Smith as "a victory for the freedom guaranteed by our fathers" (*New York Times*, 25 June). The liberal Jewish organizers of the counterdemonstration termed Collin's cancellation a "great victory for decent morality and humanity" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 23 June). Their parochialism shading over into criminal indifference to the Nazi menace to the city's blacks, they canceled the counterdemonstration—with *not a word* about Marquette Park! The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) chided the liberal organizers for not turning the planned counterdemonstration into a "victory

celebration." But for whom the "victory"? Certainly not the blacks near Marquette Park.

The Skokie tradeoff is a direct threat to the blacks of Chicago's Southside. Inglewood-area blacks have been a target of Collin's racist gang for years. Blacks have also been trickling into the previously all-white Marquette Park area, which has been the site of massive racist mobilizations. During protests against segregated housing organized by the small religious-pacifist Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement in the summer of 1976, racist mobs wearing Nazi-supplied "white power" T-shirts assembled on a daily basis in the park for terror forays into nearby Inglewood. Blacks going to work in local steel plants were assaulted. And the cops arrested community residents who defended themselves.

The startling danger signal in the Skokie-to-Marquette shift is the collapse of the anti-Nazi momentum now that Collin has shelved Skokie in favor of "business as usual" fascist marauding—i.e., terrorizing blacks. And the "leadership" of the disorganized and defenseless black community has no response to make except to imply a government/Jewish "conspiracy against black residents of Marquette Park" instigated by the Justice Department (*Chicago Defender*, 21 June).

The main target of the Nazis' frontal assault is the black population. But for the liberal Jewish organizations to imagine it is only when the Nazis march in Skokie that they are threatened recalls the middle-class Jews of pre-Nazi Germany who thought their patriotism would save them (after all, it was the Communists who were the real target...). The question of Skokie or Marquette Park is not a choice for Jews or blacks—or anyone who would defend democratic rights. Whether it is in Skokie or in Inglewood that they stick up their swastika, so long as the Nazis are free to maraud, neither the Jews nor anyone else will ever really be safe.

No Reliance on the Capitalist State!

Throughout the fight to keep the Nazis out of Skokie, the community organizations, liberals and reformists have pursued the suicidal course of relying on the capitalist state. The ACLU, with its "it can't happen here" confidence in the neutrality of the bourgeois government, is simply the most consistent of the liberals. But it is paying for its consistency as its members—properly repelled by the organization's defense of the Nazis' "civil liberties"—are quitting in droves. The SWP, which has in the past called for "free speech" for fascists and denounced the Spartacist League slogan of "No Platform for Fascists" as "ultra-left," is cynically beating a tactical retreat and has taken to sparring with the ACLU over the issue.

But that the state has once again exposed its anti-democratic indifference to the rights of the oppressed has not stopped the reformists from preaching faith in the government to "ban the Nazis." The Illinois Communist Party is demanding "a law to outlaw racism in our state.... The City Council and state legislature should take immediate forceful action" ("Skokie: The Time to Stop Nazism Is Now"). Appealing to the anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, the CP wails that Carter "says nothing about the people of Chicago and their human rights" (*Daily World*, 22 June). In fact, Carter did insure the "human rights" of some people in Chicago just as he defends such rights internationally—the "rights" of the ultraright wing.

The argument now underway between the ACLU liberals and the anti-Nazi liberals and reformists is really a tactical debate over how best to pressure the capitalist state to defend against the threat of fascism.

Revolutionaries do not call upon the state to ban fascism. We do not want the bourgeois state to mediate the application of general bourgeois-democratic rights, which would invite the state to use the Nazis as a pretext to use any such laws against the left and workers movements. But neither do we defend the Nazis against bourgeois repression and, unlike the SWP, we are not at all delighted that the Skokie law was struck down as part of government efforts to legitimize the Nazis.

Mobilize the Organized Labor Movement!

The mass outpouring of opposition to the Nazis over Skokie came only after months of newspaper publicity and various false starts. Moreover, it stands in sharp contrast to the previous lackluster response to the increasing boldness of the Nazis and the Klan, which has been due in large measure to the bureaucratic stranglehold which mutes the power of the only force capable of decisively crushing fascism: the organized labor movement. True to their pro-capitalist purpose, the labor bureaucrats depend entirely upon their "friends" in the Democratic Party, the legislature and courts. Their criminal failure to militantly mobilize the integrated labor movement against fascism is a mortal danger to every worker.

A resolution passed by UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) calling for a mass militant mobilization of Chicago labor went beyond moralistic tokenism and bureaucratic do-nothingism to point the way forward toward an alliance of organized labor with minority-group organizations to smash the fascist menace. Adventurist confrontations by small groups of leftists, which inevitably run up against the armed might of the state, are no substitute for the organized power of the working class.

In the absence of any such action, it is no wonder that groups like Collin's Nazis have found fertile soil in which to plant their seeds of race hate. These groups are more visible today than they have been in years. And their growth and aggressiveness are linked to the increasing racist sentiment fostered by the Carter government.

The Nazis cannot fail to understand which way the wind is blowing. Busing is dead. Capital punishment is very much alive. The ERA can't pass. The anti-black Bakke campaign against "reverse discrimination" has general liberal respectability. Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual crusade continues to win victories. The Nazis know they can recruit in such a climate—in the racist anti-busing milieu of South Boston, Louisville, Cleveland's near West Side and Chicago's Marquette Park. They seek to appear as the consistent and action-oriented faction of this generally racist mob.

Today, the Nazis' intention of a second holocaust remains a sick fantasy in the fevered brain of Collin and other Hitler-lovers. For the moment his group and others like it exist as isolated gangs on the lunatic fringe of the ultraright, attracting the criminally insane and varieties of sociopaths. But under circumstances of economic and political crisis, the Nazis gain the help of a section of the ruling class and can grow into a mass movement of intimidation and genocide. Then they are called into action to crush the organizations of the working class. In the meantime, they do not simply wait. Anywhere they are allowed to exist, they organize terror raids upon their intended victims. They must be stopped now.

The working class and its allies have a vital interest in smashing fascism while it is small. And the organized labor movement has the power to do so. All that is lacking is the leadership.

Organized labor must drive the Nazis out of Chicago! ■

French LCR...

(continued from page 7)

addressed to the Admiral inside this hall." Thereupon, General Bécarn intervened praising the "democracy" of Hitler's Wehrmacht (!) and warned against workers militias as potentially less democratic than the army. His horrible example? The Nazis' SA!! Again LTF comrades protested, now accompanied by shouts of disapproval throughout the hall.

In a subsequent intervention during the debate an LTF spokesman again denounced the presence of these professional butchers of the Vietnamese and Algerian peasants and workers:

"The question is, what is there to debate with ex-officers, generals who defend the bourgeois army, who are for the defense of the fatherland, when you are an organization that says it is socialist, that even claims to be Trotskyist. As for an ex-general, an ex-admiral, so long as they haven't renounced their past... I think these characters still merit the name given them by the soldiers' committees themselves, namely *crévures* [roughly "butchers," the worst insult a soldier can make to an officer in the French army, punishable by long stretches in the stockade]."

A second LTF comrade linked the LCR's incredible call for an "alliance of the workers movement, the soldiers movement, the career officers" to the Pabloists' capitulation to popular frontism, and counterposed the revolutionary Trotskyist program of opposition to collaboration with the class enemy:

"Obviously the question of the army is the key question for a popular front. The LCR, if it wants to maintain its alliance with the popular front, its essentially popular-frontist policy, is compelled to have a reformist policy toward the army. Which, moreover, explains why they have also abandoned all their guerrillaist postures, ... while today they take the side of the bourgeois state against the Red Brigades in Italy.... "The question for Trotskyists is essentially the question of the officers. What is the officer caste? The officer caste is precisely the last bastion of the bourgeoisie. And that's what the reformists never want to touch.... Today the LCR wants us to believe that the officer caste... can be split between the elements in favor of the proletariat and those in favor of the bourgeoisie. The officer caste is selected, educated and structured to destroy the organized proletariat.... And the Trotskyist program is the destruction of the officer caste.... "The objective of Trotskyists in the army is to effectively defend the democratic rights of soldiers in the army—but we link the defense of democratic rights with the goal of the destruction of the bourgeois army, the destruction of the officer corps, the constitution of workers militias, the creation of a Red Army with nuclear arms against the imperialist armies that will intervene. And we will struggle also for the creation of a Trotskyist party which can lead the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeois army!"

In a recent special issue of *Inprecor* devoted to the May 1968 events, the USec announced that its analyses in the post-1968 period had been too optimistic and called for Communist-Socialist parliamentary governments as the axis of its propaganda in southern Europe. In an interview Bensaïd remarked that "everyone now agrees" that the elusive "new mass vanguard" "will be radicalized mainly in the reformist parties and the unions" (*Inprecor*, 25 May). Hence the USec's new orientation toward Eurocommunism. If Eurocommunists like PCF leader Carrillo and PCF dissident Elleinstein are ready to renounce Leninism, and "Eurosociologists" like Spanish leader Felipe González renounce Marxism, then in order to get into the act Mandel & Co. are prepared to take off their tattered fake-Trotskyism as the price of admission in this obscene political striptease. ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Marxist Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland, California
Phone 835-1535

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:30-8:00
Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 South Plymouth Court, 3rd floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday-Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway, Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

(continued from page 12)

dues increase because to vote a dues increase to the CWA International would for many local officials be an act of political suicide.

For his part, Watts made it very clear that the dues increase was needed if the CWA tops were to pursue business as usual—i.e., to confine the CWA to being a lobby, pressuring phony “friend-of-labor” Democratic Party politicians to throw the unions a few crumbs.

While disgruntlement with Watts’ policies was widespread, the only fundamental opposition to the CWA brass, which offered a sweeping and counterposed program to Watts’ hat-in-hand collaboration with the phone company, was led by delegate Jane Margolis of CWA Local 9410 in San Francisco. Margolis, a founding member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition group in Local 9410, led off opposition to the Union’s financial report, denouncing Watts & Co.’s complete prostration to Ma Bell’s attacks (see box). Margolis went on to note that the key issue the convention should be discussing was not a dues increase but the drastic loss of

governor Jerry Brown. “Yes,” Moscone hypocritically bragged, “we are proud to be known as the finest trade-union city in the country.” What he didn’t tell the delegates was that just two years ago he had locked out striking city craft workers and forced them to accept pay cuts of up to 25 percent.

Jerry Brown, for his part, also put on his “friend-of-labor” mask, pointing out that he had even worked one summer as an unorganized telephone messenger. Referring to the recently passed Proposition 13 property tax cut and the budgetary crisis it has created, Brown observed, “...for every problem there is an opportunity. For every lemon there is a lemonade.” After making a mercifully short, though typically demagogic speech, the busy governor rushed off to attend to making his “lemonade”. He called a press conference to announce that he was freezing the wages of some 220,000 state workers, tearing up contractually mandated cost-of-living raises.

In a leaflet addressed to the delegates, the Militant Action Caucus attacked the CWA bureaucracy’s subservience to the Democratic Party:

“Make no mistake about it. There is a connection between CWA’s prostration before AT&T and the International’s slavish courting of government officials and Democratic Party politicians. Anyone serious about mounting serious strike action must be prepared to take on not only the Bell System, but also the capitalist government with its courts, scabberding cops, judges, strikebreaking injunctions and troops. The government is not for the working people, or even a neutral arbitrator, but exists to protect the interests of the big capitalists—Carter’s strikebreaking actions against the coal miners’ strike are but one example.”

Counterposed to Watts’ strategy of relying on the Carters, Moscones and Browns, the MAC called for the convention to prepare for a solid nationwide phone strike to protect CWA jobs and working conditions. The MAC leaflet went on to explain the need for the unions to stop supporting the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and to instead launch a workers party to fight for a workers government and a planned economy.

MAC members attending the convention told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that their leaflet and Margolis’ speech were very well received by a number of delegates. Particularly popular was a MAC-initiated proposal to amend the union constitution to give CWA locals the unrestricted right to strike over working conditions and grievances.

Gary Adkins, a building steward and delegate from Local 11501 in Los Angeles tried to get this amendment on the floor during the agenda point devoted to constitutional amendments. But Watts arrogantly ruled the motion out of order, claiming that it would be frivolous to allow discussion since the delegates had not had proper time to consider the proposal. Margolis however told *WV*, “The amendment was circulated to everyone attending the convention and was endorsed by more than 30 local presidents and chief stewards.” The CWA convention rules permit constitutional amendments to be submitted from the floor, but Watts wanted no challenge to the “no-strike” clause in the CWA contract with Bell.

While the rejection of the dues hike showed that Watts could not steamroller the convention, it was also an easy act for many delegates. Yelling about dues is a fairly standard method for lower-level union bureaucrats to curry favor with the ranks without really challenging the leadership’s sell-out policies. A measure of the fact that few delegates were prepared for a sharp *political* break with the Watts regime was the routine and near-unanimous support for the rest of the CWA president’s proposals, which ranged from minor changes in the union constitution to endorsement of such meaningless reformist sops as the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act to support for

“Not One More Cent for Kneeling to the Phone Company”

reprinted from *Daily Proceedings and Reports, 40th Annual Convention of the CWA, 13 June 1978*

DELEGATE JANE S. MARGOLIS (Local 9410): I am speaking against the Phillips amendment. I am opposed to any dues increase. I would be for a dues increase if we had seen action to defend our members.

The main reason we are in this bind today in our union is the loss of jobs. Everyone knows that a hundred thousand jobs have been lost in the last four years.

I’d be for a dues increase if we had had a national strike which would have won real job security for our members, which would have stopped the company offensive to reduce the work force.

I would be for a dues increase if the Union had fought against absence control; if we had paid sick leave. I’d be for a dues increase if the Union had stopped forced overtime, and if we had the legal right to strike to defend our

members in defense of grievances.

But I know where the money will go. It will go to more of the same. Layoffs have not been opposed under this leadership. There has been an increase of firings. We have not been able to stop absence control. And money is going into supporting strikebreakers, anti-labor politicians, Jimmy Carter who brought the Taft-Hartley against the miners’ strike, who were fighting for the right to strike and for health care. (Applause)

Money is going into anti-labor politicians who threatened to use the troops against the upcoming mail strike. And Jimmy Carter actually threatened to use the Taft-Hartley against a national phone strike.

So I am for money to build a strong, militant union, but not one more cent for inaction and kneeling to the Phone Company. (Applause and “Boos”)



WV Photo

Jane Margolis

jobs. She called for “a union offensive to fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.”

Watts Defends Jimmy Carter

In his opening remarks to the convention, Glenn Watts defended his strategy of banking on the good will of the Democratic Party and imperialist chief Jimmy Carter: “...CWA has a proven friend in the White House. Jimmy Carter’s record as President has indicated that although he is by no means in labor’s hip pocket, as the saying goes, he is basically sympathetic to the interest of working people, and his record thus far has proven that.” This is Watts’ judgment *after* Carter invoked Taft-Hartley to crush the miners strike; *after* he threatened phone workers with a Taft-Hartley injunction in 1977; and right on the heels of Carter’s threat to use federal troops to break a postal workers strike should one occur.

As in the past the CWA tops invited a few “friends-of-labor” Democrats to address the convention. These “honored guests” were San Francisco mayor George Moscone and California

chauvinist proposals to toughen up the “Buy America Act.” It was very clear from the standing ovation given Jerry Brown and from the fact that only two delegates voted against a proposal to honor Hubert Humphrey that deep illusions still exist concerning the Democratic Party.

Watts has been a particularly avid supporter of Carter’s “human rights” crusade. Thus on June 15 the ex-Red Army general turned demoralized anti-Communist Pyotr Grigorenko was a featured speaker at the convention and a useful front man for Watts’ attempt to whip up support for the foreign policies of U.S. imperialism.

Watts’ flag-waving did not go unopposed, however. Following a report on a CWA position paper on foreign policy, MAC member and delegate Margolis took the floor and called on the delegates to reject the report:

“There has been concern and discussion here from many union members on the American Institute for Labor Development and Operation South America. ...on the Board of AIFLD sit, besides representatives of several unions, six representatives from Anaconda Copper, United Fruit, Chase Manhattan Bank and ITT, and the AIFLD sets up company unions in Latin America. ...there has been CIA money funneled into the AIFLD.

“What is the interest of these corporations in Latin America, Asia and Africa? They are the same corporations behind the right-wing offensive to build a union-free environment here in the United States.”

“Daily Proceedings...”
16 June 1978

MAC had distributed another leaflet

documenting the CIA connections of the AIFLD and demanding the CWA break all ties with this cover for imperialist intrigue.

“The real story of the AIFLD is to be found in the prisons and torture chambers of the military juntas in Chile and Brazil, where thousands of unionists are still imprisoned, and thousands more have been executed....

“This is the organization Glenn Watts is treasurer of. This is the organization CWA gives thousands of dollars to every year. The banner of CWA has been stained with the blood of thousands of workers in Latin America.”

Some 30 delegates joined with Margolis in voting against the resolution while hundreds abstained. This is the first time to our knowledge that a CWA foreign policy statement has met with any opposition at a convention.

This is also the first time in the CWA’s history that a class-struggle oppositional grouping has won representation at the union’s convention. While the MAC grouping won limited support on some issues for its positions, it is clear that it is a very small pole that must make every attempt to link up with like-minded militants in other areas of the country if a class-struggle opposition seriously capable of challenging the bureaucratic misleadership of the Watts regime is to be forged.

Only through the fight for a class-struggle program can the discontent of the ranks with the CWA bureaucracy be channeled into a militant policy against the companies and the government. This requires patience and painstaking work in explaining this program to the membership. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

48 issues—\$5; Introductory offer (16 issues): \$2. International rates: 48 issues—\$20 airmail/\$5 seamount; 16 introductory issues—\$5 airmail.

—includes *Spartacist*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10001

Inland...

(continued from page 12)

Sadlowski/Balanoff forces proved to be no different from their hidebound adversaries in the McBride camp: both ordered the Steelworkers across the picket lines.

The picket line is the battle line of the class struggle. Its message is simple: don't cross. Whenever these lines of elemental labor solidarity are breached, workers are lined up on the bosses' side and directly pitted against other workers in struggle. There is a simple, widely recognized term for such activity—scabbing. And the Steelworkers bureaucrats who implemented this policy at Inland are nothing less than scabherders.

The strike at Inland began June 13 after the Bricklayers, who perform crucial maintenance and construction work on the plant's furnaces, had worked without a contract for eight-and-a-half months. The key concern of the 285 Bricklayers, in addition to fairly modest contract proposals, was reversal of the 22 disciplinary layoffs meted out to members of their union last year for refusing to work forced overtime and walking off the job. Unlike many other unions (such as the USWA), Bricklayers Local 6 has the contractually guaranteed right to refuse overtime. By seeking to encroach on that right, Inland also thought it could teach a lesson to the Steelworkers, who have been subjected to a cost-cutting campaign of speedup and massive layoffs throughout the industry. The company was also eager to reinforce the authority of the hated "no-strike" Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) with the Steelworkers, so it dug in on the walkout/discipline issue and provoked the Bricklayers strike.

With months of notice that the strike might occur, the bourgeois media reflected the company's fears that picket lines might shut down the entire plant. Numerous articles appeared in April, May and June in local newspapers, citing Bricklayers secretary-treasurer James Teuell saying he expected the Steelworkers to honor the picket lines and that he was working closely with the Local 1010 and District 31 leaders. The

Hammond Times (20 April) warned, "Another strike threat is taking shape, and it could shut down Inland Steel." A nervous Inland management sent letters to all 18,000 USWA members at the plant, claiming it was making "fair and equitable" offers to the Bricklayers at the negotiating table.

Inland had plenty of reason to be scared. Unlike any other major steel company, the sprawling Indiana Harbor complex is Inland's only steel producing plant. In addition, construction work on a new blast furnace—slated to be the largest in North America when completed—was halted by a strike of Operating Engineers at the same time the Bricklayers were out. Had the Steelworkers honored the picket lines, it would have brought the entire company to a dead stop. As one of the striking Bricklayers told *WV*, "If they'd all just stay home for one day it'd be over."

But Inland had trusty allies at every level of the USWA bureaucracy. On the day the Bricklayers walked out and set up small picket lines on the access roads leading to the mill gates, Local 1010 president Bill Andrews announced, "The International Union has instructed us to honor the binding contract." Andrews said that any steel workers who respected the picket lines would do so "on an individual basis and without union sanction." Local 1010 officers set the standard for the ranks, crossing the picket lines day after day.

But at least two members of Local 1010 refused to cross the picket lines and stood up to their leadership's miserable capitulation to the company. In an interview with *WV*, militants Anwar and Thurtell told us what had happened:

Anwar: "The Bricklayers were fighting our fight, too. If the company could make them work more overtime and get away with it, they'll do it to us next. Already they force us to put in extra hours, sometimes double shifts, in the most incredibly unsafe conditions."

Thurtell: "Look at the coal miners. One of the things that has made them so strong is that they never cross a picket line. That's what our union ought to do."

WV: "What happened when you raised this issue in your union?"

Anwar: "We went to our local meeting, just a couple of days after the strike started. Steve and I tried to present a motion calling on the local officers to tell the members not to cross the lines and for the District to back us up. After all, all these guys were elected claiming to defend the right to strike."

Thurtell: "But now that they're in office, it's a different story. President Andrews got up and read us a letter from the International's attorney directing the local to take all the necessary steps to persuade the members to report to work. In short, that equals organized scabbing. We were accused of being "irresponsible" and violating the contract. Hell, the company violates the contract every day and the union honors their right to do whatever they please. But they won't honor a picket line."

Anwar: "After about a half-hour of debate, Andrews just ruled the motion out of order and refused to even take a vote. Sadlowski and his guys ran promising "union democracy"—some democracy!"

The next day, June 16, a District 31 conference opened at Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel and it was more of the same—and then some. Early in the proceedings on Saturday Anwar went to a floor microphone and began, "The Bricklayers strike at Inland requires immediate action by this conference." But at the very mention of the strike, a clot of supporters of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), a caucus supporting Sadlowski/Balanoff which is uncritically hailed by the Communist Party, began shouting, "Not a delegate! Shut off his mike!" A grateful Balanoff had the floor microphone clicked off, told

Anwar to sit down and ordered him escorted off the floor.

Under pressure from at least some of the delegates, however, Balanoff finally relented near the end of the conference, allowing Anwar to address the body "for a statement only." "We won't consider any resolutions," he warned. Anwar explained the situation at Inland and pointed to the stirring example of the miners' strike: "The miners' strike showed that strikes do work if workers stick together and honor each others' picket lines." But as soon as Anwar referred to the motion for honoring the picket lines, Balanoff interrupted, "I'm not going to let this motion on the floor." When Anwar concluded with a plea for a delegate to place the motion on the floor for a vote, Balanoff demonstrated his support for union democracy by hastily adjourning the conference.

Back on the Picket Line...

The striking Bricklayers were not too surprised by the backstabbing of the USWA bureaucrats. Referring to the Balanoff/Sadlowski/Andrews crew, one striker told *WV*: "It's kind of hard to put pressure on an organization [the USWA] that doesn't give a shit about their own membership."

But though abandoned by the fake-progressives in the USWA District 31 leadership, the Bricklayers were not without resourceful tactics of their own. Increasingly disgruntled with their own union leaders, who kept urging avoidance of real mass picketing to shut Inland down, militant strikers resolved to up the stakes. When they turned out in force at 6:30 a.m. June 19, about 30 of the Bricklayers handed out 5,000 flyers to steel workers containing the resolution authored by Anwar and Thurtell urging respect for the picket lines. The rest assembled at the gate leading to the blast furnace construction site. Though jittery Inland security guards shouted at the gathering crowd of construction workers to proceed to work, none crossed the picket line. Five squad cars of East Chicago police were brought in, with a paddy wagon in tow, but still the line held firm. When Anwar and Thurtell joined the pickets, carrying signs reading, "Support the Bricklayers strike—Don't cross their picket lines" and "Balanoff/Sadlowski/Andrews: Picket Lines Mean 'Don't Cross,'" cheers and applause went up from the strikers.

The Bricklayers victory, secured that very day, should put to shame the cowardly traitors in the USWA hierarchy. But these hardened sellouts will, no doubt, simply slough it off, just as Balanoff tried to downplay the issue of the Bricklayers strike at the District 31 conference, though the *Gary Post Tribune's* Sunday edition (18 June) devoted its report on the conference entirely to the clash over the pickets at Inland.

In attempting to excuse their strike-breaking activity, the Balanoffs and Sadlowskis will doubtless find plenty of support among their fake-left enthusiasts, who jumped on the "reform" bureaucrats' electoral bandwagon. Having based their hopes for increased influence in the labor movement on snuggling up to left-talking "progressives," these so-called "radicals" are loath to abandon their mentors over something so "trifling" as crossing a picket line. The Local 1010 militants told us they had approached a number of these fake-militants at the District 31 conference, trying to find a delegate to present their motion:

Anwar: "I talked to Rodi Schneider, who is chairman of our local Strike Support and Boycott Committee and is with the NSRFC. Schneider told me he'd been crossing the picket lines, which is a hell of a thing for a guy who's supposed to be in charge of strike support, and that he didn't support our motion. I also approached Simon Kent, a delegate from Southworks, Local 65.

Gary Press Reports Inland Strike

Reprinted from *Gary Post-Tribune*, 18 June 1978

CHICAGO—A second attempt for an official United Steelworkers resolution to urge 18,000 members employed at the Indiana Harbor plant of Inland Steel Co. not to cross union bricklayers' picket lines failed Saturday.

Bricklayers Local 6, whose contract with the company expired last Oct. 1, has been on strike since negotiations reached an impasse last week. About 200 bricklayers, who took a strike vote last April 13, are involved.

William Andrews, president of USW Local 1010 at Inland Steel, had said his local, the largest in the Steelworkers union, would support the striking bricklayers, but he also said the cooperation doesn't include an official decision to cross picket lines, since the USW has a binding contract with the company.

However, some members of his local have said it would be union sacrilege for any organized worker to cross another union's pickets. Two active supporters of Bricklayers Local 6—Keith Anwar and Steve Thurtell, who have been honoring the picket lines at the cost of losing wages and at the risk of losing their jobs—proposed a resolution at the Local 1010 meeting last week calling on Local 1010 to instruct its members to honor the picket lines and to demand that USW District 31 "commit its full resources and efforts to the support of this policy."

Andrews declared the proposed resolution out of order last week. He explained that Local 1010 members are bound by the basic agreement with the company and the local union can't go on strike just for sympathy.

At the USW District 31 conference at Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel Saturday, Anwar addressed delegates and pleaded for the same resolution.

District 31 Director James Balanoff ruled his plea out of order.

Striking bricklayers met Friday to consider the latest development in the labor dispute, and The Post-Tribune learned the members decided to continue the strike. They thereupon returned to the picket lines.

He was busy handing out the *Steelworker* and said he couldn't put up our motion because he had another motion to present. But, funny thing, he never took the floor of the conference to present another motion. It was just a dodge not to confront Balanoff. You'd think, especially after the miners' strike, these guys would get the importance of not crossing a picket line. But they don't."

The apologists for the USWA bureaucracy in the NSRFC and the *Steelworker* group, which is endorsed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, turn their backs on such basic labor principles as not crossing picket lines in order to curry favor with the bureaucrats. They deserve the contempt and scorn of Steelworkers no less than do the Sadlowskis and Balanoffs who lead them around by the nose. Only if the rank and file are won to follow the leadership of militants, such as those at Inland, who know what a picket line means and show real solidarity, can the USWA become a fighting union instead of defending the bosses, as the entire bureaucracy, from McBride to Sadlowski, shamelessly does. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR (313) 663-9012
c/o SYL, Room 4102
Michigan Union, U. of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND (415) 835-1535
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON (617) 492-3928
Box 188
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 566-7806
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT (313) 868-9095
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES (213) 662-1564
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

NEW YORK (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO ..(415) 863-6963
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO (416) 366-4107
Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER (604) 254-9166
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Picket Line Showdown Wins Strike at Inland Steel

CHICAGO The power of an angry picket line won a sudden victory June 19 for striking skilled tradesmen at Inland Steel's huge Indiana Harbor plant. After nearly a week on strike had failed to budge Inland's negotiators, who were assisted by the scabberding policies of officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who told the 18,000 steel workers at Inland to cross the craft unionists' picket lines, 80 members of Bricklayers Local 6 turned out early Monday morning prepared for a showdown.

Squared off against private guards and city cops rushed to the scene, the strikers set up a solid picket line at a crucial gate, shutting down construction work on a massive new blast furnace. Over 200 craft unionists and laborers honored the picket lines. The show of force caused Inland, which had stonewalled it through almost nine months of "negotiations," to capitulate the same day. The company agreed to the strikers' main demand—clearing the records of 22 workers given disciplinary layoffs last year.

The Bricklayers' successful picket line was joined that morning by two Inland steel workers, members of USWA Local 1010, who had been waging a fight to swing the power of the Steelworkers behind the strike. Keith Anwar and Steve Thurtell walked the lines and, in solidarity with the Bricklayers, demanded that their union officers instruct the membership not to cross the lines. However, both



Striking Bricklayers picket Inland Steel Co. plant in East Chicago.

WV Photo

at a Local 1010 meeting and at the annual conference of USWA District 31, held in Chicago, June 16-17, the USWA "leaders" gavelled the issue of respecting picket lines "out of order."

The Bricklayers won their strike with no thanks due to the "dissident" wing of the USWA bureaucracy which runs District 31 and is led by former district director Ed Sadlowski. When Sadlowski challenged Lloyd McBride

last year for the Steelworkers presidency, he invoked the nostalgia of 1930's "bare-knuckled unionism" and claimed to be for the right to strike. Jim Balanoff, past president of Local 1010 and Sadlowski's hand-picked successor as District 31 chief, echoed the same rhetoric (and promptly appointed "Oil Can Eddie" his executive assistant when Sadlowski's electoral bid failed). Once in office Balanoff/Sadlowski

have done everything to sabotage a fighting policy for Steelworkers: refusing to call for an industrywide strike when the basic steel contract expired and when the companies instituted mass layoffs, and allowing USWA members to handle scab ore and coal during the militant iron and coal miner strikes. And when the picket lines went up at Inland Steel, the liberal

continued on page 11

Militants Fight For Jobs, Right to Strike

Dues Increase Stopped at CWA Convention

SAN FRANCISCO Many of the 3,300 phone workers, including the 1,800 delegates, attending the 40th annual convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) held here last week (June 12-16) must have come away from this convention feeling frustrated and disappointed. The Bell system, which is hated by just about everyone who uses a telephone and suffers endless gouging rate increases, has laid off or dismissed over 100,000 phone workers in the last four years and plans to slash tens of thousands more jobs through increased automation. Yet instead of using the convention to hammer out a program of union action to fight for jobs and improved working conditions, union president Glenn E. Watts spent four out of the five days of convention time trying to sell reluctant delegates on his proposal to jack up

union membership dues.

It was no sale! After four days of parliamentary maneuvering and haggling, of motions, amendments, amendments to amendments, points of order, divisions of the house and a roll call vote, the delegates finally decided to table the question of union finances indefinitely. The Watts regime, which had been promoting the dues increase for months, was handed a stinging vote of no confidence.

In large part the delegates, many of them local union officers, voted to reject any dues increase out of fear of their memberships back home. Across the country CWA members are disgruntled with a union leadership that sabotages strike actions and stands by while Bell management slashes jobs and degrades working conditions. Watts didn't get his

continued on page 10



President Watts at the podium at recent Communications Workers convention in San Francisco.

WV Photo