

Carter, Reagan, Kennedy, Anderson, etc.

Dump 'Em All!

Break With the Bosses Parties!

AUGUST 3—"Billygate" gets the headlines, but it's "Jimmygate" that has panicked the Democrats now slouching toward Madison Square Garden. "Billy Liar" blares the front page, but the unhappy Democrats read about Billy's brother who has reached an all-time low in presidential popularity polls, bottoming out even below Richard Nixon's Watergate levels. He is trailing Ronald Reagan by a whopping 27 percent, and according to Louis Harris if the election were held today Carter would only "show"—coming in behind John Anderson.

So the Billy/Libya "revelations" are followed by the call for an "open convention" coming from a growing number of desperate Democratic pols trying to dump Carter so his nomination doesn't get *them* dumped at the polls. They hope that by washing their hands of Jimmy Carter the Democratic Party can escape blame for the misery caused by the inflation/depression-wracked capitalist economy. But millions of Americans are sickened by the danger-

ous warmakers and strikebreakers offered by the bosses' parties. Our headline last issue captured a popular gut reaction: "Carter, Reagan? Oh Shit!"

In better times for Democrats, the Billy business would have made good copy but hardly monumental news. The escapades of the president's buffoonish younger brother—court jester and general figure of fun with his "good ole boy" stunts—would be laughed off. Who could forget "Billy Beer," or the spectacle of brother Billy looking like a sullen, grossly overweight munchkin squeezed into a chain mail suit of beer can pop-tops? But the Democrats aren't laughing any more as the get-rich-quick schemes with the Libyans engulfed "the leader of the free world," president of the United States James Earl Carter in yet another disastrous episode of meandering, short-sighted incompetence.

Carter denied any wrongdoing, of course. In his nationally televised press conference August 2 he did a version of Nixon's "Checkers speech" ("I love my brother and my brother loves me.") He denied "illegalities," "improprieties" or even "bad judgment." A news reporter asked the obvious question: "How then did you get into this mess?"

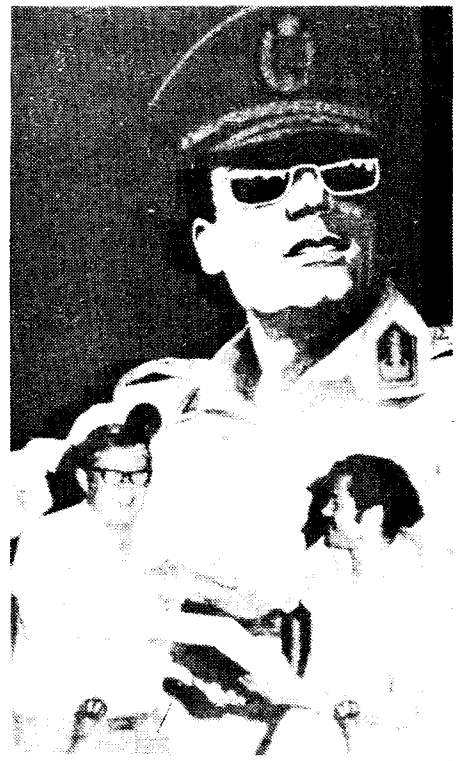
It is easy to see why Nixonians and Republicans generally relish a "gate" or two for the Democrats: the Koreagate and Abscam investigations of Congress-

sional corruption can't hurt at the polls. It is also seen as an opportunity to dump Carter by Democratic "open conventioners" who think his bandwagon is whistling Dixie on the deck of the Titanic. The Democratic reformers who have reformed themselves into a corner explain that convention rules bind the delegates like robots to the choice of the spring primaries. This makes it impossible to respond to new events, say the dumpers: what if Carter were to get caught with a political "smoking gun" in hand, like Nixon? Hence the billowing "Billygate" smoke.

But so far, at least, there is not much fire. "Billygate" is small potatoes. The sordid little story of the president's younger brother oiled at the pump of Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi, involved in failed "hostage diplomacy" with Zbigniew Brzezinski, being tipped off by the White House that the Justice Department is on his tail (while the president is covered by the attorney general). A few lies. Some not very important cables. One-third truth white papers. A flurry of investigations. All pretty mild by Washington standards: influence peddling and secret big-money deals with butchers like Qaddafi is business as usual. The only injunction is, don't get caught.

The crimes of Carter and the Democrats are far more serious than
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Billygate

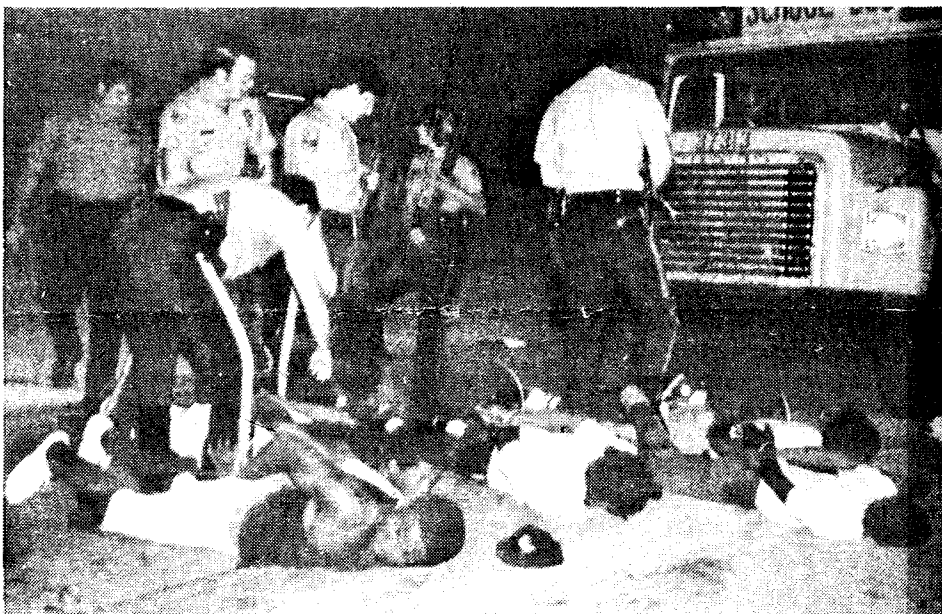


Der Spiegel

All in the family. Miz Lillian says:
"Just get what you can, honey."

Miami, Chattanooga, Orlando

Blacks Explode Over Racist Injustice



Pemberton/Florida Times-Union

Miami blows again: Cops' racist dragnet terrorizes blacks.

On July 22 an all-white jury in Chattanooga, Tennessee acquitted two KKK nightriders who "celebrated Hitler's birthday" last April 19 by blasting shotguns into a group of black people walking down the street. A third Klansman, who *admitted* firing the shots which wounded four elderly black women, got off with a minimum sentence for assault and battery and was released on bond with the other two. The triggerman said they returned to the black section of town and opened fire on the women after no one had paid attention to the crosses they had burned there earlier in the day.

If blacks had shot down four white ladies they'd have been lynched before they ever made it to the courthouse, one of the Klan victims said on national TV. And with the court's display of racist "justice," Chattanooga's Alto Park ghetto exploded in outrage. The cops

then moved in to terrorize the black community. They barricaded streets, stopped and interrogated people trying to reach their homes and ordered blacks off their porches in the sweltering heat. They also arrested 80 blacks and injured 40, including one pregnant woman who made the mistake of trying to ask directions from some rioting cops. But Chattanooga's black community wasn't just taking it. The police took some casualties too. In three days of street fighting eight of Chattanooga's racist terrorists in blue were wounded by shotgun fire.

Chattanooga was not an isolated event. Two months earlier the Miami ghetto erupted when a jury freed four cops indicted for beating to death a black businessman, Arthur McDuffie, after arresting him for speeding. A week after the Chattanooga ghetto rebellion,
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Stop the Daily Mail Witchhunt!

"Newsman" Pulls Gun on Thornett

Expel Gunman Cramp from the NUJ!

On July 9, a right-wing London newspaper photographer pulled a gun on Alan Thornett, leader of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL). This outrageous provocation—in a country where even the cops aren't armed!—took place in Oxford, England, when Thornett sought to take the camera away from this hired thug who was sneaking photographs of him and his home. For well over a month the arch-Tory *Daily Mail* has witchhunted the WSL, with sensationalist front pages and centerfolds full of lies about supposed links to terrorist organizations and dire warnings that under the WSL, "Life in Britain would assume... the horror of Cambodia."

The *Daily Mail* slander campaign has gone far beyond scurrilous nonsense with its use of gunmen to intimidate Thornett and his comrades. According to the WSL's *Socialist Press* (16 July), regular harassment and surveillance of WSL members and supporters is standard practice for this right-wing rag, which yelled "hurrah for the Black-shirts" (the British fascists) in the 1930s. For the *Daily Mail*, even Labour Party bureaucrat Tony Benn is a "dangerous subversive," particularly given his recent appeal for all "left-wingers" to join

the Labour Party. The centrist, fake-Trotskyist WSL, with its perspective of pressuring the Labour "lefts" to "fight" and its defense of scabbing on strikes, hardly poses the threat to the bourgeois order painted by the *Mail*. The aim of this "reds under the bed" yellow journalism is to whip up anti-communist hysteria and embarrass the Labour "lefts," as is also the case with the semi-annual "exposure" of the very staid "Militant" group's "Trotskyist infiltration" of the Labour Party.

This onslaught—and especially the pulling of a revolver on Thornett—is a vicious attack on the entire left and workers movement and must be vehemently denounced! The Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) immediately informed the WSL of its solidarity and readiness to participate in united-front actions to counter the *Daily Mail*'s terroristic witchhunt. SL/B supporters in the Magazine Branch of the National Union of Journalists raised a motion at the July branch meeting to condemn the anti-working-class attack and to initiate expulsion proceedings against the gunman, Charles Cramp. Although WSL and Workers Party supporters joined in fighting for the motion against an ultimately successful move to rule it out of order, supporters of the International Marxist Group scandalously left the meeting early, fully aware that the motion would come up later.

While the IMG and WSL press has been full of angry rebuttals and photos of the gunman, it was left to the SL/B to take concrete action to counter the



Right-wing gun thug Charles Cramp.

right-wing threat. The WSL, disgustingly, has even taken advantage of its "security" situation to continue its own campaign of slander and intimidation against the SL/B. At a recent meeting the WSL first forbade our comrades to sell outside because of the *Mail* threat, then when we offered to sell inside, WSL leader John Lister claimed the SL/B's very presence was a "security risk." Why? Lister cited our (standard Comintern) practice of accurately reporting political interventions and sending them "around the world"!

This is of a piece with the WSL's charge three months ago that exposure of scabbing by IMG supporters in the

British Leylands Rover strike was a "provocation." We ask you, was our defense of the WSL at the NUJ meeting a "provocation"? And why did WSL supporters back our motion to expel Cramp?

Such vile innuendo has a purpose—to seal off the WSL membership from the Spartacist League's revolutionary Trotskyist politics. Thornett has lost two cadre-rich oppositions to the Spartacist tendency already and is trying by any underhanded means his limited creative capacities allow to fend off a third. Thus the international Spartacist tendency was refused speaking time (even from the floor) at the WSL-sponsored "Trotskyist International Liaison Committee" meeting in London July 23, although both the United Secretariat and its recent split-off Parity Committee were invited to address it. At the end of the meeting, the WSL's Italian bloc partners even launched a physical attack on SL supporters who were pointing out Thornett's own scabbing.

We will not stand idly by in the face of this witchhunt by the capitalist press (and its gun thugs) against the WSL. But neither will Thornett & Co. prevent us by slanders and intimidation from exposing their travesty of genuine Trotskyism. We look forward to the acquisition of still more cadres disgusted with the repulsive antics of the WSL, who will find in both the actions and program of the Spartacist League/Britain the authentic expression of working-class, Trotskyist politics. ■

Black Rage...

(continued from page 1)

blacks in Orlando, Florida battled the cops for three days after police barged into a ghetto bar and dragged a woman out.

For the first time since the 1960s this summer has seen a series of ghetto outbursts as blacks—fed up, driven to desperation by mounting racist atrocities—lash out in misdirected violence. While Marxists seek to transcend such elemental responses by a program to draw the ghetto masses into social struggle, we stand for defense of the black population against police terror. And it is a measure of the despair of black America that blacks respond to racist injustice by putting the ghettos to the torch, even if this means getting shot, beaten and arrested by the cops. Some respectable local black leaders seek to use these spontaneous ghetto outbursts as a pressure tactic, provided they can keep matters under control and do the negotiating with the white powers-that-be. As one Chattanooga clergyman put it: "You may not see my choo-choo train, but you are sure as hell going to see my smoke."

So far the ghetto outbursts have occurred in Southern cities, where the Klan is strong and growing and the old racist local power structure remains unchanged. But no one thinks that Chicago's South Side, New York's Harlem or Detroit is immune. Economically, conditions are desperate. One out of every four black family heads is now unemployed; for black teenage youth the rate is closer to three out of four. Blacks' hard-won democratic rights, especially in the area of school integration, have been rolled back. Already racial tensions neared the flashpoint in Boston after a 14-year-old black was killed allegedly resisting arrest. And in Detroit, Nazis have again reared their

heads, this time threatening to hold a race-hate march in the Motor City on August 23. With massive layoffs in auto the fascists smell the opportunity to pit white against black, using any provocation to foment race war.

For the past few years the American ruling class has been openly contemptuous of the official black leaders (witness Carter's dumping of Andrew Young). But now they see a certain need for them again. Since Miami first erupted in May, black bourgeois leaders have headed south in droves to "cool it down." But in Miami blacks didn't want to hear the old routine, and Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson and the NAACP's Ben Hooks were met with boos. Carter tried it too, but got his limousine pelted with bottles. A month later Hooks brought the NAACP's national convention to Miami, but really blew it by hosting Carter, who actually joined hands with him in singing "We Shall Overcome." After that fiasco, Hooks headed north to hit a new low by playing the role of token Uncle Tom at the Republican convention in Detroit. Shortly thereafter, the largest Klan organization in the South endorsed Reagan and said his platform "reads as if it were written by a Klansman" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

Black establishment leaders, like Chicago "black capitalist" demagogue Jesse Jackson, had better luck in Chattanooga than in Miami. Jackson has been praised in the bourgeois media for arranging a deal by which the cops would be put on temporary standby while police functions were handled by black volunteer patrols. Predictably the reformist-legalist Socialist Workers Party also hailed Jackson for giving Chattanooga's blacks a "valuable three-day experience" (*Militant*, 8 August). But Jackson's patrols had nothing to do with black self-defense against racist terror. They had but one aim: to get blacks off the streets and curb the

"troublemakers." They did the cops' work for them and then dissolved themselves so that the police could resume upholding "law and order." Jackson didn't even try to force city authorities to release the victims of the racist dragnet.

Blacks know they are the last hired and first fired. They know they cannot move into white neighborhoods, and if they do they are likely to be burned out, or worse. They know that school integration is by now a dead letter. But many believe that the unprovoked murder of blacks by white men is still against the law in this country and will be punished. After all, the U.S. is not supposed to be South Africa.

The final straw in Miami and Chattanooga was the courts. After two murderous racist attacks—one by the cops, the other by the Klan—the "justice" meted out was a license to kill for the white-sheeted terrorists and their brothers in blue. Often they are the same people—like the Treasury agent who helped plan the Greensboro massacre last November and the police informer who drove the first car in the KKK caravan of death! The lesson that it is open season on blacks and communists in Jimmy Carter/Ronald Reagan's America will be further driven home in Greensboro next week when the sham trial of the KKK killers finally begins.

It is understandable that many blacks have illusions in bourgeois legality, in government officials, judges and courts, if not in the cops. This is the message pounded home by every "black elected official," preacher and poverty pimp that one can name. And almost the entire ostensibly Marxist left also fostered the "rely on the government" line in fighting racist oppression and violence. Just to take one recent example: in Detroit a "Coalition Against Racism and Unemployment" has been formed, promoted by the eclectic Stalinoid Workers World Party

of Sam Marcy. They propose to counter the Nazis' threatened August 23 march by asking city authorities to declare that day "anti-fascist day." As if fascist terrorists could be warded off by a local ordinance!

It was against these self-defeating liberal strategies that the Spartacist League (SL) joined militant auto workers from Detroit's River Rouge plant to organize a labor/black anti-fascist rally last November 10 when the KKK threatened to march there following the Greensboro massacre. More than 500 predominantly black protesters from plants all over the city came out to say that the Klan would not ride in that black and union town! Again, on April 19, the SL and militant trade unionists mobilized the San Francisco Bay Area labor movement to come out in force and make the Nazis back down from their threat to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" with a rally in downtown San Francisco. While Democratic mayor Dianne Feinstein proposed an "anti-fascist day" of indoor educationals, she was unsuccessful in her scheme to channel support away from the SL-initiated, broadly endorsed coalition that brought out 1,200 unionists, blacks and socialists in a militant anti-Nazi demonstration.

A mobilization of the power of labor is what is needed to stop the fascists in their tracks. On April 19 the KKK killers in Chattanooga carried out their night ride of bullets and death. But that very same day in San Francisco the Nazis did not dare to show their faces! A mobilization of the oppressed black ghettos linked to the power of the labor movement offers an alternative to the spontaneous outbursts of rage in Miami and Chattanooga, where blacks take almost all the losses. This is the perspective of revolutionary overthrow of the Jim Crow capitalist system and winning justice against the racist killers who maintain it. ■



Cops arrest 46 strikers at Hyatt Regency on July 22 (left); on August 2 over 2,000 hotel workers and supporters, including Spartacist League contingent (right) rally, chanting "On Strike, Shut It Down!" WV Photos

Bay Area Labor: Man the Picket Lines!

Stop Scabs to Win S.F. Hotel Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—Six thousand hotel maids, waiters, cooks and bellmen have been on strike/lockout at three dozen of San Francisco's highest-priced hotels since July 17. They are waging a tough contract fight against 59 management-proposed takeaways and for an increase in their \$3.50-4.50/hour wages. The strike has been marked by the great vigor and fighting spirit of the mainly minority and women strikers who have kept up picket lines 24 hours a day since the strike began. What it lacks is a leadership with a militant program to stop the scabs and bring out all SF labor to back the strikers against brutal cop attacks.

The members of Hotel, Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union Local 2 are up against the hard-lining Hotel Employers Association (HEA), which has kept the hotels operating throughout the strike and just re-opened the

Hilton and prime tourist spot Top of the Mark after an initial shutdown. The HEA has recruited scabs from as far away as Hawaii and Florida (Local 2 reports that a number are "Castro's castouts") and is housing them at the hotels. Others are escorted through the picket lines by the special 128-man police force in SWAT-style uniforms assigned to the strike by hotel owner Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

On July 22 the TAC squad arrested 46 strikers at the Hyatt Regency including the local union president. Two days earlier a hotel security guard attacked four picketers and broke one woman's arm and teeth. On July 24 the HEA sought and was quickly granted a temporary restraining order making numerous restrictions against the picketers and their noise level. Mayor Feinstein is now trying to get the strikers back to work leaving dozens of key

issues to be settled *after* the strike by a "professional arbitrator"!

The valiant picketers must not be left alone to fight off these combined attacks. They desperately need the aid of the powerful San Francisco labor movement to win this strike! Organized union contingents must shut down the hotels by stopping the scabs and blocking the delivery of food, laundry and supplies. The SF Central Labor Council (CLC) gave formal sanction to the strike but has done nothing about the unions that have left their members open to company reprisal for respecting the picket lines. As a result, unionized desk clerks, stationary engineers and delivery truck drivers have been giving the hotels the manpower and supplies they need to stay open. This scabbing must be *stopped!*

In the docks union, "Longshore

Militant" editor and ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow introduced a motion that points the direction for organized labor: "In view of last Tuesday's mass police arrests of pickets, Local 10 will offer to help out striking hotel workers on the picket lines." This motion passed the Local 10 Executive Board unanimously but remains to be put into practice. ILWU Local 34, however, has set up a group of ship clerks to walk the hotel picket lines. This is the type of support that must be carried out on a large scale if the strike is to succeed.

In the interests of the tourist industry the city is putting the arm on the union to end the strike. By the CLC's political support to Feinstein and other Democratic politicians at election time and Local 2's agreement to the Feinstein arbitration scheme, the labor tops bear

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Courts Out of the Unions!

Fraser Strips Fremont UAW Rights

FREMONT, California—At the United Auto Workers (UAW) international convention in Los Angeles in early June, the only even half-hearted opposition to UAW chief Doug Fraser's "hate the Japanese, love the companies" protectionism was a brief demonstration by the "California Network." With hundreds of thousands of auto workers jobless, did they raise such demands for militant action, drawn from the UAW's own history, as sit-down strikes against layoffs? No, the answer of these "realistic" oppositionists was to call for laying off by voluntary inverse seniority and the ludicrous "demand" of two years' advance notice of plant closings. Nevertheless, despite its sub-reformist program, the Network got in hot water with the Fraser regime, which doesn't have room even for a house opposition.

The California Network is a careerist lash-up of in- and out-of-office bureaucrats from several West Coast locals, backed by various Maoist groups, which came together in an unsuccessful bid to oust Fraser-backed UAW Regional Director Jerry Whipple. Their candidate was Harold Dunne, a 16-year appointed official and hatchet man for the International. When it

became apparent that Dunne didn't have enough votes to win, the Network called on him to drop out in favor of Bob Berghoff, from aerospace Local 148. Berghoff's proposed solution to unemployment in the UAW is to "organize a job council of the laid-off to picket imported car dealers"!

While Dunne and Berghoff represent no more of an answer to the loss of members' jobs than the "Buy American" policies of the International, Fraser took very seriously the rebellion against his Mr. Whipple. No sooner did Whipple win the election and the convention end than a hailstorm of repression came down from Solidarity House: Harold Dunne was fired, Local 1364 (Fremont GM) where the opposition was centered was slapped under an administratorship, and officials from other locals who have been active in the Network found themselves removed from office or under attack.

The pretext for the trusteeship slapped on Local 1364 was the International's charge that Local officials had used union funds to hire an outside accounting firm to decide a dispute between rival bureaucratic factions over vote counting for convention delegates.

Considering that Doug Fraser sits on the Chrysler board of directors, this charge of undermining union independence reeks of hypocrisy. But the Fremont officials of the United Independent caucus soon confirmed the charge by dragging the union into court. Citing the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act as their precedent, lawyers for the Local pleaded for government intervention to lift the trusteeship.

But the judge wasn't interested, no doubt in part because the Fraser regime is correctly regarded as a loyal ally of the bosses' government. Luckily for the workers movement, and no thanks to the local bureaucrats and their left hangers-on, there was no court intervention in internal union affairs—this time. Class-struggle militants must sharply oppose the treacherous "tactic" of suing the unions—the capitalist government has no right to decide who the union's officials are. The UAW must clean its own house!

The "Left-Center Coalition" Trap

The Fremont General Motors assembly plant has a history of militant and opposition activity. It was the

home of a sizable but short-lived Black Panther Caucus in 1970, and the Local 1364 membership responded with

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Only Workers Revolution Will Sweep Away the Generals

Bolivia: Break the Cycle of Coups and Popular Fronts!

It came as a surprise to no one on July 17 when the Bolivian military seized the seat of government, the Palacio Quemado (literally, the "Burnt Palace") in La Paz. After all, it was something like the 189th military coup in Bolivia's 155-year history. Since 1966 no popularly elected president had been allowed to assume office, and Hernán Siles Zuazo was no exception. For the third time in two years he won a plurality of the popular vote, and for the third time the army moved again before Congress could install him in office.

Issuing the traditional *pronunciamiento*, General Luis García Meza declared, "There will be no more electoral adventures in this country," and proclaimed himself president, vowing to hold power for "five, ten, or twenty years" until the "Marxist cancer" was eradicated from Bolivia. Acting president Lydia Gueiler Tejada was arrested, martial law declared, a dusk-to-dawn curfew put into effect, all union activity outlawed, a total press blackout imposed, and troops and tanks moved in to occupy the universities. It was politics as usual in Bolivia, many thought.

But this time things turned ugly. Observers commented on the deliberate ferocity and drew ominous parallels with Chile in 1973, Argentina in 1976. Just as the army was taking over, gunmen burst into the headquarters of the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB) labor federation, where leaders of the major parties and trade-union officials were meeting to plan resistance to the coup. Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, leader of the Partido Socialista Uno (PS-1) was dragged off and murdered. COB líder máximo Juan Lechín Oquendo and Simón Reyes, secretary-general of the miners' union and a prominent member of the Communist Party (PCB), were abducted along with some 30 other labor and political leaders.

Many observers are referring to the recent military action as the "*cocagolpe*" (cocaine coup) because of the overlapping interests of the rich drug smugglers in the eastern city of Santa Cruz and the rightist politicians and generals who also have their stronghold there. The trade appears to rival mining in the revenue it provides and is evidently a prime source of wealth among the highly corrupt military officialdom. Earlier this year a plane loaded with 1,540 pounds of pure cocaine, worth many millions of dollars at the retail level, was seized by the Bolivian police. It was found to belong to a former aide of rightist strongman Hugo Banzer, who ruled the country from 1971 to 1978. Significantly, coup victim Quiroga had been the most insistent in the Congress in calling for a parliamentary trial of Banzer for malfeasance in office.

Workers' Resistance

The Bolivian working class mounted immediate resistance to the coup. In response to a call by the COB and the politicians, barricades were thrown up in the streets of La Paz and a completely effective general strike paralyzed manufacturing and transport. But the strongest response as usual was centered in the mountainous mining region southeast of the capital, where thousands of tin miners armed with dynamite occupied the mineshafts. They undercut the press blackout with their own network of clandestine radio transmitters, rallying



Resistance to coup: La Paz masses erect street barricades

UPI

resistance to the generals. On July 23 at Cataví, a traditional center of militancy, miners and peasants stormed the army barracks with shotguns and homemade dynamite grenades, fighting for five hours before they were driven off. And there are reports of wide-scale desertions among troops in the mining districts.

The army sealed off the mining districts in an effort to starve out the miners and sent jets to strafe their homes and families. In an effort to break the resistance, the military produced Lechín on television, alive if battered, who told the miners to end their strike and return to work. The government has announced repeatedly that the miners are back at work, agreements have reportedly been signed, the miners' radio stations smashed. Over 50 miners have been killed, 300 captured. But the miners stand firm and continue the strike.

They are conscious of their power: last November they were critical in toppling the short-lived military regime of Colonel Natusch Busch. His coup had been met by a general strike also, which Lechín called off after a week when Busch agreed to negotiate with Congress for a return to civilian rule. But the miners defied Lechín's back-to-work order, refusing to return to work for a full 16 days until Busch stepped down. Central to Bolivia's economy, the miners produce over 70 percent of the country's reported export earnings, and the dictatorship cannot stabilize its stranglehold so long as they stay out.

But the courage and determination of the miners are not enough to break the deadly cycle of murderous military dictatorships in Bolivia. The general strike has become the standard answer of the workers movement (and of the bourgeois opposition, for that matter) to perennial military coups d'état. It is so much a tradition that the coup/strike/elections/coup cycle has assumed the character of a ritual dance, where the workers struggle heroically only to have their victory handed over to the "democratic" bourgeois politicians who in turn cede power to the military. The general strike under Bolivian conditions is used as a pressure tactic: in the hands of a consummate class betrayer such as Lechín, at best it culminates in a "workers' coup" which installs in power a leftist general (Torres in 1970) or bourgeois nationalist (Paz Estenssoro in 1952) who establishes a bonapartist populist regime that undertakes certain radical measures (nationalizations, land reform) to win support from the working class and peasantry. But after

the masses are demobilized the army eventually returns—at a cost of thousands of lives. This is no abstract question, for already on three occasions in recent memory the Bolivian working class has seized control of the factories, mines and streets only to hand power over to bourgeois populists: in 1952, 1970 and 1979.

The Bolivian Left and the Popular Front

The revolution of 1952 was a mass popular uprising which led to the destruction of the army, a radical land reform and nationalization of the tin mines. But because it placed in power the nationalist MNR of Victor Paz Estenssoro rather than a workers and peasants government, a new army was eventually reconstituted (with substantial U.S. financial "aid" and training). After 14 years of MNR rule, in which the workers' conquests were gradually whittled away, the civilian populists were overthrown by the new army which established a "military-peasant bloc" under General Barrientos. Although most of the left (both Stalinist and ostensibly Trotskyist) gave implicit/explicit support to the coup, a year later Barrientos mobilized the peasantry in support of a massacre in the Altiplano tin mines.

In 1970 another general strike placed in power the leftist general Juan José Torres, backed by the Political Command of the COB (headed by the perennial Lechín). Although a short-lived "People's Assembly" appeared, it never became the "first Soviet of the Americas" which its pseudo-Trotskyist apologists claimed. And after nine months, the "left" general Torres was ousted by the very right-wing Banzer. Where Barrientos was able to maintain a modicum of popular support, however, Banzer ruled exclusively through terror and imperialist loans (hence the country's present astronomical indebtedness of \$3.5 billion).

After the military rulers had become hopelessly discredited through rampant corruption, an attempt was made to substitute sham elections. However, the moderate leftist Siles Zuazo (a former MNR president, 1956-60) was sufficient to frighten the generals, resulting in the Natusch Busch coup last November. The leadership of opposition to the *golpistas* was in the hands of a super-popular front, the CONADE (Comité Nacional de Defensa de la Democracia), including all wings of the bourgeoisie except the far-right generals and fascist Falange. Again in July the CONADE was the body which issued the call for a

general strike against the military takeover. And criminally, this organ of bourgeois domination has been accepted by the bulk of the Bolivian left.

This can be seen by their position toward the Natusch Busch coup. Long-time ostensible Trotskyist Guillermo Lora has published a brochure analyzing the "tragic week" (*Enseñanzas de la semana trágica*, November 1979) in which he complains that the CONADE was "invaded by bourgeois fronts" (precisely what it was designed for!). Instead of breaking with it, Lora's POR "fought for [the CONADE] to add to its name the term anti-fascist, to give it a greater breadth of perspective, although of course this did not precisely express the Trotskyist idea." Hardly. Lora also discovered that divisions which appeared in the military "opened up the possibility that some sectors of the military could act as a transmission belt for the will of the exploited."

The Bolivian Stalinists of the PCB have such a sorry record of class betrayal that for years they were utterly discredited among Bolivian workers. In the post-war period they supported the murderous government of the *rosca*, the rapacious mining and land-owning bourgeoisie which was overthrown in 1952. Their treachery toward the guerrilla adventure of Che Guevara in 1967 is infamous. And in recent years the PCB has been a pillar of Siles Zuazo's UDP. In a symmetrical betrayal, the Maoist PC-ML is submerged in a very unpopular front backing Siles' main rival, MNR leader Paz Estenssoro.

The July coup by García Meza found most of the self-proclaimed Trotskyist left snugly in the back pocket of COB leader Lechín and his political vehicle, the PRIN (Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left, a 1964 split-off from the MNR). Three groups affiliated with the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) of Ernest Mandel with the Morenoite OST joined the PRIN to form a popular-frontist bloc backing Lechín for president. This bloc, the PRIN-Alianza, included in its founding document a call for "defending and extending" the CONADE popular front (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 June). This is the same Lechín who called off the general strike last November and signed a treacherous non-aggression pact with the military in April. Despite the USec's claim that this was an "independent working-class alternative," Lechín, true to form, withdrew his candidacy in mid-campaign.

It is necessary to break the vicious cycle of coups and popular fronts. The Bolivian masses have had enough of the acting president, the minister ad interim, the limited surgical intervention to extirpate the Marxist cancer, Institutional Act No. 1, and the reestablishment of the constitution of 1967 (or the 16 that preceded it)! But to do this it is necessary to break with all forms of class collaboration, whether civilian popular fronts or "critical support" to the supposed "anti-imperialist" generals. The tragedy of Trotskyism in Bolivia is the gap between the revolutionary aspirations of a combative working class and the inveterate tailism of those who falsely claim the program of Trotsky and actually follow the tortured path of a Lechín. For workers revolution to smash the generals' coup in Bolivia! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

My Imam, Right or Wrong!

USec "Chador Socialist" on Tour

SYDNEY, Australia—Who on the left could defend the barbaric stonings in Khomeini's Iran? The murdering attacks against the leftists by clerical fanatics? The genocidal destruction of Kurdish villages by Persian chauvinism in turban? The social suffocation of women under the head-to-toe veil, the chador? Yet, even as convicted "adulterers," "homosexuals" and other "sex criminals" were buried in the ground up to their chests to be battered to death by traditional stoning, an Iranian Khomeinist calling herself a socialist did step forward to defend "our traditions" and the "imam" against growing criticism and embarrassment on the left.

The Socialist Workers Party of Iran (HKE, sister party of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party [SWP]) sent its spokesman Fatima Fallahi to Australia last month to defend the "Islamic Revolution" to those of little faith. The Australian tour was meant as a public relations job for Khomeini's clerical-reactionary rule, but when Fallahi met the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ), she got more than she bargained for. The SL/ANZ thoroughly exposed this "chador socialist" as the political stooge of the mullahs' bloody right-wing terror, and it wasn't long before she packed her bags and headed back to Allah's revolution in Teheran.

Not that the Australian SWP which was touring Fallahi didn't try to escape political confrontation with the SL/ANZ. At the Sydney Trade Union Club they simply banned the SL/ANZ from the meeting. At Sydney University, where there has been an active Spartacist Club for years they couldn't get away with that, so they tried to get the campus cops (the "grey men") to stop SL/ANZ leaflets from being distributed. In Melbourne SWP members distributed leaflets with the outrageous lie that the SL/ANZ "promised physical disruption" of Fallahi's meetings, and the lone SWP supporter at LaTrobe University was caught tearing Spartacist Club posters off the campus walls. (He promised in writing never to do it again.)

But the SWP failed to stop SL/ANZ members and supporters from telling the truth about the mullah-loving fraud they were touting as a "revolutionary socialist." A Spartacist leaflet, "Fatima Fallahi: Answer These Questions!" was well received. At meetings in Sydney and Melbourne SL/ANZ members and sympathizers confronted Fallahi with picket lines and protests denouncing her as an apologist for Islamic reaction. She was consistently hit with questions, many from independents in the audience, which she couldn't answer—offering instead blatant lies and articles



THE MILITANT

Contrary to U.S. media reports of successful right-wing crackdown in Iran, deepening revolutionary ferment has created atmosphere open to debate of different viewpoints. Recent release from prison of two members of Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE) is one example of democratic gains. With headline "Victory for the revolution, a blow against American imperialism," April 15 issue of HKE newspaper 'Kargar' features release of Fatima Fallahi (right) and Mahsa Hashemi from Evin prison April 14. All fourteen HKE members imprisoned last June for expressing their socialist ideas are now free.

Iranian HKE member Fallahi (above) released from prison, supported Khomeini's attack on left. Two days after Militant (9 May) hailed "atmosphere open to debate," Islamic gangs "purified" universities. SL/ANZ demonstrates in Melbourne on July 17 (right) against Fallahi's campaign of lies.



of clerical faith in defence of her "imam."

At the Sydney Trade Union Club, even ordinary liberals walked out of the 11 July Fallahi meeting, revolted by her apologies for clerical-reactionary terror. A Spartacist supporter who managed to get past the SWP goon squad took the floor during the discussion and challenged Fallahi:

"Why have you made no mention of the slaughter of the left on the campuses? Why is your organization the only one that can freely operate? Why is your newspaper published and 48 others suppressed? Why were you released just a few days before the killings on campuses? There is no room in a Trotskyist program for a religious reactionary regime of mullahs...."

Fallahi could not even try to answer the questions. In Melbourne the SL/ANZ successfully organized 50 people to protest Fallahi's citywide talk, chanting slogans such as "Down with the Mullahs! The workers must rule Iran!" "Smash Persian chauvinism—send Khomeini to the Kurds!" and "No to the veil—smash Islamic reaction!" True to form, the SWP appealed, unsuccessfully, to the cops to clear away the picket line.

Ayatollah Infallibility?

What Fallahi *didn't* say in her speeches was just as revealing as her near-ecstatic rhapsody about the Islamic revolution. Nowhere did she volunteer any comment on the attacks on women, leftists or national minorities. When pressed by questions from the floor, Fallahi first cynically lied, denying the existence of repression in Iran, then openly solidarized with Khomeini's attempts to mow down anyone he considers a threat to his rule. "So when someone at the Sydney University forum asked, "I am not a Spartacist, but is it true that homosexuals are being stoned to death in Iran?" Fallahi replied: "Well, it is not true.... We are opposed, as socialists, to any execution of anything. But the things is, the homosexuality in Iran is different from Europe and the United States.... In Iran, those people that were executed—and here

the press is saying they were homosexuals—they were not homosexuals. These people, they were rap[ing] the kids, or gave the money to the kids to have a sexual life with them. That was why they execute[d] them.... The majority of the Iranian people, they don't know what the homosexuality is."

When this drew a derisive laugh from the audience, Fallahi shamefacedly added that if Iranians wanted "to have it [homosexuality], they can have it at home." So here is a self-styled "socialist," even "Trotskyist," saying that the homosexuals who were executed were really "child molesters"; that, really, these "child rapists" got what they deserved! Trying to explain away the persecution of sex "criminals," both homosexuals and "immoral" women, Fallahi told listeners at the Sydney Trade Union Club a few days earlier, "You must understand that these are our traditions. Out of revolution comes evolution."

For the HKE, which politically supports the mullah dictatorship, even the defence of elementary democratic rights is off limits if it conflicts with the revival by the Khomeinists of such quaint Islamic "traditions" as the flogging of women for wearing "immodest" bathing suits. The traditions which Fallahi claims as her own have nothing to do with the traditions of even the bourgeois revolution, let alone of the communist movement. The status of women in seventeenth-century London was probably better than in present-day Teheran. Then, at least, it was an actionable offence to call a woman a whore and wife-beating was outlawed. Yet for the mullahs, *all* women are whores if they show their faces in public without wearing a chador, and they openly sanction the most barbaric treatment of women.

But for Fallahi the veil is not a symbol of oppression. It is "beautiful," something "we're proud of," a "symbol to fight against U.S. imperialism and about the capitalism inside the country." Contrary to all the reports of women being forced out of jobs for not wearing the veil, Fallahi asserted that

women "are participating more in the social life than ever before." What sort of "social life" this is can best be gleaned from her comments about her own daily routine at home, made at a meeting in the Sydney Trade Union Club:

"I wear my chador, go to the mosque at 5 o'clock, join prayers and after prayers sit down and talk politics. And they know I'm a socialist and they respect me."

"Respect?" At best the mullahs may tolerate Fallahi and the HKE because they have shown that they are no threat to Khomeini's bloody rule. But genuine socialists and advocates of women's liberation should have nothing but contempt for this "revolutionary" in a chador.

At meeting after meeting, Fallahi justified or excused every action by the mullahs against the working class, minorities, women and the left. Her advance billing as "an anti-Shah activist and fighter for women's rights and for Iran's oppressed national minorities" was shown to be both a lie and an outrageous insult to Iran's oppressed. "Our revolution is a progressive revolution and one of the beautiful revolutions in the whole world history," she proudly told her audience at Sydney University on 14 July. Ignoring the banning of most left-wing papers and Khomeini's call to dissolve left-wing parties, Fallahi insisted that "Now there is freedom of press, freedom of political activity, freedom of all those groups" outlawed under the shah. Fallahi tried to blame the Iranian left for its own persecution, claiming that the "imam" had permitted free discussion in the media but that the leftists' own "sectarianism" had turned the people of Iran against them and isolated their groups. As for Khomeini himself, "The imam has been right before, he never compromises, and he is right now."

"Trotskyist" Following the Imam's Line

But her song of praise was not exclusively for the aging religious bigot

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A significant political shift has taken place in West Germany. For many years, anti-Sovietism found greater popular support in the "federal republic" than anywhere else in West Europe. In the 1950s and '60s, Bonn was the most loyal, most virulently anti-Russian of Washington's NATO allies. Now the renewed Cold War drive emanating from the U.S. is meeting a widespread essentially pacifistic resistance. Under the double-edged slogan of "Security for the '80s," Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) is presenting itself in the West German elections scheduled for next October as the party of "peace and détente" against the warmongering intrigues of the reactionary Christian Democratic leader Franz Josef Strauss. And in recent key Nordrhein-Westfalen state elections the SPD rode to victory on the coattails of its "Friedenskanzler" (peace chancellor).

The change in political climate is seen not only in a leftward shift at the electoral level, but in statements by the most powerful capitalist interests. "Berlin is worth more than Kabul" was the response of a leading Frankfurt newspaper, expressing a widespread opinion in bourgeois circles. The Schmidt-Strauss contest reflects tensions among the European bourgeoisies over what attitude to adopt toward the anti-Soviet hysteria of Carter/Brzezinski. Especially since the end of American postwar economic hegemony (symbolized by the ending of the dollar-exchange standard in August 1971), West Germany, like Japan, has become the dominant imperialist power in its region of the world. And, as the American *Business Week* (3 March) headlined a feature article, it is increasingly "Germany: The Reluctant Ally."

Bonn has begun to assert itself as an independent force in international imperialist politics, resulting in a number of disagreements with Washington: over Russia, Khomeini's Iran, the arms race. Carter's insulting warning (as if he were addressing the governor of Puerto Rico) didn't stop Schmidt from using the "Euromissiles" as bargaining chips in his recent trip to Moscow. And this was followed up by a state visit from Giscard d'Estaing in which the French president stressed a special relationship between the Bundeswehr, the largest armored force in West Europe, and the neutron-bomb-armed *force de frappe*. Behind the emergence of regional imperialist powers are growing inter-imperialist rivalries, which the Russian Stalinists hope to take advantage of in their illusory quest for "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism.

For eleven years the SPD—a bourgeois workers party and agency of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement—ruling in coalition with the liberal capitalist Free Democratic Party (FDP), has presided over the revival of German imperialism. For if the SPD is the historic mass party of the German working class, it is also the party of wage freezes, of anti-left clauses in the trade unions, of strikebreaking; it is the party of "internal security," of witchhunts against terrorists—real or imagined—and against the entire left; it is the party of blacklisting professionals, of the Stammheim show trials of the Red Army Faction (the "Baader-Meinhof gang"); and it is more and more the party of deporting foreign workers. But in the upcoming elections it is presenting itself above all as the party of "peace and détente."

Masses' Fear of War

Washington's efforts to launch a new Cold War against the Soviet Union have

frightened the West German masses. They regard Carter, and even more so Reagan, as just crazy enough to start a war with Russia over far-off Afghanistan and then seek to limit the battleground to Central Europe. Schmidt's SPD is seeking to exploit the new pacifistic mood. One of its posters in the recent state elections was titled "We want war no more" and consisted of rows of photos of women, each above a caption saying, "I don't want to lose my husband" or "my sons" or "my brothers." This kind of propaganda has succeeded not only against the rabid right-winger Strauss, Germany's Ronald Reagan, but also against the SPD's bourgeois-liberal coalition partners.

In the important Nordrhein-Westfalen vote, the Social Democrats won a majority of the seats while their FDP allies fell below the 5 percent minimum, thereby losing state parliamentary representation. This loss was

commonly attributed to the fact that the Free Democrats were viewed as more pro-Washington than the SPD. In interviews shortly after the election, FDP leader and West German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher protested that he was second to none in championing détente:

"No conflict in other areas of the world will be brought a step closer to solution if we deliberately bring the Cold War back to Europe. The opposite is necessary."

This hard pro-NATO bourgeois politician obviously believes he has to say such things to win votes. And recent public opinion polls bear him out. *Der Spiegel* magazine recently reported that the chancellor's office conducted a confidential poll in March showing that 45 percent of those questioned favored neutrality of both German states as a step toward peace in Europe (and only 34 opposed West German neutrality).

This widespread pacifistic mood has manifested itself not only in electoral politics, but also in militant action. In order to bring the army out of obscurity and place it in the public limelight, the government had scheduled a celebration of NATO's 25th anniversary with a public oath-taking ceremony for Bundeswehr soldiers in Bremen. However, local Social Democrats in the north German seaport objected to this revival of Prussian militarist display, resembling a *Feldgottesdienst* (military religious service) in the old Wilhelminian style. The result was an hours-long street battle on May 7 between police and protesters. In the end the army was able to bring off its sabre-rattling spectacle only by flying in ex-Nazi federal president Carstens, SPD and NATO bigwigs by helicopter.

Thousands of demonstrators had encircled the soccer stadium, and as police moved against the protesters they

For Revolutionary Reunification

Germany and Carter's Cold War



Thomann/Stern



Morich/Stern

Bremen, 7 May—Bundeswehr ceremony for NATO's 25th anniversary (above) provoked major anti-militarist demonstration (below). Anarcho-spontaneists battled cops throughout the night.

were met with a hail of stones. The battle raged into the early morning hours with the cops reporting more than 250 of their number injured in the melee. This just expression of outrage at an obscene militarist provocation was not, however, limited to the anarcho-spontaneist groups whose attempt to storm the stadium was a dangerous adventure. The second, larger component of the Bremen demonstration consisted of liberal Protestants, members of the city government and Jusos (Young Socialists). But neither petty-bourgeois radical substitutionism nor liberal pacifism can effectively combat resurgent German imperialist militarism. This can only be done through working-class mobilization.

Deutschmark Imperialism

"The Germans... carried the superiority of the deutschmark on their features like duelling scars: national honour which had survived Belsen depended now on a rate of exchange."

—Graham Greene, *Our Man in Havana*

Despite the SPD/FDP's present electoral propaganda, the West German government is hardly pacifistic. It commands the largest conventional army in Europe (outside of the USSR), is developing its own nuclear capacity through secret collaboration with South Africa and is allied to U.S. imperialism with its expanding nuclear arsenal. West Germany has taken responsibility for building up the military capacity of Turkey, its main strategic reserve of *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers"), as a strong point to secure NATO's southern flank. (Naturally, this means strengthening the aspiring Turkish Pinochets, who are threatening a bloody coup at any minute to crush the left and workers movement.) And currently a formation of warships of the West German navy has joined the U.S. fleet circling around in the Indian Ocean.

At the same time, the West German ruling class recognizes that in a military confrontation with the USSR in the present period it can only lose. To be sure, German imperialism aspires to overthrow proletarian state power in the Soviet bloc no less than does the U.S., but it is pursuing different methods. Washington remains fixated on recapturing the nuclear first-strike capability it had in the 1950s and early '60s, a goal now openly written into the Republican electoral platform, which calls for "military superiority" over the USSR. West German ruling circles think in terms of gradually buying up East Germany, Poland, etc. and subordinating their economic plans to the interests of German capital. Of course, the notion of a gradual restoration of capitalism in East Europe through purely economic means is illusory. Nonetheless, the economic relationship of Bonn to the Soviet bloc is very different from that of the U.S.

Since the *Ostverträge* (treaties with East Europe) of 1970-72, West Germany's trade with the Soviet bloc has reached a point where it is almost as large as that with the United States (in 1979, \$20 billion as against \$24 billion). Moreover, much of this trade involves large, long-term construction projects for a few of the biggest firms like the steel giants Krupp and Mannesmann. It is no accident that Krupp boss Berthold Beitz, also head of the West German manufacturers association, was the most vocal ruling-class opponent of boycotting the Moscow Olympics. And while Bonn grudgingly acquiesced to Carter's Olympic boycott, it made it clear that economic sanctions against the Soviet bloc were out of the question. Speaking on national television in March, SPD vice chairman Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski condemned trade sanctions as hurting West Germany more than the USSR.

If the Cold War is the number one



Stem

A pfennig for West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt's (left) thoughts. And this peanut farmer is really the head of the most powerful state on earth. Gott im Himmel!

issue in West German politics today, the state of the economy is definitely number two. And they are related. While West Germany is one of the strongest economies in the world, it is critically dependent on exports. The sharp depression in the U.S. and economic difficulties in many of its other capitalist trading partners threatens to pull German capitalism into a general world slump. As it is, industrial production has been flat for some months, and the consensus among bourgeois economists is for zero growth and one million unemployed by next winter. Under these conditions, West German trade with the East becomes even more important. On the eve of Schmidt's recent visit to Moscow, Beitz

sent the chancellor a telegram wishing him well on his mission, which included finalizing a 25-year trade accord in energy and minerals.

Behind the SPD/FDP Coalition

The upcoming election has polarized West Germany. Strauss is hated and feared, not only as a warmonger but perhaps even more because the reactionary Bavarian demagogue, with his connections to neo-Nazi groups, is identified with police-state repression. The SPD has had no trouble drawing large numbers of workers into a series of "Stop Strauss" demonstrations. Significantly, this is the first time the Social-Democratic bureaucracy has mobilized its proletarian base in this manner since

1972, when the Christian Democrats unsuccessfully tried to bring down the Brandt government over its policy of normalizing relations with the Soviet bloc. And for the first time in eleven years, there is a possibility that the SPD will win an absolute parliamentary majority, while their FDP partners may fail to gain the 5 percent minimum.

The prospect of having to govern alone has given the SPD leadership the jitters, and worries its imperialist allies as well. On the night of the SPD electoral victory in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Schmidt telephoned local party leaders asking them plaintively to at least keep the FDP in the state government even if they were not represented in parliament. The Social Democrats cling to the coalition with an iron grip, invoking the need for it in forcing their working-class base to put up with the pro-capitalist policies required by German capital. For several years now the country has experienced significant strikes in printing, steel and the docks on a scale not seen since 1967. Governing without the Free Democrats, and in the midst of a slump besides, the SPD leadership would feel tremendous pressure from its trade-union base and a more militant left wing.

The behavior of the Social Democratic tops bears out the analysis of popular frontism put forward by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt): that such class-collaborationist coalitions serve to temporarily suppress the internal contradiction within bourgeois (reformist) workers parties in favor of the pro-capitalist elements. Even the mouthpieces of the big bourgeoisie can understand this, at least empirically, as shown in their commentary on the May

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WWIII in Germany

As the New Cold Warriors rev up the tank and missile factories preparing to "teach the Russians a bloody lesson," they dream of the days after World War II when they didn't have to put up with "selfish" allies and thanks to good old atomic blackmail America was riding high in the saddle. Carter and Reagan are already practicing their nuclear quick draw, and the Europeans are alarmed at what *Der Spiegel* (9 June) calls "the depressing alternatives" for U.S. president: "One candidate is a hypocritical amateur whose level of incompetence is unsurpassed in American history. The other is a played-out film actor, a prophet of yesteryear who nostalgically preaches a return to an America that never was, and who—with empty rhetoric—shoves aside the problems of today, many of which he doesn't even understand."

The Germans are more than "depressed." They are scared. In our article, "That Was the Détente That Was" (*WV* No. 253, 4 April) we attributed to "old-fashioned nationalism" a statement by a West German air force general objecting to use of tactical nuclear weapons: "I am firmly opposed to their use on our soil. I cannot favor a nuclear war on German territory while the superpowers observe safely at a distance." Actually, it's not just displaced Junker officers who worry about Germany becoming the battlefield for World War III. So do German working people. And they have good reason to worry.

Germany is targeted in the imperialists' war games and plans. There is even a recent best-selling novel on the subject. Written by retired British general John Hackett, in collaboration with other top-level NATO types, *The Third World War: August 1985* projects

in fictionalized "documents" how the U.S./NATO defeat the USSR/Warsaw Pact during the space of a few weeks. In this "docu-fiction," which falls somewhere between a polemic against pro-détente liberals and a militarist wet dream, the Western allies come together under U.S. leadership just in the nick of time, while the Soviet bloc suffers a general political/military implosion of East European countries presumably yearning to be under the imperialist heel.

The book projects a swift but devastating high-technology land battle in Europe (mainly in Germany), a nuclear exchange (the Russians bomb Birmingham, the Americans take out Minsk), and the political destruction of the Soviet Union with the final end of "the Bolshevik nightmare begun in 1917." Of course, much of what is written in *The Third World War* is wildly absurd, politically and militarily, and laced with staggering hypocrisy. The American forces astride their white tanks are cast as defenders of humanity: "US policy had consistently been that US troops would retaliate in kind if attacked with chemical agents but would not use them otherwise." What about napalm, which turned the rice paddies and villages of Vietnam into a burning chemical hell?

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Wir wollen nie wieder Krieg.

Deshalb entscheiden wir uns für Johannes Rau und Helmut Schmidt.

Business Week

Schmidt's SPD exploits pacifistic mood in West Germany. Election poster says: "We never want war again."

Cold War...

(continued from page 7)

state elections in Germany. The *New York Times* (19 May) wrote:

"...there is doubt that Mr. Schmidt wants to have a Social Democratic majority. It would mean increased pressure on him from the left wing of the party in what could be his final term as Chancellor...."

"During his past six years in office Mr. Schmidt has often been able to hold the party's increasingly active leftists at arm's length by saying that whatever they are calling for is incompatible with running a coalition with the Free Democrats, a middle-of-the-road party. It is here that tactics come in, possibly overshadowing the issues. It has been suggested that the Social Democrats consider how they might 'lend' the Free Democrats votes—that is, have their members vote for Free Democratic candidates in areas where the Social Democrats are strong."

The kind of pressure the SPD tops are worried about was well illustrated at the party's conference in Essen at the end of May. After Schmidt and Wischniewski had scratched practically all social demands from the draft election platform, they were deluged with protests and hundreds of amendments from lower SPD bodies. As a result, at the party conference practically everything

collaboration. And the SPD/FDP coalition represents just that. As the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* (TLD), German section of the iSt, wrote in a leaflet directed at the June congress of the revisionist *Gruppe Internationale Marxisten* (GIM), section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat:

"For revolutionary tactics toward the Social Democracy, yes! That could run from critical electoral support (like a rope supports a hanged man) up to short-term entry of communists into an internally polarized Social Democracy. But in the present elections, to vote for the SPD, which rules in coalition with a bourgeois party and which has pushed policies openly hostile to the workers during the last period, would only mean strengthening reformist illusions."

The West German "far left" is dominated by Maoists and ex-Maoist organizations, today in deep crisis, undergoing splits and self-liquidation. As for the self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" groups, they have either defined the Social Democrats as a "bourgeois party," though "based on the working class" (like the workerist wing of the GIM and the Spartacusbund), or simply capitulated to the SPD like the Mandelite wing of the GIM. Not to mention the German Lambertists, buried deeply in the SPD and Jusos and in some respects standing to the right of Helmut

"the Social Democracy, because of the social base of its electorate and its ties to the trade unions, is not in a position to lead frontal assaults against the workers." Perhaps Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht could be called to the witness stand? Any argument goes, it seems, in justifying a vote for the party of Scheidemann and Noske. Thus the remnants of the German New Left, faced with the threat of Strauss, turn back to the arms of the SPD out of which they emerged a dozen years ago. And the Antiparliamentary Opposition is once again swimming in the swamp of parliamentary cretinism.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Germany

Because the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy has dominated and oppressed a section of the German nation, the national question plays a far more important role in Germany than elsewhere in West Europe outside of Northern Ireland and Spain. Moreover, it is strategic for the European revolution. The present political conjuncture makes particularly powerful the TLD/iSt's unique program for revolutionary reunification of Germany: it addresses the West German masses' fear of being drawn into a U.S.-instigated war against the Soviet Union, legitimate national consciousness and justified hostility toward Stalinist bureaucratic rule in East Germany. But by unconditionally defending the Soviet bloc against NATO—including over that lightning rod of imperialist "human rights" propaganda, the Berlin Wall—it also draws the line sharply against anti-Communism.

The strength of Maoism in West Germany was in large part the consequence of Kremlin domination of the DDR. Today as the Peking bureaucracy aggressively calls for NATO to arm against the USSR, the Maoists have become isolated, standing well to the right of the majority of the working masses. Their "natural" ally is now Strauss, who has been feted more than once in the Great Hall of the Peoples. As a result, only the insignificant MLD remains truly loyal to the Chinese line, while the rest of the erstwhile Maoist organizations are utterly confused and shaken by crises. The KBW calls for a Social Democratic victory in the elections; but while demanding "West Germany out of NATO," in the next breath it concludes that the federal republic must be defended against the "superpowers," the U.S. and USSR. The once thousands-strong KPD drew the logical conclusion this spring by formally liquidating itself.

As for the pseudo-Trotskyists, the reformist ISA, internationally affiliated to the French OCI of Pierre Lambert, calls for the "unconditional" reunification of Germany and for the extension of the SPD and its trade-union federation into the DDR. In this nation divided into two states, one capitalist, the other a deformed workers state; in this country where "the Russian question" is posed in daily life through thousands of historical, personal and family ties, this call amounts to demanding the reunification of Germany under the auspices of the Social Democracy: i.e., for capitalist reunification of Germany. The restoration of capitalism in East Germany would be a massive defeat for the European working class. In contrast, the iSt has been unique in defending the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism, a task made even more urgent by Washington's new Cold War offensive.

Today working people in West Germany see themselves as potential helpless victims of the "superpower" conflict. Yet the powerful German proletariat holds its fate in its own hands. The economic strength of both West and East Germany is such that a

revolutionary reunification would mark an end to the postwar division of Europe and an end to the global polarization between Russian Stalinism and American imperialism. A proletarian revolution in West Germany could reach across the Berlin Wall to spark the political revolution in East Germany and likewise lead to political revolution in the Soviet Union as well as the overthrow of capitalism in the rest of West Europe. Far more than in France, Britain or Italy, for example, West German workers have the power to determine the future of the planet.

Revolutionary reunification of Germany—that is the real perspective for the German proletariat, not the pacifistic hopes in détente now so widespread among the German populace. Forward to the construction of a German Trotskyist party, section of a reformed Fourth International! ■

WW III...

(continued from page 7)

But one point is surely true: they do intend to fight their war over and in Germany. Just before the war begins, the fictional NATO commander in chief and head of U.S. forces in Europe addresses a briefing of high-ranking officers in Heidelberg on prospects for the coming war. "The Vietnam experience is out of our system. We are rejuvenated and modernized." Discussing the tactical "unanimity" between U.S. and German forces, he ends his statement by noting "differences...some small, some not so small": "The greatest difference, whose significance only battle will reveal, is that a war here will be fought among Germans in Germany." It is this not so small difference that has many present-day real-life Germans worried.

The Third World War is a "literary" offshoot of the drive for moral and military rearmament of Western, particularly U.S. imperialism. The authors are arguing the same "peace through strength" line of Ronald Reagan—that with a huge armaments build-up ("defensive," of course) they can achieve military superiority over the Russians. The NATO generals' book is meant to browbeat squeamish liberals and scare reluctant allies into joining the U.S. war drive at full throttle. Their fictional counterparts speculate:

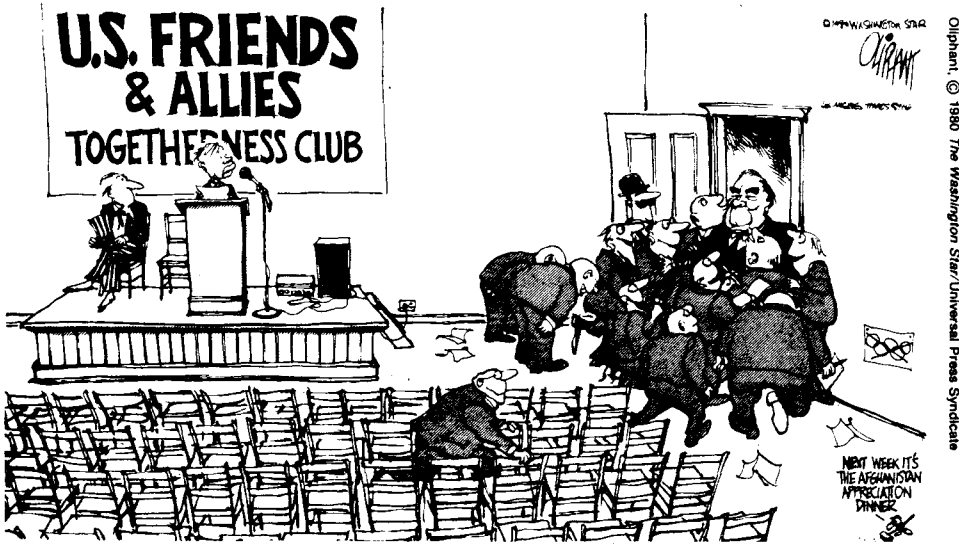
"If the crisis of 1985 had occurred in 1977, say, or even in 1978, it is as we have seen, scarcely conceivable that the Soviet plan for an advance to the Rhine, the dismemberment of the Alliance and the total destruction of the Federal Republic of Germany could have failed given the state of preparedness of the Allies at that time."

But Germans worried about survival and marches to the Rhine act as though they have more to fear from a Carter or Reagan. They are right. The missile-mad generals, their Dr. Strangelove "national security advisors" and presidents with itchy fingers on the nuclear trigger fully intend to use their arsenal, neutron bombs and all. A General John Hackett is of a piece with the British air force chief of staff who in February 1942 issued instructions that henceforth terror bombing of the civilian population was the objective:

"Re the new bombing directive: I suppose it is clear that the aiming points are to be the built-up areas, not, for instance, the dockyard or aircraft factories...."

—David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden*

The result was the horrendous fire-bombing of Dresden in March 1945, where by conservative estimate at least 135,000 people were killed in a single night, almost double the number of dead at Hiroshima. This imperialist war crime has not been forgotten by the German masses, and with good reason. ■



"Dear friends, I have a list of boycotts and sanctions for your consideration . . . Er, friends and allies, er . . . Sanctions and boycotts against the Soviet . . . Friends, could I have your attention . . . Er . . ."

was written back in, including the demand for a 35-hour week, equal rights for women, pension increases, etc. Meanwhile, SPD Bundestag whip Herbert Wehner (a former Communist, who stirred up a hornet's nest last year by remarking that the Soviet military build-up was "defensive from its point of view") introduced a bill in parliament upholding *Mitbestimmung* ("co-determination") in the coal industry—a class-collaborationist scheme involving the unions in management, which, however, the steel bosses have been trying to dump.

No to Lesser Evilism

The SPD is the traditional party of the German working class and since 1945 the only mass workers party in West Germany. That is why the attitude of an ostensibly revolutionary organization toward the SPD constitutes a crucial test. It is essential to the European revolution that the powerful German proletariat be broken from the hold of its treacherous leaders in the SPD and the social-democratic-led DGB trade-union federation. Because social democracy is a central obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness among the German working class, a revolutionary vanguard seeks to split the SPD's proletarian elements from its bourgeois elements.

If communists stand alongside the working class in struggle against the class enemy and have no interests apart from those of the workers as a whole, there is one experience which, as Trotsky said, the revolutionaries must never "share" with the masses: class

Schmidt! The organizational chaos and unprincipled maneuvers of the GIM leadership have resulted in losing one-third of its forces in the past year and a half. Even Ernest Mandel had to say: "All that can be done for the GIM is to pray." The sorry spectacle presented by the GIM over the elections bears eloquent witness to this.

At their national conference in February, the GIM voted by a bare majority against electoral support to the Social Democrats. But only a few days later, the membership could read on the front page of a leading bourgeois newspaper, the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (5 May), how USec and GIM leaders like Mandel and former trade-union bureaucrat Jakob Moneta called on the workers to vote SPD. Given the refusal of the new workerist-dominated "majority" to assume control of the political bureau, the leading body of the organization, or even its newspaper *Was Tun*, it was a simple matter for Mandel & Co. to get matters back in hand. A little pressure here, a few expulsions there and voilà! A second GIM conference was held at the end of June, and *Was Tun* (17 July) headlined its report: "Vote SPD! For a Socialist Answer to Schmidt!"

So now the pro-USec half of the GIM is participating in the "Stop Strauss" committees which act as a device for recapturing "left" votes for the SPD. In an important "Trade Unionists Against the Right" anti-Strauss demonstration in Berlin May 19, the anti-SPD half of the GIM's local marched without banners or slogans while the Mandelites distributed a leaflet "explaining" that

What Is the ISO Afraid Of?

Reprinted below is a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist League at two supposedly public meetings of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) in Boston and New York. Although these meetings were advertised in the ISO's Socialist Worker, the SL was physically excluded in both cities.

The ISO originated three years ago in one of the several cliquish splits that devastated the Shachtmanite International Socialists (IS). But although these left-over New Leftists had the franchise of the IS' former international chums, the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, times have changed and the ISO drifted aimlessly.

During the last year the remnants of the ISO have tried to stage a comeback by appealing to the politically naive with a simple-simon socialism and adapting to whatever is "in motion." But their all-sided tailism offers no perspective to serious would-be revolutionaries, and they become frenzied when confronted by the "purist" SL which has mobilized many hundreds of black and white unionists against the fascists in Detroit and San Francisco.

So while these State Department socialists refuse to defend the Soviet Union against "democratic" imperialism, they have no more scruples than the Stalinists in using thuggery to try to silence the Trotskyists. The SL has not flinched from upholding workers democracy in the past, and the "tough guy" exclusionism of these mod social democrats will not be enough to keep their followers sealed off from communism.

The goon squad in front of the International Socialist Organization's (ISO) "public" 22 June forum, ostensibly a presentation on "Trotsky's Marxism," was not there to prevent cop harassment or right-wing attack. Its sole purpose was to bar entry to the real Trotskyists—the Spartacist League. In fact anyone who so much as spoke to the SL comrades was suspect. Two people who simply purchased copies of *Work-*

ers Vanguard were initially kept out, and all Spartacist comrades were physically excluded. Exclusion coupled with threats of violence is the recourse of political cowards and must be protested!

Tonight's topic is "Revolutionary Feminism." First of all, Marxists, unlike feminists, see capitalism, rather than men, as the source of women's oppression. But apart from this, the ISO has a lot of nerve posing as defenders of women's rights. Although Ahmed Shawki, the ISO speaker last month, claimed that the "Iranian Revolution" was the greatest event in recent history, women in Khomeini's Iran have even fewer rights than under the bloody shah. Women who refuse to wear the chador (veil) have been repeatedly physically attacked by Islamic fanatics. Yet Barbara Winslow, a leading ISO spokesman, hailed the veil as a symbol of national liberation at a forum at Brown University last year. "Adulteresses" have been stoned, homosexuals executed, and hundreds of leftists and national minorities murdered. This is the "revolution" which the ISO supports. It was left to the international Spartacist tendency, even in the months before Khomeini came to power, to demand "Down with the Shah! Down with the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution in Iran!"

Real Trotskyists Defend the Soviet Union!

The ISO changes its political positions with every shift of the wind. But on one question these renegades from Marxism remain constant. The ISO hates Russia.

For Trotskyists, the defense of the USSR against imperialism is a matter of principle. In 1917, the Russian working class, led by the Bolshevik party, overthrew capitalist rule and established a workers state with a planned economy based on collectivized property forms. Despite the subsequent political degeneration, the basic economic gains of the 1917 revolution still exist today and must be defended. A capitalist reconquest of Russia, China, Cuba, and

Eastern Europe would be a colossal defeat for the world working class. But to the ISO it doesn't matter. In the final political battle of his life, waged against the ideological forebears of the ISO, Leon Trotsky demanded that revolutionaries defend the Soviet Union while struggling for political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats.

Ancient history? Hardly. Today, the Russian question is being fought out in Afghanistan. On one side stand reactionary Mullahs, who profit from the sale of women, Carter, the CIA—and the ISO. In January, *Socialist Worker* stated: "We totally condemn the Russian invasion of Afghanistan... No better than the American war against South Vietnam." By equating the imperialist butchers of Vietnam with the Soviets fighting Islamic reaction, the Stalinophobic ISO lined up with capitalism's top cop against working-class forces. The Spartacist League proudly proclaimed "Hail Red Army!" and called for extending the gains of the October revolution to Afghanistan.

In light of its virulent anti-Sovietism, the ISO's current opposition to the draft means next to nothing. The reimposition of the draft is part of Carter's war drive against the USSR. It is a small step from the ISO's "third camp" stance to outright support for U.S. imperialism in a war against the Soviets. During the Vietnam war the ISO's predecessor refused for years to call for the military victory of the Stalinist-led North Vietnamese and Vietcong! This position was changed only after the majority of the U.S. anti-war movement was clearly in favor of the defeat of the U.S. forces. The SL/SYL knows which side it's on. From the beginning of the Vietnam war, we called for military victory to the North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops. And today we demand: "Not a penny, not a man for the U.S. imperialist army! No to the draft!"

ISO—Old Garbage, New Pail

The ISO is trying to pass itself off as a new organization. Well, the name may be new, but the faces sure aren't. In 1977

the leaders of the ISO split from a politically indistinguishable outfit, the International Socialists (IS). The split did not take place over the IS' strategy of suing labor unions, or support to pro-capitalist union bureaucrats like Ed Sadlowski (steel workers) or Arnold Miller (coal miners), nor over its political support to an endless series of aspiring capitalist politicians like Robert Mugabe who promptly became a strikebreaker after coming to power in Zimbabwe. Everyone in the IS agreed on these questions. The split was a clique fight, an apolitical struggle over who would control the organization.

Isolated from the working class and devoid of any strategy for organizing inside the unions, the ISO cannot even tell the difference between a victory and a defeat. After the ghetto explosion in Miami in May, a three-day eruption born of rage and despair, which left 15 dead, 300 injured and more than 1,000 in jail, *Socialist Worker* cheered "It's About Time!" Most of the victims, however, and all of the dead after the first night were black, yet to the vicarious streetfighters in the ISO, Miami represented "a rebirth of revolutionary spirit in the United States." The ISO was so overcome with enthusiasm for the "rebellion" that they failed even to demand freedom for the hundreds of blacks arrested by the cops and National Guard.

In contrast to the defeatist ISO, the Spartacist League, along with militant trade unionists built successful demonstrations against the Nazis and the KKK in Detroit and San Francisco which kept the fascists off the streets. These were not accidental successes, but the products of years of principled struggle in the organized working class with a revolutionary program.

All those interested in investigating genuine Trotskyism should contact the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. Unlike the ISO, we are not afraid of political debate and will not bar our opponents from public meetings. ■

Fremont UAW...

(continued from page 3)

enthusiasm to the long national GM strike in that year. The UAW Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the Local whose activities have been covered by *WV* previously, found many members and local officials receptive to its call for a sit-down demonstration against layoffs in 1974. Again in April 1977 when Fremont struck over the firing of the entire UAW Local committee, the Militant Caucus got a sympathetic hearing for its demands that the plant be sealed off by mass pickets and the strike spread.

Fremont's "radical" reputation also stems from the presence of a half-dozen Maoist groups who have come in one after another with the idea that they can succeed where others have failed at making a "left-center coalition." They link up with a supposed lesser-evil wing of local officialdom, imagining that they can be pressured to the left. Instead the would-be radicals end up being water-boys for the bureaucracy. Over the past eight years Maoist organizations in the Bay Area have squandered dozens of cadres to corruption and demoralization by their policy of supporting first one, then another faction in the squabbling between competing cliques in the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, only to be sacrificed by their former "center" allies.

Now it has happened again. The California Network/United Independent officials of Local 1364 were particularly incensed to find that none other than Jerry Whipple, the man they tried to unseat as regional director, was made their administrator by the International. He, in turn, appointed the area representative to act in his place in controlling the activities of the local. And that person is one Earlie Mays, the former shop chairman in the plant. It is one of the ironies of this intra-bureaucratic war that the Maoists find their current "coalition" being clobbered by Brotherhood caucus founder Mays, whom they helped put in office in 1973.

Earlie Mays was elected brandishing slogans for "people's power" and vague anti-International rhetoric along with the support of the Avakian and Klonsky Maoists (now RCP and CP-ML respectively). Though Brotherhood leaders were never known to quarrel with the Democratic Party or the capitalist system, they could always use a little "fightback" Mao-talk as a left cover. And the Peking-line Stalinists did their best to provide it. This attempt at a "left-center coalition" ended ignominiously when the founders of the Brotherhood all took jobs with the International as a reward for breaking the 1977 strike in an orgy of redbaiting.

The Maoists (now supplemented by the LRS, CWP and other Stalinoids and Albania-lovers too numerous to mention) then switched to more or less open

support for the United Independent slate of George Nano & Co. Providing Nano with militant-sounding paper resolutions for conventions and contract time, in return they were appointed to small-time committee posts and given space in the Local newsletter. At no time have these "militants" ever raised a program to fight layoffs. In fact, one group, the *Unity* supporters, went so far as to say in a plant leaflet, "You can't fight layoffs"! Now they, too, will get the ax as the old Brotherhood officials make common cause with the International against Nano's gang.

Fight for Jobs, Not Bureaucratic Influence

At a time when the UAW membership urgently needs a fight to defend their jobs as layoffs are killing the union, both Local and International factions are engaged in a squalid bureaucratic dogfight. The rule of thumb in such disputes is that most of what each side says about the other is true. The only difference between these factions is who's on top: the underdogs would do the same to their opponents given the chance. The imposition of this undemocratic administratorship, depriving the Local 1364 membership of its rights, must be opposed by all union militants. These are the methods invariably used to suppress strike militancy and remove combative leaders. But there can be no political support to "dissident" local leaders whose idea of unionism is appealing to the class enemy!

The United Auto Workers needs to clean out the present leadership from top to bottom. The bureaucrats will not reform themselves, and the federal government can be relied on to intervene on behalf of the bosses every time. Oppositionists in the UAW must rely on the union ranks in fighting to change the union's course, and they must present the membership with a class-struggle program to do it. No court suits against the unions! For sitdowns and nationwide strikes to stop mass layoffs and plant closings! Build a new class-struggle leadership in the UAW! ■

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S.F. Hotel Strike...

(continued from page 3)

responsibility for the anti-union strike-breaking policies of the bosses' politicians. Ironically, the only reason the strike continues is that the HEA is not satisfied with Feinstein's arbitration scheme!

Local 2 officials never had any intention of closing the hotels down, judging from an admission by President Charles Lamb at the July 28 Central Labor Council meeting. Satisfying a state regulation requiring the presence of stationary engineers for the hotels to operate, Lamb said, "From the beginning we reluctantly agreed to allow one stationary engineer to work each hotel... then we found five or six working." All along, the role of officials on the picket lines has been for the most part to restrain picketers from interfering with scab traffic.

Local 2 Leftists Paralyzed by Fear of Leading Class Struggle

One factor coloring the strike is the presence in the local of a hodgepodge of supposed leftists and a history of rank-and-file "union reform" activity. This fact has occasioned a stiffened resistance on the part of the employers and

As thousands of low-paid Asian American service workers, including many of Chinese extraction, battled hotel owners in San Francisco, one picketer reported seeing a trade delegation from the People's Republic of China (PRC) crossing the picket line at the Mark Hopkins Hotel. When asked how he could do this, one PRC representative replied with the standard Maoist justification of every dirty deal of Peking diplomacy: "state-to-state relations."

WV checked out the story by first calling a picket captain known to be sympathetic to the Peking-loyal

Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). He refused to comment and hung up. So we called a Mr. Gao at the trade office of the Chinese consulate. After some delay, Mr. Gao admitted that a PRC delegation did indeed stay at the struck Mark Hopkins on July 17 and 18, but he added apologetically, "They didn't know what was wrong. If we know, we will advise them, OK?" Indeed, it is quite possible that these Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats did not know what a picket line looks like. But to the striking workers this example of "state-to-state" relations looked like plain old class betrayal.

some redbaiting in the local bourgeois press. But are these would-be radicals capable of stirring the ranks and leading them to victory? The collection of New Leftists in Local 2 with their lowest-common-denominator programs and their practice of support to pro-capitalist bureaucrats has no intention of waging class struggle. They criticize the International union leadership and Lamb as a tool of the International, but not one of them has put forward any strategy for *winning* this strike. The bureaucrats' defeatist conduct of the hotel strike today is the fruit of the fake-militants' policy of "left-center coal-

tion," whereby they imagine they acquire a base of "center" workers by supporting and "pressuring to the left" some out-bureaucrat on the make. However much any of the radical caucuses try now to distance themselves from Lamb, virtually every self-professed oppositionist in the local today supported Lamb for office in 1978 when he ran on the McDonald "Alliance for the Rank and File" slate! And they would do it all over again.

The Rank and File Coalition, a pan-union nursing home for stray Maoists, retired Shachtmanites and fake-Trotskyists, supports a Local 2 caucus

called Workers for a Strong Union which says it won half the seats on the local contract negotiating committee. Five more seats were won by "Program for 1980," a caucus that doesn't have one. With a strong majority on the negotiating committee, numerous executive board and picket captain positions, what are the "radicals" doing to win this strike? Zero! Not one peep, not one leaflet proposing how the strike must be run to win. And bending to pressure from Lamb and the International, *this negotiating committee voted for Feinstein's arbitration plan!*

Rank and File Coalition leader Earl Gilman, who has a seat on the SF Central Labor Council as an officer of his social workers union, raised *no* proposal for CLC aid to the strike at the July 28 CLC meeting, but he did offer to help strikers collect welfare if they came down to his welfare office! This incident captures something of the quality of the politics of all the reformists in Local 2.

This strike needs a real fighting leadership that is prepared to act like one. Militant hotel workers can be won to a strategy for victory: Mobilize organized contingents from the labor unions to shut down the hotels tight! Demand the Teamsters and stationary engineers respect the picket lines! Drop the charges against the arrested strikers! Beat the HEA—Victory to Local 2! ■

Dump 'Em All...

(continued from page 1)

this penny-ante nepotism that has the media so excited. Grinding austerity for working people, blacks and the poor under the aphorism of privilege, "life is unfair"; driving toward war with the Soviet Union; making the U.S. political climate "safe," indeed welcome, for Reagan as his logical successor to lead imperialist forces into nuclear holocaust. Now these are *real* crimes.

With Carter sounding like an incompetent Reagan, no wonder traditional Democratic liberals are in a petulant dither. A *New York Times* editorial called "None of the Above" the people's choice this year, while the *Washington Post* plumped for "Somebody Else" (in capital letters) as the favored candidate. New York senator Moynihan complains that the Republicans have stolen the Democrats' rhetorical thunder and stuck them with the old Republican baggage. But in fact both parties are pushing austerity and war no matter what they say. Russell Baker voiced the lament of many liberals when he observed in his column that the U.S. faces:

"...a three-man competition among candidates whose conservatism is so impeccable that a generation ago any one of them would have been perfectly at home in the Republican Party quarrelling about whether Dwight Eisenhower or Robert Taft should be the party nominee."

—*New York Times*, 12 July

This whining refrain, "where have all the liberals gone," is baloney. They have gone to the White House, to the Khyber Pass, to vote against school integration in Congress, to the Pentagon. But the frantic search for a "real liberal" is on. Supporters of Kennedy and Muskie talk about making the Democrats the party of the "common man." Reformist nostalgia for a new FDR, or even a JFK, haunts the "People's Convention" planned for the devastated South Bronx. At the Urban League convention Teddy Kennedy intoned that the Democrats must not be the party "that answers 'no, no, no' to the jobless, the homeless, the helpless and the hungry." But the whole gang of bourgeois politicians must all answer "no, no, no" as they preside over capitalism's economic crisis and war preparations. We

say, "Dump 'Em All!"

Billy and the Carter Camarilla

The most striking thing about the "Billygate" affair is the long look it offers at the third-rate, bizarre personalities of those to whom decaying imperialism has entrusted power. Even the big bourgeoisie must be getting tired of the Nixons, Carters and Reagans, these "self-made" men with their small-time financial schemes and small-town moralism. They are the types who used to inhabit the books of Sinclair Lewis and for whom H.L. Mencken coined the term "boob-oisie."

Writing about the "leprous camarilla" (clique) of the tsar on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Leon Trotsky noted "how frequently the 'distinguishing traits' of a person are merely individual scratches made by a higher law of development." As "the sun of the old society is finally declining to the west," he wrote:

"The privileged classes are now changed from organisers of the national life into a parasitic growth; having lost their guiding function, they lose the consciousness of their mission and all confidence in their powers. Their dissatisfaction with themselves becomes a dissatisfaction with the monarchy; the dynasty becomes isolated; the circle of people loyal to the death narrows down; their level sinks lower; meanwhile the dangers grow; new forces are pushing up; the monarchy loses its capacity for any kind of creative initiative; it defends itself, it strikes back, it retreats; its activities acquire the automatism of mere reflexes."

—*History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1, Ch. 6, "The Death Agony of the Monarchy"

To extrapolate from the monarchy to imperialism, these social systems in their decline get the "first families" they deserve.

The "court" of the American empire's current "first family" is a study in Southern and Polish gothic, trailing its tangled Faulknerian family ties into the affairs of state. First there is Billy himself and the Carter peanut warehouse. During his famous 1979 trip to Libya a car in his motorcade ran over a man in the street (no concern to him or his bloody hosts, of course, for whom life in Libya and elsewhere is cheap). No matter, he did "a good job" in dry Libya, says Jimmy. Then there is the mother, "Miz Lillian," who told Billy when his brother was elected: "Get all you can honey." Then there is the faith-healing sister and hometown banker buddy Bert Lance, operating on the margins of

government regulations. And now the limelight is on wife Rosalynn, who "had the idea" to use Billy on a diplomatic mission while the arch-courtier and Cold War Rasputin Brzezinski uses the Libyan connection to try to free U.S. hostages in Iran.

Sinister companions abound. The furtive figure of fugitive financier Robert Vesco, well-known corrupter of presidential brothers (poor Don Nixon actually had to decamp to the Bahamas with him) has emerged from the shadows to assert that he set Billy up with the Libyans just for "vengeance" against the Democratic administration. And there is Muammar Qaddafi himself. A more vicious, insane terrorist with state power is hard to find now that Idi Amin is out (he fled to Libya). But this connection normally wouldn't amount to "a hill of beans," as Jody Powell put it. After all, Billy wasn't the only one to get a free trip to Libya. Over 100 "prominent Americans" including Senator J. William Fulbright attended a "people to people" conference with Qaddafi in 1978 (presumably they were carefully segregated from celebrants of Healyite persuasion, who insist the bloody Libyan strongman is some kind of socialist revolutionary messiah).

Republicans "No Lesser Evil"?

Behind the "Billygate" hoopla, the "open convention" maneuver, the reformist "People's Convention" and even the Anderson candidacy lies the deep crisis of the Democratic Party. They have been so discredited that their traditional base has turned on them for the moment at least. Even the Republicans, traditional party of big business, are the beneficiary of a protest vote against Carter's Democrats; and this is true among industrial workers as well.

Andrew Young, who is himself an example of the contempt in which Carter holds black people, even his loyal black front men, explained the present Democrats' dilemma this way:

"I think of the party as a coalition that has to be reorganized every four years. Certainly a party that encompasses Southern Conservatives, the urban centers, labor, intellectuals, blacks, farmers, environmentalists, and feminists needs realignment and a change of coalition members from time to time."

—*Washington Post*, 4 August

Of course, the new "realignment" appeals only to Southern Dixiecrats, Eastern capitalists and Russian dissidents. But Andrew Young has been around for a while and he appeals to

liberals and "progressives" to remain loyal to the Democrats. Worried about the upcoming convention, he pleads for "not Chicago in 1968" but what he calls the "compromise" of Atlantic City in 1964.

Young knows he can count on the labor bureaucrats, black misleaders and reformist left to follow this time-worn advice. All the "open convention" hot air has attracted wide support, not only from first-term Congressmen but from trade-union tops seeking to reassure their ranks that the Democrats are still "friends of labor." Some 35 heads of AFL-CIO unions have endorsed this Dump Carter ploy, and even self-proclaimed "socialist" Winpisinger of the IAM, formerly pledged to Barry Commoner's ecology party, has joined the rush.

Throngs of reformists, leftists, feminists, ecologists and "people" are expected to converge on the Democratic convention, all piping variations on the theme, "Bring back the liberals." The normal routine preferred by the Communist Party and petty-bourgeois radicals is to pressure the Democrats to "live up to their promises." Since the Dems haven't *made* any promises this year, the tactic is less useful. But a way has been found after all: the "People's Convention" comes to town, bedding itself down on straw on the rubble-strewn wasteland of Charlotte Street in the Bronx. Then they expect to attract thousands to march on the Garden to shame the Democrats into paying lip service to the masses. Some of the crazier Maoist sects have vowed to create "maximum chaos" on the streets (and get a lot of militants' heads busted uselessly), but to what end? "Let the people in," says the CWP—into the conclave of this capitalist party!

The fundamental task of working-class revolutionaries in the United States is not to pressure the Democrats but to *break* the ties that bind labor to the capitalist parties. Republicans, Democrats, "independents" and petty-bourgeois offshoots like the eco-faddists have *no answer* to the racism and economic misery endemic to bourgeois rule. The only real alternative is to fight for a workers party and a workers government, to expropriate the exploiters who live off the sweat of the working masses. And the struggle to forge a party of the working class, to lead all the oppressed, will not take place at the ballot box but on the battle lines of the class struggle. ■

Ma Bell...

(continued from page 12)

management isn't human (they certainly give every indication of that). But the machines don't yet run themselves; it has been management-scabs who have kept them running, waltzing through our picket lines to do our jobs. Many members remember that in 1968, after a token strike, the International forced us back to work with even less than the previous offer, and that in 1971 when New York locals refused to swallow sell-out contracts, they were left out on a limb by themselves. To win a strike against the phone company we must break from these policies of defeat.

The 700,000 unionized workers in the Bell System, mobilized in a solid, militant national strike, with mass picket lines that nobody crosses, can shut communications down tight, forcing Ma Bell to respect our union and the needs of our members. To build the strong union we need, we must bring these militant labor traditions into our union.

Watts: Carter's Man in the Union

CWA National President Glenn Watts told delegates at the national union convention last month that as a "responsible," not a "strike-happy" union leader he had the "respect" of the out-going chairman of the board of AT&T, John DeButts. Watts made it clear that he is opposed to a strike as typified by the fact that the one delegate (Cynthia Whetsell, Seattle) at the convention who called for the union to prepare for a "large national strike" had her remarks deleted from the official minutes!

Instead of planning a strike, Watts told the convention that CWA's main job this year is getting Jimmy ("Mr. Wage Freeze") Carter reelected. A strike would be a political hot potato for Carter, who already told CWA (in 1977) that he would issue a Taft-Hartley injunction against a national phone strike, as he did against the coal miners.

With inflation running as high as 18 percent, a strike for a full COLA would certainly be declared to be in violation of the government's 9 percent wage "guidelines" that Watts has pledged to uphold. Because of his support for Carter, Watts is in a real dilemma,

between Ma Bell's push for a total take-away contract and the pressure from our members for a decent settlement.

In our local, the Imerzel majority on the Executive Board, including all top four officers, recently voted against a policy statement introduced by board member Margolis that our union not limit our contract demands and settlement to Carter's 9 percent guidelines. Two years ago the Imerzel group claimed they would break from the old business-as-usual policies of past local officials from Whitehouse on back. They said it was "Time for a Change." So far the membership, the backbone of a local, has not been educated, prepared, and organized for a strike to win against Ma Bell.

It will not only take militant tactics like a solid national strike and mass picket lines that no one crosses to beat the company. Major labor action like this is sure to bring our union into confrontation with the bosses' government. To take on this fight, organized labor must break from support to the capitalist parties, Democrats or Republicans, who offer nothing but austerity, wage-cuts and unemployment. More than ever, labor needs its own political party, a workers party, to win a fight against these attacks. We must break from the policies of the current union leadership that ties the union to the capitalists and their politicians and build a new leadership in CWA. We of the Militant Action Caucus have been working for ten years to unite our union around a class-struggle program to fight the company. We believe that the experience of this contract period will bring more members to a realization of the need to fight for that leadership. JOIN US!

For a Solid National Strike! For Mass Picket Lines at the Main C.O.'s! For Real Job Security—for a Shorter Work Week with No Loss in Pay! For a Wage Package to Top Inflation! Upgrade Traffic and Clerical! Narrow the Wage Gap! No Downgrading! No Layoffs! No Subcontracting! No Forced Overtime! End Absence Control! No Penalty for Being Sick! Stop Secret Monitoring! End the Harassment! Stop the Firings! No Contract—No Work!

Militant Action Caucus
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Fontana...

(continued from page 12)

read from the floor by local treasurer Nate Davis, who told the assembled delegates, "We're going to wipe out this type of vermin." Good sentiments. But this must be translated into action, not by appealing to sheriffs' departments infiltrated by the KKK, but by mobilizing the strength of the key integrated Fontana steel union, backed up by all L.A. labor and minorities!

A group of phone workers in Los Angeles has pointed out what is needed. The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers (CWA) Local 11502 put up a motion at their union meeting July 15, calling for their union to contribute \$500 to the Howard family. They also called on their local to join with CWA Local 11513 in the Long Beach/San Bernardino area to organize a 24-hour defense guard of union brother Dovard Howard's home. The local passed the motion to send money, but 11502 bureaucrats amended it to include an investigation to see whether such a contribution was necessary! And the motion for defense guards was flatly "objected to consideration." This is an outrage—a union member is shot down off a telephone pole by the KKK and the CWA does nothing in his defense!

In San Francisco, at a July 8 executive board meeting of CWA Local 9410, board member and MAC spokesman Jane Margolis put forward a motion to send a support telegram and contribution to the Howards; that an appeal be published in the local's newspaper and a copy sent for publication in the national *CWA News*; and "we call on CWA locals in the area to join with other unions and black organizations to form a united defense..." Local secretary Joe McKenna, who has long been the object of members' complaints about his sick racial and sexual slurs, led the bureaucrats' charge in sabotaging the defense motion. McKenna claimed, "We don't know that the incident was racially motivated," adding the vile remark that Howard may have been shot by "an outraged father." But even the cops are linking the suspect to the KKK! Two weeks later, however, local officials were shamed into donating \$500 to a Central Labor Council-established trust fund for the Howards.

Meanwhile, at an East Bay division meeting of ILWU warehouse Local 6 on July 17, members of the Militant Caucus put up a motion for labor defense against the KKK/Nazis and calling on unions in the Fontana area, including ILWU locals, to form defense guards to protect the Howard home. Before any of the Local 6 leaders could reply, a long-time supporter of the Communist Party's *People's World*, Joe Lindsay, was on his feet to separate out and defeat the call for defense guards. His argument: "We can't tell people 600 miles away what to do." The rest of the motion passed, but the heart was cut out of it. And although a second Militant Caucus motion for sending \$500 to the Howards passed, at press time the local trustees (including Lindsay) were sitting on the money.

While their supporters in the unions sabotage any efforts to defend the Howards, CP candidates Gus Hall and Angela Davis used the Fontana shooting to bolster their demands on the government to "ban the Klan." The equally reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) joined with the NAACP and SCLC in calling for "an investigation of the shooting and the Klan by the newly-created state task force on civil rights" (*Militant*, 25 July). Maybe while they're at it, the Howards should write a letter to their Congressman (as the CP always suggests)—especially if KKK Grand Dragon and Democratic Party candidate Tom Metzger wins! This is, after all, the same racist-capitalist state which from Oceanside to Greensboro has its cops up to their necks in fascist violence while the courts work overtime to let the killer Klansmen off the hook.

The Metzger nomination in San Diego has produced reams of hand-wringing "concern" in the L.A. press. The SWP/CP say the answer to the Klan is to outvote them at the polls. Meanwhile, Metzger's boys are at work in the streets, shooting down black telephone workers, beating up "illegal aliens," burning their crosses through the Imperial Valley. The way to answer these vicious anti-black, anti-labor, anti-communist terrorists is not by pathetic appeals to the Democratic Party which harbors them or begging the bosses' state to restrain them, but to mobilize the potential victims to defend themselves. In southern California the time for this mobilization is now. ■

Fallahi...

(continued from page 5)

who now rules Iran. Asked for her views on Islam by an Iranian in Sydney, Fallahi replied succinctly, "My opinion about Islam is that it is socialism." In response to questions about the mullahs' extensive land holdings, Fallahi quoted holy writ: "There is a law in the Koran, the Bible, which says that everybody that's working on the land should have the land."

Fallahi's lies extended to a defense of

Khomeini's Persian chauvinist war against the Kurdish people, which includes genocidal bombing of rebellious villages. According to Fallahi, the Kurds have gained "a lot since the overthrow of the shah. They can speak in their own language... They got their own paper; their party, the Kurdish Democratic Party," is legal too. When a Turkish Kurd at the Trade Union Club asked Fallahi what her position was on the "hundreds of Kurds killed by Khomeini," she rushed to exonerate her "imam" of any responsibility:

"Khomeini did not kill them. There were generals from the old days who took it upon themselves to fire on the Kurds. When Khomeini heard about it he made a statement that brother should not kill brother. After he made this statement the majority of Kurdish peasants supported the imam's line, and only those who went against the imam's line were shot."

Quite aside from her apparent support for the execution of Kurdish deviants from the "imam's line" Fallahi's statement is a lie from beginning to end. It was Khomeini himself who launched the anti-Kurdish campaign and it was not "generals from the old days" but the mullah-led "revolutionary guards" (*pasdaran*) who spearheaded the offensive. Even *Intercontinental Press*, published by the SWP for the HKE's international tendency, recently printed a statement by the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" admitting that "Since April 15, the Teheran government has launched, on the command of the *Council of the Islamic Revolution and Ayatollah Khomeini*, its second large-scale offensive against the Kurds" (*Intercontinental Press*, 14 July [our emphasis]). Or perhaps the SWP/HKE will say that this is another "imperialist slander"?

In building for the Fallahi meetings the Australian SWP stressed her record as an activist jailed by the Iranian government for her opposition politics (while conveniently omitting any mention of just who put her there in the first place). But Fallahi and her co-thinkers were released by the Bani-Sadr govern-

ment on the eve of the rightist crusade to purge the universities (a crusade the HKE supported). After hearing her lie her way through Australia defending the "imam's line," we can easily guess why it was that the Islamic authorities let her go free!

For the SWP and its phony "Fourth International," the Fallahi tour was a disaster. The SL/ANZ campaign to expose this spokesman for mullah terror in Iran met with a good response in the left-wing audiences drawn to hear an Iranian "socialist" speak. A good number of people discovered that what Fallahi stands for is the veil and firing squads for Kurdish rebels. And they found that the Spartacist program for workers revolution in Iran alone promises simple human decency to a country under the heel of the religious reactionaries. At the end of her Australian tour, Fallahi was sent packing, back to her mosque and chador. At the end of the SL/ANZ campaign against "chador socialism," nine new comrades applied to join the Australian section of the international Spartacist tendency, actions in large measure precipitated by the campaign itself. ■

NOTICE

The next issue of *Workers Vanguard* will be dated September 5.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike Ma Bell!

As the Communications Workers of America (CWA) approaches its contract deadline with the Bell System August 9, over 2,000 CWAers in New York's District 1 rallied on August 2 expressing the enthusiasm of the ranks for a powerful strike against the hated phone monopoly. We reprint below the most recent leaflet of the West Coast-based Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the CWA.

Our contract expires August 9th. AT&T, the richest corporation in the world, has presented to the union an insulting series of take-away demands. As of July 15th, Ma Bell's executives are telling us they "cannot afford" a full cost of living adjustment (COLA), any COLA whatsoever for our pensioners, or any improvements in benefits. It has been reported that the company is proposing 4 a.m. starting time and split shifts for Plant, random assignment of "O" days [scheduled days off], regressive changes in the grievance procedure (replacing stewards with "impartial fact-finders") and the ability to change one-half-hour lunches to one hour at "company convenience." Even the International reports that on the most critical issue of job security the "silence is deafening." The company is demanding contract language that would worsen the absentee control plan! The company is hoping that we are so strapped financially by 18 percent inflation that union members will be scared to strike, and will swallow any contract offer, no matter how bad. The truth is we can't afford *not* to strike.

Over the three year life of our present

contract, P-1's [top craft category] at top pay have lost about \$70 per week to inflation; operators have lost about \$50 per week. In 1979 the U.S. Department of Labor ranked phone workers in last place out of 20 occupations for failure to keep up with inflation. Nobody sees an end in sight to double digit inflation. We need a full 100 percent COLA!

Make Ma Bell Pay!

AT&T is not going broke. People may have stopped buying cars, but they haven't stopped using telephones. In a year when other corporate profits have fallen, AT&T's have increased. In the auto and steel industry, hundreds of thousands of workers have been laid off. Workers are paying for the greed of their employers who for decades refused to reinvest their profits in more modern plants, which are now hopelessly far behind Japanese and German industry. But AT&T had its cake and ate it too: as a monopoly, it both paid out large dividends and invested in automated equipment. Within four years, 100,000 jobs in the Bell System were eliminated due to speedup and automation. With ESS [computerized switching] being installed at the rate of one a day, job security is a burning issue. We must fight for real job security—divide all available work amongst all available workers. For a shorter workweek at full pay to provide more jobs!

Strike to Win

The need to win protection against inflation, provide real job security and

Cleveland Communications Workers picket line in 1977. Key to beating Ma Bell: Stop management scabbing!



stop company harassment has never been more urgent. Yet because of the way that strikes have been run in the past, we know that many union members believe that a successful strike is not possible against the phone company.

Some people even think that the company benefits from a strike. They say that the phone company can run for a long time "untouched by human hands"; that's true if you assume that
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For Labor/Black/Chicano Defense Guards!

Drive KKK Out of Fontana!

LOS ANGELES—After months of mounting racist attacks in southern California, including the attempted murder of a black phone worker in the steel town of Fontana just west of San Bernardino, plans for a mass protest are underway. An anti-Ku Klux Klan protest rally has been called in Fontana on Saturday, August 9 by several civil rights organizations including the NAACP and the A. Philip Randolph Institute. It has also reportedly been endorsed by the San Bernardino-Riverside Central Labor Council and by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 2869 in Fontana. But as the fascist terrorists raise their heads and government authorities cover up for them, thousands of workers, blacks, Chicanos and leftists must be mobilized on a clear program: *Stop the fascists! No reliance on the capitalist government, its cops and its courts!*

Dovard Howard, a black cable splicer, was shot in the back July 1 as he was working in a lift bucket over a

Fontana street, just two hours before a Ku Klux Klan race-hate rally at City Hall. Earlier in the spring the Howard family, who lived in a heavily white area of nearby Rialto, woke up to find a cross burning on their lawn. They, like many other black and Chicano residents, urgently need organized protection from the labor movement and minority organizations. Labor militants in both Los Angeles and the Bay Area have called on their unions to take the lead in building integrated defense guards to protect the Howard family and others threatened with racist terror.

On July 25 a preliminary hearing was finally held on the Howard shooting. The suspected gunman, burly San Bernardino biker Larry West Deanne, was ordered to stand trial on charges of attempted murder. At the hearing a squad of 20 Black Muslims from the Los Angeles chapter showed up to provide defense for Dovard Howard, but as soon as they entered the court-

room Deanne's attorney moved the proceedings be closed. The judge backed him up, even attempting to exclude Howard's wife Geneva. The victim's brother, Van Howard, told *WV* the cops have tried to hush up incidents of racial violence, even trying to claim the KKK needs police protection. "It's like a wolf howling at a rabbit that he needs protection and he's got the rabbit in his mouth," Howard remarked.

Working people cannot rely on the racist cops and courts to stop the Klan. Yet one of the leaflets building for the August 9 rally does just that, calling for a march to City Hall "to demand that the city government take immediate action to stop Klan organizing." And the San Bernardino-Riverside Central Labor Council has "urgently requested" that the police take measures against the hooded race terrorists. These are the same cops who after Dovard Howard was shot told the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* (3 July), "We don't have any

racial problem in this area!"

Every couple of days there is new evidence that vigilante terror against minorities is on the rise. The Los Angeles *Sentinel* (31 July) reports: "Racial incidents against blacks reportedly have spread throughout the San Bernardino area, including Bloomington, Cucamonga, Colton, Grand Terrace, Loma Linda and Apple Valley. Crosses have been burned on lawns, dead animals tossed in swimming pools, fences ripped apart and homes vandalized according to black leaders in those areas." With blacks and Chicanos heavily outnumbered by the largely Southern-derived white population in the area, it is particularly important that defense of the threatened minority residents be integrated and have the muscle of the unions behind them.

The Saturday rally was announced at the USWA International convention in Los Angeles August 5. A USWA Local 2869 resolution against the KKK was
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