

Reagan, Carter? Oh Shit!

Many thought Ronald Reagan could never be elected president of the United States. But when the Republican delegates met in Detroit last week they had decided that they could lead the U.S. in a sharp turn to the political right. They came to this working-class and black depressed industrial city to restore the politics of Barry Goldwater to the Republican Party without re-enacting his electoral trouncing of 1964. The right-wing minority of this minority party is confident that it can appeal to a majority of American voters, including, for the first time, large numbers of working people. And they may be right. That is why revolutionaries had better pay attention to an event that usually goes unnoticed among socialists: the Republican convention. Ronald Reagan is no joke—for the left, for labor, for blacks and other minorities.

Carter's "human rights" campaign, braintrustered by the sinister Brzezinski, sought to bury the "Vietnam syndrome," push public opinion toward a new Cold War and mobilize militarily against the Soviet Union. In this way Carter/Brzezinski made right-wing Republicanism respectable and gave it its present battle cries.

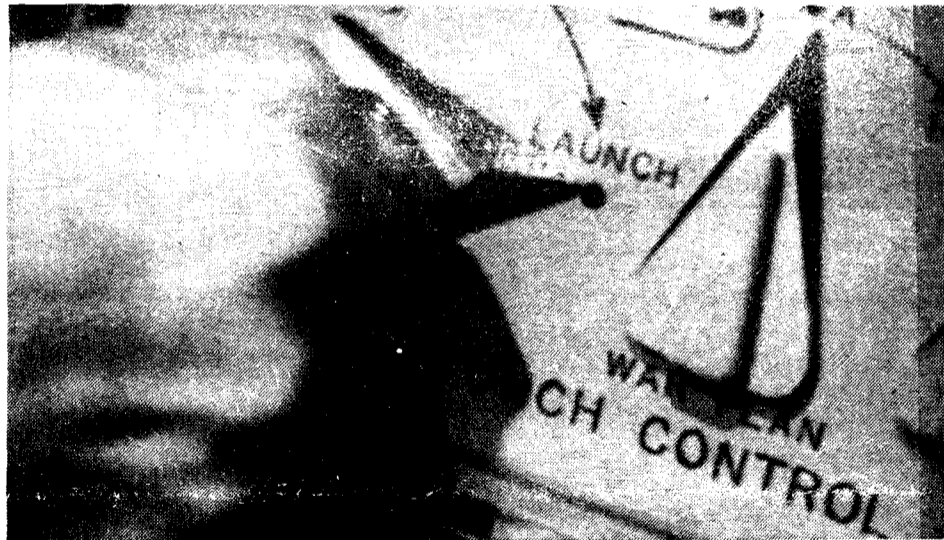
They came to Detroit in their straw hats and big buttons and the smell of victory in their nostrils. The bumbling Jimmy Carter seemed to have handed them the election, if only they didn't screw it up. Carter is seen as the man responsible for the record inflation and depression levels of unemployment. His unpopularity was relieved only temporarily during the Iranian hostage seizure, as Americans rallied to the presidency in a burst of patriotic fervor.

The delegates to the Republican convention not only looked and sounded like the delegates who nominated Barry Goldwater in 1964, in many cases they were the same people. The reactionary ideologues now back in control used the Detroit convention to dump the ERA, embrace anti-abortion fanaticism and salute Pentagon warmongering. But the Republicans learned something from Goldwater's defeat. They had to appeal beyond their slender ideological base. That was why they came to Detroit and not some sun belt city.

But 1980 Republicans did not have the honesty of Goldwater's vintage. The danger was constantly covered in syrupy middle-American populism. The Music Man drops the H-bomb. Pat Boone pledged allegiance to the flag. Billy Graham invoked the Lord's blessing. Jimmy Stewart showed film clips from *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. The American Legion trooped the colors. But with the Democratic liberal coalition in a shambles and New Deal rhetoric in general disgrace, the Republicans started their convention with a filmed statement from Alf Landon, the



"I am not trigger-happy," insists Reagan, but he won't rule out a preemptive nuclear first strike against the Russians.



Herman J. Kokojan/Black Star

The nuclear trigger.

Republican candidate defeated by FDR in 1936. And heaping on the irony, it finished with Reagan rendez-vousing with destiny, quoting large swatches of Roosevelt's 1932 campaign speeches.

The Democrats now seem to be only a paler, more muddled version of the Republicans. And, unfortunately for Carter, they are in office and have to take the blame for the economy. The working-class vote that has been solid Democratic almost every election since the 1930s will be divided between both parties this time. The *New York Times* (22 July) headlined: "Rising Joblessness Driving Many Auto Workers Into Reagan Camp." A regional director of the UAW, Edward F. Gray, lamented to the *Times*, "I don't know how to get them [auto workers] to support Carter; I don't know what handle to grab hold of. ... Most of the members who are concerned with politics feel they have been betrayed by Jimmy Carter, and that's a terribly difficult thing to deal with."

"Family, Neighborhood, Work, Peace, Freedom"

To win the election the Republicans have to strike a balance between

ideology and mass appeal, that old-time Republican religion and some electoral snake oil. The "moderates" got the vice presidency. The ideologues got the party platform. Emblazoned on the cover of the platform are the five words Reagan echoed in his acceptance speech: "Family, neighborhood, work, peace, freedom." It is hard not to think of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche." Indeed the double-speak of these watchwords is startling. "Family" means opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, a reversal of a paper position in support of legal equality for women which the Republicans have supported for 40 years. It also means support for a constitutional amendment banning abortion, along with a political test for appointed judgeships on the basis of opposition to abortion.

The remaining catchwords of the Republican platform are equally duplicitous. "Neighborhood" stands for no busing and no integration. "Work" means no welfare, anti-union "right to work" laws, no minimum wage and Reagan's threat to subject unions to anti-trust laws for "restraint of trade," i.e., fighting for better pay and working conditions! "Peace" and "Freedom"

mean doubling the military budget, repression of the left and getting the nuclear jump on the Soviet Union. In short, "peace" means war.

Much of the rhetoric in the GOP platform—the most easily forgotten genre of political documents—represents minority views even within the Republican Party, and the true believers who wrote it know this. But it does indicate that the people running Reagan's campaign feel they must lead the country in a reactionary crusade on social issues. And despite Carter's unpopularity, this call will provoke opposition. On the streets outside the convention on opening day, 10,000 marched in a pro-ERA demonstration called by the National Organization for Women. The Spartacist League was the only left group with its own banner including "Free Abortion on Demand" and a banner reading "Support to the ERA, Break with the Democrats and Republicans. Build a Workers Party." A contingent formed by the SL and the Rouge Militant Caucus of the United Auto Workers marched ahead of the main UAW group, many of whom took up the SL chant, "Break with the elephant, break with the ass! We want a party of the working class!"

The Republican platform and Reagan's campaign promises amount to a declaration of war against the poor, the working class and blacks. With a program like this, one suspects that what the Republican honchos really hope for in November is that enough black voters will boycott the election in disgust to throw the victory to their right-wing racist and not the Democrats'. Gerry Ford lost in '76 because 94 percent of black voters went for Carter. The black bloc vote gave the key states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and with them the presidency, to the Democrats.

Holding the Republican convention in Detroit was part of that party's strategy to steal black and working-class votes from Carter. Black Democratic mayor Coleman Young rolled out the red carpet for the GOP, but the convention proceedings revealed the Republicans' real attitude toward the blacks whose votes they hope to win. The convention's token black secretary was the first black Republican convention officer since 1884. Even after the media flap caused by Reagan's failure to attend the NAACP convention in Miami, the delegates were prepared to do it again. NAACP head Benjamin Hooks, one of the country's only influential black Republicans, was denied speaking time at the convention until the few black delegates threatened to walk out in protest!

"I Am Not Trigger Happy"

Ronald Reagan has been trying to soft-pedal his right-wing image, knowing that he can blow the election by
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Auto Workers Reduced to Welfare

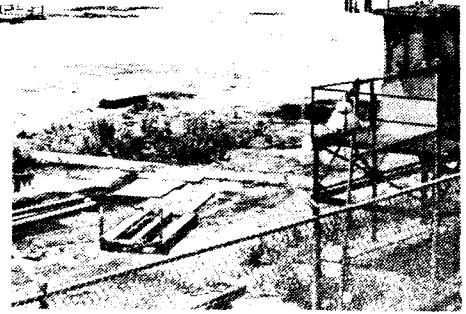
For some time now, white workers have been conditioned to regard welfare as a liberal handout for black women with ten children. As little as a year ago a relatively well-paid industrial worker would have thought it impossible that he, too, could be forced onto welfare. Yet that is just what is in store for (and already happening to) hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers. And the current depression is still in its early stages.

A recent *Business Week* (14 July) carries an article, "Auto Workers Head for the Welfare Rolls":

"Hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers will be running out of their various unemployment benefits by late summer and could find themselves on welfare rolls this winter—a fate they largely managed to avoid in the severe 1974-75 recession."

Auto workers, the core of the better-paid unionized industrial working class, are now reduced to the minimal protection this society offers against actually starving to death as happened to unemployed workers in the nineteenth century.

When the company-funded supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) program was negotiated the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy hailed it as the realization of Walter Reuther's long-heralded guaranteed annual wage. Since 1970 workers laid off in the perpetual boom-bust cycle—particularly pronounced in auto—could receive 95 percent of take-home pay. This illusion didn't survive even one economic downturn. Designed to cover seasonal layoffs, the SUB funds ran out during the major 1974-75 slump. Hundreds of thousands of jobless auto workers had to scrape by on one-half



WV Photos

Dodge Main shut down for good. Unemployment lines in Detroit. One third of laid-off auto workers have exhausted unemployment insurance.

their regular wage provided by government unemployment compensation.

For the half million auto and related workers now laid off the situation is even worse than five years ago. Once again the SUB funds are kaput, or fast becoming so. Near-bankrupt Chrysler has long since halted SUB pay for workers with less than ten years' seniority. Ford, too, has announced SUB cutbacks for less-than-ten-year workers. And General Motors is slated to restrict payouts come September.

But now the government unemployment insurance back-up is being pulled out as well. In 1974-75 unemployment benefits were extended to 52 weeks and 65 in areas of high joblessness. Not now! Today *one-third* of all laid-off auto workers have *already exhausted* their unemployment compensation. With Democrats and Republicans competing

over who can best slash "welfare state" expenditures, extensions of unemployment compensation are an obvious target for "fiscally responsible" budget slashers. Recently the Labor Department raised the "trigger" unemployment rate for extending the benefit period beyond 26 weeks, an act which disqualified 50,000 jobless workers in New Jersey. So it's literally welfare or starve.

The wretched Fraser leadership in Solidarity House has done nothing to fight the mass layoffs, and it hasn't even done anything to prevent hundreds of thousands of auto workers from being reduced to welfare—the poorest of the poor. What is desperately needed is mass union action centering on nationwide strikes/sitdowns demanding *at the minimum* full and unlimited SUB pay guaranteed by the government. Welfare, unemployment insurance and supple-

mental benefits programs should be rolled into a single federal fund for all, with benefits paid at the highest rate and no cut-off point.

Just how rapidly the capitalist system can throw them into poverty should convince many workers that narrow business unionism cannot protect their livelihoods. The UAW's SUB funds are the best protection available under American capitalism, and they have failed miserably. This should also convince many white workers that their fate is bound up with that of the black masses. Auto workers: the Carters, Reagans and Kennedys are forcing you *onto the welfare rolls!* Answer them with powerful class struggle, uniting black and white to fight for a workers government which alone can institute socialist economic planning to abolish unemployment forever! ■

An Honorable Weatherwoman

Drop Charges Against Cathy Wilkerson!

Cathy Wilkerson gave herself up last week. The Weatherman activist had been in hiding ever since March 1970 when a dynamite bomb accidentally exploded in the basement of her father's Greenwich Village town house, reducing the house to rubble and killing

three people. The victims were Diana Oughton, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins, also members of Weatherman, an offshoot of the New Left Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Charged with illegal possession of dynamite and criminally negligent homicide, Wilkerson disappeared.

Surrendering before the Manhattan Criminal Court on July 8, Wilkerson vowed to continue the political struggle she had begun more than a decade ago. "The conditions are the same and I have the same commitment to struggle against them," she said (*New York Times*, 9 July). On July 18 she pleaded guilty to the dynamite possession charge, remaining free on \$10,000 bail pending sentencing in October. Explaining why she had not sought a jury trial, Wilkerson said she did not want to discuss her own "deep regrets over the deaths of three beloved comrades" and that she wished to spare her family and political associates the harassment of a sensationalist trial.

Cathy Wilkerson has conducted herself honorably. And that stands in sharp contrast to several of the radical New Left fugitives who have surfaced in recent years. Mark Rudd, leader of the 1968 Columbia University student revolt, for instance. When he gave up in 1977, his father told the press, "He's 30

now. You get too old to be a revolutionary. It's time to start something new." As if to prove it, Rudd trekked up to Columbia for a chat and a widely publicized hug with one of the cops who clubbed and arrested his fellow students. Worse, the traitor Jane Alpert, New Leftist turned feminist who, turning herself in on bomb-conspiracy charges, denounced her "radical left past" and turned state's evidence.

The Spartacist League has long insisted on the elementary class duty of defense of the Weathermen against bourgeois repression. We took this stand when most of the left was shrinking from this task in the case of the isolated, middle-class white New Lefters, as opposed to the Black Panthers, who were then popular with large segments of the left-liberal bourgeoisie. At the time we criticized Weatherman confrontations, street tactics and terror threats. Having written off the "white working class" and therefore working-class power generally, the Weatherman organization tried in vain to substitute its own frenzied forces for the conscious working-class movement. Often their symbolic gestures demonstrated their hatred of capitalist society. But their blind identification of white working people as "the enemy" led them into politically destructive actions, sometimes self-destructive ones. Unlike the rest of the left, however, we were not about to look the other way or read Weatherman out of the left as the bourgeois state laid out its dragnet for them. But we do have one question for Miss Wilkerson. The *Times* reported that "antipersonnel bombs" were being constructed in the town house. Who were they intended for?

In 1970 we wrote in their defense:

"As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend Weatherman. Class issues are not dependent upon what is currently popular with the liberals. One may disagree with 'outbreaks' tactically; one is bound to advise militants—including Black militants—against adventurism. But this much must be clear: once the battle has been joined, we must have a side—the side of the oppressed, outraged and exploited (ghetto 'rioters' against the cops, strikers against scabs, the Panthers and Chicago 'Conspiracy' against bourgeois 'justice') against the ruling class and its state...."

"The real crime vis-a-vis terror politics and heroic individualism is that it allows the revolutionary energies of some of the movement's most talented, dedicated people to be channeled into futile and self-destructive action. It is our job to seek to redirect these energies into genuinely revolutionary directions."

—"Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist*, August-September 1970 ■

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SWP Still Faithful to Murderous Khomeini

Iran: The Allah that Failed

A half million packed the streets of Teheran on July 4 to roar approval for Ayatollah Khomeini's new manifesto. Here loud and clear was the message of the "Islamic Revolution"—more "Islamification," more veils, more murderous attacks on the left, more stonings of "sinners" of all sorts, and more troops for the Persian-chauvinist jihad against the Kurds and other oppressed minorities.

It was only last month that armed thugs "following the line of the imam" attacked the guerrillaist Islamic Mujahedeen. Now the Khomeiniite demonstrators demanded the dissolution of the Mujahedeen as well as the radical leftist Fedayeen. And in the sea of turbans and black chadors armed gangs of *hezbollahi* ("followers of Allah's party") and *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards"), who have acted as shock troops carrying out Khomeini's savage holy war against the "Satanic communists."

Khomeini's "Islamic Manifesto" proclaimed that women—particularly government employees—cannot escape *hejab*, the traditional seclusion of women symbolized by the wearing of the oppressive *chador*, or veil. The next day 2,000 women risked their lives to protest the order to wear "Islamic dress." In the first such protest since March 1979, the women lined sidewalks leading to the offices of President Bani Sadr chanting, "We haven't carried out a revolution to go backward" (*Washington Post*, 6 July). They were met by more than 2,000 clerical thugs and armed "revolutionary guards," as well as a few *chador*-covered women, who baited them as "prostitutes" and "shah supporters" and threatened to "kick them out" of their jobs. After the confrontation, official radio warned that a "small minority" were "still thinking about a sinful life" and threatened, "These parasites will be taken off the body of the nation."

The punishment for leading a "sinful life" in the mullahs' Iran no doubt was on the minds of the women who protested the forced wearing of the *chador* as well as those who stayed away out of fear. Just two days before, in the southern town of Kerman, one of the most barbaric acts in modern judicial history took place. Four people, including two middle-aged women, convicted of "sexual crimes" were ritualistically stoned to death in the traditional Islamic manner. The four victims were sacramentally washed by the clergy, clothed in white garments and "hoods of death," buried in the ground up to their chests, and then stoned for fifteen minutes until they died, with the presiding judge casting the first rock. Yet the Khomeiniite demonstration on July 4 called for even more severity from the "revolutionary" courts.

Even before Khomeini came to power, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was alone in warning that a Shi'ite theocracy would be just as reactionary as the justly hated Pahlavi monarchy. We warned that Khomeini was dead serious in his fanatical determination to enforce Islamic "purity," including such atrocities as public stonings. But this obvious truth was branded as heresy by all the opportunists who hailed the "Islamic Revolution." Intoxicated by the sight of "the masses in motion," virtually the entire left internationally has lied and alibied for Khomeini as Kurdish villagers were bombed to rubble, women were forced under the veil, "fornicators" executed in the streets, and even the Muslim guerrillas bloodied and killed.

Executions and lashings throughout



Burnett/Contact

SWP supports Islamic "cult of personality."

the land have increased dramatically since May. The notorious "hanging ayatollah" Khomeini has sent hundreds of so-called "sex offenders" "drug dealers" to die up against the walls of crowded public streets. Even playing Western music has been declared illegal by the "Center for the Campaign Against Sin." The universities, the main bastion of the left, have been closed in an Islamic "cultural revolution." And the hundreds arrested last month for allegedly plotting a military coup may go before the firing squads at any time. Elements of the military of course may have been planning a coup in collusion with the CIA, but the mullahs brand all their opponents as "U.S. agents." So the Fedayeen are denounced as *American* leftists, women who resist the veil are vilified as *American* "prostitutes."

The hard facts of life in the "Islamic Republic" are so reactionary, bloody and cruel that many on the left are waking up with a bad political hangover. Some felt queasy when the *pasdaran* militias butchered Kurdish villagers. But now it's the Iranian left that's under the gun in a fight for its life against the mullahs. Driven out of their headquarters by reactionary mobilizations last August, driven from their university bases in May, the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen have learned the hard way that the "Islamic Revolution" which they'd so avidly supported isn't unfolding ever-forward in an anti-imperialist direction. It's not just the Kurds, the Bahais and hapless homosexuals, but their own comrades who lie dead in the streets.

It Wasn't God that Failed

In the May issue of the British journal *Issues* Iranian leftist Azar Tabari authored a scathing critique of "year one of the Islamic republic." A supporter of the Mandelbrot International Marxist Group (IMG) in Britain, Tabari had contributed a similar critique, as a kind of minority document, to the IMG's *Socialist Challenge* (see "Iranian USecers Having Second Thoughts About Khomeini," *WV* No.

254, 18 April). Tabari castigates the left for simply enthusing over the mullah-led movement and turning a blind eye to "any unpleasant observations about its goals or leadership":

"It was often simply denied that the Islamic hierarchy genuinely commanded mass allegiance. Alternatively, those who were unable to convince themselves that Islam was secondary or irrelevant, fastened their gaze in another direction. Perhaps the mullahs did stand in the forefront of the movement, but if so, it was primarily because of their intransigent opposition to the shah, and not because they were mullahs. Those who adopted this attitude viewed the 'Islamic Republic' as camouflage, and they complained bitterly that the 'bourgeois press' was 'trying to portray Khomeini as a religious fanatic.' The implication was that masses of people could not possibly be drawn into action around a mystical or backward-looking programme. Or if they were temporarily so moved, their consciousness would automatically undergo a progressive evolution as the struggle unfolded.

"In fact, there is no reason, logically or sociologically, why the oppressed cannot be mobilized in a sustained fight for reactionary objectives."

As for the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran, hailed by the fake left as a great "anti-imperialist" act, Tabari correctly characterizes it as a diversion which:

"...far from impelling these struggles forward, acted as a brake on them, simultaneously diverting attention from the real issues facing Iran and serving as a rallying cry for the most typical obscurantist appeals to 'national unity,' overlaid with the Islamic cast that renders this time-honored reactionary appeal even more retrogressive."

All this is quite true. But in her criticism of the left Tabari avoids the central point: namely, it wasn't just a matter of "unpleasant observations" about Khomeini's movement but a question of revolutionary program. Tabari nowhere mentions what slogans and strategies should have been put forward in Iran. To call for a break with the mullahs, even in hindsight, means coming to grips with the revolutionary, Trotskyist program put forward by the iSt, which was unique in fighting for the

slogan "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs—for workers revolution in Iran!" Instead, Tabari prefers to play the role of left cover for the IMG, which hailed Khomeini as a "progressive," chanted "Allah akbar" (god is great) and still regards the embassy seizure as "anti-imperialist."

Another such critique of the Khomeini regime was recently made by Fred Halliday, a noted left-wing journalist covering Middle Eastern affairs and an early supporter of the "Islamic Revolution," appearing in the American social-democratic *In These Times* (21-27 May). This was itself a telling sign of the growing recognition in radical circles that something is rotten in the state of the mullahs. An honest observer of the accomplished fact, Halliday also regards the embassy/hostage seizure as "profoundly negative for the Iranian people," a diversion which has "given the clerical right their chance to attack the left using spurious anti-imperialist rhetoric." Halliday criticizes the left for siding with the clerical demagogues in their intra-Islamic power struggle with the Islamic lay politicians such as Bani Sadr:

"The main enemy in Iran is not the liberal camp, nor, given its present weakness, U.S. imperialism. Rather it is the clerical right with its policies of intolerance and its mania for bogus anti-imperialism."

But Halliday is still a partisan (although a critical one) of the "Islamic Revolution" and fears the loss of "all that was achieved" (?) by Khomeini's victory over the shah. He regards Bani Sadr and other "liberals" in the Islamic camp as "potential allies of the left." This kind of popular-front politics is especially stupid. In reality, Bani Sadr is an inept and bumbling stooge of Khomeini, a point that Halliday seems to recognize when he quotes an Iranian source saying, "Bani-Sadr has as much political power as a junior minister of housing under the shah." Halliday's critique thus has a "god that failed" quality—if only the secular liberal politicians hadn't been so indecisive, if

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Reagan...

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being Goldwatered. But it is no cause for comfort that the world's most powerful imperialist government may soon be led by a candidate who feels compelled to say to campaign audiences, "I am not trigger happy." Everybody knows he is—and out of deep conviction.

He berates Carter for allowing Soviet troops in Cuba and in Afghanistan in the first place. Last winter Reagan called for a blockade of Cuba in response to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. When North Korea took the American spy ship *Pueblo* in 1968, he declared that the U.S. should threaten, "Send our ship and our men out within six hours or we're coming in to get them; and we'll use planes, guns, torpedoes, whatever it takes" (*New York Times*, 17 July). Well, anyone who

and has been one since he converted from Rooseveltian liberalism in time for the Cold War. As president of the Screen Actors Guild he was a witch-hunter fighting what he believed was a Communist plot to take over the movies.

Reagan's inflamed anti-Communist rhetoric could all too easily become reality should he be elected. And he will not just crusade against the Russians abroad. He will also look for an opportunity to make scapegoats of the left at home, unhampered by his image as a "human rights" violator. On a recent TV interview, Reagan complained about Carter's slaps on the wrist of governments like Pinochet's Chile and Videla's Argentina. Sure they may have committed "excesses" in fighting "terrorism, subversion, communism" and the like, he said, but they're still "better than Russia." Any leftist, unionist or black who doesn't think Reagan in

Instead he relies on the bodyguard services of ex-CIA operatives.

Growth and Taxes

Only Jimmy Carter could allow Ronald Reagan and the Republicans to appear as the saviors of the economy and the working man. The GOP pitch is—as expected—to get rid of "big government" and happy days will be here again. But they cannot simply say they are the party of big business and expect the vote of the common man. So they have proclaimed themselves the party of *growth*. They say they will increase military expenses dramatically, decrease taxes by 30 percent and balance the budget. How will it all be done? Through growth! But there is really no mystery at all: the Pentagon will get what it wants and the "supply side" economists will get to play with their fantastical statistical "Laffer curves."

Reagan hopes to restore the days of the robber barons. The logic runs something like this: during the days of big growth Vanderbilt and Astor didn't have to pay income taxes and they got rich. Wasn't everything better in the old days? Let's restore those days with "tax incentives." The idea of seeing the world through tax cuts gives the Republicans a popular answer to every problem associated with the decline of U.S. imperialism. Energy? Industry? Trouble with allies? Becoming a second-rate power? Having a problem with continued growth? Reagan has the answer: grow! This is like prescribing "life" to a dying man or "sleep" to an insomniac.

How will Reagan and the Republicans get the U.S. growing again? During prior Republican campaigns this used to be called the "trickle down" theory of economics. Dewey, Eisenhower and Goldwater were really quite expert at making their fingers simulate falling rain as they dramatized how, if big business was doing well, then like gentle drops from economic heaven, the wealth would come trickling down to the workers and even to the poor. "What's good for General Motors is good for the country," remember? All the talk about "supply side" is just a matter of a new package for "trickle down."

Despite all the hullabaloo about tax cuts, taxes are *not* going to be cut. Next January Social Security taxes are scheduled to increase significantly. And double-digit inflation this year has pushed most people into higher income tax brackets. The proposed Republican "tax cut" of 10 percent will leave the average level of personal taxation pretty much unchanged, and the Democrats' proposed "tax cut" actually means the level of taxation will be *raised*. As for the Republicans' promise to cut taxes by 30 percent over the next three years, this is sheer electoral rhetoric.

The Post-Vietnam Presidency

Neither candidate can re-industrialize America, revive decaying capitalism or regain U.S. imperialist hegemony as it was at the finish of World War II. Today we are given the "choice" between Carter/Brzezinski and Reagan/Bush. Some choice! Brzezinski is hard to distinguish from the worst of Reagan's nuclear mega-death brain-trusters. In the absence of much recent class struggle in the U.S., and with the help of social-patriotic union leaders, Carter's Cold War against the USSR paved the way for Reagan's bellicose militarism. Carter's "human rights" campaign was the bridge between the post-Vietnam era defeatist mood and Reagan's call for "military superiority" over the Soviet Union. This may prove to be Carter's greatest crime of all.

Reagan promises a return to the anti-Communist glory of yesteryear when America could use nuclear blackmail against the whole world. And he will try. But the fact is that U.S. imperialism is weaker. The USSR is not about to allow the U.S. to regain decisive "military superiority." And the U.S.' imperialist

allies have their own national interests, different from the interests of the U.S. He may find them harder to deal with than the Russians. At home it will also not be so easy to put his right-wing solutions into practice. Even if Reagan wins the election, he will still head a minority faction of a minority party, trying to move a Democratic Congress and an elephantine bureaucracy. Nixon's bonapartist appetite to use the IRS as his personal political creature bumped into the stubborn fact that the IRS has a life of its own.

There is a perilous continuity between the increased growth and visibility of fringe fascism represented by the KKK and the Nazis and this development of right-wing populism. Reagan represents right-wing Republicanism, a mainstream political party of the bourgeoisie based on parliamentary rule. Reagan is no fascist. He is not even running a far-right campaign in the style of the 1968 George Wallace/Curtis Le May ticket, which was closely identified with extra-legal racist terror. The Wallace backlash was isolated, yet it is alarming to realize that Reagan's brand of "respectable" right-wing populism has become a mainstream of American life. At times he sounds like a Cold War ayatollah, but he really can't have people buried up to their chests in the ground and stoned to death. He *can* nuke millions.

The working class must break politically from both bosses' parties. From a class perspective there is no "lesser evil." But for a long time the twin parties of capitalism have had different constituencies. The Democratic Party has been the preferred vehicle of the American version of the popular front, with the treacherous union misleaders tying the workers to their bosses' political machine. Now the grand coalition is coming apart—but there is nothing to take its place. So, many workers will even consider voting for Ronald Reagan. But there will be no new labor alliance with the Republicans. The future party of the workers will be formed in the heat of the class struggle, primarily in a break with the Democrats.

Most importantly, what Reagan can get away with as president depends on the class struggle. He will surely launch a capitalist class offensive, not for "growth" in itself, but for profit—with the unions as the chief target. Although the unions have suffered some important defeats, they are by no means defeated. Reagan certainly intends to step up the class war, but he may be in for a surprise when the smoke clears.

With as much cynicism and hypocrisy as Jimmy Carter could ever muster, Reagan the reactionary not only told black people that his party is the "party of Lincoln," he also quoted in his acceptance speech at the convention the great American revolutionary Tom Paine, who said of the 18th century revolution: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again." The re-industrialization of America requires the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie and smashing the capitalist fetters on the growth of the productive forces of society. It is not Ronald Reagan, who represents a decayed class that may yet blow up the world, who has inherited Paine's revolutionary spirit. The revolutionary working class alone has the power and the historic mission to "begin the world over again." ■



SL contingent in striking city workers demonstration outside Cobo Hall, July 9. WV Photo

remembers North Korea's performance on the battlefield in 1950-53 can easily figure out what it would take. No wonder even the leaders of the U.S. European imperialist allies are worried about the prospect of this itchy trigger finger on the nuclear button.

Reagan said of the Panama Canal during the treaty debates: "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it and we intend to keep it" (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 April 1976). And just how would he have done that? Reagan seems to want to play Teddy Roosevelt with the White House as a stage. But, he's not in the movies anymore and today's big sticks have nuclear warheads. Reagan has opportunistically backed down from his Panama Canal stance but "No More Vietnams," "No More Taiwans," no more "betrayals" of U.S. "friends" is still the refrain of his standard campaign speech.

There are those who try to treat Ronald Reagan as a bad joke or a media phenomenon, recalling that only a few decades ago he was upstaged by a chimpanzee in the movie *Bedtime for Bonzo*. But this convert from New Deal liberalism is a deadly dangerous man, a lot more dangerous even than he sounds at present, as he tries to get elected as the candidate of a minority party. Simply put, he is an anti-Communist fanatic,

the White House is a threat is living in a fool's paradise.

Looking Out for Number Two

The debates and backroom brawls over choosing the vice-presidential candidate were part of the Republican image-makers' attempts to create a "moderate" look for Reagan's ticket. Good ol' bumbling Jerry Ford, who is now the most popular politician in the country (!), volunteered to take the number two spot "under certain conditions." Why would the former president consider taking the vice presidency from Reagan, a former political rival who refused to help him in 1976? Ford talked about a shared responsibility, sort of a co-presidency with Henry Kissinger firmly in control of foreign policy. Reagan's men eventually panicked at a Kissinger coup. So the deal for the "dream ticket" came unstuck.

But they still needed a "moderate" to balance the ticket. It is a measure of just how reactionary the current Republican mood is that the candidate they came up with after the Kissinger "coup" misfired was George Bush. Far from being a "moderate" (in four years in Congress, Bush's ADA rating for liberalism ranged from 0 to 12 percent), Bush is in fact the CIA's own candidate for president. During the Vietnam War, this "moderate" was one of the loudest hawks, urging expanded U.S. aggression against Cambodia. His record at "the company" includes covering for the Chilean secret police assassins who murdered Orlando Letelier in the streets of Washington (see accompanying article in this issue). And throughout the primary campaigns, Bush was a tireless campaigner for more CIA power.

When the Association of Former Intelligence Officers held its annual meeting last October, 180 of the 240 who came in from the cold to attend sported Bush campaign buttons. High in the Bush entourage is Ray Cline, a 20-year higher-up in the CIA. Cline explains that the volunteers have worked on a very "informal basis" but that, "when the right time comes, I'd like to organize something like one of my old CIA staffs." Looking out for number two, the sinister Bush has declined the protective offers of the Secret Service.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Detroit Loves a Good Strike

DETROIT—With all the media in town to cover the Republican convention, Mayor Coleman Young was determined to show off a "Renaissance City" of race and class peace. Young got his exposure with a welcoming address, and the news magazines published pictures of the gleaming Ren Cen complex. (See our rather different shot on this page.) Thousands of cops swarmed through the thin rebuilt strip along the river making sure that delegates didn't accidentally wander into the wrong part of town and that the slum population didn't penetrate the convention area. But for the last several weeks Detroit has been "strike city," and the confrontation between picketers and Republicans which the Democratic mayor so dreaded very nearly took place.

A week before the convention opened Young had threatened that "hell will freeze over" before he would meet the demands of the municipal unions. The next day, July 9, 800 demonstrators marched around the City-County Building to show solidarity with the strike by AFSCME Council 25. A picket sign reading "Coleman Young Sucks Sludge" reflected the anger that the predominantly black city workers now hold for the phony "progressive" black mayor. A Spartacist League banner, "All City Workers Out! Shut Down Cobo and Joe Louis Arena! Republican Convention Be Damned!" was well received and photos of it appeared in newspapers around the country.

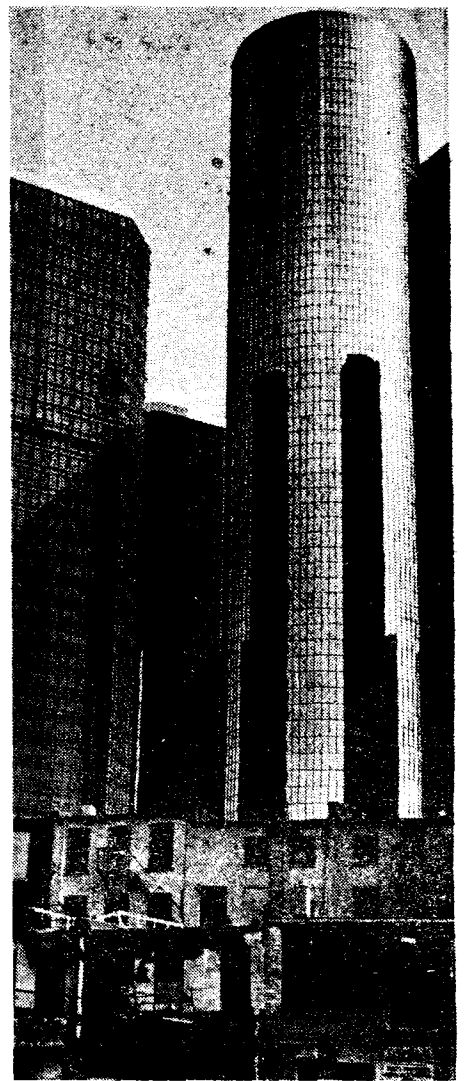
Unfortunately, the jubilation at this display of labor solidarity was extended

to the Detroit Police Officers Association. Cops are not part of the workers movement but strikebreaking thugs. In fact, for the previous week the police showed where their solidarity lies by daily escorting scabs through the city workers' picket lines. One of those scabs was none other than "Marxist" city councilman Ken Cockrel, who gave us the finger as we photographed him crossing the lines.

But AFSCME chief negotiator Lloyd Simpson had no intention of embarrassing Coleman Young by continuing the strike during the Republican convention. On Saturday, two days before the opening gavel came down, Simpson called a ratification meeting to ram through a contract on the mayor's terms. Most of the 9,000 strikers didn't even know about the 9 a.m. meeting which was announced the night before on the 11 p.m. news. About 1,500 AFSCME members milled around for 90 minutes before Simpson walked in and announced he had "won" a straight 6 percent wage increase (no COLA) for the next three years. As the settlement was rammed through with a quick vote and instant adjournment, several dozen workers stood at the center of Cobo Hall chanting, "Sold out!"

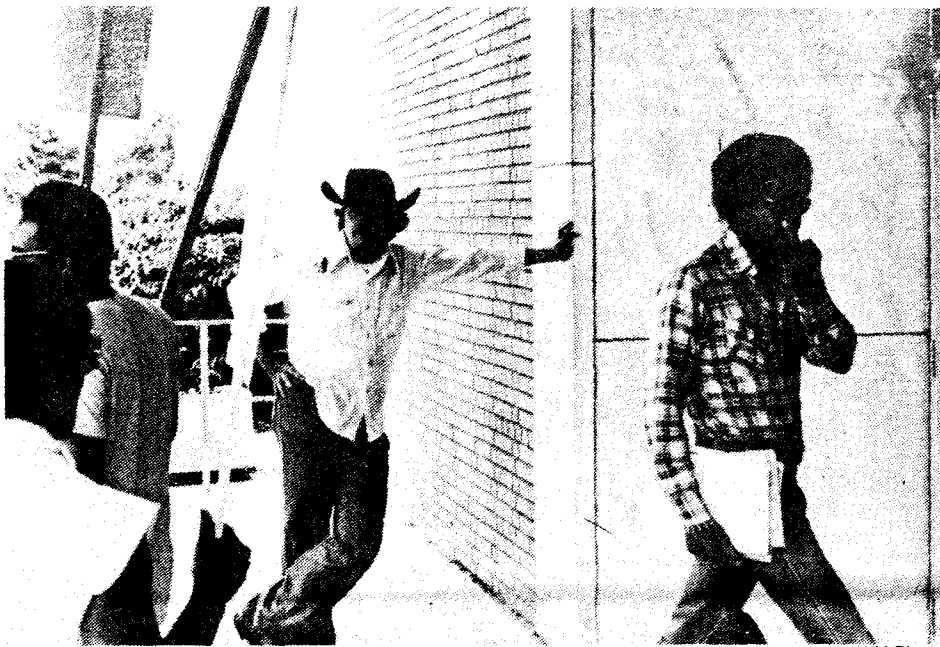
Young barely had time to breathe a sigh of relief before 550 newspaper deliverers of Teamster Local 372 shut down the *Detroit Free Press* on July 12. Unable to cross the picket lines, the publishers flew out the plates for their special convention issue by helicopter to have it printed by their rival, the *Detroit News*. But while the employers stood together, Local 372 drivers at the *News* delivered the scab edition of the *Free Press*! (Actually the contract was turned down by the *News* drivers a month ago by a 60-40 margin, but the bureaucracy's rigged voting requires a two-thirds vote to reject.) Roving pickets managed to stop most of the papers anyway, so the *News* and *Free Press* bosses decided to put out a joint edition under a double masthead. This scab paper must be stopped!

The publishers, who signed "me too" clauses in contracts negotiated with the



WV Photo
Detroit's Ren Cen: Coleman Young's Renaissance in one building.

other press unions last month, are geared up for a fight against the drivers' demand for a full COLA. The Teamster bureaucracy justifies its divisive "strategy" by pointing to the *Free Press* strike in 1967 when the *News* locked out its employees for nine months and the unions went down to defeat. But the powerful labor movement in Detroit could easily prevent the publishing of scab papers and fill the city's need for news by publishing its own labor daily. Against the bosses' strikebreaking front it will take broad labor solidarity to beat the union-busting offensive. ■



WV Photo
"Marxist" city councilman Ken Cockrel crosses picket line, an obscene gesture.

George Bush and the Letelier Assassination

In nominating the certified reactionary Reagan, the Republicans decided to balance their ticket with a "moderate" and so chose George Bush, former head of the CIA. This fact speaks volumes about what the GOP has in store, for the Agency is the dirtiest, most murderous imperialist spy outfit in the business, always up to its neck in assassinating leftists, overthrowing elected governments and the like. In the case of Bush, facts have recently come to light about his role in the events surrounding the 1976 bomb assassination of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier.

In the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* of 9 July, columnist Jeffrey Hart exclaims: "Hold Everything: A Skeleton in Bush's Closet?" He asks, "Is there material that would invite the interpretation that George Bush had some foreknowledge of the Letelier assassination?" His questions are based on evidence in a book released to the public last month, *Assassination on Embassy Row* by John Dinges and Saul Landau, two researchers from the Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies.

The basic facts of the Letelier assassination are well known to our readers. One-time ambassador to the U.S. and a cabinet minister in Allende's Unidad Popular government (1970-73), Orlando Letelier was driving to work on 21 September 1976 when his car was blown to smithereens in broad daylight in downtown Washington, just a few blocks from the Chilean embassy. As we

denounced in several articles, for more than a year the U.S. government investigation was deliberately turned away from the obvious leads to the secret police of the bloody Pinochet dictatorship, the hated DINA.

Though an American fascist bomb expert, Michael Townley, was eventually tried on lesser charges—in a judicial deal making him eligible for parole as early as October 1981—and three Cuban gusano terrorists are doing time, it was proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the orders for Letelier's murder came straight from Santiago. For this the Pinochet dictatorship got a slap on the wrist. And none of the many leads pointing to obvious U.S. complicity in the assassination and subsequent cover-up were ever tracked down.

Most of the documents are still held by the CIA, FBI, State Department and other government agencies. But *Assassination on Embassy Row* does reveal one important fact: on 28 July 1976 the American ambassador to Paraguay, George Landau, sent a cable to Washington reporting that he had been asked to grant visas for two Chilean army officers, "Juan Williams" and "Alejandro Romeral," on an intelligence mission which required the use of Paraguayan passports. Romeral and Williams were the aliases being used by Townley and DINA officer Armando Fernández in this murder mission.

John Dinges and Saul Landau report: "[Ambassador] Landau's cable and the



AP
Former CIA directors Bush, Colby.

pictures went, in [CIA Deputy Director General Vernon] Walters' absence, to CIA director George Bush.... Walters and Bush conferred during that week about the matter." A second copy of the cable went to the office of Secretary of State Kissinger. Ambassador Landau subsequently ordered that the fake Paraguayan passports be retrieved and that all U.S. ports of entry be alerted to arrest the two men should they attempt to enter.

A "Romeral" and "Williams" did in fact enter on August 22 and were not arrested. But not through oversight. U.S. authorities at Miami International Airport detected their arrival and reported it to the State Department. Furthermore, when the pair arrived in Washington they alerted the CIA to their presence by having a Chilean embassy employee call General Walters' office at the CIA's Langley headquarters. Yet nothing was done to stop the DINA agents. Authors Dinges and Landau make the obvious point:

"It is quite beyond belief that the CIA is so lax in its counterespionage functions that it would simply have ignored a clandestine operation by a foreign intelligence service in Washington, D.C., or anywhere in the United States."

In October of 1976, George Bush briefed Justice Department officials investigating the Letelier assassination, but "did not say a word about the Romeral and Williams pictures and the Paraguay incident. Nor did Bush, Walters, or anyone else from the CIA subsequently volunteer their information about Chile's undercover mission to [Assistant U.S. Attorney General] Proper or the FBI."

The reason for U.S. complicity in the Letelier affair is obvious. Allende's popular front government in Chile had been a thorn in the side of the Nixon regime, and it has been amply documented how the U.S. did everything in its power to bring it down. And the DINA hardly has a monopoly on assassinations of high government officials on capital streets. In October 1970 the head of the Chilean armed forces, General René Schneider, was shot to death in Santiago by ultra-rightist army plotters whose arms were furnished by...the CIA.

The full truth of the CIA's role in the Letelier assassination may never be known. But we can be sure that it was not the dirtiest plot that crossed Bush's desk in his year as director of the Agency. He had come to the CIA as "Mr. Clean," part of the streamlining cover-up that passed for reform in the post-Watergate shake-up. But capitalism's secret police, espionage and provocation agencies can't be cleaned up. And George Bush has been a good company man ever since. ■

At Bay Area Debate on April 19 Demos

Maoists Admit: "Fear of Confrontation with Na



CWP's Nelson Johnson addresses ANCAN San Francisco anti-Nazi rally, April 19.

The undeniable success of the Spartacist League's united-front mobilization that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco April 19 has caused some division and "self-criticism" among the Bay Area Stalinist groups whose "Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition" rally that day was a failure. That is why a debate took place in Oakland July 12 among the Trotsky-hating groups that made up the "Coalition" and why they had to invite the Spartacist League

(SL) to address it. (See accompanying text of SL spokesman Al Nelson's remarks.)

The event was brokered by the East Bay Communist Group (EBCG), an obscure circle of Albania-lovers, as a debate with their principal partners in the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition: the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC), a front group for Irwin Silber's National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs, and the Com-

munist Workers Party (CWP). The ghost of their April 19 defeat hung over the proceedings, and the SL intervention provoked an anguished and revealing post-mortem of April 19 by the Coalition partners.

Every one of the 200-odd radicals in the audience knew that the Spartacist League played a leading role in the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) which mobilized a labor-centered demonstration of over 1,200 unionists, minorities, socialists, gays and Jewish organizations at the same time and place where the Nazis had threatened to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday. This successful united-front demonstration, endorsed by 35 Bay Area union leaders and nine local unions, contrasted sharply with the Maoist-dominated Coalition rally a quarter mile away which drew 350, mainly themselves.

It wasn't chance that made the difference that day: the SL's success flowed directly from our Marxist analysis and program and the Stalinists' miserable showing resulted from their lack of it. They sold out for nothing. The Spartacist League strategy was to initiate a genuine united front based on two points of agreement: 1) to mobilize the labor movement for the forces to build a mass demonstration, not to rely on the state, and 2) to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday.

The Maoist coalition in contrast was based on a fundamental pessimism about the possibility of mobilizing the working class. They looked to the good offices of city hall to dispatch the Nazis and directed most of their efforts to lobbying the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to revoke the Nazis' permit and endorse their rally instead. And in

case the Nazis appeared anyway, the Maoist coalition *foreswore in advance* any confrontation under any circumstance! They termed theirs an "educational rally" and held it in UN Plaza blocks away from the Civic Center.

Many of the Stalinists had their confidence shattered that day as they saw the hated Trotskyists do what they said couldn't be done. Their confusion and vacillation was apparent at the debate. Although the event was called explicitly to discuss "various questions and differences [that] arose in the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition as to the best tactics to beat back the rise of the Klan/Nazis," the speakers spent the first two hours nervously avoiding April 19 altogether, leaving the subject to the question and answer period. Even so, there appeared to be some appetite for answers from their members as shown by the unanimous vote of the audience to forego viewing a video tape of the Greensboro massacre to have more discussion time.

Maoists Seized by Fear

The three main speakers gave abstract analyses of fascism, veering, as these Mao-Stalinists do in practice, between "Third Period" *adventurism* and the class collaboration of Dimitrov's Popular Front. The CWP speaker managed to embrace both simultaneously. This apocalyptic view that the bourgeoisie is trying to impose fascism right here and now was effectively ridiculed by both NAROC and the EBCG. Just as easily the CWP exposed NAROC/EBCG's appetites for an on-going popular front formation as a substitute for constructing a Leninist vanguard party. NAROC in turn was attacked by the CWP and

Revolution in 2, 3, 5 Years Says Frenzied Mao Cult

CWP Careens into the '80s

Jerry Tung, would-be "Great Helmsman" of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), is steering his highly unstable and eclectic Maoist-Stalinist sect straight for disaster. Kicking off a national tour on "Which Way Forward in the 80's" in New York City on June 27, the General Secretary delivered a two-and-a-half hour monotonic, rambling discourse promising great things. In the next "two, three, five years a nationwide spontaneous revolutionary situation may develop at any time," he claimed. We're supposedly already in a pre-revolutionary situation with the bourgeoisie trying to impose fascism. As "proof" that revolution is around the corner, Tung points to the recent anti-cop ghetto outburst in Miami and white motorists' attack on gas stations in Levittown, Pennsylvania during last summer's contrived "oil shortage."

Even though the meeting hall was draped with banners hailing the "CWP Five" martyred by the Klan in Greensboro, Tung's presentation was no memorial to these fallen comrades. Instead he sought with emotional hype

to rally a membership disoriented by the CWP's wild zigzags between adventurism and rotten liberalism. "Run the line from morning to evening," Tung exhorted the membership, we're in a "fire framework, so we have to start the fires now." And it doesn't matter if the masses don't understand communism, all they need to make the revolution is to see the CWP in action.

The CWP's recent "actions" have had a bizarre schizophrenic quality. Compare their rotten liberal, timid legalistic San Francisco anti-Klan rally to what they did in Kokomo, Indiana a few months ago. Last May the KKK held a much publicized march in downtown Kokomo, heavily protected by riot-equipped cops, with police sharpshooters on building roofs and a helicopter overhead. After the Klan left, a CWP car careened into town, where the Maoists proceeded to get into a scuffle directly with the cops. Not a blow was struck against the Klan. "Kokomo Defines Class Struggle of the 80's," declared the CWP's *Workers View-*

continued on page 10



WV Photo

zis”

Sensational Revelation: Treasury Agent in Klan Hood Expose G-Man in Greensboro Massacre

the EBCG for its rightist legalism in refusing ever to mobilize to stop the fascists and relying on the state to “ban the Klan.”

NAROC is currently trying to “unite” the Democratic Party against Klan leader Tom Metzger who recently won the Democratic Party nomination in the country’s largest Congressional district in southern California. They demonstrate in front of Democratic Party headquarters with chants like “Democratic Party, open your eyes—Don’t be fooled by the Klan’s disguise” and “Democratic Party, take a side against the right-wing tide”!

What the three debaters could not “grasp correctly” is that the united front is a tactic by which the vanguard party attempts to unite centrally *working-class* organizations around immediate tasks in defense of the workers’ interests. If you don’t believe the working class can do it, you turn to other forces: either to yourselves alone (substitutionism, adventurism) or to alien class forces. When the Stalinists “united front” with representatives of the bourgeoisie and adjust their program to suit them, that is class collaboration. It’s called a popular front. And this is what the Maoists did in San Francisco April 19—refusing to confront the Nazis in hopes of making a class-collaborationist political deal with capitalist politicians.

The main presentations were followed by a break while the chairman sorted through the written questions submitted from the audience. While the first four questions marked time, everyone knew there was one question that couldn’t be avoided. Hesitating and indecisive, the chairman finally got to it.

continued on page 10

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—Last week a bombshell was dropped into the impending trial of six Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen charged in the murder of five leftists and labor organizers here last fall. It is now revealed that an undercover federal agent in the Nazi/ KKK group knew in advance of the murderous attack, participated in the planning meetings, even advised the killers in the transport of the weapons to the site! The infiltration/provocation role of agent Bernard Butkovich of the Treasury Department’s Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) was exposed in the *Greensboro Record* following a five-week investigation by reporter Martha Woodall into accusations made by local Nazis. The *New York Times* (15 July) picked up the story, reporting that Butkovich’s presence was confirmed by a Treasury Department spokesman.

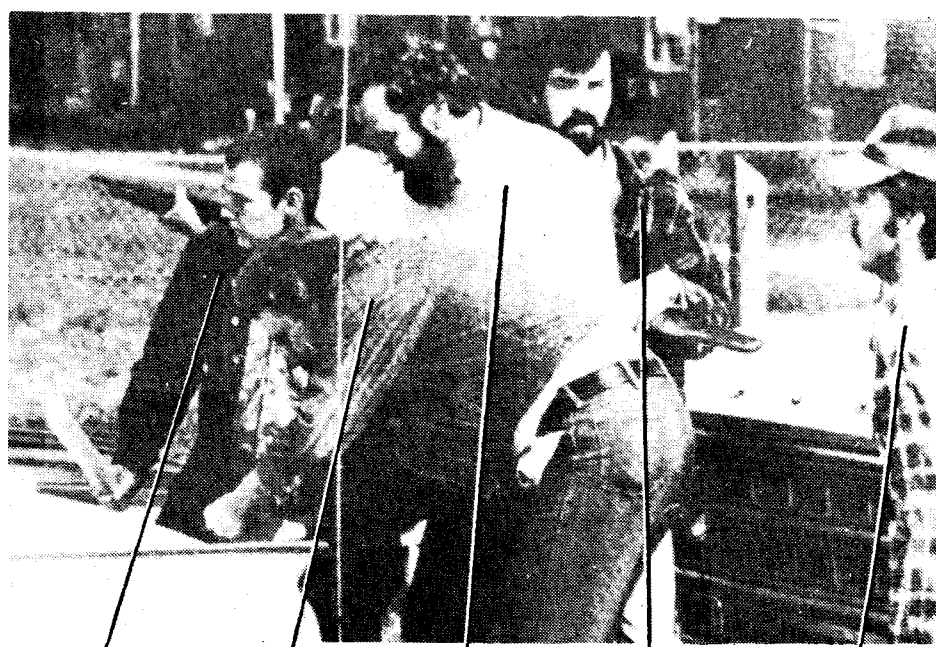
That the government is up to its neck in the hideous crime is clear. Yet even now the cover-up of its involvement proceeds apace. “We found nothing inappropriate in his role as an undercover agent,” the same spokesman insisted. And North Carolina Treasury bureau chief John Westra refused to provide further details of Butkovich’s role: “In view of the pending trial, it would be improper to discuss anything he was working on at the time. It is very possible he might have played a role and might be considered by some factors to be a witness” (*New York Times*, 15 July). Reporter Woodall told *WV*:

“On Tuesday [July 15] the district attorney, Michael Schlosser, admitted, made public at any rate, that he had learned a day or two after the shootings that there was an ATF undercover agent working in the Nazis.... Butkovich gave the police and the district attorney a detailed report about his involvement in the Nazis.”

Despite the fact that local authorities knew about Butkovich early on, his name does not appear on the list of 273 probable prosecution witnesses. And on Saturday the KKK/Nazi defense announced it was calling the ATF infiltrator to bolster *its* case.

From the very beginning the bourgeois media and the authorities have taken the tack of equating the killers and their victims. Everyone from local papers to the liberal *New York Times* reported the November 3 massacre as a “shootout” between two “violence-prone extremist groups.” Now the *Times* refers to the Klan/Nazi death squad as a “counterdemonstration.” And in Greensboro’s Guilford County Courthouse, the state is preparing its twin trials, both with the same purpose—one to let the Nazi killers off the hook, the other to throw the book at supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) who survived the attack which cut down five of their comrades. These trials are a license to kill for the nightriders and stormtroopers, an invitation to terrorize blacks and labor with their crosses, swastikas and guns.

In the KKK/Nazi trial, out of a pool of 2,500 the jury of twelve has now been chosen, all of them white. The CWPs have been arraigned and jury selection in their case is pending. And in mid-August more CWP supporters will go before the court for protesting the ban on entry to the courtrooms where the



Unidentified Jack Wilson Fowler (Nazi) Roland Wayne Wood (Nazi) Lawrence Gene Morgan (KKK) Jerry Paul Smith (KKK)

Nazi/KKK murderers are to be tried.

Workers Vanguard reporters attended the court hearings in early July where they got a first-hand taste of the “even-handed” justice meted out in “right to work” North Carolina, home of the runaway shop and kangaroo court. Here in Greensboro all except one of the KKK killers are walking the streets, required to return behind bars only on weekdays. Klansmen and their cohorts cavort in the corridors between sessions, playing “Dixie” on mouth harps. Inside the courtroom, the pews are almost empty, except for reporters and a handful of KKK supporters, including the Grand Klud of South Carolina. The proceedings begin as the KKK/Nazi scum sit confidently in cushioned chairs, staring intently at the prospective jurors being cross-examined. They smirk as their lawyer asks one black man, “Do you think the Ku Klux Klan is a good or bad organization?”

A typical interview: Defense lawyer asks a black prospective juror to confirm her address. She tries to be vague as all six defendants look as if they’re committing her answers to memory. The defense “excuses” the black woman, in part because she used to work at Cone Mills Revolution Plant where several of the CWPs had organized before they were murdered. The *New York Times* (14 July) reported:

“Enmity between Communists and the Klan goes back more than 50 years, to 1919, when a white mill worker and union organizer was shot to death by Klansmen on her way to a Cone Mills strike rally of a Communist Party union.”

“In view of the animosity between the Klan and blacks, the defense has systematically excluded blacks as jurors.”

And the “prosecution” let them get away with it.

The whole affair is a travesty. The defense weeds out every juror likely to be “prejudiced” against the Nazis and the KKK. This includes a lot of people: if you saw on TV the racists gun down the leftists in cold blood, you’re excused. Fought in World War II and hate Nazis? Excused. The only college graduate chosen is Octavio Mandulay, a former factory owner who fled Cuba in 1960 for

Miami where he was active in the counterrevolutionary gusano “20th of May” organization as well as working for the U.S. Army. Others of the jurors selected include a white male supervisor at Western Electric, a white wife of a deputy sheriff, a white Vietnam vet truck driver, a white male fire safety instructor.

The proceedings in Greensboro have about as much to do with “justice” as the sham trials of cops for murdering blacks. In Greensboro the court-appointed defense represents the fascist killers, the “prosecution” the racist North Carolina state, whose death row, overwhelmingly black, is the largest in the country. No one represents the victims. Just look at the legal staff for both sides. *WV* found out that Michael Schlosser, Guilford County D.A., is the cousin of Steve Schlosser, defense attorney for one of the KKK/Nazis. Steve Schlosser’s brother, Jim Schlosser, a local reporter for the *Greensboro Record*, did his job for the bourgeois state when, handling the pre-trial coverage, he labeled the massacre a “shootout.”

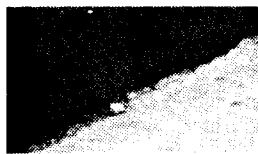
Federal Infiltrator/Provocateur

It was just before noon on 3 November 1979 when the Nazi/KKK killers drove up to the black Morning-side housing project in Greensboro, opened the trunks of their cars, took out pistols and rifles and gunned down five supporters of the CWP who were assembling there for a rally against the Klan. According to the reports, the ATF agent, Butkovich, had absented himself that morning. But he was there on November 1 in the home of Winston-Salem Nazi leader Roland Wayne Wood where plans for the massacre were made. He was present for another planning meeting the evening of November 2, hours before the murder. And on the afternoon of November 3, Butkovich visited arrested Nazi leader Wood in Guilford County Jail where, according to Wood, he offered to act as liaison with several fugitive Nazi killers awaiting instructions.

The Nazis say Butkovich offered to *continued on page 8*



Jerry Tung and his posters.



800 Votes for Inland Steel Militants

CHICAGO—Two steel worker militants, offering a forthright class-struggle alternative to the disastrous do-nothingism of their union leadership, racked up an impressive total of over 800 votes each in July 10 elections here for delegate to the upcoming United Steelworkers of America (USWA) convention.

Though not elected, Sam Hunt and Milly Leonard of USWA Local 1010 at Inland Steel Co. received an encouraging 819 and 808 votes respectively, about 13 percent of the total vote each, on their record of defending the right to honor picket lines as members of the Keith Anwar Defense Committee. Their program also called for plant occupations to stop shutdowns, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, no government interference in the union movement, a workers party to fight for a workers government, and opposition to both chauvinist protectionism and Carter's reactionary war drive over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The two militants, both running for office for the first time at Inland, received the highest vote totals among independent candidates. Most of the delegates elected were from the slate of the Rank and File Caucus (RFC) of USWA District 31 director Jim Balanoff, a vehicle for supporters of the so-called progressive Ed Sadlowski. The RFC has long dominated Local 1010. But the heavy vote for Leonard and Hunt indicates that steel workers are fed up with those union leaders, even phony "progressives," who sit by whining for the bosses' government to save them while the guts are ripped out of workers' livelihoods by rampant layoffs and closures.

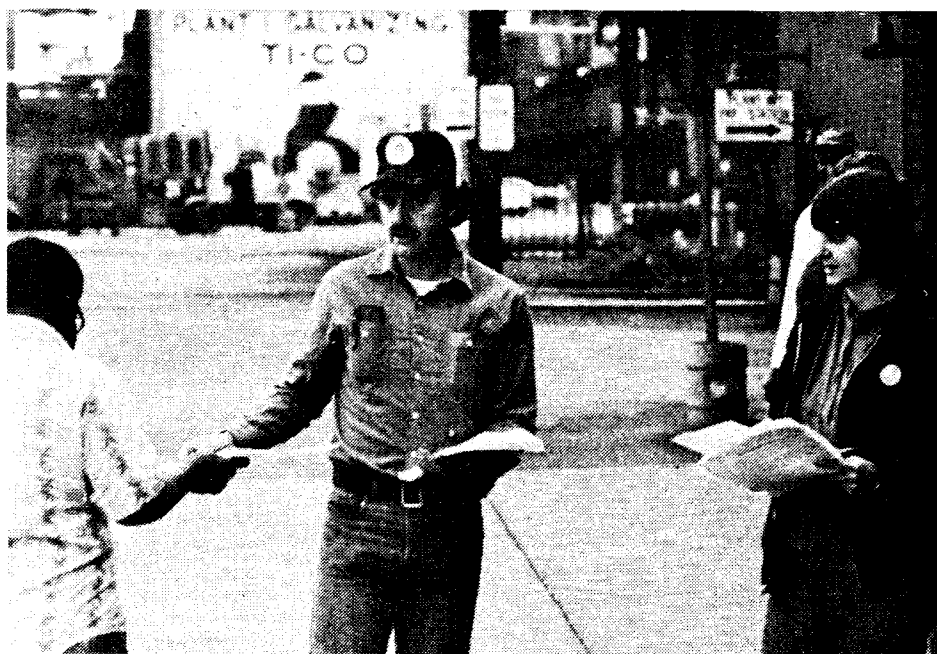
The RFC is still strong enough to sweep the delegate elections at Inland. But the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has been running District 31 for years now—and the result is 20,000 steel workers on layoff in the area, several plants closed for good, and several more threatened with closure. Balanoff's response has been to sound more and more like USWA International president Lloyd McBride, and the last Local 1010 election in the spring of 1979 showed an erosion of support for the "progressives." The McBride forces, who offer nothing but a more unabashed pro-company orientation, are actually making headway off steel workers' despair.

What stands out about the Hunt/Leonard campaign is that it offered for the first time ever at Inland a *class-struggle* alternative to the increasingly discredited Sadlowskiites. These candidates opposed the latest disastrous contract, unlike supporters of McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff. And 800 steel workers grabbed the chance to vote for a program of real solutions to their burning needs. This is especially a breakthrough in a local where all ostensible left-wing oppositions have always been absorbed into the RFC.

Defend Picket Lines!

Hunt and Leonard are respected at Inland for upholding the principle that "picket lines mean don't cross," stemming from their work on the Keith Anwar defense case. Anwar, a Local 1010 member, was fired in May of 1979 for his refusal to cross the picket lines of another USWA local at the plant.

While hundreds of rank-and-filers, and even some local officials who supported the defense, realized that what's at stake here is not just a job but the very ability of the union to defend itself against company attack, the McBride and Balanoff bureaucracies did everything they could to derail the case. Balanoff, who sat on the Anwar



Steel militants Sam Hunt and Milly Leonard at Inland plant gate. WV Photo

grievance for months while he and McBride each claimed the other was "responsible," only agreed to take it to arbitration after two locals passed pro-Anwar resolutions and some members of the RFC made clear their intention to support a floor fight at the June District 31 Conference. When Balanoff backed down it was a real victory for union democracy and the rank and file, a victory won by Anwar supporters like Leonard and Hunt through mobilization of the union ranks and without running to the capitalist state as the bureaucracy often does.

McBride and Balanoff hate the Keith Anwar case because it's not just another instance of the cheap militant talk so common in "progressive" District 31. A man put his job on the line to defend the labor movement, and this fact accounts for the impact of the case and the authority earned by Hunt and Leonard through their work with the defense committee. This authority clearly raised their impressive vote totals.

800 Votes for the Picket Line

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Leonard and Hunt said they felt that the Anwar campaign produced genuine votes on the picket line question. "That was 800 votes for the picket line," Hunt said, "800 votes that recognized that there's something wrong with the Rank and File Caucus. The RFC didn't believe it was possible to run on a class-struggle program and still get votes. In fact, one of their candidates bet us \$5 we wouldn't break 200 votes. Jim Balanoff almost bet me \$50 I wouldn't get 200. Their favorite excuse is that the union ranks aren't ready. But some of the ranks not only voted for us, they stopped to discuss our program at the polls."

Leonard described her surprise on learning that two conservative, older white workers from her department had voted for her. "When I asked them why, they said, 'Because you'll stick it to the company.' Another worker, an ex-Marine, said 'I don't agree with you. I voted for you because you defend the union.' So our hard class-struggle campaign undercut right-wing social attitudes in the plant."

"Some RFC members thought we'd be better off joining their slate," Hunt said. "But there's no way in hell I'm going to join a caucus that continually supports the Democratic Party, allows its members to cross picket lines, and hasn't lifted a finger to break the no-strike ENA stranglehold on our union. What our union needs, with this economy and this war drive that Carter's pushing now, are policies which do anything necessary to protect the steel worker ranks. If the companies are going to shut down plants, we shouldn't

beg crumbs from the government—we've got to seize those plants and private property be damned."

Leonard pointed out that the USWA must also "break that alliance with the Democratic Party which does nothing, absolutely nothing, but throw away good union money after bad by supporting anti-labor politicians. It's about time labor fought politically for what it needs. We need our own party based on the trade unions, and we need it so that we can fight for a working-class-run government to end the unemployment and war brought on by capitalism."

"We said all this in our campaign literature," she added. "We also called for labor mobilizations against the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. This was a very impressive part of our program for a section of the union ranks. We opposed the protectionism which is so popular now with both wings of our union bureaucracy, pointing out that this only makes scapegoats of foreign workers for the companies' failure to rebuild those outdated rattle-trap plants. And it will lead to supporting shooting wars and steel workers will be sent to die to protect the bosses' profits. We also came right out and told workers not to be taken in by Jimmy Carter's war hysteria against the Soviet Union."

"So people may not agree with everything we say," Hunt added, "but they know what we did to defend trade unionism. Our campaign was the first militant trade-union alternative to Sadlowski. With five independents in the race, it's significant that we finished first and second. We were the people running on a program that is independent of both the International and the District bureaucracies." He cited the case of Dave Vance, supported by the

tiny Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League, who ran as an "independent" but campaigned with the line, "Save one vote for me, then vote RFC!"

Significantly, Hunt and Leonard made a forthright defense of the Soviet workers state during their campaign. On the subject of the hysterical anti-communism cooked up by the American government after the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan, their campaign leaflet states:

"The fact is the Soviets stand on the side of social progress in Afghanistan. The Muslim fanatics Carter backs... want to buy and sell women like cattle, flog beer drinkers, and kill school teachers who want women to read and write. Carter hates the Soviet Union for the same reason he hates unions—both stand in the way of corporate profits. Like our union bureaucrats, the Soviet leaders are only out for themselves... but we are far better off with a misled union than no union at all. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organizing a planned economy... we stand with the Soviet workers against 'open shop' Carter."

The Sadlowski Connection

While the Hunt/Leonard campaign called for a break with the Democrats to form a workers party and came out in defense of the Soviet Union, supporters of the Communist Party/Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) cling to their Democratic Party "friends" and consistently dodge the Russian issue. In fact, these traitors called in the cops on Keith Anwar Defense Committee supporters, including Leonard and Hunt, who attempted to pass out literature at a TUAD conference held June 20-22 in Gary—while bringing in Democratic mayor Richard Hatcher for the opening address. Not only TUAD, but the entire ostensible left in District 31 has always tailed the Sadlowski forces and abandoned the struggle to win steel workers to an independent class-struggle program.

The Leonard/Hunt campaign cut through the fraudulent "choice" between the pro-capitalist Sadlowski and the pro-capitalist McBride, to pose a genuine militant alternative for steel workers. They earned votes and respect on the basis of actually doing something, through their work in the Anwar Defense Committee to defend trade unionism against company attacks. Steel workers must understand that their livelihoods will be ultimately defended only by a leadership which rejects the bankrupt policies of both McBride and Sadlowski/Balanoff wings of the bureaucracy. Steel workers who want to "stick it to the companies" should join with militants like Leonard and Hunt to start building that leadership now. ■

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Smash Fascism with Class Struggle!

My name is Al Nelson speaking for the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the international Spartacist tendency.

The fight against fascism is inseparable from a struggle to mobilize the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. In times of social crisis, when the struggle of the proletariat is no longer controllable by bourgeois democracy and the official police and army, the ruling class resorts to fascism. The parties of counterrevolutionary despair, whose direct aim is agitating the petty bourgeoisie into a white heat, are directing its atomized hatred and despair against the revolutionary proletariat. When the mass parties of the working class prove incapable of leading the proletariat to state power, the proletariat pays in blood under the armed fist of fascism. This was the case in Italy and in Germany.

In this country the very serious threat posed by the growth of the Nazis and the Klan must be seen in its international context. It reflects a tendency under conditions of degenerating American capitalism for a popular mobilization for World War III against the Soviet Union. The Klan/Nazis are the far-right fascist fringe of this augmented war threat from Carter and the crazy Brzezinski. While mainly based in rural areas

where they seldom confront the organized labor movement, the Klan/Nazis when emboldened threaten to go to the major proletarian centers—where we can interdict them and crush the fascists in the egg. Therefore our anti-fascist strategy is an attempt to deprive the bourgeoisie of the rabid constituency unashamedly for war against the Soviet Union, which still retains the economic and social conquests of the October Revolution despite the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy that seized political power from the Soviet working class.

We are a small revolutionary organization which seeks to mobilize the power of organized labor against this dangerous fascist fringe—thereby retarding the mobilization of general sentiment against the USSR. "Détente" is the utopian international version of Stalin and Dimitrov's popular front—peaceful coexistence with so-called "progressive democracies," class collaboration at the expense of revolution. This is the policy of all wings of Stalinism from Moscow to Peking to Albania. Mao called it the bloc of four classes. The crucial connection is this: the Klan/Nazis are the petty-bourgeois fascist fringe mobilization of anti-détente, U.S. foreign and domestic policy—guns not butter.

The Spartacist League attempts to organize the working class based on its own class interests, not the interests of the so-called "progressive wing" of the bourgeoisie. The struggle against fascism is not legal or electoral but will take place in the streets based on the centrality of a labor/black/Chicano mobilization. The Klan/Nazis are fascist-terrorist action groups—not racist ideologues claimed at least by NAROC. Our strategy was the basis for the successful anti-fascist mobilizations of 500 mainly black auto workers in Detroit on November 10, following the Greensboro massacre, and in San Francisco on April 19, that prevented the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday—both initiated and built by the Spartacist League in conjunction with trade-union militants.

On April 19th we sought to mobilize a demonstration at the same time and the same place as the Nazis to stop them. This strategy was opposed by every other organization taking part in this debate tonight. You all said go build your own demonstration—so we did. There were two demonstrations on April 19th—the ANCAN demonstration at the Civic Center was a success, 1,200 people joined, mainly from the labor movement and minorities, [and] came to stop the Nazis. The demonstration was endorsed by 35

union officials and nine union locals.

The Anti-Nazi Coalition, dominated principally by the CWP, held a rally of several hundred a quarter of a mile away at UN Plaza which was a failure. The policy of that coalition was based on the premise that the working-class and minority communities were not ready for independent action. Instead the coalition went begging to Mayor Feinstein and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to ban the Nazis, and foreswore in advance any attempt to physically confront the Nazis. Lenin said that the basis of all opportunism is an underestimation of the revolutionary capacity of the working class.

As long as the choices of the discussion remain popular frontism or [the] "Third Period" these discussions of these various organizations are going to continue to result in splits and more discussions and obliteration. Except for the Spartacist League, no other group speaking here tonight has either the program or the strategy for combating and ousting the present misleadership of the working class. We stand on the program that led to the Russian Revolution in October 1917. Only the revolutionary program of Trotskyism embodied in the Spartacist League can build a party that will lead the working class in the fight against fascism and the overthrow of capitalism internationally.

Maoists...

(continued from page 7)

"All right, ... this'll be the last question. We're going to try to get out of here within ten to fifteen minutes or so. Much as I don't like to, I'll read this: 'In light of the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition's decision in advance not to try to physically confront the Nazis, in light of the ability of the Spartacist League and militant unionists to successfully build a rally of 1,200 unionists, socialists, minorities, etc. explicitly committed to stopping the Nazis, what self-criticism would members of the Coalition make?'"

That really blew the lid off. The EBCG speaker responded: "We upheld initially that there should be an agitational rally at the site of the Nazis, while they were there and then an educational rally. That was defeated. Our main purpose for seeing it as an agitational rally and not as a purposefully aggressive, physical confrontation was that we thought the only people who would come to that were basically the people who may be in this room and a few others.... Now, we may have been wrong... we did not bring a lot of mass elements to our rally, it was mostly communists and communist supporters. That in my view is an honest report of it. We did have some struggle inside [the Coalition] where the rightist line of a fear of any confrontation with the Nazis convinced people to stay far enough away. That was a rightist line that we all fell to, and that's got to be an honest self-criticism" (our emphasis).

In response to the SL's charge that the Maoist coalition accommodated to the liberal, pacifist and Democratic Party politicians they tried to bloc with, the CWP spokesman said, "We had a broad united front. We worked long hours getting endorsements of church groups, etc. The reason for going to UN Plaza originally was to maintain that united front, to build the thing as broad as possible.... Now we don't expect church people, people coming from sections of the Democratic Party, who we work with... Wilson Riles, Jr. [Oakland city council member] was

honorary co-chairman of that coalition, and we reaffirmed that as the Communist Workers Party."

In a frenzied denial of reality the speakers then tried to paint the SL as errant members of *their* coalition and accused us of "splitting and wrecking." The CWP speaker said, "After it was clear the Nazis weren't going to march we were open to efforts to unite...." What really happened was quite different.

Who Were the Splitters?

When the Spartacist League learned in early March that the Nazis planned to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in the SF Civic Center, we immediately began contacting militant trade unionists with a proposal to build a labor-centered united front to prevent that rally. As the CWP well knew from having attended meetings of the ILWU-sponsored "Labor/Community Alert Against Fascism" militants from the longshore-warehouse union and other unions were arguing inside that group for a policy of stopping the Nazis on April 19.

When we learned of the existence of the Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition several SL members and trade unionists attended their first public meeting, explicitly as observers. Our supporters spoke out strongly for militant labor action to stop the Nazi rally and against the Coalition policy of relying on city officials to revoke the Nazi permit. The Coalition affirmed the Board of Supervisors strategy in a motion at their next meeting, on March 27, and in addition

voted "as a coalition, we agree not to attack the Nazis." At that meeting the SL again made it clear we intended to carry through on mobilizing to prevent the Nazi rally. When we attempted to attend a meeting of the Coalition a third time, we were physically excluded.

On April 10 the SF police chief held a press conference to announce that he was revoking the Nazi permit because he expected 5,000 protesters and feared the police would not be able to protect the Nazis. The pending ANCAN permit for Civic Center was then granted. Now that the Nazis were not expected to show, the Maoist coalition tried to get a permit to demonstrate in the Civic Center and was refused because ANCAN had already gotten one. When ANCAN learned of this, we called them up to ask if they were trying to contact us and they said, "No!" ANCAN representatives then called a number of members of the Coalition steering committee stating that we wanted to meet and discuss a united rally. A number of them expressed surprise that we had not been contacted already by the Coalition. They said that the last meeting of the steering committee had voted to contact ANCAN about a united demonstration. On April 13 we finally received a call requesting a meeting.

Coalition representatives presented us with a list of "conditions" for joining the demonstration: 1) that the Coalition and principally the CWP would have complete control of security for the demonstration; 2) that there be essentially separate rallies, ANCAN from 11 a.m. to 12:30 and then when the Coalition arrived from a march from Dolores Park, they would take over with their own chairman and program; and 3) that of the many endorsers of ANCAN, only the Spartacist League would get a speaker on the Coalition's program.

This was not a serious proposal, and it was not meant to be. When the proposed conditions were taken back to the major endorsers of the rally, particularly militant union leaders, we got the following kinds of responses: "Who are they? We haven't seen any of

their leaflets." "They didn't even want to stop the Nazi rally, why should we turn over the rally to them?" and "Who do they represent anyway?"

Faced with a successful united front committed to stopping the Nazis through militant action endorsed by dozens of union leaders and labor organizations, did the CWP and its allies suppose they could simply move in and take over? Most likely they didn't suppose it at all; they were making a deliberately unacceptable proposal to soothe the qualms of their fellow Coalition members. But the results came in on April 19. More than 1,200 unionists, blacks and socialists at the ANCAN rally occupied the site where the fascists threatened to stage their race-hate provocation. No Nazis showed their face that day. And the Maoists' Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition didn't even get their Democratic Party honorary co-chairman.

CWP...

(continued from page 6)

point, describing themselves heroically as leading an action "unprecedented in the glorious revolutionary history of the U.S."

As for Tung's "Apocalypse Now" scenario, to describe it as wildly out of whack with reality is merely to state the obvious. The CWP telescopes the long-term decay of U.S. capitalism with the present sharp conjunctural downturn to project an immediate collapse. No capitalist economic crisis is "terminal" in and of itself. The proletariat must be organized under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The CWP cannot explain how a "pre-revolutionary" situation can exist when what has characterized the present period is the absence of a militant class-struggle response to runaway inflation and the onset of a depression leading to mass unemployment.

The main result of the CWP's "fire framework" is not even a serious perspective of trying to break the working class from its current misleaders. Rather it has embarked on a series

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of publicity stunts, recalling the Avakianite RCP. (In fact, the RCP is so incensed that a recent issue of its *Revolutionary Worker* complained about the numerous ways the CWP is copying it.) Under the slogan of "putting the politicians on notice—no business as usual," the CWP has gone into a frenzy of disrupting bourgeois political-electoral events, usually resulting mainly in the arrest of its own members.

In recent weeks this campaign has included attempting to disrupt a Democratic Party fundraiser hosted by Rosalynn Carter by egg-throwing, trying to chant down Jimmy Carter at a National Education Association convention in Los Angeles, throwing a five-pound bolt through a plate glass window at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York while picketing Ronald Reagan, spray-painting walls of Attorney General Benjamin Civiletti's office (numerous articles on how to spray-paint and poster professionally appear in the CWP press). And the grand finale: the CWP intends to "crash the garden party" at the Democratic convention in August.

A significant part of Tung's tour speech is devoted to denouncing "electoralism": "...anytime they mention electoral politics, the CWP is on the opposite side." Pretty categorical. Meanwhile, Nelson Johnson, the CWP leader wounded in the Greensboro massacre, is running for governor of North Carolina. It's interesting, too, that from November until May stories focusing on Nelson Johnson appeared in almost every issue of *Workers Viewpoint* and his picture was frequently on the front page. Since May, however, there has regularly appeared a photo of Tung flanked by two Chinese bureaucrats and there has been a noticeable downgrading of attention paid to Johnson. The 12 May issue explains that they had skipped an issue because of "evaluation of the form and content of the newspaper.... The deep significance of the present decade...has not been reflected in the pages of the WV [*Workers Viewpoint*] in the last few issues."

Some internal dissidence in the CWP? Whatever is going on, though, it certainly is not a serious search for Marxist clarity or a Leninist program. Eventual exhaustion from zigzagging between adventurist stunts and chasing after bourgeois allies may help convince some CWP cadres that the road to the American proletariat does not lie in crisis-mongering and substitutionism. Surprisingly, the CWP is making a show of "debating" politics with Trotskyists—Tung's meeting was billed as a debate open to other tendencies. But no one should be lulled into believing that this is anything but a temporary unstable exercise, probably born of Tung's overweening egotism. The CWP's normal practice is to beat up its left-wing opponents.

Nonetheless, supporters of the Spartacist League at the meeting made a sharp impact on the audience. Particularly powerful was the intervention of a black auto worker, recently laid off from the big Ford plant in Mahwah, New Jersey after ten years on the production line, who is a long-time spokesman for the Militant Solidarity Caucus there. He spoke of his experiences growing up in the South and the need for union-organized defense guards to stop racist and fascist attacks. He counterposed to the CWP's substitutionism the successful strategy of the SL in building mass labor-centered rallies to stop the Klan, like the one which drew 500 mainly black workers in Detroit in the wake of the Greensboro massacre. And he attacked the CWP's abstention from a similar SL-initiated and backed trade-union rally that stopped the Nazis in San Francisco April 19.

Workers Viewpoint (5 July) devoted most of its report on Tung's speech and the "great debate" to a polemic against the "Trotskyites" (meaning the Spartacist League), which might well be termed "In Defense of Revolutionary

Phrasemongering":

"The Trotskyites, flowing from their view that revolution is far away, do not see the immediate need to give a communist solution to every American.... The Trotskyites are locked into the reformist framework of chasing after immediate issues, thinking that these are the workers' main concern."

Typical of New Left Maoists, Tung dismisses concern for the material interests and needs of the working masses as mere reformism and projects revolution as an apocalypse having no relation to the *actual* life and struggles of the proletariat. It's as if he takes the fairy tales of the Peking Opera under Chiang Ch'ing as the real thing.

Conversely, when the CWP does involve itself in what it considers "immediate issues," its practice is sub-economist penny-ante reformism laced with large doses of liberal class collaboration. Only the Trotskyist Transitional Program, linking the present struggles of the working class to the seizure of state power, offers a way out of the polar dead ends of adventurism/phrasemongering and economism/class collaboration which characterize Tung's CWP. Imprisoned by the straitjacket of Stalinism, it is doomed to go the way of other frenzied Maoist sects—Progressive Labor and now Avakian's RCP—toward irrelevance and oblivion, spinning off burnt-out and cynical ex-members with its apocalyptic play-acting. ■

L.A. Port Shutdown...

(continued from page 12)

Machinists' picket lines were not "legitimate" since the picket lines were not confined to the areas where IAM mechanics work. After every one of these scab-herding rulings, Local president Pandora ordered longshoremen to cross the lines. Longshoremen persistently refused.

Bureaucratic Backstabbing

From the first day of the strike on Tuesday, July 1 through Thursday there was much confusion in the ranks of Local 13, the largest longshore local on the West Coast. Since no union bulletins were issued or meetings called by Local 13 officials, information was confined to word of mouth. President Pandora appeared at the hiring halls at dispatch time ordering longshoremen to cross picket lines.

Wednesday the picket lines came down while IAM mechanics held a meeting called to adopt a proposed contract. Pickets reported that IAM Business Agent Tom Burniston was greeted with cries of "fink!" when he tried to sell a contract allowing mechanics helpers to do mechanics' work at less pay. They also said that when the proposed contract was overwhelmingly rejected, the mechanics then also shouted down a proposal to work without a contract while negotiations continued.

By Thursday, July 3 picket lines sprang up at even more piers than before and again longshoremen refused to cross. Earlier that day ILWU International President Jimmy Herman sent a telegram instructing the three locals to work behind the picket lines. This backstabbing action is particularly ironic given the leading role of the ILWU and IAM in the Progressive Alliance, a reformist pressure group of unions and community groups dedicated to lobbying liberal Democrats for legislative reforms. Apparently in response to objections within the union, Herman sent a second telegram to Local 13 at 4 p.m., just before their local meeting, reversing his earlier instructions and advising the local to observe the IAM picket lines.

At a stormy meeting of Local 13 on the night of July 3, the local's president, secretary-treasurer and two business

agents advocated crossing the lines and working the ships, which by then were anchored all over the harbor. Angry longshoremen prevented the officers' scabbing proposal from even coming to a vote.

As the meeting drew to a stormy conclusion, former International Executive Board member "Chick" Loveridge put forth a motion that carried to observe the picket lines and that only the local executive board could change that policy. As soon as the meeting ended,

Longshoremen also shut down port of L.A. last March to back oil strikers.



WV Photo

Pandora convened an emergency meeting of the executive board to get them to reverse the membership decision. This attempt failed when the executive board voted at 3 a.m. to let stand the membership motion to stay out. However, the board tried to buttress its position legalistically by authorizing a letter to the PMA blaming the employers association for keeping the port shut down by not allowing the IAM to picket their immediate work sites within the harbor area. This motion completely ignored the fact that it was the ILWU solidarity action, in stopping the loading of ships on piers where IAM mechanics work, that put the maximum economic pressure on the employers.

The next day, Friday, Pandora got on the microphone at the hiring hall and told longshoremen, "You can go through the picket lines and go to work!" Waterfront employers threatened them with individual reprisals such as suspension of their dispatch rights unless they went to work behind the lines. Again longshoremen stood firm, and that day only automobile ships and some perishables were moved while the port was almost totally closed.

Labor Solidarity

There was a complete press blackout during the strike. Ships and cargo were diverted to other ports, mainly Oakland-San Francisco where local union officials kept the lid on news that Los Angeles longshoremen had shut down the port. Local 13 officials in L.A. had failed to send pickets to the Bay Area piers to stop diverted cargo from being worked.

Los Angeles longshoremen have bitter memories of how their resistance to waterfront employers' encroachment on work rules was crushed by lockouts during the 1950s and '60s. During those lockouts ILWU International president Harry Bridges forced San Francisco longshoremen to work diverted cargo until L.A. longshoremen capitulated. The worst of these defeats resulted in Local 13 signing the infamous "yellow dog contract" which provided that any longshoreman found guilty of taking part in an "illegal work stoppage" would not be dispatched to that company until his case had gone all the way through the grievance procedure, a process that might take weeks or months.

Los Angeles longshoremen have a long history of support to other unions. Most recently, in March of this year the ILWU led all ten harbor unions in a one-day port shutdown in support of striking oil workers (see *WV* No. 251, 7 March for a report on that strike).

Acts of working-class solidarity as expressed on the picket line have always

been a part of longshoremen's struggles on the West Coast because of their unique concentration of economic power. In 1919 the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce organized employers to smash the longshore union largely because dock workers' refusal to work struck or picketed cargo was giving impetus to trade unions in manufacturing, warehousing and transportation. Without the support of the Seamen and Teamsters, longshoremen on the West Coast would not have been

able to resist massive government strikebreaking in 1934. In that year workers solidarity actions culminated in the great San Francisco general strike, which gave birth to what later became the ILWU.

Beginning in 1936 with the organization of the dockside warehouses, longshoremen's resistance to handling struck cargo gave decisive support in organizing what was to become the warehouse division of the ILWU. Official Teamster histories credit longshoremen's refusal to touch cargo for scab trucking firms with their success in organizing the long haul truck drivers in the late 1930s.

This tradition of workers solidarity came under government attack in 1947 when the Taft-Hartley Act prohibited "secondary boycotts" and hot-cargoing. However, longshoremen still continued to observe picket lines in most cases until 1960. At that time Harry Bridges imposed a scab-herding program euphemistically entitled "performance and conformance." ILWU International officers sided with employers in forcing longshoremen to comply with arbitrators' orders characterizing job actions or refusal to cross picket lines as an "illegal work stoppage."

The recent events in Los Angeles show that neither employer threats nor the urgings of class-collaborationist union leaders have killed the principle among waterfront workers that picket lines mean "don't cross." This principle is something that latter-day scabs like Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, can't understand. They take as their standard the eroded and corrupted state of business trade unionism today, with its disastrous practices of unions suing each other and scabbing on each others' strikes.

It is clear the bureaucracy at all levels of the ILWU needs to be turned out by the membership. One opposition force in the union intends to do this. Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, executive board members of ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco and publishers of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, represent an opposition to the class-collaborationist politics of the bureaucracy. They have consistently called for workers solidarity actions and extend it to a program for working-class independence from the bosses' government agencies, courts, cops and political parties. The solid port shutdowns in Los Angeles are a confirmation that the ILWU membership is receptive to a program of militant class struggle, to mobilize the power of this union and arm it with a leadership that knows how to use it on behalf of the entire labor movement. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Solidarity Forces Bosses to Back Down

Los Angeles Port Shutdown

The Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) will think twice the next time about picking on the little (308-member) International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1484. The mechanics repair and maintain the giant cranes and advanced cargo-moving machinery in the Los Angeles harbor. When their contract expired, the employers demanded that the new agreement allow mechanics helpers to do mechanics' work at 30 percent less pay, so the mechanics went on strike July 1.

Key to the success of the strike was the refusal of ILWU longshoremen, ship clerks and walking bosses to work behind picket lines thrown up by the striking mechanics—resulting in the nearly total shutdown of the Port of Los Angeles-Long Beach for ten days. On July 10 the IAM mechanics accepted a new three-year pact by a vote of 163 to 74. The agreement includes wage increases of at least \$3.75 an hour, new fringe benefits and no use of lower-paid workers to do mechanics' jobs. The big business press moaned:

"The settlement appeared to be a victory for the machinists who were solidly supported by both the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, while management was badly split during the dispute.

"There were 48 ships idle in the two harbors Thursday when the strike ended, and losses to the strike stemmed mostly from the estimated \$20,000 to \$40,000 a day it costs to keep a ship idle in port...."

—Los Angeles Times, 11 July

The *San Pedro News Pilot* (11 July) reported that IAM Local 1484 business agent Tom Burniston praised the ILWU and "some 35 other waterfront labor groups, which refused to dispatch workers across the machinists' picket lines."

At the start of the strike, IAM pickets were prevented by port authorities from

picketing their immediate work sites within the port, so they set up pickets at the gates of all the terminals where they were employed. Longshoremen, ship clerks and walking bosses in the ILWU as well as Teamsters refused to cross the picket lines, and this brought the loading and unloading of ships to a complete halt in most of the entire massive complex of piers in Long Beach, Terminal Island, Wilmington and San Pedro.

The executive board of ILWU Local 63 (ship clerks) which was in the process of negotiating a new contract for terminal office workers employed by six shipping lines was reported to have voted unanimously not to work behind IAM picket lines regardless of expected arbitrator's orders to cross. Longshoremen report that the walking bosses' local took similar action.

In spite of the failure of IAM officials to address an appeal to ILWU harbor workers for support, longshoremen told *Workers Vanguard* that not one ILWU member crossed or worked behind the mechanics' picket lines. This spontaneous act of workers solidarity is all the more remarkable in view of constant attempts throughout the ten-day strike by all four of the ILWU Local 13 full-time officials to force longshoremen to cross and work behind the IAM lines. John Pandora, current Local 13 president and a long-time reformist critic of retired ILWU president Harry Bridges, argued vehemently that failure to cross the picket lines would jeopardize the jurisdictional claims of the longshoremen's local which is locked in a bitter contest with the IAM local for port mechanics' jobs.

IAM officials have taken the ILWU to court contesting jurisdiction over jobs at one of the three terminals where ILWU mechanics perform the maintenance and repair work. Pandora's

Machinist picket honored by Longshoremen.



Mudrick/San Pedro News Pilot

argument that longshoremen should work behind the lines as long as no scabs took over the jobs of striking mechanics was rejected by longshoremen. They respected picket lines wherever they appeared.

The PMA, the employers association representing stevedoring and shipping lines on the West Coast, claimed that

ILWU harbor workers were in violation of the no-strike provisions of their contracts and that the picket lines were not "legitimate" under contract language that permits the ILWU to observe some picket lines of other workers. The bosses' claims were upheld repeatedly by the area arbitrator's rulings that the

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40 Strikers Arrested—Drop the Charges!

Victory to S.F. Hotel Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—When the Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2 struck a dozen luxury hotels July 17 at the height of San Francisco's tourist season, the Hotel Employers Association (HEA) responded by locking out union members from the remaining 26 member hotels. Except for two hotels, including the Hilton, which closed down, the others are attempting to remain open for business with some imported live-in scab labor. A total of 6,000 hotel workers are off the job in this strike/lockout.

Early in the strike a special 128-man force was set up by the police department to patrol the area. On Sunday, July 20 a Burns security guard at one hotel assaulted four pickets, breaking a woman's arm and teeth. In response to police attempts to halt pickets from "making noise" on the lines (pots and

pans, drums and horns have been used to encourage guests to check out), the union called for beefed-up picket lines on Tuesday morning at the posh Hyatt Regency Hotel. In response, San Francisco mayor Dianne Feinstein (herself a hotel owner) sent the Tactical Squad.

As about 500 strikers marched, chanting "Local 2 on strike!" and brought out their noisemakers, the riot-equipped cops attacked, dragging off Local president Charles Lamb and a number of strikers. When pickets surrounded the paddy wagon and sat down in the street chanting "Let them go!" the Tac Squad charged again. Altogether about 40 union members were arrested, including Local 2 secretary treasurer Sherry Chisea, International union official Vincent Sirabella, a number of business agents and militants.

The maids, waiters, waitresses, bell-

men, etc., who are paid \$3.50 to \$4.50 an hour to clean and service \$100-a-day rooms, have thrown up some of the most spirited picket lines seen around here in some time. Filipino, Chinese, black, white, old and young—these behind-the-scenes service workers are obviously enjoying the chance to get back at the scabs and those hotel guests who refuse to check out, making them run a gauntlet of colorful and richly deserved vituperation. Union officials have for the most part been attempting to restrain the pickets' enthusiasm for stopping foot traffic at the hotel entrances and vehicle traffic at the service entrances.

Key to the success of this strike will be support from other unions. The San Francisco Central Labor Council has given formal sanction to the strike, but many unionized desk clerks, stationary engineers and delivery truck drivers are



WV Photo

"Check out! Don't check in!"

forcing their way through the lines daily. The SF labor movement must respond to the cop attacks and scabherding by sending organized union contingents to join the picket lines and shut the hotels down tight. All out to defend Local 2! Victory to the hotel workers! ■