

## An Entebbe Planned by an Idi Amin

# Crazed Carter Drives toward WWIII

Helicopters and imperialist humiliation: the flaming wreckage of Carter's panicky fiasco at a remote spot in the Iranian desert on the anniversary of the fall of Saigon in April 1975. Five years ago, a defeated U.S. imperialist army cut and ran in embarrassed retreat, scrambling to get out, losers dangling from the skids of helicopters that couldn't wait. That victory for the heroic workers and peasants of Vietnam was for U.S. imperialism not merely a humiliation but a defeat of historic importance, setting the stage for the present melodramatic debacle in the desert.

"Bold mission," says the capitalist press, "daring commando raid" or at worst "brave blunder." Brave? This was a cowardly act that left equipment, secret documents and above all the bodies of the dead behind, abandoned on the sands of the Kavir. After the panicky flight, the White House blustered rightly about the "moral depravity" of displaying the charred bodies for TV cameras at the U.S. embassy compound. But it was the American government and military that displayed their own cowardice, a special kind of cowardice bred in imperialist desperation and demoralization, conditioned in the dirty war in Vietnam, the school of imperialist losers.

Moral depravity? What bourgeois hypocrisy. The dead ought not to be treated like dogs either by panicked American commanders or by sadistic mullahs. In Afghanistan the Russians gave decent burials to the Islamic reactionary enemies, while the rebels flayed their victims alive. These maiming rites, however, are hailed by the bourgeoisie as "freedom fighting."

What kind of "heroes" leave the bodies of their fallen comrades behind? The kind trained in Vietnam, like Charles Beckwith of the Special Forces and his "elite," "Blue Light Team." The kind programmed for computerized mass terror bombing, for spreading fiery hell over peasant villages, habituated to the My Lais and the thrill of the "free fire zone." Beckwith, who led the raid with his gang of "angels," is a creature midway between Watergate "plumber" Gordon Liddy and the *Apocalypse Now* character who is exhilarated by "the smell of napalm in the morning." It is no wonder the Beckwiths are the "heroes" in an army trained in desperate counterrevolutionary war against the workers and peasants of the world, from the Bay of Pigs to the jungles of Angola.

### World Losers Threaten Armageddon

Humiliation is certainly the word for what U.S. leaders felt last weekend. As the *Washington Post* (27 April) wrote: "For want of just one helicopter, President Carter's first attempt to use military force



Zabala/New York Times



AP

blew up on the pad... what does that admission say about the overall readiness of the American Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps to go to war?" A lot. No one missed the fact that the Israelis did it at Entebbe, the West Germans did it in Somalia, but the United States—the "technological giant of the world"—couldn't even make it to Teheran before botching the job, because of a helicopter stuck in the mud. This was an Entebbe planned by an Idi Amin!

Carter accepts "full responsibility" for the fiasco. Of course he does. If he had any choice in the matter you can bet he would have opted for a Nixon-style "plausible denial," no doubt blaming it on Reagan, Kennedy, Brezhnev, etc. But for various reasons (only some of them known) Washington found it necessary to scrub the "mission" publicly. (Note that when the Russians intervene militarily it is always an "invasion"; when the U.S. does it the media snaps to attention and refers to a "rescue mission.") All the American military leaders consider the plan "eminently feasible." Sure, that's what they said about the Bay of Pigs, too, said the CBS White House correspondent. As for a commando divorced from any command structure, drawn from all three branches of the U.S. military, it's bound to fail—and great for spreading the responsibility.

In the U.S., Secretary of State Vance finally resigned, confirming the long-since established ascendancy of his rival Brzezinski, only to be succeeded by the equally ineffectual liberal "dove" Muskie. But Crazy Carter and his mad anti-Russian Dr. Strangelove are embarked on a frenzied drive toward a nuclear World War III against the Soviet bloc.

What is in the minds of the American bourgeoisie as they anticipate such a global conflagration? First, they foolishly believe that as in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 (where military disproportions profoundly favored the U.S.), in a crunch the Kremlin will back down. Second, they are banking on the deep yearning for peace among the Soviet peoples, the result of their enormous losses and sacrifices in the Second World War. Third, they harbor the egregiously chauvinist assumption that the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet East will betray the USSR on behalf of Islam (which even the *New York Times* admits is a myth).

Above all, the Americans are made to face the loss of global hegemony. It's no longer a little adventure in Saigon—now they have strong impulses to bring the whole world down with them. True enough, Carter's Iran bungle is demented. But it only indicates the

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## Defend the Soviet Union! Hands Off Iran!

# "New FBI" Terror in Harlem

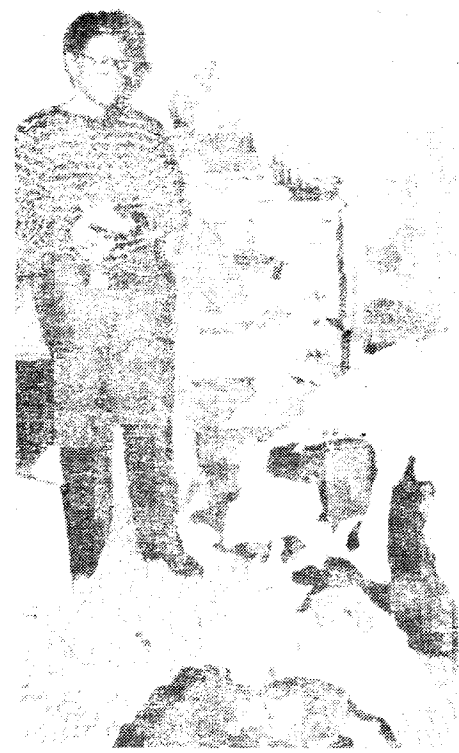
There's supposed to be a "new FBI" these days which has given up hiding its agents behind Klan white sheets in favor of Sheik of Araby robes to go after bribe-taking Congressmen, labor officials and pornographers. Sure, the FBI murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed, but that was in the bad old days, liberals are saying. Now they cheer their post-Hoover, cool young "heroes" (they've even got black and women G-men now!), who are allegedly going after the real "bad guys" at last. But better not try to tell it to the black residents of 92 Morningside Avenue in Harlem—not after the feds crashed through their doors April 19 in a pre-dawn raid, shoving shotguns into the guts of terrified, sleeping people, smashing windows, ripping up furniture and clothes closets and forcing women to pull up their skirts and pant legs. The women were humiliated at gunpoint to "prove" they weren't Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur), who supposedly had a scar on her leg.

"The Gestapo came to Harlem Saturday night," wrote NYC's main black bourgeois paper about the FBI's door-smashing, glass-splintering terror raid. "So when I opened the door, there they were with shotguns and machine guns, 'boom, boom, boom' about five different pieces of steel into my belly," said resident Wilbur Jackson (*Amsterdam News*, 26 April). The FBI said they thought Shakur, the former Panther and Black Liberation Army leader, was in the building. (She had disappeared without a trace after a sensational prison escape last November.) But their terror tactics were clearly a vindictive racist vendetta aimed at intimidating black people and anybody who might even dream of sympathy for the escaped fugitive.

Big surprise! It turns out this is the same gang of thugs who spied on and harassed Martin Luther King, protected the Klansmen who slaughtered four black girls in the 1963 Birmingham Sunday bombing, waged a deadly (and

largely successful) campaign to wipe out the Panthers, gunned down Hampton while he slept. The *Washington Post*, *Newsweek* and lesser liberals like the *Village Voice's* Jack Newfield now tell us the leopard has changed its spots, that FBI critics are "quarreling with ghosts." They're glad the FBI has "moved with the times," has the most modern computers, up-to-date disguises, effective young agents to infiltrate the population. But it's these liberals who are living in a ghost world if they think that FBI "dirty tricks" disappeared with Tricky Dick. The imperialist ruling class needs its secret police. And if they occasionally entrap straying Congressmen or burgle the opposition party's election headquarters, their constant "enemies lists" are the pick-up lists of "subversives" to be interned in concentration camps.

The FBI's real job remains the intimidation, terrorization, repression and even liquidation of the oppressed, blacks, labor and socialists, in the



Brathwaite/Amsterdam News

After the "new FBI" got through.

service of this vicious, racist capitalist state. That's what the Morningside raid was all about. ■

# Seattle Port Shutdown Whips Bosses!

A shutdown of Seattle/Puget Sound ports by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) April 15 demonstrated the tremendous power of the working class. In 24 hours a two-week-old strike of ferry workers which was heading for massive defeat was suddenly transformed into a victory by the exemplary action of the ILWU. Coming on the heels of the longshoremen's solidarity shutdown of the Los Angeles port to defend striking oil workers on March 1, the Seattle action showed the kind of class unity which can put the bosses on the run.

The unusual port shutdown was called by ILWU International president Jimmy Herman in response to the vicious assault against the beleaguered Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), which has jurisdiction over the complex ferry system in the Puget Sound area. Approximately 700 IBU workers had been forced to strike on April 1 when the Washington State Ferry System attempted to merge the union's pension plan into the state plan—a move correctly seen by the union as a first step toward undermining contract bargaining by putting the IBU under the jurisdiction of the Civil Service system. The state also made the outrageous demand of abolishing the cost-of-living allowance (COLA).

The state government began throwing every weapon at the IBU: a temporary

restraining order against striking was issued and, when that was ignored, the national IBU president and secretary-treasurer were thrown into jail. Although they were released after a union appeal to the state Supreme Court, the union was slapped with an unheard-of fine: \$300,000 plus \$300 per hour as long as the strike continued! The state judges and capitalist politicians huffed-and-puffed about the "illegal" strike, but they changed their tune when thousands of ILWUers in 11 locals shut down Puget Sound ports in solidarity with the IBU to fight the outrageous fines.

"It looked like the entire power of the state was coming down on us, but suddenly the whole atmosphere changed," one local union official commented. Quickly the astronomical fines were cut to a token \$900 total, the IBU retained its COLA formula (reportedly worth up to a 43 percent wage increase over 3 years, as opposed to the state's "offer" of a flat 6 percent in one year), and the state retreated on its pension plan grab. So the two-week IBU strike ended in a union victory, starkly revealing that the working class gets only those rights for which it struggles!

Of course Jimmy Herman has not suddenly become a militant class struggler. He took this action as a one-shot self-defense—clearly the ILWU could be next on the chopping block after the IBU. But usually Herman has resisted any calls for solidarity action, such as when the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" group in the ILWU called for a San Francisco Bay Area port shutdown to defend the recently defeated oil workers strike. Such militant labor action—"secondary strikes" and "hot cargoing"—could have shortened the birth pangs of the United Farm Workers union by years and can be instrumental in bringing the union-busters such as the J.P. Stevens Company to their knees. Not to mention the Pacific Maritime Association. ■

# SYL in Madison Sit-In

In a militant show of support for striking teaching assistants, students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison seized two buildings in less than a week. On April 17, 200 students occupied Peterson office building and held it for 36 hours, demanding "a reasonable and enforceable contract between the administration and the Teaching Assistants Association." The sit-in also demanded an end to the police violence which had resulted in the arrest of over 50 TAs and their supporters on "disorderly conduct" charges since the beginning of the strike April 1. A week later, on the morning of April 24, 175 students entered South Hall, blocking the entrances and holding the building until noon the next day.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) actively participated in both building occupations, arguing for militant tactics and a class-struggle strategy to win the strike based on the understanding that picket lines mean don't cross! This idea of elementary trade-union solidarity—instinct to tens of thousands of coal miners—is anathema to fake-lefts on the Madison campus. Members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade have crossed TA picket lines in order to attend classes while Progressive Labor has urged its supporters to scab on the strike, "to organize students from within"! These phony communists balked and equivocated until they finally killed the Peterson sit-in by pushing through a motion on the second day to continue the occupation in rotating twelve-hour shifts. This ridiculous proposal—vigorously opposed by the SYL—allowed the cops to come in



Young Spartacus

Demonstration in solidarity with teaching assistants strike.

on the third day and drag out the 75 students who remained inside.

The SYL has won recognition at Madison as the only consistent champion of militant labor solidarity. The growing political authority of the newly

organized SYL chapter was reflected when the South Hall sit-in went on record unanimously in support of the SYL's declaration of "unconditional opposition to the draft and Carter's new Cold War drive." ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Tied to the Bourgeoisie...

# Stalinists Sabotage United Front Against Fascists

The "United Front Against Fascism" was the perennial call of the Stalinized Communist parties in the decades before they discovered "peaceful coexistence." It was their ultimate justification for every opportunist betrayal from the bloody strangling of the Spanish revolution to lining up behind the "democratic" imperialists in World War II. And it was all a lie—the Stalinists were never interested in the most powerful united action to smash the fascist terrorists, but rather in "uniting" the oppressed with their oppressors.

According to the CP, you see, it is necessary to unite with the progressive, democratic, peace-loving sector of the bourgeoisie to defeat the reactionary, fascist war-mongering sector. In the U.S. this was the Stalinists' excuse for heading off movements toward a workers party and tying labor to FDR and the "lesser evil" Democrats. So again in San Francisco on April 19. Since SF mayor Dianne Feinstein, the Democratic Party, the cops and the bourgeoisie as a whole didn't want to stop the Nazi terrorists from marching on Hitler's birthday, neither did the CP. In the face of a genuine, powerful, labor-based united front mass action against the fascists, the Communist Party became the biggest splitters of all.

The April 19 Committee to Stop Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration grew out of a struggle inside the International

Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) following the vicious Greensboro, North Carolina Klan/Nazi murders last November. Early on some 500 members of the ILWU signed petitions demanding their union call a Bay Area-wide anti-KKK rally calling for jailing of the killer Klansmen, for union-organized labor/black/Latino defense guards against fascist violence and to uphold the right of armed self-defense. But the leadership of the traditionally "progressive" ILWU, in particular the CP spokesmen in the union, instead tried to channel sentiment into support for a separate demonstration on April 5, explicitly in order to avoid a confrontation with the Nazis. As it turned out, only about 200 people showed up, and fully one-half of these supported ANCAN. So intent were the Stalinists in their opposition to independent labor action which might embarrass the Jewish mayor, they spent more time trying to wreck the April 19 action than they did in building their own!

Although ANCAN's campaign was broadly popular in the labor movement, the CP did manage to get some of its "progressive" friends to waffle. Leaders of the East Bay Women for Peace, which had initially overwhelmingly endorsed the ANCAN demo, called back 36 hours later to renege on their endorsement. Members of the National



CWP-led rally less than 1/3 size of ANCAN demo in SF April 19. WV Photo

Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression were also interested; however, they reported a phone call from New York finally squelched the effort to join the ANCAN rally. Now after some 1,200 people turned out to the April 19 demonstration, CP supporters are quietly saying it was a "mistake" not to have endorsed. But the Communist Party did more than not endorse—it did everything possible to wreck the demonstration...and failed. (Meanwhile, a Moscow Tass reporter showed up to file a story on the rally for the Soviet press—better get your line

straight, guys! Perhaps the Nazi threat strikes a rather different chord for the Russians than for the pacifistic American CP.)

The Communist Workers Party (CWP) five of whose members were massacred by the Klan in Greensboro last November 3, was leader of a second "Anti-Nazi/Klan Coalition" which held a separate San Francisco rally April 19. The CWP, Maoists who support the now deposed Chinese "Gang of Four," is an unstable, previously deeply isolated, Stalinist sect both more militant and

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## Bob Mandel at Cal Anti-Draft Rally

# On the Red Side in Afghanistan

*We print below excerpted remarks by Bob Mandel, convener of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, at an April 9 teach-in against the draft at the University of California at Berkeley, broadcast live over radio station KPFA. Brother Mandel was introduced as a former member of the "Oakland 7," a group of antiwar activists indicted in 1966 for their activities against the draft for the imperialist war in Indochina. Today he is a member of the executive board of ILWU Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in that union.*

The most striking difference between the New Left in the '60s and the anti-draft demonstrations that have swept the campuses of late, is that the New Left had a side, and it was a very clear side: we stood for the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the Vietnamese landlords, against the dope pushers... And I would suggest that, if you look at the situation both in Afghanistan and in Iran the side should be just as obvious. You have to decide, are you for Jimmy Carter's so-called "Human Rights" crusade or are you for the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, to put it very bluntly. And I say to you, if you look at why the Soviet Union intervened, and what the present regime in Kabul stands for, that the Soviet intervention is right, plain and simple. And I will tell you why.

Many people in this country don't like what the Khomeini regime in Iran stands for. They know that it drops bombs on national minorities; they

know that homosexuals are prosecuted; they know that a woman who is found guilty of committing adultery is executed; they know that women are forced to wear a *chador* [veil]. So Iranian Muslim fanaticism is not approved of by the American public. Well, the program of the Afghan rebels is exactly the same. You may have seen a picture in the newspapers three weeks ago, of a turbaned man with a beard carrying an approximately 1905 rifle, and lying at his feet was the dead body of a female teacher. Her "crime" was that she was a woman who had taken off the veil, and she was a teacher in schools which only in the last two years had been open to women. That is the difference between the one side and the other. And therefore I think you have to take a side...

Now one of the key differences, in my opinion, between the situation now and the situation in Vietnam, is that there are people like myself in the labor movement who are fighting to see to it that the unions do not line up behind an imperialist war drive either against Iran or against the Soviet Union, the way the labor movement essentially did in the '60s. The labor movement has enormous potential power, and in 1973, when Nixon escalated the bombing of Cambodia and Laos, the Australian longshoremen for two weeks struck against American shipping—would not handle a single ship in or out of the harbor. That is social power... The labor movement has the power to bring society to a halt.

Now we've had some very interesting debates in our union on the question of

Iran and Afghanistan. I've been elected to the executive board for about five or six years now, and we don't run on the program of, "Vote for us, we'll get you more money," and "we'll be democratic." We do say those things—but we try to say that international issues are of vital importance to working people in this country. It's their kids who will first be drafted. It's the children who cannot get student deferments who will first be drafted—overwhelmingly working-class, black and brown. So our international union slapped a boycott on Iranian cargo about three days after the Iranians seized the embassy. Our International president essentially put himself on Jimmy Carter's side. We got up in the union meeting and spoke against it. We said, "Look, if Jimmy Carter drafts people to go into the Middle East, it will be for Big Oil. It'll be for strategic anti-Soviet reasons. American workers have no interests in fighting a war, not only for the oil corporations which are ripping them off, but also for a president who imposes a 7 percent wage freeze when inflation was first 12 percent and today 18-20 percent."

And we said to people, "If you want to understand what the Soviet Union is, clearly it is no socialist heaven. But you as union members know that your lot with the union is qualitatively better than if you were a non-union worker... The Soviet Union is very similar. The Revolution of 1917 made extraordinary advances for the workers of that country; and while I believe that it is deformed today by the bureaucracy that runs it, nonetheless, the advances of

women, the advances of minorities, the advances of the working class are qualitatively more than are available in comparable societies under capitalism."

So I want to make only a couple of final points. One of the results of the fact that the New Left did not know what the Democratic Party was, and that most of the New Left did not understand that "student power" is limited, and that most of the New Left did not have an orientation to take its radical or revolutionary politics into the unions, is that today we have a political scenario in the United States where not only is there the onset of an economic crisis, but where the Nazis dare to march in San Francisco April 19 to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday... I would like to urge all of you to come out on April 19, to the Civic Center, to stop the Nazis.

We say, very simply, that it's not a question of free speech—it's a question of murder... Our job today is to run the Nazis out of San Francisco: they were run out in 1976, by the Spartacus Youth League and the Progressive Labor Party; Jews in the Sunset burned down their book store in 1977; and in 1966 Jews and unionists ran [Nazi leader] George Lincoln Rockwell out of the Civic Center. So I invite all of you: if you are serious about stopping imperialist war, then you have to stop armed terrorist groups in the United States as well, who seek to put themselves at the service of the U.S. ruling class which butchers working people, national minorities, oppresses everybody and exploits everything in this world. ■

# Crazed Carter...

(continued from page 1)

folly he is capable of with the imperialists' mega-death arsenal. It is deadly dangerous to underestimate the irrational responses of world losers.

## "Mission Impossible"

Carter's attempt to prove that the U.S. could make a military intervention into Iran showed the opposite, indicating a lot about the degenerate state of the U.S. military. It seems to have bothered the imperialist chieftain not at all. Carter's weakness is so striking that above all he cannot abide appearing weak or paralyzed. In a *Newsweek* interview as reported by Martin Schram (*Washington Post*, 27 April) Carter made this incredibly revealing statement:

"I have a very real political awareness that at least on a transient basis [the] more drastic [the] action taken by the president, the more popular it is. When President Ford expended 40 lives on the *Mayaguez* [a ship seized by the Cambodians in 1975] to save that many people who had already been released, it was looked upon as a heroic action, and his stature as a bold and wise leader rose greatly."

"A bold and wise leader"? Carter's Iranian adventure was so ill conceived that the plan seems like an adaptation from the script of those TV shows based on the low-level technocratic fantasies of failed CIA operatives. Someone forgot to tell Carter and Brzezinski that those missions really are impossible. And then the script became a Mel Brooks scenario.

As on the "Mission Impossible" shows, nobody seemed to ask even the most basic question. For instance: Why weren't there more helicopters? What kind of plan for an operation in the desert takes no account of sand storms? Why such haste in retreat that the team left the bodies behind? When "defense" secretary Harold Brown was asked how such a large force could expect to roll

into downtown Teheran unopposed and how it thought it could get the hostages away from 150 armed guards, Brown replied: Oh, that's the easy part.

The plan as presented was so harebrained that all manner of speculation is in order. The Russians charge that the action was just a cover for a coup attempt that didn't come off. The Iranians say the raid was only one part of the plan and there are more troops out there in the desert. The more conspiratorially-minded speculate that the plan was never intended to "liberate" the hostages, but to get them all killed either by their guards or in an Attica-style kamikaze attack killing everyone at the embassy.

While the White House press corps lectures about how hard it is to operate in the desert, we can't resist a comparison with the Russian intervention in Afghanistan. Whereas the Americans apparently couldn't land a few aircraft on vast expanses of desert without getting sand up their turbines and gyroscopes, culminating in having their planes go bump (and bang) in the night, the Russians landed a plane every couple of minutes in Kabul, took their tanks right in and put down the reactionary *jihad* of Islamic fundamentalists with speed and efficiency. No wonder everyone recognizes that the Russian presence on the Afghan border of Iran is one of the few stabilizing features in a dangerously unstable situation.

## Hands Off Iran! Defend the Soviet Union!

In the aftermath of Vietnam, the U.S. in its weakness and decay has found the leader it deserves in Jimmy Carter. In the smoke of the spectacular failure, some things have become blazingly clear—first of all, as one "hostage mom" said of Carter after his stunt failed: "He's off his rocker!" Yes indeed. That Carter is a wimpy and incompetent political cynic was already broadly understood, but this event more than any other has placed his personal stability in question. This is a theme that

the Russians have been sounding for some time. A special Tass statement (*New York Times*, 26 April) said that Carter has the U.S. "balancing on the brink of insanity." It went on to say that the "abortive provocation" proves that Carter "could not care less" about the hostages "and is prepared to sacrifice their lives for his election interests." In this observation, the Russian news agency is joined by everyone from the families of some of the hostages to European statesmen. But weak, muscle-bound, incompetent madmen are dangerous, especially when humiliated.

Khomeini, of course, is delighted with Carter's disastrous adventure: once again the ayatollah can whip up anti-American sentiment to prop up his shaky regime, beset by Iraqi border skirmishes, Kurdish nationalist insurgency and leftist dissent in the universities. When he launches a "cultural revolution" to cries of "death to the communists," he really means it. And Khomeini's executioners are the very same "students following the Imam line" whom the left has uncritically hailed for seizing the U.S. embassy. Marxists, while upholding the norms of diplomatic immunity, are essentially indifferent to the fate of the CIA spies, Marine Corps volunteers and veteran imperialist diplomats being held captive. But the fact that Khomeini has insulted Carter and the U.S. does not make the Iranian Muslim patriarch an anti-imperialist hero. For the workers movement, the Islamic fanatics' embassy seizure was a *diversion* to bolster the clerical-reactionary Iranian regime.

Under Carter and Brzezinski (a manifestly mad irredentist who waves his rifle at the Russians at the Khyber), events have taken such a dangerously bizarre turn that even Khomeini makes sense when he declares that "by this act Carter has proven that he has lost rational thinking and that he is unable to govern a big country like the United States" (*New York Times*, 26 April). In the same speech, Khomeini boasted that he leads a country of "35 million martyrs." So here are two sets of

dangerous nuts, each with his own obsessional concerns. Carter will do anything to get reelected and the old ayatollah will gladly sacrifice all the people of Iran to oppose "the Great Satan." *But these dangerous nuts are not equally dangerous!* Only one of them is the chief of the largest imperialist power in the world. Only one of them has his itchy finger on the nuclear trigger of an arsenal pointed at the Soviet Union.

It is becoming widely recognized that Carter may indeed drive to thermo-nuclear war with Russia over Iran or even Afghanistan. Even before the "rescue" fiasco, West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt observed, "This looks more and more like July 1914." Even now Carter continues to threaten more military action against Iran, and there have been reports of jet fighter planes exchanging fire in the straits of Hormuz. Carter says he will not blockade the harbor. He says he will not bomb. But for months the administration insisted an Entebbe-like mission was militarily impossible and would be foolish. Carter must not be allowed to run his imperialist gangsters around the world like some kind of international nightriders. In a military confrontation between Iran, even under the leadership of the reactionary mullahs, and U.S. imperialism, workers must demand: Hands Off Iran!

Just as Khomeini used the hostage crisis to refurbish his fake "anti-imperialist" credentials among Iranians who hate the role U.S. imperialism played in the shah's regime, Carter used the crisis to whip up domestic chauvinism and promote an atmosphere of imperialist war-readiness. The media played along as Americans counted the days of captivity, learned the names of the hostages and followed the political conflicts among their families (how many Americans could name even one member of the crew of the *Pueblo* spy ship held for 11 months by the North Koreans?). But while Carter was happy to foster a crisis atmosphere in which the patriotic would feel constrained to rally 'round the president "in our nation's

# RCP Deep-Ended

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of would-be cult leader Bob Avakian seems to have gone over the edge. It has proclaimed its upcoming May Day demonstration to be virtually the opening shot of the American proletarian revolution and is furiously "building" the action in the cynical tradition of Stalinist martyr-making, sacrificing any hope of influence in the working class to the publicity which it hopes will compensate for its lack of mass support. With Avakian along with other RCP comrades arrested for spectacular stunts (including particularly an indefensible pistol-packing attack on the Chinese embassy in Washington, the raising of a red flag over the Alamo, an attempt to storm a Chicago unemployment office, a confrontation last Tuesday at the Oakland City Council which became a police riot, as well as numerous invasions of factories and high schools), the RCP's "strategy" would appear to be to get the rest of its membership to consummate unity with their chairman—behind bars.

Last week the RCP's strategy of confrontation assumed tragic dimensions when RCP supporter Damian Garcia was stabbed to death and two others injured in a melee at Pico Gardens housing project in Boyle Heights, California near Los Angeles. The *Los Angeles Times* (23 April) reported the RCPers had been "trying to generate support" for their May Day action when "a confrontation occurred

that escalated from the use of water hoses into fights in which the stabbings occurred." The RCP's *Revolutionary Worker* (25 April), however, claimed Garcia was "singled out consciously and deliberately targeted for murder" as "retaliation for what happened at the Alamo."

"What happened at the Alamo" was only one of numerous incidents where the RCP tried to pursue its self-appointed mission to single-handedly raise the red flag over America. Of the many reports that have reached us of East Coast and Midwest plants where the RCP invaded the workplace and provoked fistfights with the workers, two are particularly worthy of comment. A couple of weeks ago, at the Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, the RCP staged a rally in the parking lot, then proceeded to enter the plant with their red flags to demand that the workers walk off the line. After lengthy arguments, finally some 10-15 reactionary workers drove the RCP off with pipes, sticks and other factory debris. Chased out of the plant and past the gate, the RCP supporters continued to bait workers, challenging them to come outside the gate if they really wanted to fight and promising to return in force the next day. When they did they were stopped at the gate by cops and company guards. The next week the RCP returned with a larger contingent and provoked another fistfight. If

nobody was killed in this incident, it was not for want of the RCP trying.

More recently, at a Chicago-area U.S. Steel plant at South Works, the RCP invaded the factory to lower the American flag and raise a red flag in honor of its May Day rally. The logical culmination of this policy came about a week later, when five RCP supporters actually quit their jobs at South Works so they could spend all their time "building" the demonstration, thereby sacrificing some 30 years seniority in the steel industry. There could be no clearer indication that the RCP has no perspective for the day when the advanced workers, supported by the masses of their class, will raise the red flag over their factories as an assertion of *power*—the power of the united proletariat, acting as a class for itself, to collectively own the means of production and administer its own state power. With no confidence in that perspective, the Avakian cult abandons any possibility of a base among the workers in favor of maximum visibility for its "May Day Brigades."

The spectacle of RCP-supported trade unionists abandoning the workers for the greater glory of Bob Avakian recalls nothing so much as the misguided people, mainly blacks, who left their livelihoods to follow demagogue Jim Jones into the wilderness—at the eventual cost of their lives. The RCP members, many of whom now wear bullets around their necks in

imitation of their leader, are the cannon fodder for the megalomaniacal ego of Avakian. Every issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* features the voluminous speeches of Chairman Avakian along with numerous photos suitable for framing. And the "May Day Brigades" are presently his proudest creation.

"Class Struggle Rages Over Button Day" proclaimed a recent front-page headline (4 April) in the *Revolutionary Worker*:

"March 27 was button day nationwide. From the Revolutionary Communist Party and the National May Day Committee, the call went out to wear a May Day button that day, to wear it in defense of Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP and, as the leaflet said, the most consistent, determined and far-sighted revolutionary leader in the country today...."

"Where Bob Avakian's name or picture was brought out in some places, it sharpened up the revolutionary stakes involved in Button Day, and sales shot up...."

For the RCP the proof that Avakian is "the most consistent, determined and far-sighted revolutionary leader" is the fact that he is facing up to 241 years in jail for his provocative stunts. We leave it to our readers to imagine what the RCP has in mind for its more expendable, rank-and-file supporters. The RCP's silence on what exactly it intends to do with its "May Day Brigades" on May Day only increases our apprehension.

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# Cuba Masses Say: Gusanos Go Away!

When 10,000 people jammed the grounds of the Peruvian embassy in Havana demanding "asylum," the imperialist press thought it had scored an anti-communist propaganda coup. See how thousands are willing to sacrifice anything to escape this Caribbean gulag, they said. But Cuban *jefe máximo* Fidel Castro quickly turned the tables on the anti-communists. The Cuban government granted exit permits to everyone at the embassy and even invited exiles to come down by boat and pick up friends and relatives wishing to leave. Suddenly the heat was off Havana and on the U.S. State Department, which had trouble explaining why the supposed victims of Communist tyranny were not welcome in the "land of the free."

Immigration officials screamed and hollered, threatening to fine anyone bringing "illegal aliens" into Florida by boat. (The INS does jail and send back Haitians trying to escape their U.S.-backed dictator all the time.) But as both Castro and the Miami exile community knew, Jimmy Carter in an election year could not afford to turn away Cuban "refugees," no matter how dubious. So some of the more mercenary-minded among the Cuban exile boat owners launched a "freedom flotilla" to Mariel harbor in Cuba, where the would-be emigrants awaited transportation to the mainland. But anybody who couldn't fork over the \$1,000 going rate for the ride is still waiting. Guess they just ran out of "Human Rights" luck.

But the most striking aspect of the

whole affair is the outpouring of hatred by the Cuban masses for those trying to flee to the imagined capitalist land of riches. "Gusanos Get Out" said crude hand-lettered signs. "We Don't Want Shits Here," proclaimed others. On April 20 one million Cubans (half the population of Havana!) turned out for a demonstration commemorating the defeat of the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

Though the newspapers made little of this huge rally, from TV news clips shown in the U.S. it is clear that this was an emotional, enthusiastic throng. The Cuban people turned out in an outpouring of genuine hatred for the "scum" who, seeing their pot of gold at the Miami end of the rainbow, turned their backs on the revolution and offered themselves as propaganda tools for the U.S. imperialists.

The Cuban masses are well aware that the exiles in the U.S. enjoy a higher standard of living than is now attainable in Cuba. But as Castro observed in 1965, "Any other Latin-American country to which [the U.S.] made such an offer [of unlimited immigration] would empty out overnight."

When refugees from right-wing dictatorships apply for entry, the "no vacancy" sign is always hung out. Only a handful of the tens of thousands who fled from the Chilean junta's bloody terror after the U.S.-backed coup in 1973 were granted asylum in this country. But time and again Washington has rolled out the red carpet for right-wing criminals—from Eastern

Havana, April 20: One million strong, Cubans commemorate imperialist defeat at Bay of Pigs, denounce gusanos.



European Nazi collaborators after World War II to the dregs of the Saigon torture government after its fall in 1975.

As Trotskyists we hold no brief for the Stalinist bureaucratic caste which from the moment of the Cuban revolution's triumph has usurped political power from the Cuban working class. But our program of political revolution against Castro and his cronies has nothing in common with the pro-imperialist smear campaign of the big business press. Deformed by the nationalist bureaucracy and its counterrevolutionary policies of "peaceful coexistence," the Cuban revolution is

nonetheless the first successful anti-capitalist revolution in this hemisphere. Despite the hardships imposed by the U.S. trade embargo, the Cuban masses understand that they have achieved historic conquests. Only by militantly defending these gains will it be possible to extend the social revolution to the rest of the Americas and carry out a workers political revolution to replace the narrow Castro regime with genuine soviet democracy!

As for the "human garbage" in the Peruvian embassy, we can well understand why the Cuban masses would like to see them go. So would we. ■

darkest hour," he soon began to come under pressure for doing "nothing." What finally set him off was Khomeini, who said the one thing that was sure to get the imperialist chief reaching for his gun: that he would probably keep the hostages until after the election. So Carter decided to get rid of the hostage crisis by any means necessary.

Whipping up an atmosphere of chauvinist war-readiness is fundamentally an anti-Soviet ploy. But the more Carter threatens Iran, the more difficult it becomes to bring the Iranian mullahs into the strategic anti-Soviet military alliance. This simple fact more than anything else deters Carter/Brzezinski from an all-out war course. And the Iranians are well aware of the power of threats to play the "Russian card." When Carter talked about mining Iranian ports, Ghotbzadeh replied with a threat to set fire to the Persian Gulf—and to seek "foreign aid" to remove the mines. Regarding economic sanctions the foreign minister said pointedly: "If the whole West wills that a country like Iran be totally dependent on the East because of the question of the hostages, we are not going to certainly starve to death" (*Washington Post*, 25 April). And the USSR has made it clear it is prepared to help break a U.S. blockade.

The imperialists are quite right to view the mullahs' Iran as potentially as hostile to the Soviet Union as was the Iran of the shah. But the hostage crisis threw a monkey wrench into their plans. The U.S. had its chance to make an anti-Soviet hostage deal at the time the Russians intervened in Afghanistan, when the Iranian rulers were upset over the fate of their reactionary fundamentalist brothers in Kabul. But the deal fell through, whether because the U.S. did not keep the shah cooped up in Panama or because Khomeini could not afford to lose his "anti-imperialist" trump card under conditions of turmoil at home. So although there is good reason to believe Bani-Sadr when he promises the Islamic Republic will resist the Russians "to the last drop of blood," there is for the

moment a dramatic failure of the reactionary rulers of the U.S. and Iran to come together in an anti-Soviet alliance. As revolutionaries committed to the defense of the USSR against imperialism, we recognize that the present inability to forge a global anti-Soviet alliance as profoundly a good thing. Defend the Soviet Union! Hail the Red Army in Afghanistan! Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet Olympic Boycott!

## "My Superpower, Right or Wrong"

Carter's misfire amidst the talk of war has produced an expected initial spirit of no-criticism. Even Kennedy has learned that gloating over Carter's impotence in the hostage crisis tends to backfire. Now that Cyrus Vance has resigned in protest, the mask of bourgeois unanimity is beginning to slip. In fact there is plenty of anxiety over Carter's war course—not because there is any significant difference in capitalist circles over the need to build up an anti-Soviet nuclear arsenal, but because some elements think Carter might blow up the world out of ambition or pique. Even Barry Goldwater has been flapping around as a "dove" critic:

"Let me remind my colleagues that if we mine the harbor, if we blockade that is an act of war. And either Iran can retaliate or they can very rapidly find an ally in the Soviets, who can really retaliate. I would beg of my president to take a long, long time before he decides to perform an act of war that could drag this country into war at a time when we are not ready to go to war."  
—*New York Times*, 25 April

Of course there is the usual Congressional bellyaching about the lack of "consultation" (though why they want to share the responsibility for this one is beyond us). This takes the form of appeals to the "War Powers Act" passed in 1973 when Congress was looking for paper resolutions to appease mass antiwar sentiment. But the "War Powers Act" will never apply. The military adventure in Iran is being called not

military but "humanitarian"—and what war is not deemed "humanitarian" by its leaders? And remember Korea, which was not officially a war but a "police action."

With Vance bailing out, what has been true for some time is now officially stated: Brzezinski is in control. Formerly, the bourgeois press and liberal détente-lovers could console themselves with the notion that Vance was a great moderating influence on Carter/Brzezinski. But as Brzezinski said recently, "the National Security Council is not a democratic body." Vance was the U.S. Bani-Sadr, the man who makes more rational deals only to find out later what the real policy is.

For the Europeans, Vance's resignation will scare them even more. And they are scared. When Schmidt talks about July 1914 he isn't kidding. And the Germans know that the nuclear war Carter wants to start will be fought on German soil. There is growing sentiment for neutrality in West Germany, reflected particularly in the pressure the chancellor is under from his own Social-Democratic party. In France, *Le Monde* editor André Fontaine writes of the "unanimity" of "low esteem" for Carter and describes an election between Carter and "cowboy" Reagan as a choice between maniacs.

So the "allies" are dragging their feet on Carter's Cold War, generally offering up symbolic gestures. But Carter has adopted a curious form of blackmail to compel at least token compliance. Basically he uses his own instability as a threat. So, he implies, you think I'm a warmonger? So you want "peaceful" economic and diplomatic pressure? Then you better do what I say. This "stop me before I bomb again" game seems to have limited success in Europe. But it is a very dangerous game.

Carter has whipped up a "crisis" of East and West within which he can demand allegiance from the "allies." The policy of the British, whose rotting economy makes them particularly loyal to U.S. imperialism, was caught by the

conservative London *Economist*, which took the attitude that Carter wasn't very good but he was the only president "we have." The line of "Our Superpower Right or Wrong" has now been echoed by the French and somewhat more reluctantly by the Germans. Meeting in Lisbon on April 10, the Common Market declined to vote for sanctions against Iran, but on April 22 they came around far enough to vote to impose sanctions by May 17 "if the hostages are not released."

But it is not sanctions but missiles that matter in the last analysis. In their present mood, the Europeans might be willing to trade the U.S. some economic sanctions against Iran for a less war-hungry policy toward the USSR. But at present the two have become inseparable. At bottom, the resistance stems from the weakened position of American imperialism as hegemonic "world policeman." The European imperialists have their own interests that cut against the U.S. attempt to impose the old post-war Cold War "leadership." Trade with the Soviet bloc is too important to sacrifice for Carter. Japan needs oil to survive.

The dread threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over the entire world. The U.S., no longer the hegemonic imperialist power it once was, is still trying to act like it. This is the political etiology of Carter's apparent insanity, of the unguided irredentist missile Zbigniew Brzezinski. Just as the bourgeoisie as a whole will never passively accept that it has outlived its function, so Carter/Brzezinski refuse to accept the fall of Saigon and what it meant for U.S. imperialism. This is one good reason why the Soviet bureaucracy's illusions in détente and appeals to European capitalism not to "appease" America will literally go up in smoke unless the working class saves civilization from impending historic catastrophe. After two world wars and a great depression in this century, never has world revolution looked more like the road of peace and progress. ■

Fight Mass Layoffs with Sitdowns, Not Protectionism!

# Depression Hits Auto

Depression times have hit Detroit. One out of every four of the state's 400,000 auto workers is unemployed and the numbers are rising. Local radio stations report plans to set up soup lines this summer, and in interviews laid-off auto workers have said they are selling their blood to make ends meet. As unemployment in the motor capital of America, now at 14 percent, nears the 17.5 percent mark of the 1974-75 crisis, welfare rolls have already swollen past recession levels. While the Chrysler Corporation was just lavished with a \$1.5 billion federal handout (even though Chrysler bosses have deliberately run it into the ground), the companies and the government are determined to unload the cost of the economic crisis onto the workers.

With inventories piling sky-high, auto manufacturers are making a frantic plea for import quotas and laying off 215,000 production workers, including 184,000 "indefinitely." Even salaried employees are being laid off in record numbers, 40,500 to date. The numbers thrown out of work may soon eclipse the 300,000 idled at the peak of the 1974-75 recession. According to the saying, when the U.S. economy sneezes, Detroit catches pneumonia. But this time the layoffs will cut deep and last perhaps five years or

longer. Many former auto workers may never see an assembly line again, as they are thrown onto the scrap heap like worn-out tools. This is the vicious outcome of capitalism's boom-bust cycle.

One fact stands out sharply in the recent wave of mass auto layoffs compared to 1974-75—the mounting number of plant closures. Of course, Chrysler's decrepit Dodge Main is long gone, together with Eight Mile Stamping Plant outside Detroit. But Ford has shut down its Pico Rivera plant near Los Angeles and plans to permanently close a Windsor, Ontario casting plant and mothball its Mahwah, New Jersey assembly plant as well. All are relatively new, built in the '50s. And GM has stopped production at its L.A. facility, Southgate, leaving southern California with a single assembly plant. Meanwhile, fully one-half of all auto plants across the country have been shut down for at least a month now, while scores of second shifts have been canceled. Clearly this is no "rationalization" by the bosses to improve efficiency, but a pared-to-the-bone retrenchment in preparation for a lengthy depression.

How are auto workers to survive? The Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) program was heralded

Who puts this out, anyway—the company or the union?

by UAW tops as the solution to mass layoffs in this highly cyclical industry. Yet Chrysler's SUB fund has already been exhausted for workers with less than ten years seniority, and state unemployment benefits for Chrysler workers laid off last summer are due to

expire soon. Ford has announced that workers with over ten years seniority may get only six months of SUB. Recently, benefits from the Trade Readjustment Act (TRA), which provides 70 percent of base pay for up to a year for workers laid off because of foreign competition, were extended to 132,000 auto workers. But the capitalist press, annoyed that these payments will total \$1.4 billion this fiscal year, has launched a scurrilous attack against TRA benefits for "overpaying" unemployed auto workers!

U.S. capitalism is in the early stages of a severe depression and the industrial heartland of the Midwest is its first victim. Auto manufacturers are panicked by the steady increase of fuel-efficient Japanese imports, now controlling 25 percent of the U.S. market. Mid-April auto sales are down by one-third and 1980 Big Three profits are expected to drop by a mammoth \$5 billion. Even the *New York Times* (20 April) paints a "depressing" picture of the auto industry: "This is no cyclical downturn of the sort so often brought on in the past by styling changes, and temporary setbacks in the economy."

The U.S. economy is going to hell on all fronts. For years capitalist politicians and their economists have said they

## Militant Slate in Local 600 Elections

# For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the UAW!

DETROIT—As United Auto Workers (UAW) locals around the country voted for delegates to the upcoming international convention, a newly formed Militant Slate made a good showing at the giant Ford River Rouge complex in nearby Dearborn. The candidates of the Rouge Militant Slate were leaders of actions last fall which brought together hundreds of Detroit-area workers against the Ku Klux Klan. The three—Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois and Ken Granquist—squarely rejected reactionary schemes that lead toward world war. Their leaflet read: "[UAW chief] Fraser blames our problems on the Japanese 'yellow peril,' Carter says it's the 'red menace.' We know it's the bosses in their greed for the green dollar who are attacking our union and destroying our lives. For a new UAW leadership to win!"

In the Maintenance and Construction Unit, Rouge Militant candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois got 141 and 146 votes respectively—some 7 percent of the vote. In the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) Rouge Militant candidate Ken Granquist got 87 votes—approximately 10 percent. For the Militant Slate, the results reflected a real base of support for its fighting program. One slate supporter, Al Miller, told *WV*, "I look at the elections as a victory for us even though we didn't win." It meant, he said, growing support for a militant fight for "jobs, pay increases, and taking a stronger stand for the unionized workers in fighting the fascist Klan and Nazis. In closing, I'll just say our day is coming!"

The Rouge Militant candidates are well known throughout Local 600 as the leaders of last October's campaign against KKK-hooded foremen in the plant and as organizers of the November 10 labor/black demonstration in Ken-



Frank Hicks



Charles DuBois



Ken Granquist

nedy Square in the wake of the massacre of five anti-Klan militants in Greensboro, North Carolina. Over 1,000 Rouge workers signed the militants' petition to drive out the racist foremen. And more than 500 people, predominantly black auto workers from Ford, GM and Chrysler plants across the city, came out to the November 10 demonstration—the first labor-centered anti-fascist rally in the U.S. in decades.

During the delegate election period, the Big Three auto makers added thousands of auto workers to those already on the street with new announcements of plant closings and shift shutdowns, sending unemployment to levels approaching the 1974-75 recession. The Rouge Militant Slate fought the reactionary smokescreen of anti-Japanese protectionism and collusion with the auto bosses that had been advocated by both Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and Fraser's Solidarity House:

"Fraser blames Japanese workers for U.S. unemployment. Rinaldi and every unit chairman jumped on the 'Buy American' bandwagon, singling out the Japanese in racist fashion. This cam-

paign is dangerous. Trade wars lead to shooting wars. This campaign feeds the atmosphere that breeds the Klan and Nazi scum."

In contrast, the Rouge Militants called for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and a campaign of sitdowns backed up by labor solidarity when the companies close plants or ax entire shifts.

Frank Hicks was the spokesman for the November 10 Demonstration Against Klan Terror. In 1978 when the Nazis tried to get a foothold in Detroit, opening a headquarters less than a mile from the union hall, Hicks raised a motion in the Local 600 skilled-trades unit for a massive labor demonstration outside the Nazi "bookstore." But Rinaldi & Co. scuttled this labor-action proposal, instead pressuring liberal black Detroit mayor Coleman Young (whose cops were protecting the Nazi bunker). Also in 1978, Hicks fought for a one-day UAW strike in solidarity with the coal strikers. And last summer, when Dodge Main was first threatened with closing, Hicks got a motion passed by the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit demanding the Inter-

national organize plant occupations and sit-down strikes to stop the layoffs. But the UAW bureaucracy sabotaged solidarity action and turned to toothless pressuring of labor's "friends" in Congress.

After the convention delegate election, *WV* interviewed Frank Hicks and asked him the significance of the vote. He replied,

"Look, in the seven years I've been at Rouge, I've seen a lot of fly-by-night oppositions. Sometimes they're bureaucrats on the make. In the late 1960s, a lot of younger, slicker black candidates got themselves elected in Rouge units. For instance, there was Hank Wilson in Assembly and Grady Glenn in the Frame plant. But as soon as they got in office, it was the same old story: in the '74-'75 mass layoffs, the only thing Wilson's unemployment committee did was endorse him for unit president.

"At Chrysler there was the Coalition for a Good Contract, or a Better Contract, or a Decent Contract. They could talk all day about union democracy, but as soon as the contract period was over, or they were given a few low-level positions in the union, their opposition just faded away.

"The hard questions have to be answered, the key fights made for sitdowns against plant closings, for leading brothers and sisters against the Klan. The hard clear program is a must—you have to know where you're going. Look, Carter is threatening to pull the trigger on World War III over Iran and Afghanistan. You have to say where you stand. Well, as we said in our election leaflet, 'we must defend the Soviet Union against Carter's attacks like we defend our union against company and government attacks'."

In the delegate elections, Rinaldi's men—Bob King in skilled trades and Johnny Vawters in the DAP—did not face any serious threat from out-of-power bureaucratic oppositions. In DAP, Rouge Militant candidate Ken Granquist out-pollled three out of four

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Last line at Ford, Mahwah, N.J.

Sauro/New York Times

could control the economy through the inflation/unemployment "trade-off," a little more of one, a little less of the other. Pro-capitalist union leaders have bought this myth in supporting wage-price controls. But today we have both the highest inflation in three decades and the beginning of mass unemployment. Real wages fell almost 10 percent this past year even before the economy

as a whole turned down. With overall national output going down fast, things will get worse, with no immediate prospects for relief.

Bourgeois economists are now almost unanimous in their projection of gloom ahead for U.S. capitalism. They differ only in their assessment of the severity of the slump—mild recession, deep recession or depression. The irrationali-

ty of decaying American capitalism is made clear in the economic statistics: in the first quarter of 1980, oil profits zoomed over 100 percent while auto profits plunged 90 percent. And the enormity of the problem far surpasses the capacity of the present economic system to solve it. According to the *New York Times*, retooling production to meet the demand for subcompacts

would require some \$80 billion capital.

The jobs of 750,000 auto workers are on the line. With the bond market in a shambles, credit tight and inflation soaring at 19 percent, there is no chance of investors coming up with such a massive infusion. Any talk of a federal subsidy to tide the industry over is pure bunk. This is not a question of a bailout for "welfare bums" like Chrysler. A reformist scheme like this, even if it were feasible, would be taken out of the hides of workers through slashing jobs, conditions and benefits and very probably on the condition that the union surrender its right to strike. Given the scope and depth of the problem, the future for auto workers in capitalist America is bleak.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership at the helm of the United Auto Workers (UAW) committed to waging a struggle for a workers party and a workers government to expropriate the auto industry and all the means of production. Instead the UAW is shackled with the class-collaborationist leadership of Doug Fraser, whose claim to fame is that he will be the first union president to be "honored" with a seat on a major U.S. company's board of directors. Fraser follows in the footsteps of his predecessor and fellow social democrat, Leonard Woodcock, who was rewarded for his "statesmanship" with an ambassadorship to China.

Fraser has lately been busy drumming up support for the chauvinist, company-backed campaign for import quotas. In February he took a highly publicized trip to Tokyo to demand that foreign companies which sell over 200,000 units in the U.S. be required to build four-fifths of their parts here or face severe

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## After UAW's Longest Strike

# Harvester Workers Beat Back Forced Overtime

CHICAGO—In the longest strike in the history of the United Auto Workers (UAW), 35,000 International Harvester workers successfully beat back management's attempt to impose forced overtime and other contract takeaways. Returning to work after 172 days on strike, they had scored a victory against the giant agricultural implements manufacturer, long the only UAW-organized company without some form of mandatory overtime. For the UAW, this breaks the pattern of unending sellouts in recent years. And for IH workers it was sweet revenge against hated boss Archie McCardell who had been specifically imported from the aggressively anti-labor electronics industry to try to break the back of their union.

The IH strike also serves as a message to auto workers that in an industry where grueling forced overtime is the norm and takeaways endemic, the companies can be beat. But the Harvester victory is a defensive one, a matter of stopping company assaults through rank-and-file determination. The contract negotiated by the UAW International saddled agricultural implement workers with the same rotten 9 percent wage increase over three years forced on the auto workers, which has already been eaten up by inflation. And in the wake of the strike, Harvester has begun a series of layoffs, reflecting the general economic crisis and the weak demand for farm machinery due to Carter's blackmailing grain boycott of the Soviet Union.

The business press has been trying to portray the strike outcome as a "compromise," but if so, it is certainly one which represents capitulation by the company on a key issue. The new

Harvester contract preserves the right to refuse overtime by creating a pool of volunteers who can be called upon for overtime work. And the union also stopped a company crusade for non-union part-time workers, along with takeaways on such issues as seniority and holiday pay. The money settlement was widely considered a sellout. But with a clear victory against forced overtime—the issue of the strike—and the men out of work more than five-and-a-half months without income, the union membership recognized it was time to go back and overwhelmingly ratified the contract.

In addition, workers at a truck plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana won the right of first preference in hiring at a new similar facility in Wagner, Oklahoma—a favorable settlement in light of the fact that previously (according to UAW Local 57 in Fort Wayne) hiring was done by the Wagner Chamber of Commerce, which axed any applicant with a union background. The only local not yet back at work is Local 1336 at Louisville, Kentucky, which is respecting picket lines of Harvester employees organized in seven craft unions.

Throughout the strike, workers screamed for the blood of Harvester chairman Archie McCardell, the union-hating "efficiency expert" specially lured in from Xerox Corporation with a million-dollar bonus in 1977 to cut costs and increase "productivity." The giant electronics conglomerates—IBM, Xerox, Polaroid and so forth—remain bastions of anti-unionism, much of their operations located in the "right-to-work" South. McCardell was brought in to do a job on the IH workers, and in two years he duly slashed 10,000 jobs.

He went into the strike declaring that the company would at all costs secure the right to forced overtime to bring its profit margin up to its competitors'. McCardell was so hated that at a December 12 demonstration outside corporate headquarters in Chicago strikers dismembered a McCardell effigy and paraded with its head on a picket stick. On February 7 they burned him in effigy at another demonstration outside the Melrose Park IH plant. And the strikers may indeed have gotten McCardell's head. With Harvester reporting a \$225 million first-quarter loss, with no forced overtime reaffirmed, there are persistent rumors that he will be dumped.

The real obstacle in this strike was the UAW bureaucracy. The International tried to shaft the strike at every turn. They allowed IH workers to walk the picket lines alone for months, after settling with Caterpillar Tractor Company where a contract providing for mandatory overtime was rammed through. They allowed significant scabbing at some plants and refused to mobilize militant mass picketing to shorten the strike. Then after Harvester hoisted the white flag in February, UAW vice president for Agricultural Implements, Pat Greathouse, tried to swing a deal whereby the company could get its non-union (i.e., potential scab) part-time workforce. Only the determination of the rank and file stopped this sellout.

By sticking it out month after month, the IH strikers managed to win. UAW ranks ought to sit up and take notice of this fact. If they had had a leadership with a militant program to match the members' willingness to fight, ag imp



WV Photo

Archie McCardell burns in effigy. They busted the union-buster.

strikers might have been able to get rid of the wretched wage settlement as well. A class-struggle leadership would have springboarded from a defensive victory against forced overtime in Harvester to securing the same provisions for all ag imp and auto workers, forging ahead to win a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Today, when Solidarity House is waving the flag for protectionist policies and Carter is pushing his anti-Soviet war drive while the Klan/Nazis are escalating their terror at home, militant auto workers must build an internationalist, class-struggle leadership to fight for a workers party and a workers government. ■

## Auto...

(continued from page 7)

import restrictions. It's hardly surprising that the Big Three are pleased with Solidarity House's embrace of protectionism. Ford executive vice president William O. Bourke said of Fraser, "He is the most effective negotiator we could have. . . . We have more agreements than disagreements. . . ." (*Automotive News*, 18 February).

The UAW tops are not alone in pushing for reactionary protectionist legislation. It goes right down the line. On March 27 a demonstration was called in Dearborn, Michigan by Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi and UAW regional director Buddy Battle as part of their reactionary "Buy American" campaign. Two hundred auto workers picketed, not in front of Ford World Headquarters, not at the huge Ford Rouge complex, but at a local Toyota dealer. The picket signs read, "Save a Job—Buy Products Made in America." Not to be left off the social-patriotic bandwagon, fake opposition groups like the Independent Skilled Trades Council support protectionism in a slightly modified form, demanding that the government pass laws prohibiting the Big Three from building plants abroad.

Economic protectionism only pits American workers against their counterparts overseas, creating a poisonous climate of chauvinism that vicious anti-black, anti-labor groups like the Klan thrive upon. It also feeds the war hysteria being whipped up by Carter.

These schemes are consciously designed to divert the attention of auto workers from their real power—to shut down production to halt layoffs and fight for jobs for all.

Yet the labor front in auto has been quiet for months. If it has been easier now than in 1974 for Solidarity House to push its protectionist garbage, this is partly because auto workers correctly perceive that any struggle for jobs today runs smack into the deepening depression. And they do not see any possibility that their leaders can take on the whole capitalist system. In the context of an \$80 billion retooling of the entire industry, any talk of trade-offs is simply impossible—and the workers know it.

But it is possible to fight the system. A fighting strategy to rally auto workers has been put forward by the Rouge Militant Slate of Local 600. Instead of piecemeal reforms, they call for a nationwide UAW strike and sitdowns demanding jobs for all, and for building a "workers party pledged to expropriate the capitalists and establish a planned economy with production for human need, not private profit." This is the road forward for auto workers and the rest of the working class.

—For full unlimited unemployment pay!

—For free job training under union control!

—Jobs for all through a shorter work-week with no loss in pay!

—No forced overtime!

—Fight layoffs with industrywide strike action coupled with plant occupations!

—For mass labor defense of occupied plants!

—Expropriate Big Oil!

—Break with the capitalist parties!

Build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

## Militant Slate...

(continued from page 6)

members of the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW." This small group had, incredibly, criticized the petition campaign against the KKK-hooded foremen as a *diversion* from the contract struggle. "This is ridiculous," said Granquist. "Everyone in the plant knows it mobilized the rank and file against the company. It was the most significant political blow against the Klan undertaken in the Rouge in recent history." The Committee's other claim to fame is its defense of its backers, now the so-called Revolutionary Workers Group, who scabbed on an AFSCME strike at the University of Michigan in 1977.

The Rouge Militant Slate gained support from a number of longtime militant black workers. Pat Martin, a black skilled tradesman with 15 years, said in a statement endorsing the slate:

"American workers have traditionally considered Democrats as the pro-labor party. The Democratic coalition of labor, blacks, liberals, etc. has lasted for many years. Now at the beginning of the

1980s, it is a good time to examine some of the results of this partnership. Rapidly rising unemployment, soaring interest rates, prices and taxes, possible war in the Middle East are just a few of the signs of the 18-percent runaway inflation. Keep in mind that all of the above are happening with a Democratic mayor in a union city, with a Democratic president and U.S. Congress controlled by Democrats—the so-called party of labor!

"Workers in the coming decade will be faced with more and more layoffs, plant closings, inflation, etc. Those workers 'fortunate' enough to keep their jobs will have to deal with speed-up, harassment and a general decline in the quality of their work life. Looking at this situation we must all make some hard decisions in the very near future. Do we continue to rely on the old Democratic-UAW leadership, or do we seek new leadership? Do we need to organize and work for a true workers party? If you think it's time for a change, an important first step would be the support of the Rouge Militant Slate in the upcoming election for UAW convention delegate."

Summing up the election, Rouge Militant candidate Charles DuBois told *WV* the three intend to form a class-struggle caucus in Local 600:

"We intend to live up to our responsibility and wage a fight, not by ourselves, but with a class-struggle opposition caucus. We will be a caucus that speaks the plain political truth about the crises that we face. We will not accept mass layoffs and plant closings as a way of life for the '80s. We want to build labor and black defense guards to whip the fascists and beat back racist attacks. We stand for a break with the Democrats, to build a workers party to fight for a workers government." ■

## Stalinist Sabotage...

(continued from page 3)

more contradictory than the Communist Party. The group has gyrated wildly between adventurist small-group confrontation with the Klan/Nazi killers, and the most cringing Moscow-brand ultra-legalism. Immediately after the Greensboro murders they even threatened Spartacist members with sticks and even guns for defending the CWP against the racist terrorists. But recently they have turned sharply into a "unity" phase in which they attend SL forums to polemicize, even feeling the pressure to send a speaker to the ANCAN demonstration.

In all of the lengthy negotiations over the April 19 rally, the CWP's bottom line was explicitly "non-confrontation"—i.e., they would let the fascists march. Thus, even after the Nazis' permit to march was revoked and a permit granted to ANCAN, the CWP went to the City Council April 10 and pleaded at length with the Board of Supervisors and Mayor Feinstein to pass a resolution condemning the Nazis. They tried to build their April 19 coalition by attracting bourgeois politicians to speak, but were only able to get one black councilman from Oakland. They scheduled their rally at UN Plaza, three blocks away from where the Nazis had threatened to march. And in the course of several negotiations with ANCAN, they deliberately put forward impossible conditions including that the CWP be in complete charge of security and that there be absolutely no clash with the Nazis.

On April 19, the CWP-sponsored march was a clear disappointment. Tops, they had no more than 400 people—one-third or less the number who showed up at Civic Center. Several of the groups which had endorsed their action soon drifted over to the ANCAN rally. And one featured speaker, black teacher-activist Yvonne Golden, had to be pulled at the last minute when it was discovered she had scabbed on the 1979 teachers' strike! Finally CWP leader Nelson Johnson came over to the ANCAN rally where he accepted the offer of speaking time from the platform

(an offer made a week before and turned down by the CWP).

As a measure of its contradictory and unstable character, when the CWP finds itself isolated, in remote, backward areas of the country, these adventurists taunt the Klan to come out with cries of "cowards" and the like. But, when the possibility exists of real mass action with hundreds of unionists backed up by the endorsement of a substantial sector of the California union movement, these visceral Stalinists hold back, in order to keep the masses tied to the bourgeoisie. The recent issue of the CWP newspaper, *Workers Viewpoint* (19 April) criticizes the Spartacist League for rejecting the "campaign to pressure the Board [of Supervisors] to take a stand." The attempt by the "Trots" to organize labor independently, they claim, "though it comes out in a 'left' form," lets "the government and politicians off the hook."

In a class by itself was the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which carried its policy of "free speech for fascists" to its logical conclusion by not showing up at either of the April 19 rallies—not even so much as a *Militant* salesman. Earlier these pseudo-Trotskyists had mobilized a goon squad to prevent well-known

CWA militant Jane Margolis from speaking for ANCAN at a "public" SWP forum.

In addition there was a gaggle of smaller left groups, characterized above all by blind hatred of the Spartacist League; these also sneered and ignored the ANCAN rally—until the last minute, of course, when they scrambled to get on the platform. The snotty Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) first put out a leaflet calling ANCAN "sectarian splitters," then showed up at the last minute and asked for (and got) a speaker.

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) showed up decked out in red crash helmets while their speaker frantically proclaimed that the Ocean-side Klan attack (where one of their members got 100 stitches after a fascist assault) was a "victory." (Some victory! In fact, to add insult to injury the Oceanside district attorney has now refused to prosecute the Klansmen, claiming their vicious assault on the anti-Klan protesters was self-defense.) They had earlier endorsed the CWP demonstration, but instead showed up at the ANCAN rally. And Bob Avakian's cultist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which had endorsed the

CWP rally, also showed up sporting tiny red flags. After snaking through the demonstration for a while chanting May Day slogans for the benefit of their videotape cameras, they trooped off.

Sometimes people new to politics ask us honestly why we are "so hard" on groups like the CP and CWP. "Why can't you all get together?" We patiently explain, citing historical examples of what those who endlessly spout off about "unity" really do when confronted with the need for a united front in defense of the working class and its allies.

The ANCAN demonstration was living proof that the reformists "unite" first and foremost with the class enemy. The action had to be built *against* the reformists' desire for a class-collaborationist bloc with the "progressive" Democrats. Not even the Nazis and all they represent could shake these miserable opportunists from their long-habituated capitulation to their capitalist friends. ■

## RCP...

(continued from page 4)

The RCP's catastrophism is perhaps a response to the present foretaste of deep depression and imperialist world war inducing a foreshortening of historical perspective. But it is *dangerous*. The "theory" of exemplary violence by a vanguard of heroes was for the Weathermen and others a rationale for terrorism; now it is the RCP's justification for self-inflicted martyrdom. But whatever the rationale, the result is to feed the anti-communism of the more backward workers while sowing confusion among the more conscious elements. This "strategy" is politically catastrophic for the struggle to root the communist vanguard in the proletariat and physically catastrophic for the adventurist leftists.

Those who defend the left, including the nutty Avakianites, against capitalist state repression do not look with pleasure on the deliberate creation of martyrs. And we resent the RCP's provocative confrontationism, which can only isolate and discredit the revolutionary red banner, *our* flag, and the celebration of May Day, *our* holiday. ■

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## Unionists, Socialists, Minorities Say:

# Together We Will Smash the KKK/Nazis!

The ANCAN rally drew a broad array of speakers, from unionists to gay liberation activists, blacks, Jews and socialists. In addition to the remarks excerpted below, there were speeches from Kathy Farmer, shop steward in OPEIU Local 24; Jerry Foster, executive board member of OCAW Local 4227, ARCO group, in Houston; Joe Stevenson of the ILWU Local 6 pensioners; Fred Attison, a black longshoreman from ILWU Local 10; two speakers for gay liberation groups, Konstantin Berlandt and Don Rohloff; Bill Mandel, author, commentator and Soviet affairs analyst; speakers from the Jewish Community House and Jewish Student Union and a speaker from the American Indian Movement. Also spokesmen from the Revolutionary Workers Group, Committee of Salvadorean Progressives, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Comité Revolucionario de la Costura (garment trades) and Spartacus Youth League spokesman Aloha Gapasin. Messages of solidarity were read from David Hilliard, former chief of staff of the Black Panther Party and now an organizer for SEIU Local 411 in L.A.; from Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois and Ken Granquist, candidates of the Rouge Militant Slate, UAW Local 600 in Detroit; from Alvin Gant, president of Mailhandlers Local 302 (SF); from Howard Keylor, member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 10 (SF) and editor of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, prevented from attending by a serious industrial accident; and greetings from Brother Henry Schmidt, 81 years old, one of the organizers of the 1934 SF general strike.

### BOB MANDEL

[Convener of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis and a member of the General Executive Board of ILWU Local 6.]

I want to welcome you here today. You're all here obviously because you were determined that the Nazis were not going to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. And if you take a peek over to those steps right there [at City Hall], there are no Nazis. That's where that demonstration was supposed to happen. And the 500 to 600 cops that our strikebreaking mayor was going to bring out here to protect the Nazis and their KKK allies—they're not there either. Because they got the loud and clear message: SF is a labor town. SF is a black town. It's a Jewish town, a gay town, an Asian town. Labor and the minorities were going to get together and make sure that fascists did not march on our streets, that every decent person in this town has a right to be here.

Some people said, let's go to the Board of Supervisors, that's the way to handle it. But we know from Greensbo-



WV Photo

SL spokesman at April 19 labor rally: "Not a confrontation between the Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but a massive demonstration of organized labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, socialists, all anti-Nazis, to stop these Nazi creeps in their tracks!"

ro that the police were in collusion with the KKK/Nazi killers. We know from Oceanside, where the permit was supposedly revoked and the cops stood by while the Klansmen with their guns and their mace and their clubs and their dogs attacked the anti-Klan demonstration. We knew that it was not going to be the city that would stop them. It was not going to be [SF mayor] Dianne Feinstein, it was going to be labor and labor's allies. So that's why we're here today. That's why you'll see right over here on your right the sign that says, "500 ILWU Members Say: Uphold the Right to Armed Self-Defense! For Labor/Black/Latino Defense Guards to Smash Nazi/Klan Violence!"

So we've seen strike after strike attacked in the Bay Area in the last couple of years. Scabbing is going on all over the place. And it's in that situation that the Klan and the Nazis begin to get a whiff of blood. Because there was a period in Germany when they were small, when they could have been eradicated, when the combined might of 13 million trade unionists, Communists and Socialists could have squashed them. When the fascists could have been run out instead of labor being run out and lynched. Communists hung. Synagogues burned. Jews exterminated by the millions. We won't make that mistake again. We will not tolerate them around.

Now I watched the Black Panther Party in this area get annihilated, and I had a lot of friends in the Panthers. I also worked in the civil rights movement in the South. Jimmy Carter's running mate for governor in Georgia, Lester Maddox, used to beat us up, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in 1963-1964, with ax handles, because black people went into his restaurants and wanted to be served. Lester

Maddox—Jimmy Carter's running mate as governor of Georgia. Fascism isn't some group of nuts. The fascists are being looked at by big business which runs this country. The fascists are even being looked at by certain sectors of the Democratic Party. Did Teddy Kennedy speak out against the Greensboro murders? Hell no! Has any prominent Democratic or Republican politician spoken out against the Greensboro murders? Hell no!

### RON TENINTY

[Business Agent, Teamsters Local 315, Richmond, California. Brother Teninty was the head of the strike committee during the bitter four-month strike against Safeway in 1978. When the Teamsters struck in self-defense against a vicious speedup program, the company, protected by the government, unleashed a massive 1,500-man army of scabs against the strikers.]

I would like to take just a few moments to address a very few, very

small group of individuals scattered around the crowd—those individuals representing undercover the Nazis, the Klan, the CIA, corporate executives and probably all of the above. I hope you go back to your secret meetings and you tell the filth of the earth that there are people here from all walks of life, organized and unorganized, all sorts of labor, all colors, all backgrounds. They're united to stop you. They are not going to let you do what you've done in other parts of the country in the Bay Area. You will not raise your ugly heads in this part of the country. It's plain and simple. Thank you.

### SEYMORE KRAMER

[President of United Transportation Union Local 1741.]

We are not looking to the [SF supervisor] Quentin Kopps of this world, the Dianne Feinsteins of this world to fight the fascists for us. They are as useful in fighting fascists as a

continued on page 11



WV Photo  
ANCAN Convener, Bob Mandel, "We will not tolerate cross-burnings, racist terror, defiling of synagogues in the Bay Area."

# Keep the Nazis on the Run!

# 1,200 Stop Hitlerfest...

(continued from page 12)

armed Klansmen marched into SF federal building). But when they seek to penetrate the proletarian centers with their race terror, the fascists can be interdicted. The Spartacist League, though numerically a relatively small communist propaganda group, has twice taken the lead in doing so—as an initiator and organizer of the April 19 Stop the Nazis demo in San Francisco and earlier in Detroit. When following the Greensboro massacre the Klan threatened to march in the heavily black center of the auto industry, the SL was instrumental in mounting a demonstration of 500 mainly blacks and auto workers, proclaiming: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City."

The alarming growth of fascistic terrorist groups does not occur in a political vacuum, nor is it a reflection of an atmosphere of random "hate" as many liberals assert. It is a direct reflection of the mushrooming economic crisis and international policies of American imperialism. The Klan/Nazis are the fascistic fringe of the White House's perspective of a popular mobilization for thermonuclear World War III against the Soviet Union. With Carter calling for going on the warpath against communism overseas, the KKK/Nazis feel it's open season on leftists, blacks, labor, Jews here. The mad anti-Russian irredentist Brzezinski brandishing a machine gun at the Khyber means broad-daylight massacres in Greensboro. Thus in battling fascist penetration of the industrial centers of America, we are in part seeking to deprive the bourgeoisie of a rabid constituency unashamedly demanding war on the USSR.

## Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party!

It was notable at the San Francisco rally that union leader after union leader stated that you can't rely on the police or the Democratic and Republican parties to stop the fascists. The April 19 labor mobilization to stop the Nazis came in the context of an all-sided war on the West Coast labor movement, and this was reflected in the wide receptivity to the ANCAN call among Bay Area unionists. Beginning with the defeated SF city craft workers strike of 1976, northern California employers have been on the offensive in what was once a union stronghold. In self-defense, the labor tops have been forced to undertake actions which would have been unthinkable a few years ago, such as the March 1 ILWU shutdown of the port of Los Angeles in solidarity with the oil strikers.

Mayor Feinstein, a leading anti-union SF supervisor in 1976, is so bad that even dyed-in-the-wool labor fakers like state AFL-CIO head Jack Henning are



WV Photo

## Militant phone workers in official CWA contingent chant: "Sweep the Nazis off the streets."

mumbling about a labor party. And significantly, several of the union leaders endorsing and participating in Saturday's ANCAN rally had played key roles in recent West Coast labor struggles. The link between militant support for strike struggles and the Stop the Nazis demo was vividly expressed in an incident at the rally: when a camera crew of struck TV station KRON approached the gathering, the chairman announced that they were not welcome, that their way would be blocked by a line of monitors and protesters chanting, "Scabs out!" Upon hearing the announcement, the scabs turned around and left, as the crowd applauded.

The April 19 Stop the Nazis protest was built through a tenacious battle against the San Francisco rulers. Supervisor Quentin Kopp urged people to "eschew attendance" (i.e., stay home and watch the Hitlerites on TV). Marching in lock-step with the strikebreaking Supes, the press imposed a blackout up to and even after the 1,200-strong anti-fascist rally. After the Nazis' permit was revoked, no article on the ANCAN demo appeared in the SF dailies, and no mention of it was made on area television. Justifying this policy of deliberately suppressing news, Channel 2 reporter Bob Hirschfeld told an ANCAN press spokesman that covering our rally would only "inflammate the public." On the contrary! By preventing the Nazis from staging their racist provocation, the April 19 Committee was performing a service for all opponents of genocide and for all decent residents of San Francisco. Unlike Chattanooga and Greensboro, no blood was spilled on the ground here by fascist assassins. By censoring news on the SF labor mobilization to stop the Nazis the capitalist media are *inciting to murder!*

But it was not just the ruling class that wanted to see the demonstration sealed off by a wall of silence. The reformist left formed a veritable popular front stretching from the mayor's office to the Communist Party, united by their common opposition to mobilizing labor to stop the Nazis. The Stalinists traditionally justify every opportunist sellout by the need to maintain "anti-fascist unity." But in the face of this genuine united-front action against the fascists, initiated by socialists and based on the power of the working class, they become the biggest splitters of all. The "unity" which these phony "Communists" seek is not unity in mass action against the KKK/Nazis, but rather the chains which bind the slaves to their masters and the working class to its exploiters.

The Communist Workers Party (CWP), whose people were murdered at Greensboro, held its own rally at the same time at UN Plaza, several blocks away. Where ANCAN was a mobilization of labor, socialists and minorities to stop the Nazis from marching, occupy-

ing the same site at the same time with superior force, the CWP (usually known for its adventurism) appealed to the Board of Supervisors and sought at all costs to avoid a "confrontation" with the Nazis. The CWP's much smaller turnout (about 400) apparently motivated CWP spokesman Nelson Johnson to turn up at the ANCAN demo to accept ANCAN's earlier offer to give the CWP speaking time from the platform.

The decay of capitalism—its exploding inflation, mass unemployment and deep economic depression, and imperialism's drive toward nuclear war on Russia—gives rise to dangerous lumpen elements on the fringe of the increasingly desperate petty bourgeoisie. This social garbage sees itself as the concentrated, "strong" version of the racism and union-busting emanating from the highest sources of power. While the fascists' crude call for "white power" was only a minor element in the mid-70s antibusing mobilizations such as Boston, it was a strand in the lynch rope of racism, stretching to Congressional liberals and Carter's "ethnic purity" White House, which defeated school integration and other token gains of the civil rights movement. And when Jimmy Carter's private band of thugs can yank Jane Margolis, a San Francisco CWA leader and an initiator of the ANCAN rally, from the floor of her union convention, small wonder that the Klan in Oceanside wades into a crowd of anti-KKK protesters with baseball bats, knives, guns, chains, mace, police dogs. The Klan/Nazis

certainly sense their growing acceptance among the ruling class every time the cops protect them from an outraged population, every time the courts protect their so-called "right" to "free speech," every time the media "even-handedly" equate the racist terrorists with their victims.

In America a fascist movement will be built on white supremacy; it is the whip side of racism. This demands from the labor movement in response a commitment to fight against the oppression of blacks and other minorities. In this period of capitalist crisis and brutal fiscal "austerity" for the cities, of "guns not butter," minorities are on every capitalist politician's hit list. Cuts in hospitals, schools, jobs, housing all hit the ghettos first, as Democratic and Republican politicians openly dismiss their black constituents as "expendable." Although minorities have never been in worse shape economically, even in the Great Depression, they make a convenient scapegoat for capitalists who want to direct the workers' anger over factory closings and mass layoffs into racist frenzy. The Klan and Nazis have the same strategy; they only claim they can do the job more thoroughly with their fiery race terror. Behind the growing bourgeois acceptance of the fascists in 1980 is the as yet dim perception that these "silly men" in their storm-trooper uniforms and hooded robes, these Hitler nuts and no-brow Kluxers, may become necessary for the preservation of capitalism.

While promoting race war against blacks and nuclear war on the Soviet Union, the bosses will direct their strategic blows at the workers movement—the one social force with the power and clear class interest to smash the capitalist onslaught of depression and war. For this job the bourgeoisie will need armed shock troops of race terror, union busting and anti-communism. This is why the capitalist politicians will not and *cannot* "ban the Klan," why it is necessary to fight not only the Nazis but also the racist capitalist politics which spawns them. That is why, as a number of class-struggle unionists and the Spartacist League pointed out at the April 19 rally, the struggle against the fascists must be part of a fight to build a workers party. Not a mushy reformist parliamentary party, but a workers party that mobilizes the power of the union movement in this fight for survival. If labor and blacks are to have a future, in this country and on the planet, the time to wake up is now! Keep the Nazis /KKK on the run—this is the message of San Francisco, April 19. ■

## Protest Media Blackout

New York City  
21 April 1980

New York Times  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10036

To the Editor:

We vigorously protest your burying coverage of the mass labor mobilization against the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan in San Francisco on April 19 in a photo caption of a small Nazi/Klan rally in rural North Carolina held the same day. The rally in San Francisco was called by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) in response to an announced Nazi "celebration" of Hitler's birthday. This rally received wide endorsement and support from the labor movement, prominent and well-known defenders of democratic rights, civil rights activists, Jewish groups, concentration camp survivors and gay rights organizations. Over 1,200 protesters attended the ANCAN rally, including representatives of 22 unions and official contingents from

9410 (San Francisco) and 9415 (Oakland)—not the "several hundred" you report in your photo caption. The Nazi "celebration" did not take place in San Francisco.

Unfortunately, as your photo indicates, the Nazis and Klan were able to hold their "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. The 50 fascists included Nazis in paramilitary dress complete with pistols and clubs. In addition to "celebrating" Hitler's birthday they demonstrated in support of the 14 Klan and Nazi members charged in connection with the murder of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators last year.

Your biased coverage of these two events is of a piece with your coverage of the Greensboro massacre where you equated as the "violent fringe" murderers who preach race hatred in the service of genocide with their victims who were murdered for their commitment to social justice for working people and racial minorities.

William Kuntsler, Attorney  
Conrad Lynn, Attorney

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# Speakers...

(continued from page 9)

spoon is for cutting steak. It is we who will fight the fascists. Two weeks ago a smaller number of us gathered and I wanted to repeat what I said last time I spoke. Which is that we recognize only two rights for the fascists. We recognize their right to run and we recognize their right to medical care after we have caught them!

We come prepared for self-defense because we watched Greensboro. We come prepared to fight, but when we are ready to fight, let us not forget the climate that is being created by the most sophisticated reactionaries of this society, a climate in which Dan White could walk into that room and shoot Harvey Milk because he's a homosexual. And George Moscone because Dan White thought he was a friend of homosexuals. It is that kind of climate that allows Nazis to come out in the streets.

I'm a school bus driver, and I'm president of the union that represents school bus drivers. We work for a wage, like I'm sure 99 percent of you do. But we are also part of the integration busing program in San Francisco. We are proud of what we do. We are proud of helping to integrate this society. And I want to invite any reactionary, any Ku Klux Klanner, any Nazi to stand in front of my bus. I want them to stand in front of my bus, because 162 of us are ready to roll over them!

## VINCE COURTNEY

[Executive-Secretary of Service Employees International Union Local 400 and a delegate to the SF Central Labor Council.]

I'd just like to congratulate you on your victory today. I'd like to say that Local 400 in the SEIU represents 16,000 people who live in San Francisco. All 16,000 of those are opposed to the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan and we think it's important that we stand together and demonstrate very clearly that we will not have these people organizing in our back yard. Additionally, there's been a lot of comments made about some of the public officials in power. I do think it is important and we will hopefully be working with trade unionists all over San Francisco in developing our own pro-



Jane Margolis, CWA

Vince Courtney, SEIU

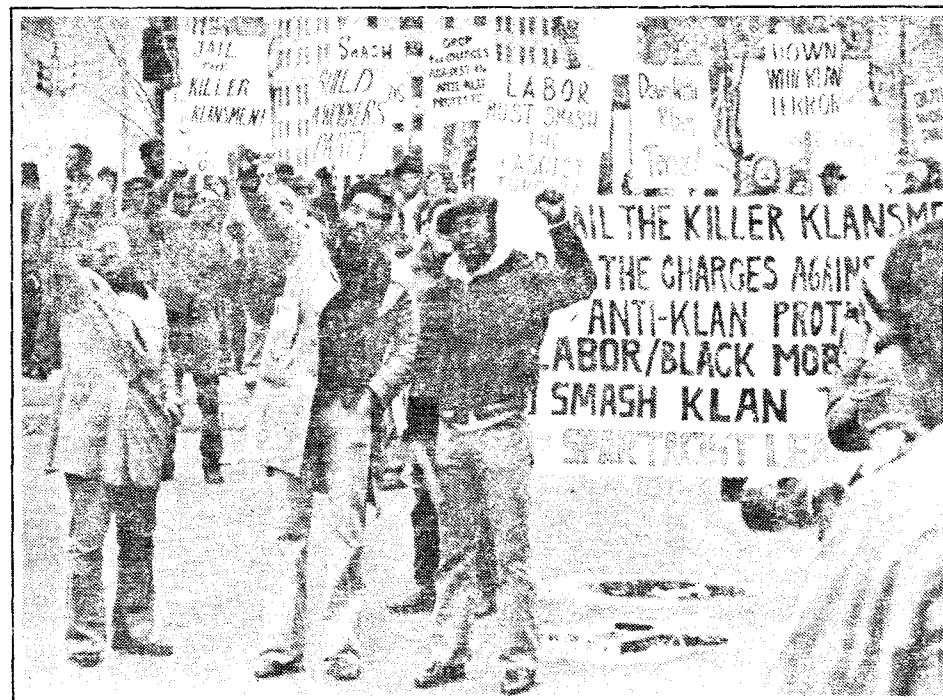
Nelson Johnson, CWP

gram and working on our own program, because it's very clear that neither the Democrats or Republicans are capable of doing that for us.

## JANE MARGOLIS

[Executive board member CWA Local 9410. In one of the most outrageous government attacks in recent labor history, Jane Margolis was dragged off the floor of the CWA national convention by Secret Service agents last summer so that she could not speak against the U.S. president. She is currently waging a million-dollar legal suit against the agency.]

People argue that the Nazis have the right for freedom of speech. But when I wanted to speak against the racist, strikebreaking policies of Jimmy Carter, they had me arrested and dragged me off my convention floor!



WV Photo

**Detroit, November 10: Five hundred trade unionists, militant youth and socialists rallied in Kennedy Square to protest KKK terror, one week after the Greensboro massacre. They came from Ford's gigantic River Rouge complex and other major Detroit-area factories.**

City Hall is trying to bust the union movement. It is trying to make people ignore the Nazis while they can grow. So the April 19 Committee said "No More!" We went into the streets of San Francisco. We went into the bars, into the laundromats; we went into the mom-and-pop stores, to the bus stops, on MUNI buses. And we discovered something: the people of San Francisco, from the Castro District to the shipyards of Hunters Point, hate the Nazis and do not want the Nazis in San Francisco.

Brothers and sisters, the Democratic Party has Kennedy, Carter, Tom Metzger is the statewide chairman of the KKK, and in southern California he is running on the Democratic Party ticket. So we say labor must have its own political party that fights for the power of all the oppressed.

## NELSON JOHNSON

[A leader of the Communist Workers Party and one of the survivors of the Greensboro Massacre.]

On behalf of the CWP and on behalf of our comrades and friends back in

after article saying that these people were merely insane. They put personnel carriers in the streets to block the streets so that you couldn't have the funeral march. Then they wrote in the papers all over the country, that anyway it was just



WV Photos

Al Nelson, SL

Seymore Kramer, UTU

Ron Teninty, IBT

a shoot-out between some communists and some Klan and Nazis.

So, the struggle that we fight for today is not merely the struggle to slow down oppression, to stop so much Klan and Nazi violence. Our struggle is to uproot the source of it, which is the imperialist system, and to fight for socialism, a system that would free up the productive forces. The imperialists know that this imperialist system is on its deathbed and we have dared to administer the last blow to it. That's what Greensboro was all about!

## AL NELSON

[Spokesman for the Spartacist League.]

Brothers and sisters, the Spartacist League, along with a number of brothers and sisters from Bay Area unions, was among the initiators of this call to stop the Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday. And we are proud to be a part of this historic labor-centered rally. When these Hitler-loving creeps of the National Socialist White Workers Party—Nazis—announced their intent to celebrate Hitler's birthday right here

in Civic Center, a celebration of genocide of 24 million people by Hitler's Nazis, we thought something had better be done, and done fast. Not a confrontation between the Nazi hoods and small groups of militants, but a massive demonstration of organized labor, blacks, gays, Latinos, Jews, Asian-Americans, socialists—all anti-Nazis to stop these Nazi creeps in their tracks. We say San Francisco is not a Nazi town, San Francisco is a labor town!

There are no Nazis here today and that's a victory. Police Chief Murphy said last Thursday that the Nazi permit had been revoked because of technicalities. The real reason was the fear by the police department that they would not be able to guarantee the safety of Allen Vincent and his little group of Hitler-lovers because of this demonstration.

To rely on the government, on the Democratic and Republican politicians, is not just illusory. It's dangerous, because these people are the enemy of labor. Look at the record. Since the days of Roosevelt, labor has been tied to the Democratic Party. And what has it gotten in return? It's gotten Taft-Hartley injunctions. It's gotten strikes broken up. It's gotten people beat up and put in jail. It's got wage freezes, unemployment, inflation, price gouging. The Democrats and Republicans are bosses' parties. And you can't have the working people who work in the factories and the owners of the factories

in the same party and expect that you're going to get something out of that party.

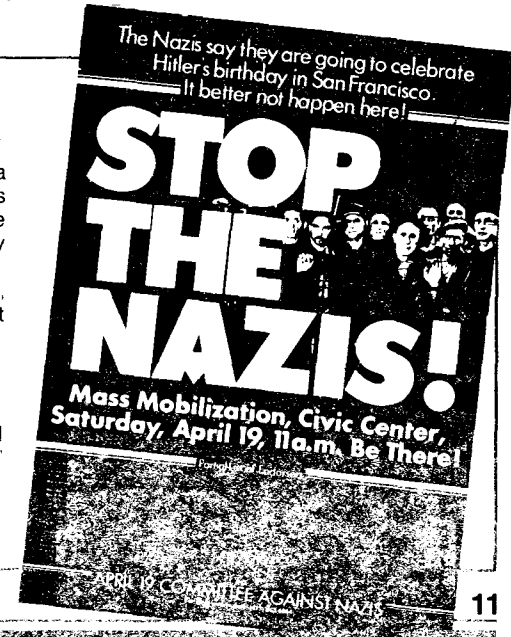
The labor movement must throw off the shackles of these parties of big business and war. We need our own party, a workers party. A workers party, based on the trade unions and fighting for all the oppressed and all the exploited. We need a workers party to get rid of the bosses, their courts, their cops, their armed thugs, their fascists—to get rid of them once and for all, to establish a workers society, a socialist society, a workers government. That's the only way to end the threat of fascism.

The people who run this country are heading this country towards another war. And they're not going to go out there and fight themselves; they'll take you out there to fight the rich man's war—get your ass shot off so they can have better trade, so they can have better financial arrangements. That's the real system.

So we ran the Nazis out of San Francisco on April 19. Let's keep them out!

## \$\$\$ For ANCAN

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis worked hard to teach the fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. 130,000 leaflets and 5,000 posters were distributed in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities, in workplaces, bars, taxicabs, on campuses. Sound equipment, chartered buses and telephone calls cost money, too. ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars—show your support for this powerful anti-Nazi mobilization with donations of \$10, \$25, \$50—whatever you can. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101.



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## 1,200 Rally to Stop Hitlerfest



WV Photo

# S.F. is a Labor Town, Not a Nazi Town!

SAN FRANCISCO—No little gang of Nazis went goosestepping into Civic Center plaza to “celebrate” Hitler’s birthday April 19. At high noon on Saturday the steps of City Hall were empty. Not because of a canceled police permit or Board of Supervisors resolution. The Nazis were on the run because a solid 1,200 people were occupying the spot where they had planned to stage their provocation. And behind them stood the power of the organized labor movement. If there weren’t more—the 5,000 earlier predicted by the police—it was because the Hitler-lovers and their protectors in blue had already taken fright at the snowballing support for the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) rally and canceled their race-hate march. As several Bay Area union leaders remarked, the fascists would have gotten quite a thrashing if they had showed their faces. “Hitler’s Birthday Is No Holiday Here” read the signs—and the crowd meant to prove it.

“This rally is a victory,” declared ANCAN convener Bob Mandel, a General Executive Board member of International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU) Local 6. Not only was it one of the largest recent demonstrations in the Bay Area, it was the first time in decades in the United States that socialists and labor had linked arms in a joint political demonstration. This is what swept the

Nazis off the streets and ensured that swastikas were not flaunted at City Hall. Dozens of signs said it: “San Francisco is a Labor Town, Not a Nazi Town.” Endorsed by more than 35 union officials and nine local unions, the demonstration was attended by hundreds of union members. In addition to the several local presidents and exec board members who addressed the crowd, there were contingents of phone workers with their official CWA local banners from both sides of the Bay and up from L.A., and another of militant ILWUers.

So Hitler’s birthday was no holiday in San Francisco. But elsewhere in the country the fascists did “celebrate” the mass slaughter at Dachau and Buchenwald—and their own bloody terror here at home. In Benson, North Carolina 50 KKKers and Nazis showed up for their “Hitlerfest.” In brownshirts and white sheets they came to establish a “United Racist Front” and to defend the 14 cold-blooded murderers who last November shot down in broad daylight five anti-fascist demonstrators in Greensboro. Even as ANCAN speakers in SF Civic Center plaza declared there’s no question of “free speech” for fascist killers, in downtown Chattanooga Ku Klux Klan night-riders were blasting shotguns into a group of blacks, wounding four women. There was also a reported Nazi “birthday party” in

Washington, D.C. But on April 19 it was safe for blacks, Jews, unionists, communists, homosexuals, Chicanos, Asian Americans and decent citizens generally to walk the streets of San Francisco—because of the determined action of ANCAN.

Previously holed up in rural southern backwaters, protected enclaves of reac-

tion, the KKK/Nazi killers have been emboldened by the present rightward-moving political climate. They are still moving gingerly, sticking out their tentacles from the lily-white suburbs and relying on police protection (as at Walnut Creek, where cops penned up anti-Nazi demonstrators, or when

*continued on page 10*



AP

Chattanooga: Shot down on Hitler’s birthday by the Klan.