

## Sweep Nazis/KKK Off the Streets!

# Mobilize Labor, Blacks Against Reagan Racism!

**January 15th:  
Fascist Provocation  
in Buffalo  
Liberal "Holiday" in D.C.**



Detroit, one week after the Greensboro massacre: blacks, socialists, auto workers say, "Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

While thousands of poor Americans froze in their unheated apartments or huddled into emergency National Guard armories for survival, Ronald Reagan and his "team" decided to wear dove-gray vests and striped pants for the inauguration. At a time when ordinary working people are ravaged by massive unemployment, plant closings and spiraling inflation, some capitalist politicians felt Reagan's "fashion statement" was too obviously a show of ruling-class contempt. But who is surprised that Reagan's inauguration is a holiday for Wall Street? Certainly not black people. They're getting ready for the president who was the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan. Now the KKK says it wants to march in Reagan's inaugural parade. So here comes Reagan's America, in striped pants and white sheets.

Reagan's America also means: cutting welfare, slashing the few remaining government social programs, scrapping minority job training, knocking out food stamps, instituting a sub-minimum wage for black youth. Now there are cries in Congress to dump the Voting Rights Act as even many of the token gains of the civil rights movement are being systematically challenged and junked. And with Reagan in the White House, the fascist killers are on the rampage while all sorts of racist fringe groups are multiplying.

An "open season" of hideous racist murder is rocking black communities throughout the country. Greensboro: the all-white jury's acquittal of the KKK/Nazis who had shot down five left and black protesters in a cold-blooded, broad-daylight attack. Atlanta: a black child found murdered or missing every three-and-a-half weeks. Buffalo: sixteen

black men brutally murdered, two found with their hearts cut out. Police terror on the rise from Miami to Chicago. Many blacks are afraid to walk the streets. Others are exercising their right to arm themselves.

### King's Birthday a "Holiday"?

Black people, forced to the wall, have no choice but to fight back against Reagan racism. Under the threat of racist violence from fascist gangs and racist policies from Congress and the White House, even the Urban League—an organization which has never struggled for anything but bourgeois respectability and federal/corporate dollars—has called for a return to the tactics of the civil rights movement. No doubt many people will turn out for the demonstration called for January 15 in Washington demanding Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday. A few might also be drawn into the liberal/confrontation antics of several "counterinaugural" demos announced for January 20.

The Washington "Martin Luther King Mobilization" is being pushed by members of the Black Congressional Caucus, District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry's office and their reformist tails, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Official march sponsor is talented pop star Stevie Wonder who says the national holiday will symbolize "this nation's commitment to peace and honor, universal brotherhood through

love and freedom, unity for all people." The march sponsors see the mobilization as a symbolic device to recommit black militants to the impotent pacifism and liberalism which King stood for.

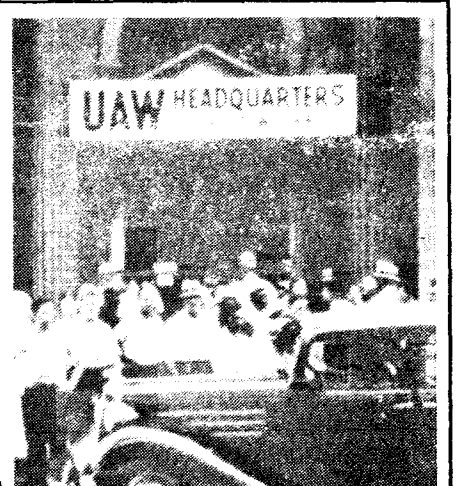
Even as blacks march in King's name, the token gains made by the civil rights movement are being stripped away. "States Rights" rings out again from the halls of Congress. Sworn enemies of the 14th and 15th Amendments are no longer regarded as racist crackpots in the highest circles. Already in the late 1960s, the liberal civil rights movement died in the northern ghettos. Its strategy of reliance on the federal government and lack of a program answering the social and economic realities of racist American capitalism never had an answer for the urban black and working

people. Any attempts to revive it are doomed to failure.

Today, housing is more segregated than ever. The clock has turned backwards on busing and school integration as well. Twenty-six years after the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation, a dual system of public education has been institutionalized. One fifth of all black students attend all-black schools; half attend schools that are more than 50 percent black. And now that blacks are isolated in ghetto schools, the government is dismantling them. Many blacks once bought the civil rights myth that education was a sure way out of the ghetto. Yet today blacks with a college degree are jobless at a higher rate than white high school

*continued on page 9*

A Review:  
**"Black Detroit  
and the  
Rise of the  
UAW" ... 7**



## Labor/Black Defense Needed

# Drive Nightriders Out of Contra Costa!

We reprint below a special issue of "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" (2 January 1981), published by the Militant Caucus in the ILWU.

An urgent and dangerous situation is confronting the Bay Area labor movement. Since the shooting attack on a Rodeo housing project in July, life for black residents of Contra Costa County has turned into a nightmare of fear and violence as the homes of black families have been hit with organized racist terror. Members of several of the families under attack are union members, and one of them, Roosevelt Presley, is a member of ILWU Local 10. The Union's response was debated at

a recent ILWU Local 10 Executive Board and two clearly counterposed positions emerged. Here is part of a statement issued by the ILWU International Officers for that meeting:

"The recent wave of terror and harassment directed against black families in the north Richmond area of Contra Costa County is a sickening reminder of the depth and persistence of bigotry in our society. "The attacks, which have included cross-burnings, arson and sniping are apparently the work of armed, well-organized and secret racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Along with other recent incidents—such as the acquittal of six Klansmen and Nazis of murder charges in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the revelations regarding secret

KKK military training centers in Louisiana—they provide chilling evidence of a new surge of organized racism.

"The ILWU has deep roots in the Richmond area. Many members have lived and worked there for many years. They have participated in many struggles for a better life for all working people, including their right to live where they choose, regardless of race. We will not permit these gains to be compromised or destroyed by a handful of thugs. The fact that the safety of the family of a member of Local 10, Roosevelt Presley, has been threatened, only deepens our commitment." (ILWU, Local 10, *Special Bulletin*, Dec. 15, 1980).

A good statement of the situation. But what did the officers propose

therefore to mobilize the Union to stop these attacks? NOTHING! Instead a "Civil Rights Committee" was proposed to: urge members to work with the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department; raise reward money; and express the union's "concern" to local, State and Federal law enforcement agencies!!

In sharp contrast to these do-nothing proposals, Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow stated that these racist attacks were intolerable and constituted a deadly threat to all minorities and labor in the Bay Area. His motion stated: "Be it resolved, that Local 10 organize defense squads to protect the homes of brother Presley

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## U.S. Delivers Hundreds to Junta Killers

# Stop Deportation of Salvadoran Refugees!

In bleak Border Patrol detention camps in the California desert, hundreds of refugees from El Salvador's murderous junta are awaiting deportation back to a country where to return from exile is to be marked for execution by the government-backed rightist execution squads. According to Immigration officials, several hundred per-

immigrants to die of thirst in the Arizona desert last July. Those who are captured by the Border Patrol are thrown into camps where conditions are worse than in prisons for convicted criminals.

In the El Centro facility a flu epidemic has struck most of the detainees, but no doctor or medicine except aspirin is available. Many have asked for political asylum, but none have been allowed to stay in the U.S. This contrasts sharply with the "extended voluntary departure" rights granted to pro-shah Iranians and pro-Somoza Nicaraguans, or the "political refugee" treatment awarded war criminals like South Vietnam's Nguyen Cao Ky and thousands of his fellow anti-Communists.

Ricardo Hernández, 20, is one of the detainees. He left El Salvador after being fired as a striking worker and threatened by a factory manager. "He told me he was the brother-in-law of a junta member, and he had the power to have people killed," Hernández told the *Los Angeles Times* (8 January). A friend who had been deported in December warned Hernández over the telephone that many of those deported were being killed. *WV* interviewed Hernández, who told the following story:

**WV:** "Do you know if everyone who is being deported is being killed?"

**Hernández:** "Well, last week about 60 were sent back in one deportation and we know of at most 20 that survived."

**WV:** "How are they being killed? Are they rounded up right in the airport?"

**Hernández:** "No, in the airport there is no problem. It's on the highway where there are watchtowers. They're arrested for 'questioning' and if you don't have papers they kill you."

**WV:** "And of course nobody returns with papers."

**Hernández:** "No. On the way out of El Salvador they throw them away for fear of the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service]."

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the aims of the Spartacist League, has sent a telegram to the Immigration and Naturalization Service protesting the INS' role as purveyor for the junta death squads and demanding: Stop deportations to El Salvador! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Down with racist, anti-working class immigration laws! ■



Chauvel/Syigma

### Junta victims in El Salvador Cathedral.

sons a week are being flown back to El Salvador from Los Angeles alone. Their bodies begin to appear on the roads leading from San Salvador's airport soon after the planes touch down.

The Salvadoran detainees in the El Centro, California camp are some of the thousands who have fled their homeland since the right-wing junta began its campaign of assassinations and repression. Many have fallen victim to vicious smugglers (the so-called *coyotes*) of the sort who left 13 Salvadoran would-be

## Gow and Keylor Re-Elected in ILWU Longshore

Stan Gow and Howard Keylor were re-elected for the seventh year in a row to the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board as Militant Caucus candidates. They received 304 and 275 votes respectively, maintaining approximately their same ranking (20th and 24th out of 35 seats) as in the past years. This reflects a stable base of support in the Bay Area longshore local.

The second round of elections will take place on February 12 for Local 10 delegates to the longshore division caucus and convention, which will set contract policy. Last year Gow was elected as caucus and convention

delegate, and this year both he and Keylor are running for those positions.

Keylor commented to *WV* that the elections reflected "a tilt towards the anti-Bridges Larry Wing group in the bureaucracy. This often happens in a contract year, because Bridges was associated with so many contract giveaways and defeats in the past... What counts is what happens between now and contract expiration [June 30]. If the employers demand takeaways, this could precipitate a real fight."

We reproduce below Gow/Keylor's election poster with their program for a class-struggle leadership of a fighting ILWU.

## ILWU LOCAL 10

### Vote for GOW and KEYLOR

Build a Class Struggle Leadership!  
Build a Fighting Union!



HOWARD KEYLOR  
Re-elect for Executive Board  
Elect for Caucus and Convention Delegate  
and Investigating Committee



STAN GOW  
Re-elect for Executive Board  
Re-elect for Caucus and  
Convention Delegate

• **STRIKE TO WIN IN 1981!** 100% COLA for wages and pensions • Jobs for all • Shorter work shift with no loss in pay • Manning scales on all operations • Abolish 9.43, crane supplement, and S.E.O. steady men • Eliminate "no strike" and "PGP abuse" sections • No compulsory arbitration • Open negotiations to membership

• **NOT LONGSHOREMEN VS. CLERKS BUT ILWU VS. PMA!**  
No court suits against any union • Protect seniority • Organize the unorganized

• **FOR LABOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST GOVERNMENT/EMPLOYER STRIKEBREAKING!** Don't handle scab or diverted cargo • Honor all picket lines • No raiding

• **FOR UNION ORGANIZED LABOR/BLACK/LATINO DEFENSE TO STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR!** No reliance on racist cops and courts

• **DOWN WITH CARTER/REAGAN'S REACTIONARY ANTI-SOVIET WAR DRIVE!** No to protectionism

• **FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY!**  
Boycott military cargo to South Africa and other reactionary regimes

• **NO MORE "LESSER EVILS"!** Carter paved the way for Reagan • Break with Democrats and Republicans • Build a workers party based on the unions • For a workers government and a planned economy

## Labor: Don't Handle Perdue Birds!

# It Takes a Tough Union to Break the Chicken King

Frank ("It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken") Perdue is being challenged by a union organizing drive. The chicken boss' titillating TV commercials ("Is your husband a breast man or a leg man?") have helped the bright yellow brand-name Perdue birds dominate the East Coast market and made the Ed Koch look-alike a media celebrity. But behind all the raunchy folksiness is a highly automated, aggressively anti-union operation, run with ruthless paternalism. Perdue brags, "My chickens eat better than you do," and he ought to know, paying his workers a paltry \$4.29 an hour. "He's a godfather," complained a bitter trucker.

Keeping the union out of his Chesapeake Bay eastern shore chicken empire is "our prerogative in America," Perdue says. An unsuccessful effort by the Teamsters last August to organize Perdue truckers resulted in the firing of 30 drivers. Fifty-five of the hundreds of Accomac, Virginia plant workers who had honored their picket lines were also dismissed. Recently, Perdue bought four unionized chicken-processing plants, shut them down and reopened them as strictly non-union operations. In response, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Retail Clerks—now merged into the United Food and Commercial Workers

International Union, third largest in the AFL-CIO—are gearing up for battle.

"It takes a tough union to make a tough man tender," said union president William Wynn. Potentially the combined Food Workers union could pack a wallop, with over 90,000 members in the New York City area alone. Most Northeastern big city supermarkets are unionized, the chicken business is booming as beef prices go up and up, plus there's lots of local competition (Cookin' Good, Paramount). If the union used its power and its members refused to touch the scab birds, it could stop the bulk of Perdue's sales overnight. But in fact the Food Workers aren't doing very much, except to call a consumer boycott (officially declared on December 8, it still hasn't gotten off the ground in terms of regional implementation).

Baltimore-based boycott coordinator Jerry Gordon calls Perdue the "J.P. Stevens of the poultry industry," and union leaders point to the long consumer boycott there as a model. Of course we respect this union-called boycott, just as we did the Farah pants, Gallo wine, scab lettuce, scab grapes, scab sheets boycotts. But it's a pathetic, weak and almost completely ineffective tactic. In the Stevens case, the Clothing Workers union did finally win recogni-

**Frank Perdue: Take your chicken and stuff it.**



tion at a few plants—but it took 17 years, and all the workers got was a few cents more and a dues check-off. Meanwhile the union promised to play dead for two-and-a-half years, plus giving up union organizers' rights to access to other factory workers. The *Wall Street Journal* (30 December 1980), commenting on the Perdue boycott, pointed out that consumer boycotts are "difficult and cumbersome," citing the practically mythical AFL-CIO boycott of R.J. Reynolds, which has had no effect in 25 continuous years!

Even the merest hint of mobilizing their powerful union to stop Perdue birds right in the supermarkets sets the union tops shuddering. "Secondary boycotts are illegal," blurted a Food Workers Local 50 (New York City) representative to a *WV* reporter who had simply asked about "the boycott." The union bureaucracy is saying that it won't lift a finger to mobilize its own ranks—and they certainly haven't in the past. For a decade Butcher Workmen struck Iowa Beef Packers outside Sioux

City, where picketers faced automatic weapons and live-in scabs supplied by helicopter. But while the strike dragged on, Iowa Beef Packers conquered the New York market with their "boxed beef" automation, as NYC butchers in the very same union cut, prepared and handled the meat!

Taft-Hartley declared secondary boycotts illegal because they *work*. This capitalist government defends the interests of the employers, and they won't easily give up such a potent weapon to the working class. Union gains in this country were not won without hard, militant struggle against the employers and the government, which calls in the National Guard to break strikes, decrees endless anti-labor laws and does everything in its power to keep the labor movement down. The way to support the Perdue workers and organize the rest of the low-wage poultry industry is to fight to smash these repressive anti-labor laws—and to keep Perdue out of the stores! Labor: Don't handle Perdue birds! ■

## More from the "Flinching Scab"

We have just received issue number 3 of the so-called *Fighting Worker*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), the Ann Arbor-based anti-Spartacist cult-sect of Peter Sollenberger. Issue number 1 was devoted to justifying (at length) the RWG's disgusting claim that it is okay to cross picket lines as long as you are only a "non-striking worker." So naturally we dubbed their rag the "Flinching Scab." The Sollenbergerites have not gotten around to answering our polemic ("RWG: A Cult for Scabbing," *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980), but their latest number contains three articles which, taken together, go to the core of their peculiar brand of political dishonesty.

On the back page there is a palsy-walsy article titled "RWG vs. SL(DC) on Cop Strikes," wherein it is politely

explained that they are "forced, however, to dissociate ourselves publicly from the SL(DC) on its position of 'tactical' support for police unions and police strikes." (The Socialist League/Democratic-Centralist is a handful of West Coast supporters of Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League in Britain, which the RWG has been chasing after lately.) This piece contains various examples of how a cop is a cop. (What about a scab is a scab is a scab?)

The SL/DC turns up again on page 4, this time as co-signer with the RWG of a joint statement distributed to the abysmally reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) at the latter's convention in Cleveland last October. This leaflet calls upon the TDU to "bring honor" to the "rank and file opposition." It quotes from the *Communist Manifesto*. It cribbs programmatic points from Trotsky's Transitional Program and *Workers Vanguard*, liberally distorted of course. But the "joint statement" says *not one word* about the Teamsters' treacherous organizing of the cops. Since the two chummy groups disagreed on the issue, they jointly decided to duck it.

Not so fast. Organizing police "unions" is no minor matter in the Teamsters (IBT). Particularly last fall, after IBT hacks in Chicago, in a revolting ploy to woo police votes in a representation election, gave jobs to two transit patrolmen indicted for the hideous murder of a black man riding the "El" (see "Chicago Teamster Chiefs Hire Killer Cops," *WV* No. 265, 3 October). At their Cleveland convention, the TDU leaders did their best to duck this explosive issue. But it blew up at the final session when a resolution from the minorities workshop was raised to condemn the IBT bureaucrats'

racist action. So a motion was raised to table the question, on the grounds that the Chicago TDU had chosen *not* to protest this atrocity. And TDU organizer Ken Paff gaveled through the gag motion without discussion.

It's not surprising that "Teamsters for a Democratic Union" should remain silent in the face of racist murder. After all, the TDU thinks cops should be organized into unions, says nothing when the Teamsters raid the Farm Workers, makes common cause with a right-wing Reaganite opposition (PROD) and invites the capitalist courts into the union to enforce "democracy." It is no less bankrupt, politically and morally, than the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. As for the RWG-SL/DC lash-up, which also seeks to bury the issue of cop terror in their "joint statement," how are they any better? "Ducking" such a key class question is already a policy—a policy of betrayal.

Which brings us to the RWG's page 3 polemic against the SL on the united front. Like quite a few other unstable cliques, clots and cults the Sollenberger bunch dreams that it will overcome its present tiny size not by hard polemical struggle but by getting together with the rest of the left (minus the Spartacist League) to make joint propaganda on the lowest common denominator. The SL is denounced as "sectarian" for allegedly holding that united fronts are mere "events." Instead, "as a minimum" the task should be "uniting the left into united-front committees" to fight fascism. So says the "Flinching Scab."

The RWG's vague slogan for "a united front of the left against fascism" masks fundamental differences over what fascism represents in this period and *how* to fight it. In the U.S., far and away the most important issue on which the fascists have mobilized against

blacks is *busing* (remember Boston in 1974-75). Yet a number of Maoist-Stalinist organizations (e.g., Avakian's RCP, Tung's CWP) and also some social-democratic ones (the IS and RSL, for example) *oppose* busing and therefore stand with the fascists on this burning issue. A number of reformist outfits, notably the Communist Party, campaign for the bourgeois state to outlaw the fascists, laws which have historically been used by the government as a legal cover to go after the left. But despite these fundamental differences, the Spartacist League urgently seeks to organize specific common *actions* against the fascists involving not only other left groups, but especially the trade unions and black and minority organizations. By contrast, what the RWG means by the grandiose slogan of "a united front against fascism" is a few joint leaflets with some like-minded sects.

And it's not just word games for bloodless "theorists." When an SL-built demonstration brought 500 to Detroit's Kennedy Square on 10 November 1979 to stop the Klan from marching in the Motor City, the RWG denounced this as a "fraud," claiming the hundreds of blacks and more than a hundred workers from area factories had been duped. And the 1,200 who came out to a Spartacist-initiated united-front demo, endorsed by more than 35 union officials, to stop the Nazis, what were they—more dupes for another "event"? But when the RWG joined a few left groups, eventually getting 50 people together in downtown Detroit, that is supposed to be a true "united front against fascism." The Sollenbergerites are repeatedly confounded by the class struggle—exposed by the picket lines they cross, by the racist crimes they cover up. ■

### WORKERS VANGUARD

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## In Face of Apartheid Repression

# Black Trade Unions Take Off in South Africa

The black proletariat of South Africa is flexing its muscles in an increasingly organized fashion, and the racist rulers of the white supremacist bastion are worried. The *New York Times* (28 December 1980) reports: "South Africa's government...now finds itself faced with a phenomenon it has always feared: black-led unions that are unafraid to express political grievances." The article reports that black union membership has grown to 150,000—double the number two years ago—and the South African Allied Workers Union has grown 15-fold in less than six months.

Significantly, the new unions are *not* seeking registration (official government recognition). Not only does registration entail large-scale state intervention in internal union affairs, it binds the union to dilatory procedures for settling industrial grievances. Sensing their real power, and rejecting legal restrictions, black workers have confronted employers directly: according to official statistics, there were 61 strikes (mostly illegal) in the first half of 1980 as compared to 36 in all of 1979.

Despite employer resistance and state repression, not only wage concessions but de facto recognition have been won. For example, the union at Ford's has won the right to put its shop stewards in the plant. The growing strength of the black unions, in defiance of apartheid legality, means that the tactical question of whether or not to register has been solved in the concrete—they clearly have the social power to ignore the legal straitjacket.

Less than two years ago, a couple of government panels, the Wiehahn and Rieckert commissions, had recom-



Strike meeting in South Africa—unionized black workers key to smashing apartheid.

mended some structural changes in the apartheid system, essentially to bring it in line with the growing black industrial workforce. In no sense a reform of the racist structure, this was an attempt to co-opt a privileged layer of black workers by offering some concessions in residency and workplace restrictions, and the right to form registered unions. But the effective veto of industrial agreements by white unions and the prohibition on multiracial unions make these "reforms" a sham.

As much as South African capital needs black labor, it also fears it: the

growing black urban proletariat is the social force capable of blowing apart the whole apartheid system. The government has tried to use state terror to control the militancy of the black workers: leaders of the Allied Workers Union have been detained for two years, a former leader of the Ford workers union is now in exile. Recently two leaders of a non-white journalists union were "banned." Employers have also resorted to mass layoffs and have tried to exacerbate tribal divisions within the black population through discriminatory hiring. But this hasn't quelled the

militancy or halted the growth of black unions.

Efforts by liberals and fake leftists to boycott Krugerrands and divest universities of investments in "dirty" South Africa (as opposed to "clean" America, where the KKK/Nazis were acquitted of racist murder, where Reagan sounds the trumpets for nuclear first strike capacity and war against the USSR) have flopped. No more successful are the attempts by African National Congress nationalists and the Stalinists to pressure the South African liberal bourgeoisie to reform apartheid. In counterposition to the liberals/nationalists/Stalinists, we have always maintained that the organized black proletariat will be the decisive factor in bringing down the apartheid system. Four years ago we wrote:

"...the combativity demonstrated in the extensive 1973-74 strike wave (when the bosses extended de facto recognition by negotiating with the unregistered unions) and the protest strikes organized in the non-white townships this summer make the apartheid butchers fear the potential role of organized black workers as a rallying point for mass struggles against white supremacy. Pretoria fears that concessions to the handful of existing black unions will open the flood gates to a mighty surge of social struggles by the five-million-strong black proletariat."

—"South African Revolution—Black Unions the Key!" *WV* No. 140, 14 January 1977

This is just what is now happening.

In this same article we pointed out that "the government is particularly concerned to abort any cooperation among blacks and whites on the trade-union front." To be sure, in the present

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## After Ten Years of Racist Persecution

# Wilmington Ten Convictions Thrown Out

A U.S. appeals court last month overturned the convictions of the Wilmington Ten, the North Carolina civil rights activists whose cause had become the focus of an international campaign of mass protest. Framed up in 1972 on charges of arson and fire-bombing, most of the defendants have already served more than four years in jail. The federal court ruled December 4 that the prosecution in the 1972 trial withheld evidence from both the defense and the jury, including psychiatric reports labeling the key witness for the prosecution as a "borderline mental

defective" with an IQ of 82, as well as information that gifts and jobs had induced prosecution witnesses to lie on the witness stand.

So ended the nine-year vendetta against the Wilmington Ten by the state of North Carolina, which began in 1971 with the wave of cop and KKK terror known as the "siege of Wilmington." As defendant Ben Chavis told *WV* shortly after his release on parole last February, "The reason why we went to prison was because we defended ourselves against the Ku Klux Klan attack on a black church." For four days racist vigilantes and local police carried out an armed attack on black youth who had barricaded themselves in the Gregory Congregational Church for safety. The church had been the center of pro-integration rallies and an organizing center for a boycott of schools by the black community. During the siege, a nearby white-owned grocery store caught fire.

Rev. Chavis, an organizer for the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, had been invited to Wilmington to lead the boycott. *One year later*, the prominent black activist and nine others were charged and convicted of conspiracy to commit arson in the grocery store fire. Their convictions were fought for several years and upheld by the state courts. In 1976 the Supreme Court refused to hear the case and sent the defendants to jail to begin serving terms of 10 to 12 years each. In 1978 after three key prosecution witnesses admitted perjuring them-



The Wilmington Ten in 1976: Framed for defending themselves against Klan terror.

selves, testifying that their statements had been purchased by the prosecuting attorney, the courts still refused to throw out the case. North Carolina governor James Hunt flatly refused the demand of an international protest campaign that the Wilmington Ten be pardoned. Hunt later did reduce their sentences, which led to the subsequent release of most on parole.

The reversal of the convictions was a victory for all who struggled on behalf of the Wilmington Ten for most of a decade. In particular, worldwide exposure of the state's blatant frameup motivated the appeals court action. By the late 1970s, the case had become an embarrassment to the Carter administration. The Soviet Union cited the

Wilmington Ten as a flagrant example of "human rights" violations in the U.S. Amnesty International even took it up, breaking its standard practice of whitewashing the American government and admitting there are in fact political prisoners in the imperialist bastion. Attention to the case was recently heightened following the acquittal in November of Nazi/KKK killers in the broad daylight murder of five left-wing activists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Indeed the bourgeoisie has been trying to use the Wilmington Ten conviction reversals to counter the impact of the racist acquittals in Greensboro, as seen in the 27 December

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### **WORKERS VANGUARD**

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# Press Policy and Trotskyist Program in France

This article appeared originally in the January 1981 issue of *Le Bolchévik*, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency. We are publishing this adapted version in WV because our readers should find its presentation of the political basis of Trotskyist press policy to be informative and provocative.

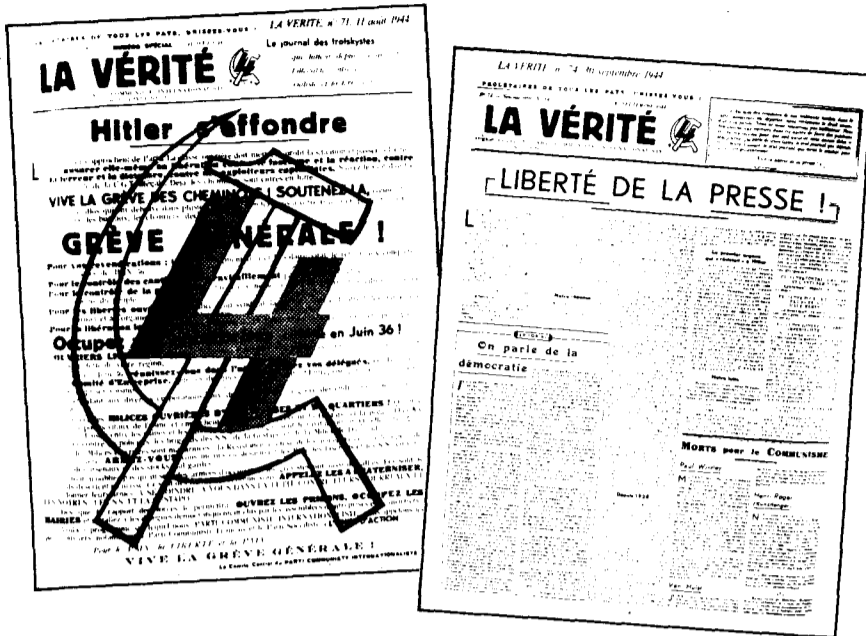
"The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles. . . . Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand higher than unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged Socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out."

—Engels to his friend Sorge living in America, 18 January 1871, quoted in No. 1 of *Workers Vanguard*

With this issue, *Le Bolchévik* goes monthly (nine times a year). As the press of a fighting Marxist propaganda group, our paper is an instrument of our goal: to regroup the best of the experienced cadres into the nucleus of the Leninist vanguard party necessary for the revolutionary victory of the working class and the creation of a communist, classless society.

When the handful of cadres of the international Spartacist tendency in France launched *Le Bolchévik* in early 1976, the choice of name was a polemical statement. Our aim was to fight for the program of authentic Trotskyism, the Marxism of our time, wresting the mantle of "Trotskyism" from centrist and reformist impostors. Our choice of name also expressed the strategic goal of Trotskyism in France: to win the masses of Communist workers to a revolutionary program, restoring the traditions of Lenin's and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party to their rightful place: not Place Colonel Fabien [French CP headquarters] but in the struggles of a militant and conscious working class. At a demonstration last spring, one CPer did a double-take on seeing our masthead: "*Le Bolchévik*? I thought all Trotskyists were Mensheviks." We are glad we make our intentions clear.

1976 was the year that fake-Trotskyism's best-known spokesman, Ernest Mandel of the United Secretariat (USec), in the throes of Union of the



French Trotskyist newspapers in 1944: for general strike against collapsing Nazi occupation, defending freedom of the working-class press against Stalinist/popular-front censorship.

Left fever, created a small public scandal by announcing he was willing to drop the Trotskyist "label" if the price was right. It was also the year of the daily *Rouge* (paper of Mandel's French section, the LCR). First published right after May '68, *Rouge*—as the name ["red"] makes clear—was the self-proclaimed spokesman not of a program but of an attitude shared by a politically undifferentiated layer radicalized by May '68 whom the LCR baptised the "new mass vanguard." Far from fighting the petty-bourgeois spontaneist prejudices and illusions of its readers, *Rouge* made itself the spokesman for a cacophony of eclectic impressionist impulses—and consciously so:

"We need a meeting place of all those who are coming to the revolution and socialism and who expect from us infinitely more than a catalogue of slogans, however correct."

—*Rouge*, 15 March 1976

The daily *Rouge* merely gave the LCR the means to express its centrist confusionism more amply and more often. Within the LCR, of course, there was some heated debate about the daily... over the format. Like the big controversy over page size: after all, with large pages like those of *l'Humanité* [the CP daily] you could put your elbow in someone's eye when you turned the pages on the morning metro. And we must mention the incredible level of general unprofessionalism—wrong dates or none at all on the masthead, pages printed with the type in mirror image, polemics by the comp crew against the editors, and so forth. But the LCR could not take such problems seriously, such was its blind faith in the

mythical revolutionary "dynamic." A little like a surfer dreaming of the perfect wave, the LCR sees the "dynamic" as automatic and irresistible: the "dynamic" does all the work, you just "go with the flow."

When the "dynamic" flowed left, *Rouge* was there, half a step behind whatever was in motion. And even when it veered right, *Rouge* kept on insisting we were living in almost the best of all possible worlds (e.g., *Rouge* 15 March 1976: "Nothing definitive has taken place in Portugal") and would inevitably get even better if only everything stayed "in motion."

Of course the LCR refused to title *Rouge* a "Trotskyist" paper. Not that the leadership finally had the honesty to bring its "label" into line with its centrist program. But it seemed like liquidating the label would facilitate the "main chance." This was when Mandel announced he would drop "Trotskyism" in the barely veiled hope of fusing with the social-democratic PSU, thereby forming a sufficiently large "far-left" organization to get a look from the popular-front Union of the Left, whose "dynamic" was supposed to lead to revolution. The daily *Rouge* could have been the dowry for the LCR/PSU wedding. But the PSU rejected the advances and itself decomposed more and more. Then the whole strategy met its coup de grâce: the Union of the Left fell apart. *Rouge* went back to weekly, as confused as ever, but even more to the right.

## French Trotskyist Press Policy: A Flawed Tradition

The launching of *Le Bolchévik* as the line organ of the Ligue Trotskyste de France represented a break from the nominally "non-party" press policy characteristic of French ostensible Trotskyism. If *Rouge*, a product of the degeneration of late Pabloism, provides comic relief for a press policy discussion, serious precedents come from the Lambertists, now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI).

In the late 1950s, Pierre Lambert was the leading spokesman for "anti-revisionist" (anti-Pabloist) Trotskyism in France. His *La Vérité*, launched as a tabloid weekly, became a theoretical journal after DeGaulle's coup d'état. In the new format, the masthead characterized the paper merely as a "Trotskyist Monthly"; there was no mention of the organization anywhere in the paper. Indeed, *La Vérité* explicitly renounced

any conception of the press as a party organ:

"The political rearmament of the vanguard is inconceivable without broad debates among all working-class militants. . . . The columns of *La Vérité* will be open to them without restriction."

The first issue of Lambert's *Informations Ouvrières*, appearing mimeographed in 1959, lacked even *La Vérité*'s minimum political characterization. Later *IO* became the organ of the mythical "Workers' Alliance Committees" and finally in 1974 the paper adopted its present self-description as an "Open Forum of Class Struggle." Of course, *IO* is no more an "open forum" than *l'Humanité*. It is in conception the literary analogue of a front group, where the real mechanisms of organizational control are concealed for the purpose of manipulation.

OCI press policy is an aspect of its anti-Leninist revisionism. Its nominally "non-party" press proclivities are fully consistent with its "strategic united front" line which places confidence in reformist-led bureaucratic "unity" as the only necessary precondition for working-class victory. The same 1958 issue of *La Vérité* which set forth its press policy also claimed: "Since 1945 the French Trotskyists have called for the autonomy of the union movement from all parties." Thus the OCI—notorious sectarianism and gangsterism notwithstanding—is at bottom liquidationist on the party question. And long before the OCI became simply the creature of its Stalinophobia, degenerating into outright reformism (as expressed decisively over Portugal), Lambertist press policy was rooted in the cynical fake-"mass" conception against which Trotsky fought in the 1930s. Polemicizing against Lambert's antecedents, Molinier/Frank, he wrote:

"...Quite often revolutionary impatience (which becomes transformed easily into opportunist impatience) leads to this conclusion: The masses do not come to us because our ideas are too complicated and our slogans too advanced. It is therefore necessary to simplify our program, water down our slogans—in short, to throw out some ballast. Basically, this means: Our slogans must correspond not to the objective situation, not to the relation of classes, analyzed by the Marxist method, but to subjective assessments (extremely superficial and inadequate ones) of what the 'masses' can or cannot accept. But what masses? The mass is not homogeneous. It develops. It feels the pressure of events. It will accept tomorrow what it will not accept today. Our cadres will blaze the trail with increasing success for our ideas and slogans, which will be shown to be correct, because they are confirmed by the march of events and not by subjective and personal assessments. . . . "What the masses can demand of a newspaper is a clear program and a correct orientation. But precisely on this question the appeal [for the paper *La Commune*] is utterly silent. Why? Because it wants more to conceal its ideas than to express them. It accepts the SAPist (centrist) recipe: in seeking the line of least resistance do not say what is. And the masses? What are the masses? They can rest content with a quarter, or even a tenth, of the program. This mentality we call elitism, of both an opportunist and, at the same time, an adventurist type. It is a very dangerous attitude, comrades. It is not the attitude of a Marxist." [original emphasis]

—"What is a Mass Paper?" (1935)

## Sectarianism and Sales

Hopefully having established the principle that a Leninist paper must be

*continued on page 10*



Newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France goes monthly.

# Solidarity House Bans Toyotas, VWs

# To Hell With Fraser's Parking Lot Patriotism!

United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser has come up with his answer to mass layoffs, plant closings and wages ravaged by inflation: blame everything on foreign cars. (After all, if you blamed management someone might point a finger at him as a member of the Chrysler board!) The UAW leadership is bragging that it spent \$200,000 in dues money for disgusting "Buy American" ads like the one titled "Paying for Imports with Our Jobs is a Price We Can't Afford." (Just how the average American worker is supposed to afford a U.S.-built car, with sticker prices now running over \$9,000, Fraser doesn't say.)

The UAW tops have gotten so bad you have to hold your nose. Once

heading one of the most liberal American unions, spouting social-democratic rhetoric, in recent months they have become *the* worst dealers in "Love the boss, Hate Japanese workers" protectionist filth. But even Fraser & Co. hit a new low last month when they banned "foreign cars" in UAW parking lots. A sign posted at the union's International headquarters lot sternly warns: "UAW PARKING RESERVED FOR U.S. AND CANADIAN VEHICLES ONLY. PLEASE PARK IMPORTS ELSEWHERE." Local bureaucrats at River Rouge followed suit by asking management to ban foreign cars from Ford's Dearborn complex.

Curious just how low these sellouts would sink in trying to whip up anti-

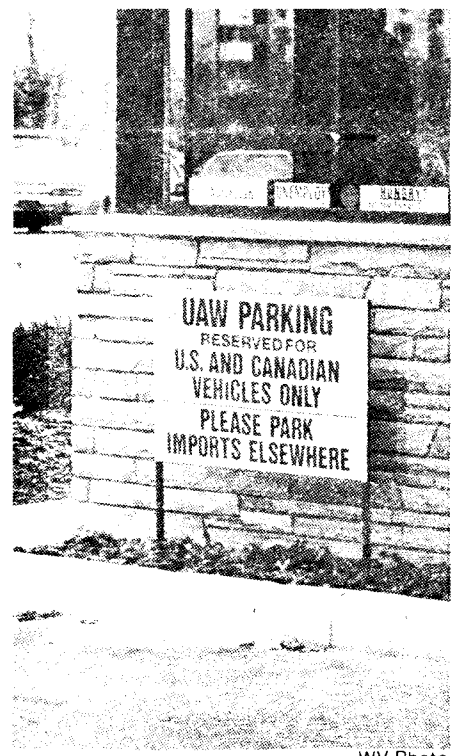
foreign chauvinism, *Workers Vanguard* called up Solidarity House and spoke to Carl Mantilla in PR.

- Q. Which cars are affected?  
A. Large market foreign imports.  
Q. What about the Ford Fiesta, some of them built in Spain?  
A. "Captive imports" are not part of the ban.  
Q. What about Volkswagen Rabbits, some of them made in the U.S.?  
A. It would apply to VWs not built in this country.  
Q. How can you tell?  
A. The foreign ones have square headlights, the others have round headlights.

At this point we expected to hear that some of them had slanted headlights, but how some of Mantilla's best friends owned imports! We asked how the ban is being enforced, and got silence. Then the \$64,000 question: How does this help auto workers, or any workers?

The UAW spokesman began reeling off a set speech about how imports hurt the U.S. auto industry. They do, of course, lower profits for the Big Three, and the bosses are happy to see the union try to eliminate foreign competition—so they can jack up prices again. Millions of American workers buy imports to save a few bucks in the showroom and at the gas pump. But what do Fraser & Co. care? They are worried about Chrysler's profits, and woe to the UAW member who didn't check to see if his Rabbit has square headlights.

What will the labor fakery think of next? If American workers should buy cars from only "their" country, then logically union members should exclusively patronize "their" company... or "their" plant, for that matter. But the real program here is national chauvinism. Pretty soon it will be no more Heineken beer, or banning Sony color TVs and video recorders. This poison-



WV Photo

## UAW HQ: Whatever happened to Solidarity?

ous social-patriotic propaganda is aiming at trade war. And from there it points to imperialist shooting wars, sending the Marines to "protect" Exxon's Near East oil and make the Soviet Union safe for Coca Cola... using guns made of Japanese steel.

At least one group of workers has already protested this outrageous ban. Local 494 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union, representing 500 workers employed by Solidarity House, filed a grievance against the UAW. They charged violation of their contract, which stipulates that the employer (the auto union) will provide parking (Detroit News, 19 December). We say, right on for Local 494! And UAW members shouldn't let anyone tell them what to drive either. ■

**7 of 10 Americans Agree: Paying For Imports With Our Jobs Is A Price We Can't Afford.**

Twenty-seven countries that produce cars insure their workers jobs through fair trade. One does it: Free and fair trade helps the entire world. But foreign automakers have virtually wide-open access to the U.S. market. On the other hand, imports to West Germany and Japan are 11% and higher. Italy holds Japanese and France limit their market share. Australia, Spain, Mexico and other countries require a high percentage of domestic content in each vehicle sold. Japan discourages import auto trade by lowering the price of an \$8,000 U.S. car to more than \$11,000 in Japan.

The UAW wants to redress the trade imbalance which is hurting North American industry and workers. We do it by building small, high quality, fuel-efficient cars to save industry gets the time and investment capital to retool. The surge of imports is straining both.

The short-term answer is for Japan voluntarily to restrain exports to the U.S. Then, when the new generation of domestic cars is ready, it's a trade free-for-all. No restrictions. No advantages ending industrial base. We can do that in part by having the major foreign automakers locate plants in the country, providing jobs for workers and income for entire communities.

The way... we all win.

International Union, UAW

**It's 27 to 1. And America Is Losing.**

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International Union, UAW

UAW dues used to finance chauvinist media campaign.

# For Sitdowns to Save Michigan Casting!

# Chrysler Takeaways Threaten UAW

DETROIT—On Wednesday, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser sat down with Chrysler officials at corporate headquarters in Highland Park to discuss contract giveaways by the union for the third time in 16 months. Two days later the federal government, not satisfied with the whopping \$673 million in concessions demanded by Chrysler, announced on January 9 that the UAW must not only give up their cost-of-living adjustments and accept a wage freeze, but promise to accept sub-standard industry wages past the contract expiration in 1982! It is clear that the companies are using the Chrysler "bail-out" to launch a frontal assault on the powerful UAW.

The negotiations, which Fraser describes as having a tone of "deep concern on both sides," have an unreal character as the UAW president lays out his gimmicks to make management's takeaway demands somehow palatable to the membership. Even more absurd is Fraser's profit-sharing scheme for workers at the sinking auto company. Newsmen at Wednesday's press conference almost burst into laughter when a reporter pointed out that there is no profit to share at Chrysler. Fraser, undaunted, replied, "That's the easiest

time to get the corporation to agree to the concept." But the near-bankrupt corporation can't even get other companies to take its shares, much less plunk down cold cash for mythical profits! With Chrysler president Iacocca predicting a whopping \$1.7 billion loss in 1980, auto analysts predict that this month Chrysler's net worth should fall somewhere below zero (*Automotive News*, 29 December 1980). And Fraser

admits he would advise the workers to take their share in cash!

What Iacocca and the U.S. government want from the UAW is a total of more than \$1.1 billion in blackmail money that would destroy in one blow many of the most bitterly fought gains of the UAW, including the uniform industrywide wage. A decade ago the union waged a 70-day strike at General Motors to win unlimited

**Detroit, January 8: Militant Ford workers protest closing of Michigan casting plant, 5,000 Ford workers to be thrown on the streets.**



WV Photo

COLA to protect the membership against the ravages of inflation. Now Fraser is ready to sacrifice the achievements of those battles in the face of blackmail by a car company in its death throes. The lesson has not been lost on Ford, GM and the many parts suppliers which are clamoring for "equal treatment."

Auto workers must reject Iacocca's extortion demands, which are only the first wave of a government/auto industry attack on the UAW. Equal pay for equal work, a fundamental trade-union principle, must be restored. Chrysler workers must fight to regain parity with Ford and GM. Unlike Ford, which is in no immediate danger of going under, Chrysler could go down the tubes because of years of shortsighted mismanagement. If Chrysler should plead bankruptcy the bosses will sell the assets to other capitalists and pocket the money—unless the union *acts!* Workers must utilize the sit-down strike which was instrumental in UAW battles in the '30s to seize the plants. If the plants have to be sold, the money should not go to the auto magnates and their bankers but to the workers.

Fraser and his Solidarity House gang  
*continued on page 8*

Mass unionization of black workers into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) some four decades ago was decisive in forging a powerful labor movement in this country. It was also key for racial minorities in winning a base for common struggle together with white workers against the racist bosses. Until then, ever since the collapse of the Knights of Labor in the late 1800s and aside from exceptions like the Mine Workers, blacks had been effectively excluded from the union movement. It was only with the rise of industrial unions in the late 1930s that thousands of blacks were organized. Even then it was not enough just to espouse a "color blind" trade unionism. Their toehold in northern industry due mainly to the capitalists' desire for "strike insurance," and made wary by decades of Jim Crow discrimination by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), blacks had to be convinced of the new unions' commitment to racial equality.

The 1941 Ford strike was the turning point. Taking on the "great white father of Dearborn" and besieging his giant River Rouge plant, which at the time

*Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW*  
by August Meier and Elliot Rudwick  
Oxford University Press,  
New York, 1979

employed 100,000 workers, the United Auto Workers (UAW-CIO) won a bitter and bloody battle to wrest union recognition from the last of the Big Three auto companies. This victorious strike did more than any other single event to integrate minorities into the ranks of organized labor, bringing 10,000 black members into the UAW. No longer did the entire Detroit black community bow down to the King of the Open Shop. The Rouge, once known as "Massa Ford's plantation," was now home of UAW Local 600, the largest local union in the U.S. and to this day a center of black trade unionism in the U.S. The mobilization of support from black Detroit behind the UAW and the subsequent efforts of black workers to force the union leadership to fight for black equality are the subject of the book *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* by two noted liberal scholars, August Meier and Elliot Rudwick. An informative academic treatment of the Ford organizing drive and the role of the UAW during the racially tense war years, the book provides valuable information and useful insights for those fighting for the inseparable goals of black emancipation and workers revolution. As the dramatic events of Detroit during 1941-43 make clear, the strength of industrial trade unions (as well as the success of a revolutionary party) in this country depends on breaking down racial barriers by fighting for equality of the specially oppressed as an essential part of the working-class struggle.

#### Henry Ford's "Community Control"

Black workers were initially very hesitant to join the growing CIO movement in the 1930s. During the militant wave of sit-down strikes that unionized General Motors and Chrysler in 1936-37, black workers with some notable exceptions remained decidedly

# A Review:

## "Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW"



1941: Black-white unity finally broke paternalistic auto boss, Henry Ford.

neutral, many simply leaving the plants to sit out the battles at home. (The bulk of black auto workers were employed at the still unorganized Ford plants in Detroit.) Whereas the AFL craft unions organized limited and specialized sections of the workforce, often pitting skilled against unskilled and white against black, the nature of industrial unions like the UAW made it necessary to fight for the special interests of and win the support of black workers.

Unlike GM or Chrysler, Ford hired a relatively large number of black workers, representing 10 percent of the workforce at the Rouge complex, the heart of the Ford empire. Henry Ford literally bought off the small black middle class by pouring huge sums of money into influential black churches and by financing the all-black shantytown of Inkster. In return, his loyal black ministers screened minority applicants to the company for their docility and anti-unionism, a system which Ford skillfully utilized to assure himself of a loyal workforce for two decades. Ford's racial philanthropy flowed from nakedly reactionary white supremacy: his paper the *Dearborn Independent* saw

blacks benefiting from "white man's civilization" and warned against attempts by Jews to "Bolshelize the Negro." And Ford's largesse paid off: for instance, the Detroit Urban League leader J.C. Dancy was openly anti-union and had a history of organizing strikebreakers.

Girding to do battle with Ford in 1937, the UAW hired several black organizers and put them on the International staff. Like many other union organizers, most of these black unionists, such as Paul Kirk and Walter Hardin, gained their early trade-union experience through the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-dominated dual union (the Auto Workers Union) and in the CP-influenced National Negro Congress (NNC). They and other rank-and-file leaders from the CP periphery, like Christopher Alston at Packard and Shelton Tappes at Rouge, formed the hard core of black trade unionists who had worked for years to bring down the racial barriers and win blacks to the union. Special editions of UAW Local 600 *Ford Facts* were addressed to black workers, reiterating that the UAW tolerated no discrimination within its ranks. More

than anything, it was the UAW's Negro Sub-Organizing Department that turned around black workers at the Rouge, neutralizing most and convincing many that they would defend their jobs not by begging Ford but through militant union action.

As the organizing drive began, Ford countered by hiring blacks to serve with Harry Bennett's notorious "Service Department" thugs, who intimidated and brutally beat up union organizers in the plant. At the famous "battle of the overpass" in May 1937, a part of the goon squad that beat up organizers Walter Reuther and Richard Frankenstein was black. When the UAW attempted to hold a public meeting in the Detroit ghetto, Ford threatened to "fire every Negro in the neighborhood," and the UAW was turned down at all the black churches. As the showdown approached, write Meier and Rudwick, the company:

"...recruited perhaps as many as two thousand unemployed Negroes, including some boxers and street-fighters, for use as strikebreakers. Thus by the end of March [1941] Ford had the largest black work force in its history, numbering some 14,000—about one-sixth of the Rouge plant's employees—and the foundry became so overcrowded that many workers did little more than loll about."

It was clear to both Ford and the UAW that the blacks would be key to the winning of the organizing drive at the Ford plant.

#### Class War vs. Race War

The big strike began on April 1, when Ford fired eight UAW committeemen and in response the whole Rouge plant walked out. Nearly all the black workers left the plant with the white workers and refused to cross the picket lines the next day. Some blacks did remain in the foundry and hundreds of others slipped past the cordoned off area early the next morning. Most of these, however, were the recently hired workers well-aware that they were employed to scab.

Somewhere between 1,500 and 2,500 blacks were rumored to be inside the plant along with 300 Ford "servicemen." At 6 a.m. the next day Bennett sent several hundred of the scabs out of the factory throwing iron bolts and nuts and attacking the picketers with steel bars and knives out of Gate Number 4, injuring 36 unionists. At 9 a.m. another assault took place at the factory but this time the picketers were prepared with baseball bats, fists and sticks. The battle was brief, bloody and decisive as the lines held and the union showed that no one else would enter the plant. Yet the small numbers of blacks on the picket line and the black scabs inside set the situation up to be interpreted as a racial conflict that could erupt into a race riot in Detroit.

Simultaneously, Homer Martin, a discredited ex-president of the UAW now working for the AFL, appeared in a Detroit ghetto and addressed an assembled crowd of 3,000 blacks, attempting to organize a back-to-work movement in the Detroit ghetto. To defuse the explosive situation the UAW appealed directly to the black strikebreakers to leave the plant and mounted a propaganda campaign to Ford workers and their families urging blacks not to let themselves be used as scabs and pointing to the greater privileges, pay, job security and promotions from the seniority system that would be gained through unionization. The union reiterated over and over that the UAW "permits no racial discrimination within its ranks." And the message was effectively carried to the black community by some labor-oriented leaders in the NAACP, the NNC and some New Deal-connected politicians.

In addition, the UAW took advantage of a change in police shifts to beckon a thousand blacks out of the plants. Later the head of the NAACP youth group and a Ford foundry

*continued on page 8*



Black UAW organizers were instrumental in beating Ford's strategy of black scabbing.

# "Black Detroit" ...

(continued from page 7)

worker, Horace Sheffield, ignoring the neutrality of the adult branch of the local NAACP, took a UAW-CIO sound truck and appealed in the name of the NAACP for the strikebreakers to leave the plant. The campaign in the black community led by the NAACP youth group and dissident ministers defused the back-to-work movement. But in winning over the leaders of the black community, the key point was there was a choice between race war fomented by Ford and his thugs, and the class battles to win recognition for the UAW. It was clear to all who would lose in the case of the race war—the blacks of Detroit and the UAW.

His efforts to induce a Jim Crow back-to-work movement stymied, on April 11 Henry Ford agreed to an NLRB union election if the men went back to work. In May, the UAW-CIO won a sweeping victory of 70 percent, although many still distrustful blacks had voted for the AFL, which was backed by the company. But black hostility to the UAW dissipated rapidly after the elections as they received the same wage increase as the rest and saw Shelton Tappes prominent in the bargaining committee for the first contract (he was later elected recording secretary to the local). The visible participation of blacks in the organizing drive and union affairs not only secured the allegiance of blacks to the union, but served to bring acceptance of black workers by the whites as well.

## WWII: Patriotism and Race-Hate Riots

The Ford strike was an important victory for the UAW and for blacks in Detroit, but for the latter the victory was partial. Blacks were still segregated into the worst jobs, and auto companies successfully played on the racist fears of white workers to keep the union divided and ineffective. Henry Ford tried to take revenge by cutting off money to Inkster and instituting a rigid anti-black hiring policy at war plants like Willow Run. Additionally, the upper layers of the UAW bureaucracy led by its president R.J. Thomas, expounded social-democratic rhetoric but refused to take on the question of upgrading of blacks or combatting the racism which heavily permeated the lower levels of his own bureaucracy. Black gains became more difficult when the UAW-CIO made a no-strike pledge in the name of imperialist war.

With the outbreak of the war in 1941 came a new mass migration of southern blacks and whites to labor-hungry Detroit. The influx of southern white workers brought into the union thousands of men who had not gone through the strike experiences together with blacks and were hostile to the black/white solidarity slowly developed through union struggles in the plants. An acute housing shortage amongst the whole population and opposition of the southern poor whites and upwardly mobile second generation Poles to even the slightest elements of equality for blacks combined to make Detroit a tinderbox which exploded in the bloody white racist riots of 1943.

The prelude to the '43 riots occurred in 1942 around the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, built to cope with the influx of thousands of defense workers and located in a predominantly white area just north of the Polish community of Hamtramck. In a scene reminiscent of recent racist attacks, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross at the project the night before and assembled a racist mob which attacked small groups of tenants which had started moving in. A UAW presence with sound trucks and black members of Local 600 helped prevent a

riot. Two hundred blacks were arrested and only a handful of the white racist attackers. The local CIO and the UAW International issued strong statements defending the blacks but failed to follow this up with union action to defend the housing project against future assaults. Three months later the black families did move in with support of local and federal housing officials.

More serious were a series of "hate" strikes which erupted throughout the racially tense city of Detroit between the years of 1941 and 1943 at Packard, Dodge Main and Hudson plants. At the Packard plant the KKK had organized for years, and three years of anti-black walkouts culminated in May 1943, when 25,000 white workers walked out of the plant after three blacks were upgraded to the assembly line. The Packard plant manager, a virulent labor-hating racist bigot, actively agitated for workers to join a company union. Facing a threat to the union's existence, UAW president Thomas took a hard line, with the backing of the federal government, announcing that all workers who struck against blacks would be expelled from the union and fired. Thirty of the white ringleaders were dismissed and Thomas, at an NAACP meeting occurring simultaneously, declared with belated bluster, "if the KKK and the rest of the nightshirt boys want to fight the union on this issue, we are ready and willing to take them on."

But two weeks after the Packard strike ended the bloody Detroit riot began and when it was over, 25 blacks lay dead—three-fourths of them killed by the police. While not lifting a finger to stop the lynch mobs during the riots, UAW leaders proudly announced that none of the bloodshed had entered the plants! But the then-revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) called for the unions to stop the white supremacist mobs by organizing defense of blacks:

"The labor leaders must do more than deplore these attacks upon the Negro people. They must do more than order their members to stay off the streets and appeal for grand jury investigations. They must summon their membership to take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs. The unions of Detroit could have repulsed this threat to their very existence as they repulsed General Motors in 1937 and 1941. Detroit would be far different today and the native fascists would be cowering in their holes, demoralized instead of triumphant, had the union leaders called out the veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people."  
—*Militant*, 3 July 1943

Today it is inconceivable that the long-since reformist SWP would issue such a bold call to action. Instead they join the Stalinists and sellout union leaders in appealing to the racist-capitalist state, opposing the Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists who call for labor/black defense against racist terror.

In 1943, in the midst of the patriotic war fervor, the SWP pointed out that "Because of their no-strike pledge and slavish subservience to Roosevelt's labor policies, the CIO and AFL leadership has completely failed to provide the workers with any program

of resistance to the encroachments of the capitalists. . . . That is the reason why fascist demagogues and preachers of race hate and violence are able to receive a hearing from some workers." Both R.J. Thomas and the rising anti-communist Walter Reuther (aided by the pro-war CP) were responsible for deflating the growing movement against the no-strike pledge at the 1944 UAW convention. At the same time they gave only token support to black demands. Black workers often found the federal government bureaucracy, which was interested in getting labor for the war, more effective than the UAW bureaucrats in pressuring the auto companies to end their racist practices. No doubt such experiences fed future defeats—such as the 1960s civil rights movement's reliance on the federal government, or the fad of "reforming" the unions through court suits. It required a class-struggle leadership in the unions to fight for a class-struggle program which could undercut the racists' appeal among poor whites and point the way forward to black liberation through revolutionary integrationism.

## Which Way to Black Liberation?

The Reuther bureaucracy purged leftists from the union after the war (Ford Rouge Local 600, where blacks and the CP were concentrated, was the last holdout). The red purge erased much of the base in the union for a fight for black rights. By the 1960s most black workers wrote off the union as "white man's land." Out of this setting, currents like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers emerged in the late 1960s. Generally speaking, these eclectic black groups recognized the power of black workers organized at the point of production, but saw no hope of turning the existing industrial unions toward the struggle for black rights. Disgusted by the union bureaucracy and despairing of winning white workers to follow their leadership, these radical nationalists turned their backs on the potential social power of organized labor. Instead of becoming the vanguard of a class-struggle challenge to the fat-cat union tops and their racist, pro-capitalist policies, these currents did not survive the decline of radical black nationalism.

A labor-led fight against racial oppression becomes even more urgent now with the rise of Klan/Nazi race-terror. A review of this book in the black weekly *Michigan Chronicle* (27 October 1979) noted that in the Rouge plant, "black workers were harassed just recently by white foremen donning white hooded KuKluxKlan garb." The campaign against this racist provocation at Rouge was initiated by black and white unionists who went on to form the Rouge Militant Caucus.

The solution is not simply "black and white, unite and fight," but a fusion of the struggle against special oppression into a proletarian revolutionary struggle. As the Spartacist League notes in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5-R, "What Strategy for Black Liberation?":

"...wage slavery has placed in the hands of the black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working-class political independence. As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." ■

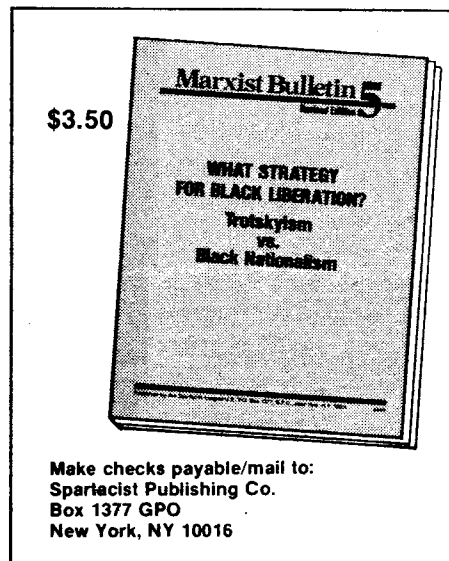
# Chrysler Takeaways...

(continued from page 6)

will never put up such a fight, and in fact are ready to capitulate to similar demands from the rest of the troubled auto industry. On January 7, UAW Local 600 called a pitiful demonstration in front of Ford World Headquarters (the Glass House) to protest the planned closing of the Michigan Casting Center in Flat Rock. The company had announced a two-year phase-out of the MCC, which employs 5,200 workers, most of them black and Arab. But the UAW unit president at Michigan Casting, Howard Lipscomb, had nothing to offer the members in his *Ford Facts* (5 January) but cynical advice to lump it: "try to live for who you are and where you are going"! Well, where is Lipscomb going? The slogan of the Local 600 executive board/general council for the January 7 demonstration was equally empty: "Shame on the Ford Motor Company."

Outside Ford headquarters 100 MCC workers and Local 600 bureaucrats carried UAW signs saying "Save Our Livelihood! Don't Export Our Jobs!" Local president Mike Rinaldi explained to *WV* that the jobs were being "exported to UAW members in Ohio and Canada"! And that is exactly the logic of protectionism—to divide the workforce into fighting amongst themselves for existing jobs. What is needed is a fight for jobs for all, for the old UAW demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Such a class-struggle program was put forward at the rally by supporters of the Rouge Militant Caucus in Local 600, who carried signs like: "Down with Racist 'Buy American' Schemes—For Sit-Down Strikes to Save Michigan Casting."

Meanwhile the reformist left tails closely behind Fraser, calling for government action to somehow stop Chrysler bankruptcy and plant closings. The Communist Party's *Daily World* and the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* both call for "nationalization" and the Workers World-supported Committee to Save Mack Avenue calls for unlimited federal loans to Chrysler. These schemes show a touching faith in Ronald Reagan's government to save the jobs of American auto workers. But Chrysler workers have seen where the bail-out plans and reliance on the capitalist government put them: on the chopping block. Auto workers will have to rely on the strength of their union and its time-tested weapons like the sit-down strike to beat back the government/auto industry offensive. This struggle will also be a fight against the entrenched pro-company labor bureaucracy, which prefers board of directors seats to the picket lines, and for its replacement by a fighting class-struggle leadership. ■



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# Reagan Racism...

(continued from page 1)

dropouts. And now the Justice Department has been told to stay out while Reagan promises to put the last nail in the coffin of integration with an anti-busing amendment.

In a parting shot of his administration, one of Carter's "blue ribbon" commissions came out with the Democrats' "National Agenda for the 80s." The commission sagely pronounced, "No city is permanent.... The decline of the cities in the 'old industrial heartland' was part of an inexorable process, the emergence of post-industrial urban America." This amounts to letting the largely black cities rot and paying whites to relocate in the open-shop Sun Belt. While Reagan threatens to abolish rent control, it was Democrats who presided over the massive layoffs, skyrocketing inflation and slashing of social services which has turned America's inner cities into unbearable hellholes. And busing was defeated long ago, when the liberal Democratic Congress bowed to the racists on the streets of Boston and Louisville.

As the Republicans consolidate their administration, the liberals led by Teddy Kennedy will be trying to patch together the old popular-front coalition in opposition. Blacks will once again be told to lie down with Dixiecrats, workers with their capitalist bosses, to counter the spectre of the Reagan right. On the liberals' left flank there will be reformists like the CP and SWP, black misleaders of the SCLC, etc., all under the slogan of "fight the right." For them demanding Martin Luther King Day be a national holiday is simply an attempt to cover with the mantle of a slain black leader their liberal program that has been proven bankrupt many times over. What is needed is not alliances with the racist Democratic Party politicians of "benign neglect," but united militant working-class action against the whole racist capitalist system.

## Buffalo in the Shadow of Greensboro

Buffalo. In this dying, dilapidated city where a series of savage killings of black people has taken place, the Nazis say they're going to goose-step over the grave of the assassinated King on January 15. In a city where blacks cannot safely stand at a bus stop on Main Street, the Nazis say they will take over Niagara Square.

Press accounts indicate Buffalo may be heading for a showdown. The Nazis are openly organizing for their provocation, distributing racist literature downtown which hails as the "Great White Warrior" whoever is responsible for the wave of grotesque murder. Later, a left group, the "Martin Luther King Coalition," initiated by the Workers World Party, said it would seek to block the Nazis. Buffalo Mayor James Griffin thereupon banned the Nazi rally, giving him a pretext to forbid the leftists' protest as well. Treating the fascists and their intended victims alike, he declared that anyone rallying on Niagara Square would be arrested.

Buffalo city officials were still worried that large numbers of people might respond to the MLK Coalition's call. In

# Detroit Labor Protest Cancels TV Platform for Klan Terrorist

DETROIT, January 13—The Klan won't be organizing for genocide on Detroit TV, thanks to a protest campaign initiated by the Spartacist League here. A heavy call-in protest to WXYZ-TV, as well as a telegram (printed below), signed by over 30 prominent Detroit labor, black, Jewish, socialist and civil rights organizations and individuals, forced the station to back down. This afternoon WXYZ-TV officials announced that KKK "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson's appearance, scheduled for tomorrow, had been cancelled. "This is a victory for all those who defend democratic rights and who oppose giving the fascists a platform from which to organize their racist terror and murder," said an SL spokesman. The Klan won't ride in the Motor City!

## List of Endorsers

Jack Faxon, State Senator  
John Snow, District Committeeman, UAW Local 600  
Hank Wilson, former President, Dearborn Assembly Plant, UAW Local 600  
Chris Alston, founding member UAW

Jean Finlator, General Manager  
WXYZ-TV, American Broadcasting Company  
Channel 7  
20777 W. 10 Mile Road  
Southfield, Michigan

We vigorously oppose WXYZ-TV 7 giving the KKK "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson airtime on the Kelley & Co. show Wednesday morning. The KKK and Nazis are fascist action groups committed to the mass murder of Jews, blacks, unionists and leftists as demonstrated from Greensboro, North Carolina to Fontana, California. Nazis and Klansmen came from throughout North America to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday on April 19th at a "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. On that same day Klansmen burned crosses and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Nazis were prevented from a similar "Hitlerfest" in San Francisco only by a mass demonstration of 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, gays, Chicanos and other enemies of fascist terror. Fascists use the media only to mobilize for genocide and their appearance on Detroit TV can only fuel their ominous growth and boldness. No platform for Bill Wilkinson!

Jimmy Terrell, Bargaining Committeeman, UAW Local 900  
Herb Boyd, Associate Editor, *Detroit Metro Times*, member Detroit Committee for Liberation of Africa  
Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600  
Rev. James Wadsworth, President, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance  
Dave Moore, retired UAW member Spartacist League  
Rev. Edwin Rowe, Director, Wesley Foundation, WFU  
Ismael Ahmed, Director of Resources for Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services  
Spartacus Youth League  
Partisan Defense Committee  
Ben Bremer, Board of Directors, Flint ACLU  
DSOC, Wayne State University  
Chuck Green, UAW Local 653  
Bill Goodman, attorney  
Gary Benjamin, attorney

Margaret Nichols, Vice President, Detroit Chapter National Lawyers Guild  
Clare Brown, steward, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 58  
Willie Jenkins, Recording Secretary, Laborers International Union Local 334  
Rev. Daniel E. Kidd, Central United Methodist Church  
Abdeen Jabara, attorney  
Shaarit Hplaytah, Michigan Chapter (Survivors 1945)  
Rabbi Rosenzweig  
Hebrew Teachers Association of Metropolitan Detroit  
Buck Davis, attorney  
Ron Glotta, attorney  
Ivy Thomas Riley, attorney

Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

response, the mayor has unleashed a vicious red-baiting campaign. Denouncing the "bunch of nuts and socialists" in the Coalition, he lined up "responsible" leaders of the Black Leadership Forum to come out against the planned action and urge people to attend a King "memorial celebration" two hours later. Hispanic and black groups have pulled out of the coalition as officials have gone on TV telling people to stay away.

Meanwhile, the Nazis say the left is "looking for another Greensboro." The "moderates" echo this theme, with local NAACP leaders bemoaning "the kind of confrontation that happened in Greensboro." A lawyer for the Black Leadership Forum denounced the anti-fascist protesters as "just as big a problem as the Nazis." Of course, just as in Greensboro, it's all done in the name of "even-handed" equation of the fascist killers and their intended victims. The ACLU civil libertarians and reformists of the SWP back them up with their arguments to give the Nazi scum a platform from which to organize race terror.

With this anti-communist scare, these ominous intimidation tactics, the stage is being set for a confrontation. The cops have already said there will be mass arrests of the left if it shows up, and the mayor has declared anyone else who comes in from out of town for the rally "dupes." Any blood of the anti-Nazi demonstrators spilled in Buffalo will be on the hands of these "respectable" capitalist politicians who are threatening a Greensboro massacre in Niagara Square by isolating and setting up the demonstrators for attack.

For the American capitalist ruling class, both liberal and conservative, Greensboro epitomized their domestic policy in this new Cold War period: stepped-up repression against the left and a license to kill for the racist right. Every group on the left claims it wants to fight fascism. But how? The larger reformist outfits like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party follow the liberals. The CP marches to pressure the government to "ban the Klan" while the SWP tails civil libertarians arguing for "free speech for fascists," even providing a platform for the

Klan candidate Tom Metzger in California. And they both join to build the left flank of a popular front with the black Democrats, staging marches to win "nothing less than a holiday" to immortalize King's defeatist program which crippled the struggle for black equality for so many years.

The CP's answer to KKK attacks is to "outlaw racist terrorist organizations." Who is supposed to do this? In their recent central committee resolution (*Daily World*, 18 December), these reformists call on Ronald Reagan to "confront the reality of racist oppression." But this absurd line means demanding that the KKK's "favorite son" candidate for president outlaw the right! Beyond reforming the Republicans, the CP sees "important forces in Congress who will not go along with the conservative policies of the Reagan administration"—i.e., the liberal Democrats. On the other hand, various smaller left groups—many of them cults with little rooting in social reality, like the Communist Workers Party massacred in Greensboro—push a strategy of despair in which bands of leftists confront the Nazis/KKK who are backed up by the cops. The CP, SWP and the liberals have of course exploited the obvious adventurism of such groups to argue for reliance on the government and to generally acquiesce in the face of fascist terror.

With the increasing boldness of the fascists, egged on by the liberal campaign to set up leftist demonstrators as "equally violent," any group that actually takes to the streets against Nazi/Klan terror can become the target of Greensboro gunfire. But that does not mean that the left must be sitting ducks for the fascists. The problem with the Greensboro anti-Klan demonstration was not that by opposing the KKK/Nazis they "wanted martyrs"—i.e., that they "brought it on themselves," as the bourgeois press obscenely claims. Rather, having challenged the fascist murderers to a showdown, they did not take the necessary preparations to defend themselves. The real crime and tragedy of Greensboro was that the Klan/Nazi killers walked away unscathed while unarmed anti-racist demonstrators lay dying in pools of blood. For leftists,

blacks and the labor movement, it is a matter of life and death to prepare, politically and in concrete measures of self-defense.

The enormous power of the labor movement must be unleashed against the fascist bands to crush them before they can grow. Not only to defend blacks and minorities who are targets today, but to defend the union movement which is the intended victim of the fascists when capitalism goes into deep social crisis. In this the Spartacist League, though much smaller than the CP and SWP admirers of Martin Luther King liberalism/pacifism, has taken the lead. In Detroit, November 1979 and San Francisco in April 1980, SL-built and initiated demonstrations drew hundreds of black and white unionists and endorsements of numerous labor officials and organizations for united-front action to stop the KKK/Nazis from marching.

MLK Day a "holiday"? When workers, minorities and other opponents of KKK/Nazi terror join in powerful mass actions to sweep the fascists off the streets, then there really will be something to celebrate. ■

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# Wilmington Ten...

(continued from page 4)

New York Times editorial, "At Last, Justice for the Wilmington Ten." Some justice! Ten innocent people viciously imprisoned for periods of up to four years, not to speak of the mental anguish, the thousands of dollars, the countless hours tied up in pursuing their legal defense. Ben Chavis and his nine co-defendants should be thankful, the Times hints, that they weren't sent up for life or shot down in the streets as has happened to so many other black and white civil rights protesters!

More typical, perhaps, is the case of Geronimo Pratt, the Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader who has been imprisoned for the past decade on frame-up murder charges. Last month a California Court of Appeals turned down Pratt's request for a new trial and stated that his charge that the FBI framed him in the 1968 killing was "based on rank speculation and sheer conjecture." Conjecture?! As we have recounted earlier, Pratt's imprisonment grew out of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program of savage state terror against the Black Panther Party (see "Black Panther Framed by FBI, Free Geronimo Pratt!" *WV* No. 258, 13 June 1980). The full extent of FBI involvement in the ten-year murderous campaign against Pratt has still not come to light.

So this is "justice" in racist America. In Greensboro where labor and left organizers are shot dead in cold blood and their KKK killers are set free to walk the streets. In California where Geronimo Pratt has spent nearly ten years in jail, eight of those years in solitary confinement. Meanwhile the "Justice" Department announced December 15 it had cleared FBI informer Gary Rowe of murder charges in the 1965 slaying of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo outside Selma, Alabama despite the fact that two other occupants of the murder car testify it was Rowe who pulled the trigger. This is capitalist "justice," where Weatherman radicals are the years-long victims of police dragnets and manhunts, but FBI officials who ordered their telephones illegally bugged and homes broken into are slapped on the wrist with light fines or get off scot-free. It will take proletarian revolution to achieve justice for the poor and exploited masses of America. ■

# South Africa...

(continued from page 4)

situation very few white workers, privileged as they are, will participate in the unregistered (and therefore illegal) labor organizations with blacks. But even in South Africa class solidarity can at times overcome the deep racial division. As against the nationalists, revolutionary socialists must have this as their perspective.

In contrast to developments in Poland, the struggles of South Africa's black workers to unionize in the face of police-state terror have gotten scant attention in the Western capitalist media. Also the allegiance of the American labor bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism is graphically demonstrated by its different attitudes toward Poland and South Africa. In the Polish de-

formed workers state the AFL-CIO tops are contributing very large sums (already \$160,000 plus) to the anti-communist, clerical-nationalist union leadership around Lech Walesa. In racist-capitalist South Africa, an important ally of Washington and a major field of operations for U.S. multinationals like GM and Ford, the Kirklands, Abels and Frasers have not lifted a finger to aid the black unions under attack.

Yet South Africa's black workers urgently need the support of the powerful trade unions in the U.S. and West Europe. Class-struggle unionists supported by the Spartacist League have shown the way. Militant caucuses in the United Auto Workers and in the West Coast longshoremen's union were able to win their locals to a protest boycott of South African cargo at the time of the 1976 Soweto massacre and to demanding that U.S. multinationals in South Africa recognize black unions.

Such proletarian internationalism points to the need for a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in South Africa. In the absence of such a party the combativity of the black proletariat can easily be channeled by the petty-bourgeois nationalists, the aspiring Kenyattas, Machel and Mugabes of South Africa. A Trotskyist party would lead the proletariat in smashing apartheid and white-supremacist rule, establishing a black-centered workers and peasants government, ultimately leading to the liberation of the oppressed masses throughout the African continent. ■

# Contra Costa...

(continued from page 2)

and other families under attack... that ILWU Local 10 calls on Locals 2, 6, and 34 and the rest of the Bay Area labor movement to organize similar squads and cooperate with ILWU Local 10 to put a stop to these outrageous assaults."

This proposal that the Union defend itself and its members was called "premature" and "provocative," and with the exception of several Board members, was voted down. Adding insult to injury the officers then proposed hiring a 24-hour rent-a-cop to guard the home of Brother Presley! (Will it be one of the "security agencies" that herded scabs through picket lines during the last Local 6 strike?)

Let's be very clear what is at stake here. There has been an alarming growth of the KKK and Nazis in the last several years, encouraged by the racist, anti-labor policies of Carter. The Reagan victory signals an even sharper turn to the right, which will mean a bigger growth of these fascist terror groups. They have grown mainly in areas where they have not had to confront the organized labor movement.

The attacks by the KKK on the black residents in the Richmond area are a direct challenge to the Bay Area labor movement. If we do not respond to this challenge, the unions will be next, and we will soon see Klan organized strike-breaking. The Klan needs to be confronted by an organized show of force by the integrated labor movement to drive them back into their holes. Union defense squads consisting of 50 large guys with cargo hooks and baseball bats guarding these homes will scare the shit out of the Klan and stop these attacks.

The union leadership is acting like a

bunch of liberal social workers. Instead of teaching the Klan to fear the labor movement, their do-nothing proposals will make the Unions look weak and impotent. Furthermore, the pacifist "house watchers," who have publicly declared their non-violence, are a provocation for further attacks.

Relying on the police and pacifists means denying these terrorized black families the protection of the labor movement and simultaneously emboldening the racists to further attacks. This will be what the Klan wants—isolated black families fighting alone against organized white racists. Will it take black people being killed before the labor unions act decisively? The Klan's intentions are very clear: further acts of racist terror.

The ILWU leadership has made its position clear: do nothing except rely on the police, rent-a-cops, and pacifists.

We think it's time for the ILWU membership to be heard loud and clear: for union defense squads to stop racist terror! ■

# French Press Policy...

(continued from page 5)

forthrightly the collective organizer of the organized revolutionary vanguard, we can grant that the Lambertists' "non-party" press policy was not entirely gratuitous opportunism. There is in France a prevalent attitude that buying the newspaper of an organization implies some explicit agreement. An LCR militant told us recently: "I can't buy your paper; that would be as if a Stalinist bought *Rouge*." Although not unique to the French workers movement, this attitude is most pronounced here, where the traditions of Stalinism—which represent the perversion of the most elementary precepts of the international workers movement—weigh very heavily. Trotsky noted in a discussion with American Trotskyists in the 1930s:

"Stalinism has introduced police tactics and bureaucratic centralism into the whole international radical movement. Even the fights between the Bolsheviks and the anarchists and Narodniks were on an entirely different plane from this. Even in the vacuum of emigré politics—in the Bolshevik past—there has never been such corruption as Stalinism has brought to the workers' struggles."

The prevailing conception among working-class militants is that workers democracy is not a question of principle, but of tactics—above all, a question of the relationship of forces. That members rely on their organization's paper to give them their political marching orders is certainly unexceptionable. Organizational discipline does determine the relationship of a serious militant to his party's press. But we differ with the prevailing sectarianism on the relationship of a militant to other organizations' press. When we argue with a UEC [CP youth group] student at Tolbiac, a CP

member in Renault-Cléon or an LCR militant in front of the Mutualité that they should buy *Le Bolchévique*, we are not doing so in the name of the liberal-bourgeois "pluralism" so dear to the Eurocommunists. We assert that a democratic debate between counterposed programs is indispensable to the process of building a communist vanguard.

The first issue of the *Militant*, the paper of the American Trotskyists who in 1928 had just been expelled from the CP, quoted Lenin. Although he was here referring to internal party debate, Lenin's broader injunction was that the first duty of a militant is to learn to think:

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a single gesture of the hand."

To be a professional revolutionist is in large measure to fight polemically to politically rout the counterposed programs which vie for the allegiance of the working class. A Marxist does not consider that a wrong program is simply the result of evil intentions (it is precisely such an idealist and conspiratorial vision of history which is behind the LCR and OCI explaining that Marchais single-handedly changed the course of French politics in 1978, out of pique and a peculiar personal proclivity for the form of bourgeois rule represented by the Fifth Republic). Rather, a wrong program reflects the pressure of alien class forces on the proletariat. *Le Bolchévique* aims to lay bare such implications in the programs of our opponents.

That *Le Bolchévique* is a polemical paper is therefore not a matter of style. The main roadblocks to communist consciousness in the proletariat are the reformist bureaucrats and their multitude of "far left" hangers on. Those who disdain or reject programmatic struggle represent anti-Marxist programs which do not base their perspectives on the struggle for communist consciousness in the working class. The Stalinists can't do without the Gulag. The LCR has no program other than the "dynamic" which blows in the wind; with the wind of anti-Sovietism blowing strong, it has little resistance. The OCI's program is pimping for the social-democracy. Clarity, honesty and programmatic struggle are antithetical to the aims and methods of these organizations.

Our insistence on the principle of workers democracy and the necessity of political debate is not incidental to our program. Unlike the liquidators who play games with their mastheads and water down their politics, our program and intentions are clear on every page of our paper.

Why should a militant read *Le Bolchévique*? To confront the political issues which must be confronted in the fight for a communist future. ■

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# El Salvador...

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in the capital.

On the eve of Reagan's presidency the Salvadoran rebels clearly aim to present the Republican hardliner with the accomplished fact of a "government in arms" on national territory. The guerrillas speak of the "countryside surrounding the city" à la Mao Tse-tung, but in tiny, crowded El Salvador (the most densely populated country of Latin America) conditions are not favorable for prolonged guerrilla struggle. Instead the rebels can only count on a mass uprising and/or recognition of the FDR's "Revolutionary Democratic Government" as a "belligerent party" by such favorably inclined Latin American states as Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Panama. But such international "recognition" would only be a prelude to attempts at "mediation," under the aegis of the United Nations or the Organization of American States (OAS), aimed at controlling a revolution viewed as inevitable.

However, the entrenched Salvadoran capitalist/landowning ruling class and its mercenary military have made it clear that they are not going to retire peacefully to Miami because of international disapproval. If they go down, they will go down fighting. In 1932 the Salvadoran oligarchs and their officers drowned a Communist-led peasant uprising in the blood of 30,000 victims. Today they talk of such an outcome



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## Anti-junta colonel Majano

costing 200,000 lives. Moreover, in Washington Jimmy Carter was not, and Ronald Reagan will certainly not be, willing to tolerate any settlement which would open the door to "another Nicaragua" in Central America. Only the overthrow of the murderous dictatorship by an insurrection requiring the utmost in heroism and self-sacrifice can save the Salvadoran masses from an historic and tragic defeat.

The labor movement internationally, and especially in the imperialist U.S., must demonstrate active solidarity with the Salvadoran workers and peasants by boycotting all military goods destined for El Salvador. It must also demand: U.S.—OAS—Latin American bourgeoisies—all hands off El Salvador! Any attempt at imperialist intervention, whether directly by U.S. Marines, by mercenaries or neighboring dictatorships as U.S. proxies, must be met with militant mass protest.

## Washington Targets Central America

As the guerrillas announced their offensive, Napoleón Duarte, the Christian Democrat figurehead of El Salvador's military junta appealed to "Presi-

dent Reagan" for military aid against the left. Reagan, of course, will not take office for another week, but Duarte didn't get his dates mixed up. He was just snubbing "Human Rights" Carter and cashing in on the Republican candidate's campaign promises. Reagan had rhetorically asked on the campaign trail:

"Must we let Nicaragua, El Salvador all become additional 'Cubas', new outposts for Soviet combat brigades? Will the next push of the Moscow-Havana axis be northward to Guatemala and thence to Mexico, and south to Costa Rica and Panama?"

Now looking for an opportunity to flaunt U.S. military strength, Reagan's advisers view El Salvador as the perfect place to show some muscle without risking immediate confrontation with the Soviet Union. And, as leading Nicaraguan capitalist opposition leader Alfonso Robelo observed, "When you have been through a long campaign saying you are going to be tough with Communist influence in the Western world and you win by a landslide, you might have to follow up on that" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 December 1980).

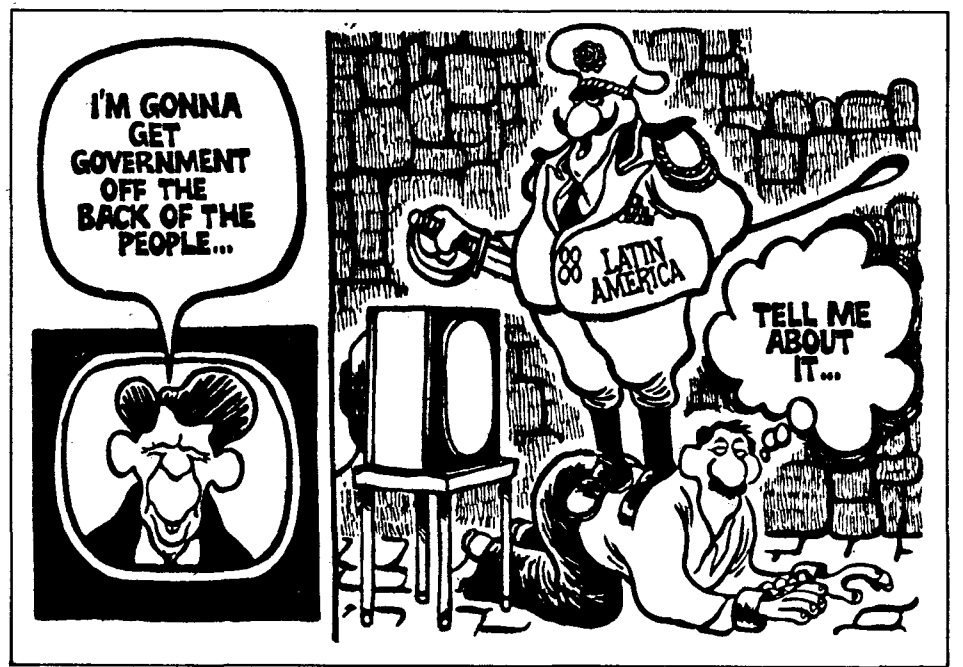
Reagan's "transition team" has lambasted "social reformers" in the diplomatic corps and Robert White, Carter's man in San Salvador, was singled out for removal. The recipient of numerous ultra-rightist death threats, Ambassador White is now chiefly concerned that with Republican encouragement he might be removed from his post feet first. The fate of other U.S. imperialist "social reformers" in recent days is not encouraging (see "El Salvador: Reform by Death" in this issue). Reagan's newly appointed UN ambassador, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, won the president-elect's favor by favoring aid to "moderate autocrats friendly to American interests" (like tyrant Somoza!) and recently told a TV audience that "I would like to see us increase assistance to El Salvador. We have never given El Salvador very effective military assistance" (*New York Times*, 12 January).

These threats of American intervention caused Mexican president José López Portillo to warn Reagan in a telegram immediately after the November 4 elections: "Keep out. Don't intervene." López Portillo followed this up last week in a personal meeting with the U.S. president-elect in Ciudad Juárez. The newly assertive Mexican bourgeoisie considers Central America its "natural area of action." But for more than a century it has been U.S. imperialism's "natural area of action" as well. Reagan, despite any opposition from south of the border, will take whatever measures he feels necessary to enforce imperialist stability on a region made more important by the burgeoning Mexican oil output.

Just how Washington plans to draw the line against the "red menace" in El Salvador is not yet clear. Sending in the Marines Santo Domingo-style may be very *macho*, but even for Reagan it is hardly the first option. The use of an "inter-American" OAS "peace-keeping" force including Venezuelan, Costa Rican and other elements as a cover for imperialist intervention is possible. Then there are the mercenary brigades in Honduras and Guatemala formed from ex-Somoza troops, killers without a country who have been staging terrorist incursions into Nicaragua for months. Finally, there is the possibility of intervention by the Guatemalan and Honduran military regimes themselves. But whatever it decides, the Republican administration will find that all the options have been well-prepared by the Carter administration.

## No to the Popular Front!

It is not only the openly reactionary U.S. imperialists and their client regimes who pose a mortal threat to the Salvadoran revolution. "Progressive" capitalist politicians within the Revolutionary Democratic Front, their allies in the Mexican and Panamanian govern-



James Margulies

ments and European social democrats backing the FDR financially and diplomatically stand ready to stab the insurgent worker and peasant masses in the back and cheat them of victory. A key element of this cabal is the reformist, social-democratic Second International, which at a conference in Madrid last year formed an "International Committee for Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution." Later this group, which includes Willy Brandt of West Germany, François Mitterrand of France, Olof Palme of Sweden and Bruno Kreisky of Austria, occupied itself with support, financial and otherwise, to the FDR. The Salvadoran popular front, in turn, is now headed by Guillermo Ungo of the Revolutionary National Movement, a liberal bourgeois formation affiliated with the Second International.

The European social democrats, for the most part present and former managers of imperialist states, are guided by different national interests than Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Reagan bitterly opposes the "outside interference" of Brandt & Co., and their diplomatic maneuvers on behalf of the Salvadoran leftists. But even if an FDR government is set up in a "liberated zone" of El Salvador and the social democrats hustle to recognize it as legitimate it will not be to insure a revolutionary victory but to prevent the anti-capitalist destabilization of the entire region through international mediation. The beneficiaries of their

intervention would not be the working class and peasant masses but the likes of Ungo, who proved his willingness to sell out to the imperialists by taking a seat alongside the military butchers in the first junta which emerged after the military coup of 15 October 1979.

To campaign, as some leftists are doing, for international recognition to an FDR government is a betrayal of the struggle for workers revolution in Central America. Today, as even the *New York Times* (12 January) realizes, "the civil war in El Salvador has divided the country along class lines, with most guerrillas being drawn from among peasants and workers." The FDR, with its leading staff of bourgeois politicians, is an attempt to paper over this sharp class division for the benefit of otherwise impotent Salvadoran liberal capitalists.

A revolutionary victory can be won in El Salvador—but not by the strategy of reliance on "progressive" Latin American regimes, "socialist" imperialist politicians, "patriotic" colonels and Catholic bishops. What is needed is relentless *class* struggle, not only within the borders of tiny El Salvador, but throughout the Central American isthmus. Break with class collaboration—forward to workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America! For a Trotskyist party! Military victory to the leftist insurgents! U.S./OAS/Latin American bourgeoisies—all hands off El Salvador! ■

## "Reform by Death" ...

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generously compensates landlords and mainly benefits those peasants who already work small plots and collaborate with the military against the agricultural workers' organizations. The vast majority of the rural population, including all landless laborers, were never intended to be involved in the program at all—except as targets for army rifles. No land titles have been issued, and those who receive parcels are expected to pay off the government for decades.

The killing, however, began immediately. Within a week of the announcement of the land program Amnesty International issued a news release (17 March 1980) reporting it had "received reports of 80 people, including at least 28 children, killed in Cuscatlán Department alone. In Chalatenango Department, a circle of fire was lit around a village to prevent local people escaping: troops then entered the village, killing some 40 people and abducting many others.... The authorities said troops were ordered to occupy plantations to be expropriated under the agrarian reform. Under these orders, Amnesty International said, they attacked vil-

lages supporting opposition peasant unions, the Christian Federation of Salvadorean Peasants, and the Union of Rural Workers. Land seized has been handed over to members of ORDEN," a paramilitary spy network for the government.

The land reform fraud and mass killings in the countryside caused even a large part of the government's own AIFLD-founded peasant group, the Unión Comunal Salvadoreña (UCS) to denounce the program which was supposedly to benefit them. In June eight UCS departmental organizations declared that "we feel that we cannot continue supporting the Agrarian Reform.... they are eliminating the very campesino who has finally taken hold of the land." And a Salvadoran technician who witnessed the arrival of "land reform" at one hacienda gave a blood-curdling account:

"The troops came and told the workers that the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders."

—quoted in *NACLA Report*, July-August 1980

No wonder this "agrarian reform"—built by a CIA front, authorized by a military junta and carried out by savage mercenaries—is known locally as "reform by death." ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!

# Civil War in El Salvador

JANUARY 13—On Friday El Salvador's leftist guerrillas launched their long-expected "general offensive" against the Central American country's blood-soaked military dictatorship. Labor, the left, minorities and all opponents of junta terror must greet the insurrection against one of the most barbarous U.S. puppet regimes in the Americas. Whatever the odds, hesitation now will only invite a massacre far surpassing the bloodbath which followed the 1973 Pinochet coup in Chile. Military victory to the left-wing insurgents! Break the dan-

gerous popular front with "democratic" bourgeois politicians and military officers! For workers revolution in El Salvador!

Taking over three radio stations in the capital city of San Salvador on January 10, the Salvadoran guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN), announced: "This is the moment. Free homeland or death! People of El Salvador, we have now started the national liberation." Simultaneously, 80 Salvadoran soldiers led by a lieutenant-colonel shot their com-

manding officer and burned down army barracks in Santa Ana, the country's second largest city. In Morazan department another ranking officer, also a follower of ousted junta "moderate" Colonel Adolfo Majano, called on officers and soldiers to follow the example of Santa Ana and join the insurgent forces. And detachments of hundreds of guerrillas marched into a number of provincial towns.

As we go to press it is not clear which side controls Santa Ana. In addition, heavily armed rebels have cut off and attacked two cities southeast of the

capital and Chalatenango to the north. Some 500 persons have so far been reported killed in the fighting, which has taken the form of a large-scale uprising throughout the country. To coincide with the military offensive, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the popular-front opposition bloc which includes the FMLN guerrillas, their worker-peasant-student organizations and reformist bourgeois forces, called a general strike beginning January 12, supported by at least 20,000 government workers

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# El Salvador: "Reform by Death"

On January 3, two American advisers to El Salvador's land "reform" program and the head of the government's own agrarian agency were assassinated in the San Salvador Sheraton Hotel coffee shop. Right-wing papers in the U.S. reacted with headlines screaming, "Two More Yanks Die in El Salvador"; the liberal press wrung its hands over the fate of "moderate social reformers." Official Salvadoran spokesmen tried to pin the blame on leftist guerrillas, but even the military junta's civilian front man President José Napoleón Duarte indicated that "it was almost certainly an action by the extreme right" (*New York Times*, 5 January).

The bourgeois media eulogized the two Americans, Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman. Hammer, in fact, was given "special dispensation" and a "hero's burial" in Arlington National Cemetery—making it clear who he really worked for. But that also makes Salvadoran rightists the killers of CIA agents, after already murdering an archbishop and three American nuns. Evidently the military's death squads figure they have little to lose with Reagan coming in. And undoubtedly they're right, for the imperialist press once again equally blamed left and right "extremists" for the reactionary bloodbath which claimed 12,000 lives in El Salvador last year.

Editorialists called for the supposedly "centrist" junta to continue the land program, which the *Times* termed "the only remaining hope for achieving a stable democratic society." Echoing CIA handouts, it even made the farcical claim that this is "proportionally the most extensive land redistribution program in Latin America." If you leave out Mexico, Bolivia, Haiti or anywhere else that had a peasant upheaval. And Cuba, of course. But the next day two Oxfam land reform experts demolished this myth with a low-key assessment of the program:

"... the poorest of the poor—the majority of peasants... are totally excluded from reform benefits. Only permanent hacienda workers and peasants who

**"Reform" Junta's National Guard "takes prisoners" after the storming of the occupied Christian Democratic headquarters in El Salvador.**



rent or sharecrop small holdings are potential beneficiaries of the law. Most peasants have no access to land and live between harvests in cardboard barrios along roads.

"The rich, too, can be considered beneficiaries—at least those who long sought in vain for buyers of their estates and who now can live in peace and security in Miami."

—*New York Times*, 6 January

Actually, this fraud is no land reform at all. Despite lingering opposition to it from the "14 Families" oligarchy and fascist elements in the military, it is a Vietnam-style counterinsurgency program. This refurbished "strategic hamlet" project is an integral part of the massacre of leftists, workers and peasants orchestrated by the Salvadoran government and its paramilitary hit men. Its purpose: to create a layer of landowning small farmers loyal to the government and hostile to the left. Its method: instead of being kept in line by

the latifundistas' private armies, they are now patrolled by the National Guard.

A clue to the nature of the program is the heavy involvement of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Both Hammer and Pearlman were employed by this AFL-CIO front for Central Intelligence Agency dirty work in Latin America. (For documentation see "Get the CIA Out of Our Unions!" *WV* No. 258, 13 June 1980.) AIFLD activities in El Salvador are guided by one Ray Prosterman, a University of Washington professor whose main qualification for the job was his experience with a similar "agrarian transformation" program in Vietnam. This included the infamous "Phoenix Project" in which 30,000 "Vietcong suspects" were murdered.

Another tip-off: the day the land program was decreed, martial law was

imposed on the country. In fact, the "reform" was rushed into effect in early March immediately following a U.S.-aborted rightist coup. It was designed to head off the ultra-right with a more sophisticated anti-guerrilla campaign. An American AID official commented: "There is no one more conservative than a small farmer. We're going to be breeding capitalists like rabbits" (quoted in Philip Wheaton, "Agrarian Reform in El Salvador: A Program of Rural Pacification" [November 1980]). And anyone who persisted in peasant union activities would be shot down, "like rabbits"!

The first (and probably only) stage of this program affects only 5 percent of the best agricultural land and few of the all-important coffee plantations. It allows even the largest landowners to hold onto much of their estates,

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