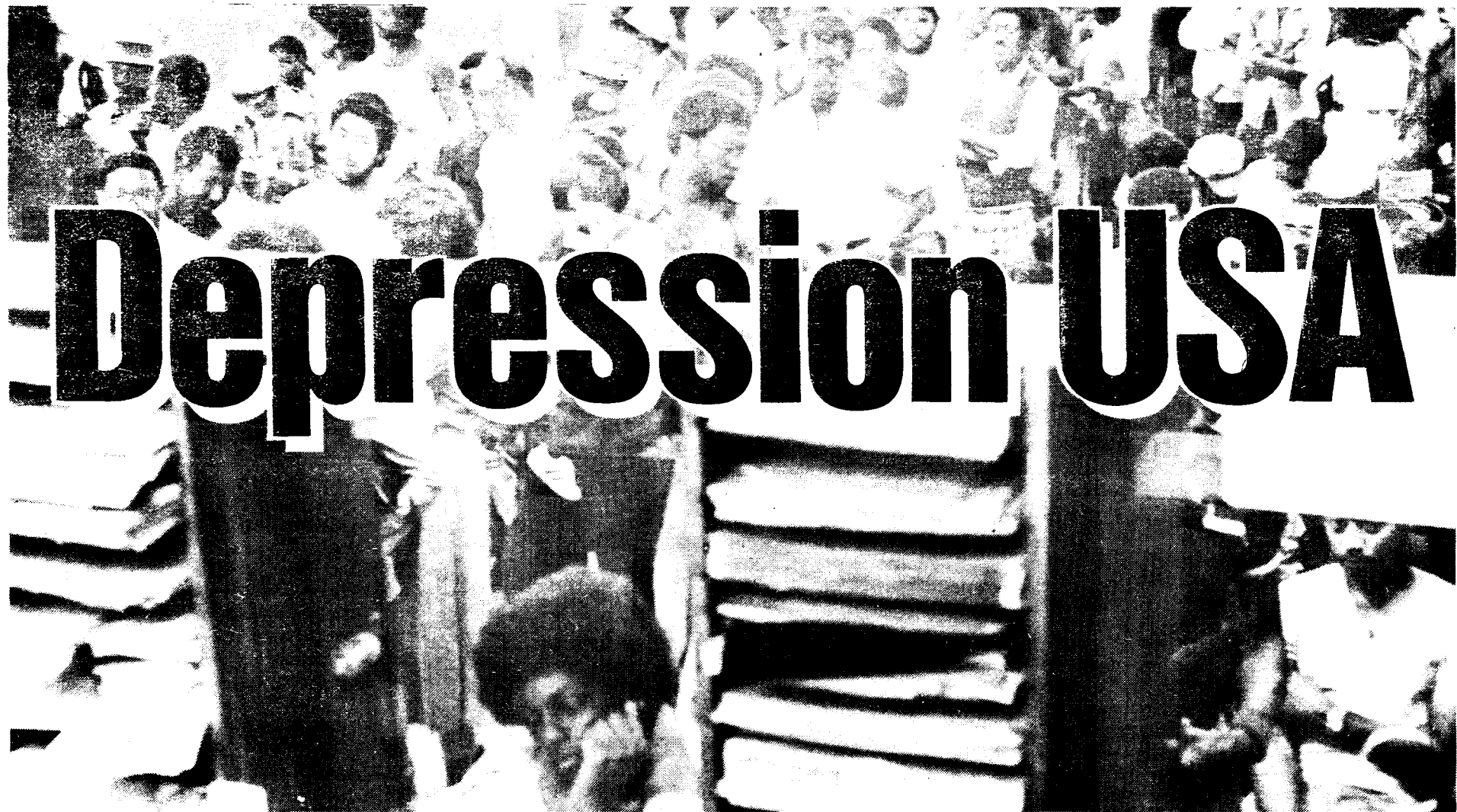


Carter, Reagan—Bad News for Workers, Blacks



Unemployment lines in Detroit last week as black jobless rate hits 26 percent in the city: The last hired, first fired, blacks are the first casualties of the 1980 depression. Auto and steel layoffs strike at the heart of the black proletariat.

Black workers must take the lead in militant united class struggle to turn back the bosses' attacks on the unions and the ghetto.

WV Photo

So the lines are shaping up for the "choice" the American people will be given in November, and it's looking like Crazy Carter vs. Reactionary Reagan. As the last round of primaries concluded, European governments were increasingly worried that "you Americans may trade a bunch of incompetents for a bunch of nuts" (*Wall Street Journal*, 3 June). And for American workers, poor, blacks and other minorities, the Tweedledum/Tweedledee politicians of the twin capitalist parties promise rip-roaring economic depression as god's punishment for wasteful living, more bang for more bucks military spending and a foreign policy veering from one provocation to the next in a frenzied anti-Soviet Cold War drive.

Even before last week's voting, Ronald Reagan's nomination as the Republican candidate was already assured, and he stacked up nine more state victories for good measure. On the Democratic side, the June 3 primaries put Jimmy Carter some 300 delegate votes over the top in his fight to reclaim the nomination. Still, there was plenty of nervousness in the Democratic camp: the incumbent president had lost five of the last eight primaries and the popular vote as well to Teddy Kennedy, two-thirds of whose supporters said they would vote for Reagan or John Anderson in November rather than for Carter. As columnist Tom Wicker wrote in the *New York Times* (6 June):

"Mr. Carter came out looking like a basket case and Mr. Kennedy like a welfare case—the one a President rated only 'fair to poor' by 80 percent of the Democrats who voted in three major states; the other a beneficiary of protest votes rather than a real choice in his own right."

To top it off, on June 4 Congress again shot down Carter's gasoline import bill (imposing a surtax which would raise the price at the pump by 10

Build a Workers Party!

cents a gallon) in a staggering 335-to-34 veto override in the House of Representatives. This was the first time since 1952 that a president's veto had been repudiated by a Congress dominated by his own party. The bill was a key element of the administration's energy policy, introduced three years ago as the Moral Equivalent of War (MEOW). But now Carter has gone on from moral to military rearmament of imperialism. The only issue in the Congressional wrangling over the Pentagon budget last week was whether the war machine should get \$13 or \$16 billions more this year.

Spurred by the capitalist politicians' slanging match over who is "soft on communism," the domestic social/political climate is moving increasingly to the right. Last week a well-known race hater of the terrorist Ku Klux Klan won the Democratic nomination for Congress from San Diego. And only days before there was the assassination attempt against Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, the most conservative of the major black organizations, which ever since its inception has been little more than a capitalist front. If you can't be Vernon Jordan in this country without getting shot, what black person is safe on the streets of racist/capitalist America?! Meanwhile, Carter's "Operation Libertad" provocation against Cuba is in trouble. As new arrivals are jailed or turned away, their predecessors are chafing behind the barbed wire of the "processing" camps. On June 1, three hundred of them rioted at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. Apparently they couldn't stand all that "freedom."

Whether under Reagan or Carter, the

theme of U.S. foreign policy will continue to be "Hate Russia." A look at their top advisers tells the story. On Carter's side, gone are the Andrew Youngs and Cyrus Vances who talked deceptively of "détente" with the Soviet Union and "majority rule" in southern Africa. What's left is the wild-eyed Polish revanchist Zbigniew Brzezinski. The GOP candidate's advisers are an all-star line-up of reactionary braintrusters, from Milton Friedman, economic guru for Chilean dictator Pinochet's starvation regime, to Richard Pipes, head of the Pentagon's "Team B" advisory council which called for the U.S. to drop détente and achieve nuclear "first-strike" capacity. However, already under Brzezinski, the U.S. has officially adopted a first-strike strategy—and gone on to implement it by moving to station Pershing rockets in Europe and developing the MX missile. With maniacs like this in the White House basement, who needs a General Curtis ("Bomb 'em Back to the Stone Age") LeMay.

Meanwhile, the economy is going to hell in a basket. *Business Week* (16 June) described it as "free falling," with "no bottom in sight." *The Economist* (7 June) quoted a weekly report by Manufacturers Hanover investment bank saying:

"...housing starts recently fell by more in one month than in any month in 20 years; auto sales are running at their lowest rate in 22 years, while total retail unit sales are falling at their fastest clip in 29 years. April's rise in unemployment among adult men was the most for any month in 30 years, while consumer attitudes...are the dreariest in 34 years."

Summing it all up, the government's

"index of leading indicators" plunged 4.8 percent in April, far and away the worst drop since they began keeping score (the previous record was 3.0). And when May figures came in, the two-month increase in unemployment also turned out to be the largest since the Labor Department started counting it. The *New York Times* (5 June) reported that Treasury secretary Miller was piqued at the "alarm" over the economic statistics, declaring that fighting inflation remains the "No. 1 priority"—the American people will just have to swallow their "bitter medicine." And Jimmy Carter says, "We have turned the corner on the economy." Sure, and all the country needs is a good 5-cent cigar.

Kennedy No Alternative for Workers

Probably the most notable aspect of the campaign so far is why Kennedy, as one newspaper described it, took "the fastest political nosedive in history." A year ago in the midst of the "hot summer madness" over gas prices, gas lines and the president's disastrous "let 'em walk, let 'em pray" July 15 energy speech, it looked like it was curtains for Carter. His ratings had sunk even lower than Nixon's just before he resigned. We ran the headline "Carter Totaled?" (*WV* No. 237, 3 August 1979). Well, not quite.

The major turn in Carter's fortunes was the November 4 seizure of American hostages in Teheran. This triggered the "nuke the ayatollah" super-patriotism which he capitalized on and directed in a more explicitly anti-Soviet direction using the pretext of Afghanistan. But Kennedy not only didn't carry the primaries—he barely got off the ground until the very end, when people began to shudder at the thought of a Carter-Reagan contest. Although he kept demanding to debate Carter on the economic issues, he never got to first

continued on page 6

Miami Report

We print below excerpts from a reader's letter:

May 19, 1980

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

I was in Miami when the news first broke of the beating death of Arthur McDuffie by four to six police officers. It must be emphasized that it was only after persistent inquiries by McDuffie's family and small protests that the story broke a week after the beating on December 17. It was only after the *Miami Herald* broke the story that the Dade County Public Safety director, the Miami Police Department and the state attorney launched an investigation....

At this point the *Herald* did an in-depth report of police brutality in Miami. Surprise of surprises, the liberals found out that cops systematically beat people up. What was sickening is that they kept score. Apparently a group of cops had a pool in which they rated beatings on a scale from one to ten, ten being death. This was a regular game. I knew that the racists in blue enjoyed beating people up, but I had no idea that they played Jimmy the Greek with people's skulls.

I was at one of the first large demonstrations against McDuffie's beating. Contrary to popular opinion that Miami is populated by Northern liberals, it is a part of the Deep South. The peculiar positions of Miami as a

tourist town and its Jewish population has given Miami a liberal veneer. But Miami is a bastion of Deep South racism. In 1968 when I was living in Miami Jim



Police terror in Liberty City.

Crow was still strutting around Miracle Mile. It wasn't until after the '68 Miami rebellions that Jim Crow really went lame. The memory of the '68 turmoil, the summer of '67, the Civil Rights Movement, and of Jim Crow, is still alive among the blacks in Miami. The demonstration reminded me of all these things. It was a militant demonstration and I overheard one black say,

"Sometimes I think we need guns to protect ourselves from the cops."

...Most importantly there is a large Latino community dominated by Cubans and led by an anti-communist, extremely right-wing Cuban middle class. This last fact cannot be overemphasized. The communal divisions and competition between the Cubans and the blacks are fierce. This is compounded by the fact that a substantial number of low-wage employers are Cubans who employ blacks. Plus the poor Latinos and blacks both compete for the same low-paying service jobs in the tourist industry. The Cuban middle class has a lot of political clout in the Miami government. The blacks hardly even have a token representation in the city, thus the black misleaders can sometimes put on a face of militancy....

Some random observations: before the National Guard moved in, gangs of blacks roamed through the streets armed, driving the cops out—first out of Liberty City (the center of the '68 rebellion) and then out of the rest of the ghetto. Reportedly these people weren't kids but adults.

In Florida practically everybody has a gun, usually a shotgun. Black, Latino and white are all armed.

Reportedly groups of Cubans have been riding through the streets in pick-ups shooting blacks. We must find a way to cut through the communal tensions of blacks and Latinos.... The riot itself is a product of frustration and outrage without organized political content.

Communist greetings,
Jerry M.

For Political Debate on the Left!

May 14, 1980

New York Marxist School
151 W. 19th Street
New York, NY

Dear Friends,

The New York branch of the Spartacist League would like to schedule an evening to present our views as part of your lecture series *Parties and Tendencies of the U.S. Left*. In addition we are willing to speak on a panel with or otherwise debate any of the other participants with the courage to do so. In fact, debate is generally the best method to achieve your stated purpose of achieving "a sharp and clarifying dialogue."

The announcement of the series in your Spring-Summer calendar clearly states that you are willing to broaden the discussion beyond the presently publicized participants. And no wonder! The CP, SWP and DSOC are among the most reformist organizations in the workers movement. DSOC blatantly calls for a vote to Teddy Kennedy, who they freely admit isn't even a lesser evil to Carter. The SWP and CP candidates vie with each other to prove they could, if elected, make capitalism work best for the "little people" with "tax the rich," "butter not guns" schemes. We wouldn't expect much "sharp debate" from those types.

Still, for most Americans, the CP signifies "Russian Revolution" and the SWP still pretends to be Trotskyist, and Harrington with his "born yesterday populism" may well find followers among naive draft-threatened youth. Historically, it has been the reformists who gain first from any mass radicalization, especially when allowed to go unchallenged. Therefore, your facilitation of a *real* open debate would indeed be a service to the revolutionary cause.

Such clarification *can* lead to the united action so desperately needed today. Recent events in Iran and Afghanistan have catapulted Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign into a mass jingoist hysteria, which has emboldened the far right. The results range from the Olympic boycott to cross burnings from Queens, New York to the Los Angeles suburbs and six communist-labor organizers dead at Greensboro.

The SL mobilized a rally of hundreds of auto workers and blacks, in Detroit, which scared off the announced KKK rally in that city following the Greensboro murders. When the Nazis threatened to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the SL along with union leaders initiated a broadly based united front (April 19 Committee Against Nazis) which stopped them, a victory celebrated with a demonstration that topped 1,200. But we have no illusions about the permanence of these victories. The left is divided, small and isolated. The fascists were still able to "celebrate" genocide in Chattanooga, with a racist nightriding shooting spree.

Both the CP and the SWP refused to endorse the

important anti-fascist actions initiated by the SL. The truth is they would rather see brownshirts and white hoods marching down the street recruiting for genocide than risk contact with revolutionary Trotskyists. This criminally sectarian behavior can take place only in the absence of public political debate and clarification of the political differences which divide us. Workers democracy is not a luxury but a revolutionary necessity.

You write with nostalgia of the "sharp and clarifying dialogue generated a couple of years ago by the [Parties & Tendencies of the Left] series." Well, we remember that the fight for political clarification was rewarded with a cowardly political exclusion of the SL. As militant defenders of workers democracy, attempts

at exclusion from public meetings is not something we take lightly, or forget easily.

But with a couple more years (and a couple more splits) you must be feeling your isolation. Maybe you learned something from your sectarian exclusionism. Time will tell, as for now we must take you at your word and assume that your enthusiasm for "sharp clarification" is sincere.

We look forward to your early response.

For Leninist clarity,
Janis Gerrard
for the NY Spartacist League

Editor's Note: In response to the above letter, on June 7 New York Marxist School education director Juliet Ucelli informed *WV* that the SL would be included in the *Parties and Tendencies of the Left* series this summer.

Victimized Radical Ex-Marine Says:

"I Welcomed 'Hail Red Army'"

We print below a letter from Frank Huff, a former Marine lance corporal who in the mid-1970s was victimized by the Navy in its attempt to suppress dissent among the soldier-sailor ranks of the American war machine. While stationed in Japan, Huff was court-martialed, busted down to private, sentenced to 45 days in the brig and fined \$400 for circulating a petition to Congress (protesting U.S. support for the Park dictatorship in Korea) and distributing the Declaration of Independence! This "crime" was committed off-base, out of uniform and off duty.

Huff subsequently filed a court suit which became a key test case of democratic rights for soldiers. Five years later, as reported on the front page of the *New York Times* (22 January), the Supreme Court upheld the U.S. military's gag rule requiring prior approval by the base commander for distribution of *all* unofficial written matter within the armed forces. In the context of Carter's anti-Soviet war drive, the court's decision is a clear attempt to head off the deep unrest which was rife among U.S. soldiers during the Vietnam War. As Huff wrote in a comment on the *New York Times* article:

"The military wants to prevent political involvement among its ranks, and for good reason. 'Today's Army' is comprised mainly of working class youth whose best interest is not to defend the capitalist economic system (which could at best ensure them a life of wage-slavery in a deeply troubled economy), but to join with the working class in its historic mission to defeat capitalism and replace it with a workers government which is the only road forward for humanity."

Los Angeles, California
11 March 1980

Workers Vanguard
New York, New York

Comrades,

Mike Brandow's letter appearing in your February 8th issue canceling his subscription on the grounds that "your headline, 'Hail Red Army' was too much for me, as a socialist, to take" went without reply. I would like to respond because, quite frankly, Mike Brandow's reasoning is too much for *me*, as a socialist, to take.

Some time ago, I carelessly let my sub expire and when the current wave of events broke (hostages in Iran, Red Army in Afghanistan, etc.) I was caught with my ideological pants down, so to speak. I was confused. Besides being hit with some semi-difficult programmatic questions, I was not unaffected by pressures of bourgeois "public" opinion. When I at last got my eager hands on a *WV*, there on the front page was a most welcome headline: "Hail Red Army."

A Marxist cannot maintain a working class perspective on his/her own without a communist press. It is all too easy to succumb to bourgeois ideology. There are, however, many who only pretend to represent the views of Marxism. It is precisely during historically critical periods of class struggle that these fakes expose themselves. Fortunately, the continuity of Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism can still be found in your press. There is but one voice of revolutionary communism in the world today. That is the voice of the iSt.

Frank L. Huff

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution

Black Upsurge in South Africa

In the last two months, South African workers and students, both black and "coloured" (mixed race), have joined together in struggle against the white supremacist regime. Vicious police repression and phony promises of apartheid reform have not been enough to put down the struggle for freedom which gave rise to the 1973 Durban strike wave and the 1976 Soweto student revolt.

The simultaneous bombing of three South African synthetic oil facilities on June 1 by African National Congress guerrillas got front-page headlines and frightened the Afrikaner racists. But the joint worker-student struggle now underway has a far more explosive potential. The black proletariat, key to the South African revolution, is taking the lead in the anti-apartheid fight of the black and coloured masses.

This time a massive school boycott protesting discriminatory education coincided with a strike wave in the Cape province and in the same Durban textile factories where the 1973 strikes broke out. "Significantly, there is growing co-operation between the striking workers and the protesting students," wrote the *Economist* (31 May). Three thousand Capetown packinghouse workers on strike have been backed up by an effective meat boycott in the area's black and coloured communities. On May 24 students supported the strike by invading white suburban supermarkets, overturning display counters and jamming checkout lines with grocery carts.

The current eruptions began in mid-April when coloured students in the Cape province—home to one-third of South Africa's 2.4 million "coloured" population—called for a nationwide school boycott after months of protests against low funding, double sessions and inadequate facilities and teachers. According to figures cited by the London *Economist*, the South African government allots about \$285 per year for the education of each coloured student, compared to \$812 for each white student and \$90 for each black student. Many teachers supported the boycott and teachers associations in the



Black Ford workers in Port Elizabeth strike to reinstate militant fired for political activity.

Cape and Transvaal provinces declared their sympathy with the student activists. As the boycott spread throughout the country black students joined the fight, including in Soweto. Police attacked student demonstrators with clubs, using the pretext that all outdoor meetings and marches are illegal under Pretoria's "Riotous Assemblies Act." More than 1,200 students, teachers and community leaders were rounded up and jailed. Among them were 53 black and white churchmen, including two bishops.

On May 25 Police Minister Louis le Grange warned that protesters would "get what they are looking for." He threatened, "We are not going to play around with these people anymore" (*Newsweek*, 9 June). Three days later le Grange got what he was looking for when plainclothes cops in a coloured suburb of Capetown shot down two youths in cold blood. As a group of students tossed rocks at whites' cars the police jumped out of a van and without

warning opened fire with shotguns. Fifteen-year-old Bernard Fortuin, an innocent bystander, died on the pavement as cops beat his mother away from her son's body with clubs. A government apology was not enough to keep the school boycott from gaining momentum after this atrocity. Police reinforcements couldn't stop furious coloured and Indian youths from burning at least 70 cars and 10 buses, sacking schools and torching a furniture factory.

Black Workers Strike Wave

The stage was set for the current round of black walkouts with the victory of striking auto workers at Port Elizabeth's Ford plant last January. Ford bosses in the Eastern Cape city known as South Africa's "Little Detroit" surrendered to the strikers' demands to reinstate hundreds of workers fired in November for walking out over discrimination and victimization of militant workers. When the recognized

union leaders agreed to a sellout settlement on Ford's terms the workers, led by Thozamile Botha, turned to the more militant Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (PEBCO). PEBCO mobilized the weight of the black city population behind the strikers and inspired other strikes at a local paper plant and the Port Elizabeth General Tire and Rubber factory.

The coloured and black student boycott encouraged Durban textile workers at the Frametex mills to walk out demanding higher wages. The bosses' response was the traditional South African answer to black worker militancy: they just fired all 6,000 workers and prepared to hire a new workforce off the bantustan "homelands." But that tactic may not work this time. Massive black demonstrations in Durban have forced local authorities to call for police reinforcements. Meanwhile, clothing workers in Capetown have also gone on strike 3,000 strong. The government's director-general of manpower utilization has threatened to ban the striking unions.

The most significant aspect of black and coloured struggles in South Africa this year has been the degree to which the oppressed non-white majority has looked to the black working class to lead the fight. This is crucial because it is precisely the black proletariat that has the power and the social weight to crack the apartheid system wide open. South Africa is not Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, where a thin stratum of privileged white farmers could be broken by a combination of desultory guerrilla warfare and the preference of the imperialists for a black strikebreaking regime. South Africa's entrenched and well-armed white racist regime must be overthrown by the black workers, leading the oppressed black, coloured and Indian masses in a revolutionary socialist movement which would also seek to appeal to white working people. But for that victory all of South Africa's oppressed and exploited need a revolutionary leadership, a Trotskyist party. For a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa! ■

Grisly Zionist Bombing

At 7:30 in the morning on June 3, as a group of Arabs in the Israeli-occupied West Bank city of Hebron gathered near an elementary school, someone threw a grenade into the crowd. Seven people were injured, including a 70-year-old man. This atrocity was the prelude to a gruesome morning of Zionist terror in the West Bank. Minutes later Karim Khalef, the nationalist Palestinian mayor of Ramallah, got into his car and stepped on the clutch. A booby-trap bomb blew off most of his left foot and injured his right leg. As relatives and friends rushed to drag Khalef from his car before the gas tank exploded, Mayor Bassam al-Shaka was getting into his car in Nablus. Another bomb rigged to the car by Zionist terrorists blew off both his legs above the knee. A third West Bank mayor, Ibrahim Tawil of Bireh, escaped injury or death only by luck. Instead, an Israeli explosives expert was blinded by the bomb meant to kill Tawil.

The Zionist "settlers" in their fortified encampments try to portray the June 3 assassination attempts as the self-defense actions of the embattled victims

of Arab terror. "If the Arabs think they can hit us and be safe," one Israeli rightist said, "they are wrong. They cannot go to sleep early without any worry. Just as we have to put guards on our houses, so they will have to put guards on their houses" (*New York Times*, 3 June). This is a lie: the iron heel of terror on the West Bank is not Arab but Israeli. Ali Keishe, Mayor Tawil's city council secretary, exposed this lying attempt to represent the oppressor as the oppressed by observing that "We are unarmed. We are the people who need security because every Israeli has a gun" (*New York Times*, 3 June).

Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin sanctimoniously denounced the bomb attacks as "crimes of the gravest type" and promised "the most intensive investigation" (*New York Times*, 3 June). Yet the immediate concern of the former butcher of Deir Yassin was not to catch the murderous culprits but to squash Arab resistance to Zionist terror on the West Bank. The army tried to break a shopkeepers' strike by kidnapping the shop owners and forcing them to open up in the morning.

Meanwhile, police speculated that "rival Palestinian groups" might have been responsible! And when the finger of suspicion was pointed at the terrorist Kach group headed by Jewish Defense League leader Meir Kahane, Begin cautioned against assigning blame. Kahane's gang was certainly willing; they had threatened retaliation for the shooting of six Zionist ultras (including Kach member "Eli the Wolf") in Hebron last month, and Kahane had already been jailed for plotting to blow up Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the third holiest site in Islam, during Friday prayers! But the elaborate June 3 bombings suggest government connections and military capability that are likely beyond the reach of Kahane's tiny personality cult. Well-known Palestinian spokesmen like Shaka and Khalef are under constant Israeli military surveillance. The bombs (and perhaps the plans) were Israeli army issue.

A more likely suspect is the Gush Emunim (Faith Bloc), the political/religious fanatics who dominate the West Bank settlements with the approval of Begin's cabinet. The *Economist* (7

June) reports that a council of Gush Emunim leaders "has won the Israeli
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 258

13 June 1980

Scotland Yard Knows Who Killed Blair Peach

London Cops Get Away with Murder

The killers' names are known. But "British justice" has let the "guardians of order" get away with murder. For the past two months, the "Blair Peach affair" has been prominent in the British bourgeois and left press with sordid revelations of brutal police terror. When last year a Special Patrol Group (SPG) police unit left Blair Peach, a school teacher and member of the British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), to die as a result of their brutal beating, they were confident the murderer in their midst would be protected. It now seems they have been proved right.

Sensational revelations in the press this March exposed the identities of the killer elite, one of whom slaughtered Peach during a bloody cop riot against anti-Nazi protesters in the London's Southall section on 23 April 1979. But the Public Prosecutor refused even to charge the SPG men despite a secret Scotland Yard report, in his possession since *last October*, clearly pointing to their guilt. As a final legal resort, Peach lawyers were forced into a juried inquest, which was not allowed to see the incriminating evidence. The inquest concluded May 27 with a verdict of "death by misadventure"—that is, Peach was just an "unfortunate victim" of a "reasonable" police action.

Who killed Blair Peach? "SPG KILLERS MURRAY, WHITE, LAKE, FREESTONE, SCOTTOW, RICHARDSON: ONE IS A MURDERER—THE OTHERS KNOW WHICH ONE." The Anti-Nazi League (ANL) said in it in huge posters, while 3,000 demonstrators before the inquest opening April 27 shouted the names loudly in response to the chant "Who Killed Blair Peach?" "Wanted For Murder" posters with the six SPG men's names were plastered over police stations around London.

Now the sorry end of the inquest is one more disappointment to those thousands of protesters who had pinned their hopes on the courts. And

the ANL itself is under attack from the vindictive cops who, armed with deeply repressive criminal libel laws, could exact hair-raising penalties for merely naming the cops involved. The British ruling class has closed ranks to protect its own.

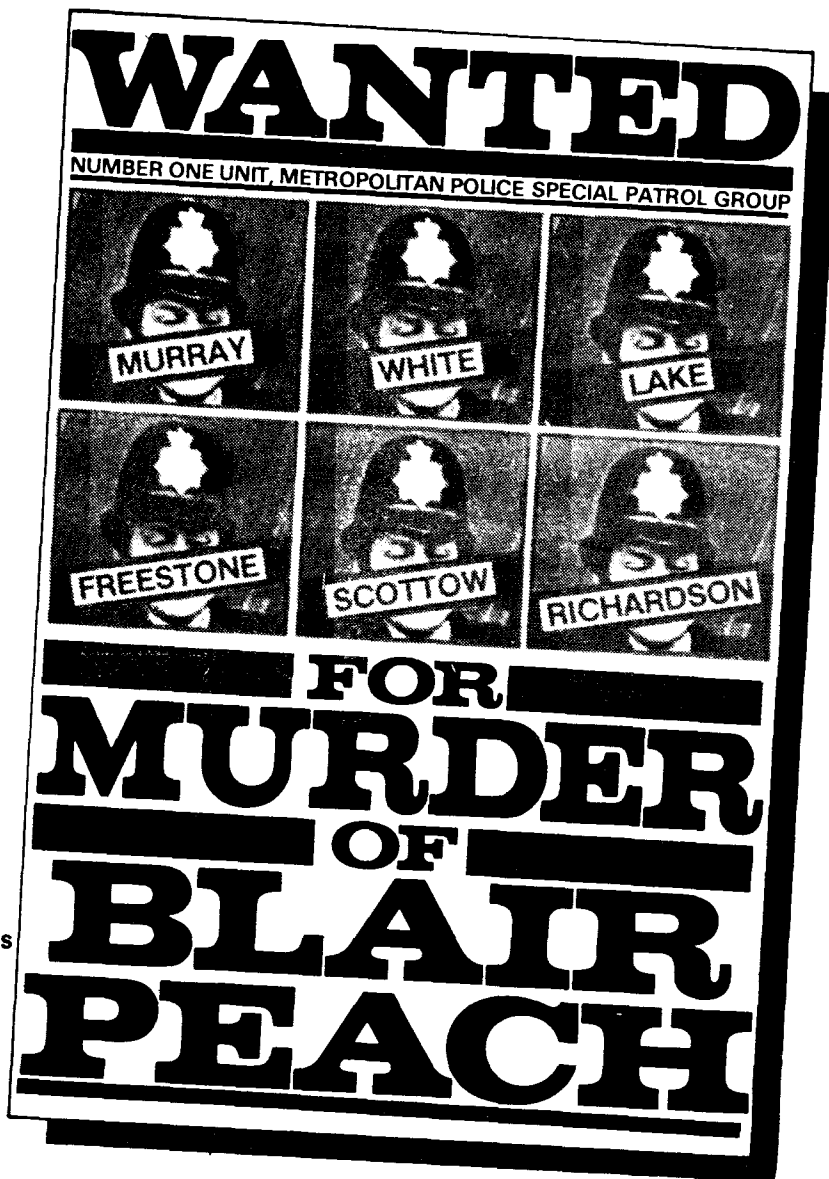
The true story was made public by the London *Sunday Times* (March 10), which had discovered the secret Scotland Yard investigation. "Blair Peach was killed by one of a six-man team from Number One Unit of the Special Patrol Group. That was the conclusion of Scotland Yard officers.... They were certain that the fatal blow was struck by a member of the team led by Inspector Alan Murray, and consisting of five constables named White, Freestone, Lake, Richardson and Scottow," began the "Insight-Exclusive" story. According to the story, the secret CIB 2 investigation also contained:

"Evidence that lies had been told to the investigators; that crucial questions had been met with refusals to answer; and that charges of obstruction of justice could therefore be laid.

"Evidence that senior uniformed officers in the Metropolitan Police had tried to thwart the inquiry."

Of course the cops tried to cover their bloody tracks—mere description of what they did, by scores of witnesses, was horrible enough. On 23 April 1979, thousands of police charged into 3,000 largely Asian anti-Nazi protesters in Southall, driving vans into trapped crowds, beating unconscious anyone they could catch, and arresting over 300 (see *Spartacist Britain*, May 1979). Meanwhile the SPG group headed by Murray found its own victim: SWPer Blair Peach, who had been active in many anti-fascist protests. While helpless demonstrators looked on, they closed in on him. The day after the cop riot Parminder Atwal, one of the last to see Peach alive, told reporters what happened:

"I saw this man being hit by the police with truncheons.... Then the police came along and ordered him to move. He was badly hurt but he managed to



This is the poster the British cops tried to suppress.

get up and try to cross the road. He was shivering.... He couldn't move his hands. His tongue was stuck to his upper jaw and the upper part of his head was all red as if he was bleeding inside.... I put some more water in his mouth but he couldn't take it. Somebody else called for an ambulance and I cradled him in my arms until it came."

—*Evening News* (London), 24 April 1979

The doctor who finally saw Peach said it was the worst skull injury he had

ever seen, the bone split completely apart so the top and bottom of the skull moved separately. Peach died a few hours later.

The SPG got off, free to continue its terror. Most bourgeois press reports have been rather uneasy about the obvious, demonstrated brutality of the SPG, yet they *do* understand that this corps of professional street thugs has its

continued on page 8

Where Is Tim Wohlforth?

Readers of *WV* may recall the long and ignominious political career of Tim Wohlforth, self-styled "Trotskyist leader" and full-time cynic. For a dozen years Wohlforth was the American gauleiter of Gerry Healy (who claimed to embody "anti-revisionist Trotskyism" before selling out lock, stock and barrel to the "Arab Revolution" as represented by Libya's fanatical anti-communist dictator, Muammar Qaddafi). Wohlforth's most notable achievement was to split the anti-Pabloist left opposition within the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1962 and finger to the SWP leadership the majority of the Revolutionary Tendency, which went on to found the Spartacist League.

After leaving the SWP in 1965, Wohlforth was the tinpot despot of the Workers League, Healy's American "section," where he combined the most contemptible petty opportunism with the organizational methods of a two-bit Stalin, complete with gangsterism and slander against leftist opponents and vicious mistreatment of his own members. But in 1974 Wohlforth was unceremoniously dumped by Healy (see "Wohlforth Terminated," *WV* No. 61, 31 January 1975) under cover of a "security" scare against Wohlforth's companion, Nancy Fields, whom Healy



WV Photo



Militant

Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields: Where are they now?

accused of being a CIA agent (this paranoid "method" was to flower into the full-fledged psychotic slander campaign against the late Joseph Hansen, then the SWP's leading ideologue, and subsequently against the SWP's "Carlton College network" of alleged CIA spies).

Wohlforth and Fields, with (in)appropriate fanfare, soon found their way back into the SWP, where Wohlforth

occupied the unenviable position of a kept oppositionist in the bureaucratic SWP.

But Tim Wohlforth seems to have disappeared. Where is he? Is he still in the SWP? Is he still in the United States?

Some rumors suggest Wohlforth is on his way to Latin America to seek a deal with Nahuel Moreno, the Latin American political adventurer who last sum-

mer split from the SWP's international bloc partners. Other sightings place him briefly in London. There are stories that he's looking for a teaching job in Mexico. Or perhaps he has secretly joined Joe Hansen.

What really happened to Wohlforth in the northern California SWP? Did they really make poor Tim play the arch-cliquist Abern in a skit about the 1940 faction fight? Was he ever really a member of the SWP National Committee?

And what about Nancy Fields? Is Healy still insisting that her blood ties to her CIA uncle make her an agent? Has Healy turned her over to the tender mercies of his mentor, Colonel Qaddafi?

And why isn't Healy worrying out loud about Wohlforth's disappearance? Isn't this another dastardly threat to "Security and the Fourth International"? Does Healy have information that Wohlforth isn't really missing? How does the killing of Tom Henehan fit in? Is Joe Hansen really dead?

Tongue-in-cheek innuendo aside, Wohlforth's present political whereabouts are of interest since the SWP made much of his return to the fold and since his political biography has been a living example that opportunistic crime does not pay. Can any reader help us? ■

Demand Militant Strike Action to Stop Mass Layoffs!

UAW's Fraser: Prophet of Defeat

LOS ANGELES—Fear of unemployment is gripping the country as the auto industry falls into a bottomless pit and Chrysler teeters on the brink of bankruptcy even despite a government bailout. Plants are closing, hundreds of thousands of workers have been dumped onto the streets in a few weeks in scenes reminiscent of the 1930s.

Yet the United Auto Workers (UAW) held its 26th constitutional convention in Anaheim June 1 through 6 and *absolutely nothing* was proposed by the International leadership under president Doug Fraser to fight back. Even the usually staid *New York Times* (6 June) felt compelled to report, "Hopelessness and Fear Pervade Once-Strong Union." The UAW has 1.5 million members, millions of dollars and a history of militant struggle, so it is in a position to launch a counterattack. Yet all that came from Fraser and his cohorts at the convention were suggestions to lay down and die, along with racist slogans like "Unemployment—Made in Japan" and "Hungry?—Eat a Toyota."

In an effort to waste time and avoid the real issues, the International allowed a display of the UAW retirees' disco dancing skills. One delegate from Region 4 walked off the convention floor in disgust, muttering loudly as he passed the press table, "350,000 auto workers are on layoff, and the International has people dancing on the stage." And Genora Dollinger, one of the leaders of the historic Flint sit-down strike of 1937, was outrageously denied a floor pass because the UAW has disapproved of her film, "Babies and

Banners." In her opinion, she told *WV*, all that UAW members got at this convention was "bread and circuses."

In his keynote address, Fraser tried to paralyze the membership with gloom: "I wish I could come here with some optimistic news. If you see a light at the end of the tunnel, it is probably an oncoming freight train." In keeping with the gallows humor that has now become the Fraser regime's only defense before the ranks, the local at the now-closed Dodge Main plant showed up with a banner: "With a book full of memories and a heavy heart, Dodge Local 3 says Good-bye UAW." The militant sit-down strikers who founded the UAW would have spit at such a banner, and Fraser is directly responsible for this defeatist attitude. The Spartacist League and militant auto workers in Detroit agitated for a plant occupation when the Dodge Main closing was proposed, but this kind of fight was quashed by Fraser and his fake-left friends.

At the convention *no strategy* was put forward to prevent plant closures. Only one delegate (from Local 544 in Pittsburgh) even mentioned the sit-down strike and other militant tactics which gave birth to the UAW in the 1930s. The only "opposition" came from a motley collection of in- and out-bureaucrats and the Maoist-backed California Network, who on the second day paraded around demanding two years advance notice (!) of plant closings and the divisive and defeatist program of "voluntary inverse seniority" to counter racial and sexual discrimination.

The only strategy to effectively fight

layoffs and plant closings was put forward in a leaflet given out at the convention by a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus, Frank Hicks, who expressed outrage over the proceedings to *WV*:

"It was disgusting. With 300,000 brothers and sisters out on the streets, all we heard about was stopping imports and supporting Democrats and not one word about fighting the Big Three. Anaheim should have been the place to launch a unionwide campaign of strikes and sitdowns to stop the layoffs and plant closings and spark the fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. If anything proves the need for a new leadership, this convention certainly did."

Because of a recent court ruling, the bureaucracy, which consolidated itself in the late 1940s through a red-baiting campaign, proposed to delete the constitutional clause which prohibits communists from holding union office. But faced with anti-communist sentiment among the lower-level bureaucrats, Fraser & Co. just dropped the matter. One delegate with some courage, Mike Messina of Local 893 in Marshalltown, Iowa, made the appropriate comment in the debate: "McCarthy is dead, dead, dead—and I say good riddance to the S.O.B. If it had not been for the left-wingers and progressives, we would not be here today."

The main "solution" to auto workers' problems pushed by Fraser was chauvinist protectionism, pitting American workers against Japanese workers, rather than pitting the UAW against the Big Three auto makers in the U.S. The convention hall was plastered with signs like "Buy an Import, Lose a Job" and

"Imports Equal Unemployment."

The social-patriotic theme was not complete, of course, without an appearance by the chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), Michael Harrington, who said that the "program Fraser put forward is the best program I can see for this country." Even house oppositionist Al Gardner from Local 600 and the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) chimed in with a call on American imperialism to stop the export of capital and to "build American." In their efforts not to be "isolated" these fake "dissidents" will soon be beating the drums for Carter's Third World War.

In a presidential election year, it was unusual that neither candidate addressed the convention. The only reason that Fraser did not invite his friend Kennedy was that he had bombed out and the UAW chief is now trying to beat a hasty retreat into the Carter camp. Fraser boasted that now he's going to "testify" at the Democratic platform committee because "the platform of 1976 was a good one." Good for Exxon perhaps, but not for hundreds of thousands of auto workers thrown into the streets. If the black masses' anger at their oppression and impoverishment is misdirected into "a nationwide Miami," as one ex-Dodge Main worker predicted at the convention, the blame can be laid at the feet of Doug Fraser, who blocks working-class struggle against the Carter depression. Only bone-headed reformists can deny the fact that Fraser & Co. must be dumped if the working class is to move forward. ■

Protectionism Hurts the Workers

As layoffs soar in the auto industry and hundreds of auto workers leave assembly lines for unemployment lines, one Chevy dealer in the Detroit suburb of Macomb, Michigan has come up with a "bright" idea. He offered every customer who took a test drive in one of his "made in USA" automobiles a free swing with a sledgehammer at a Datsun. Hundreds, including many laid-off auto workers, lined up to "take a swing for America," battering the sacrificial Japanese compact into a pile of imported junk. The call to "protect" American jobs from foreign workers is being heard around the country. But we say, don't be a sucker! Protectionism means inflation, unemployment and war.

If many American workers are hoodwinked into blaming the depression on foreigners "stealing" their jobs, the fault is not entirely with the big business propagandists. United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser and the rest of the UAW bureaucrats have also gone on the warpath for this poisonous line and are busy lobbying for limits on imports. Instead of mobilizing the union to fight layoffs and factory closings, Fraser & Co. turned the recent UAW convention in Anaheim, California into a disgusting rally for protectionism. The *Wall Street Journal* was struck by how UAW officialdom had made a "reversal of its traditional free-trade stance when it comes to imported autos" and marveled at how the union tops were hobnobbing with company executives on the protectionist bandwagon.

Fraser and the other sellout union tops find it a lot easier to blame



A Detroit Chevrolet dealer encourages customers to smash a Japanese car for Uncle Sam. The bullets next time?

Japanese and German workers for layoffs than to fight for jobs against the giant capitalist firms that are the real enemies. The auto bosses used to justify taking "runaway shops" to low-wage countries by blaming the UAW for "artificially" raising labor costs. But now that story won't wash. In many cases European and Japanese auto workers' wages and benefits are *higher* than those of American auto workers. Now it's Volkswagen that runs away—to Pennsylvania!

If U.S. auto makers can't compete it's because the capitalists over the years have pocketed their profits instead of

investing in the modern plant and equipment being used by overseas producers. What's more, the shift to imported fuel-efficient cars happened only because the giant oil companies and their friends the sheiks have jacked up the price of oil to more than four and a half times its 1973 level. As gas prices took off, U.S. companies were too shortsighted and profit-greedy to retool for the smaller, high mileage cars that American consumers are demanding. If they can't sell the models they've been making they have no one to blame but themselves.

Now that their greed and stupidity,

combined with one of the periodic crises (depressions) inevitable under the unplanned capitalist economic system, have cost hundreds of thousands of workers their jobs, the bosses and their labor lieutenants are offering a "solution," protectionism, that will only hit U.S. workers harder.

• *Protectionism means inflation.* Higher tariffs and import limits on foreign goods mean higher prices, both on those goods themselves and on the U.S. products that no longer have to meet competitors' prices. In 1977 the U.S. International Trade Commission figured out that on average it would cost consumers \$20,000 in higher prices to "save" a \$15,000 job through import controls. And who buys all those imported compacts anyway? It's not the bosses and union fakers in their limousines. It's the American workers who can barely afford to run *any* car these days, much less the turkeys Detroit has been hatching lately.

• *Protectionism means unemployment.* Hundreds of thousands of American jobs depend on access to foreign markets. If the U.S. limits imports and raises tariffs, other countries will do the same, launching a trade war that will cost American and foreign workers their jobs. For example, 15,000 of the UAW's 40,000 members at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. work to build products sold overseas. If those markets disappear, so will their jobs. One quarter of U.S.-made aircraft are sold abroad. What will happen to UAW aircraft workers if import controls in

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Depression USA (continued from page 1)

base with what in the past had been "natural" Kennedy territory: organized labor. The reason is clear—workers didn't view his economic program as any better for them than the disastrous Carter or the reactionary Reagan. And they were right. Kennedy's program against inflation was compulsory wage-price controls. This was Nixon's program, too, and after the experience of the early '70s everyone knew it meant keeping wages down while prices skyrocketed. Under Carter's "guidelines," prices rose at a record 18 percent, leading to a cut of almost 10 percent a year in real wages. If anything, Kennedy's program would make that worse. And Reagan, at least, is calling for a tax cut, which would provide some immediate relief.

This has led to a remarkable turnaround. Today, for the first time since they started taking public opinion polls, more trade unionists think a right-wing Republican has the best economic program. A May 14 Louis Harris Poll reported 35 percent of union members interviewed said Reagan could best handle the economy; 30 percent preferred Carter and 23 percent said Anderson. This cannot be explained away as hard-hat anti-communism, to which Carter appeals no less than Reagan these days. The same unionists favored Carter over Reagan by 38 to 28 percent on foreign policy, by 39 to 25 percent on aid to the poor and by 38 to 30 percent overall. How this will be translated into votes is problematical. Barring a Kennedy upset at the Democratic convention, there will likely be unprecedented working-class abstention this fall in a Carter-Reagan contest. Some workers will vote for the maverick Anderson, and many reluctantly for Carter.

But many will go for Reagan, in ignorance of or in spite of his opposition

to a minimum wage and his support to union-busting "right-to-work" laws. Behind this remarkable phenomenon is the bankruptcy of liberal Keynesian economics. In the 1930s FDR won the workingman's vote by promising unemployment insurance, public works and the right to unionize. In 1960 JFK carried labor by promising to "get the country moving again" with a tax cut. But today Carter talks like Herbert Hoover (who only said prosperity was "around the corner") and promises "bitter medicine," while Kennedy is calling in effect for a larger wage cut. Besides, it's getting harder and harder to present the Democrats as "friends of labor" when Carter receives campaign contributions from the notorious anti-union J.P. Stevens textile company. Seldom has the Democratic Party seemed less like a lesser evil.

Falling Productivity—Rising Inflation

The current economic situation and election year policy debate must be set in the context of the severe objective problems of American capitalism since the onset of the 1974-75 crisis. In particular there has been a sharp fall in the increase in productivity. Primitive right-wing propaganda blames this on lazy workers who supposedly have lost the incentive to work because of high taxes. But a glance at the statistics shows where it's coming from. Thus between 1973 and 1979, real consumption expenditure in the U.S. increased by 20 percent, much of it reflecting personal indebtedness, now at the highest level in history. Employment rose 15 percent, but investment in new plant, embodying the main technological breakthroughs, increased only 5 percent. That means an economy which is more labor-intensive, or less mechanized, and a catastrophic fall in the increase of labor productivity.

alarms. If the maniacal anti-Soviet president and his sinister sidekick "Zbig" had got in the act you might not be reading this today, but we don't know whether to celebrate our good luck or cry because the demented Gen. Jack D. Rippers in the Pentagon clearly believe that nuclear annihilation is their prerogative. In the wake of the notorious helicopter malfunctions in Iran these computer bugs in the ultra-sophisticated defense system of the world's supposedly leading technological nation would be comical—but it is no laughing matter. Six minutes is the outside limit before missiles launched at Russia from West Germany could not be stopped, and Carter has gotten NATO to agree to install missiles in West Germany under U.S. control. No wonder the Soviets screamed last November that this whole mess could lead to "irreparable consequences for the whole world!"

After last week's incident defense secretary Harold Brown rushed to the TV cameras to declare that this only proves the "fail-safe system works." Brown wants us to "learn to stop worrying and love the bomb," but we know that the men who run this country are more dangerous than the haywire computers which launch B-52s. While Carter is supplying Chinese AK-47 machine guns to Afghan religious maniacs and Brzezinski cries "On to Moscow!" at the Khyber Pass, while Reagan dreams of giving the mullah fanatics ground-to-aircraft missiles and Reaganite senators demand the resignation of the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff because he supported SALT, no reasonable person can fail to feel unsafe.

This development is worrying serious elements of the bourgeoisie even more than the present conjunctural crisis—although the depression and inflation will dominate the election. Between 1965 and 1973, output per man-hour in manufacturing increased by 2.4 percent a year; from 1973 to 1978 it rose by 1.5 percent annually, a decline of almost 40 percent. Internationally the comparisons are even worse. Between 1973 and 1979, the annual growth of the U.S. gross national product per employee was 0.1 percent. In Japan it was 3.4 percent, and in West Germany 3.2 percent—more than 30 times as much. Even decaying Britain did three times as well.

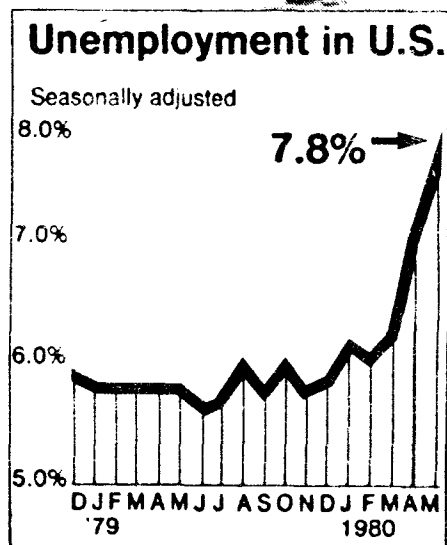
There are a number of economic and policy repercussions. First, obviously, is a deterioration of the economic plant, most extreme in steel where there has been an actual contraction. Today U.S. steel-making capacity (not production) is 5 percent less than half a decade ago. There also seem to be a lot more plant closings than in 1974-75, as many capitalists use the cyclical downturn to get rid of unprofitable plants for good. A second consequence is the uncompetitiveness of American industry—the most glaring case being the failure to retool to make small cars in the wake of staggering oil price increases. This has sent Japanese auto imports soaring from 3.7 percent of the U.S. market in 1970 to 21 percent today. Consequently, there are increased pressures for protectionism, particularly in auto and steel.

Falling productivity is also the main underlying cause of the accelerating inflation. Beginning in 1978, with capital investment lagging behind production, the U.S. economy has run into bottlenecks and increasing labor costs per unit of output. Naturally the companies raise their prices, but one capitalist's output is another capitalist's input. The result was a "leapfrog" effect, accelerated by the 50 percent petroleum price hike in mid-1979. Carter and the Federal Reserve, meanwhile, passively adapted to the higher level of prices simply by allowing money to be borrowed. It's possible to stop an accelerating inflation by adopting tight money policies, of course, but only at the risk of a contraction and widespread bankruptcies.

But Carter is not about to let anyone big go down. Chrysler is the clearest example, but earlier this spring when the largest bank in Pennsylvania was in serious trouble, the Federal Reserve and FDIC put together a bail-out scheme. In fact, the Fed is even lending money to the man the *Economist* calls Nelson "Bungle" Hunt, paying for his unsuccessful bid to corner the silver market! So this opportunist, business-oriented administration is prepared to tolerate a higher level of inflation out of fear of a wave of bankruptcies that could send the whole system under.

On the other hand, the liberal Democrats' program to fight runaway inflation has been utterly discredited in the last two years. Going back to the Kennedy administration, the standard neo-Keynesian liberal answer to inflation has been wage-price guidelines, or at the extreme, compulsory wage-price controls or even a freeze. And this was tried by Carter's Democratic administration under conditions of near-full employment for adult white males. The wage-price guidelines began in late 1978, and since then real take-home pay has declined by over 10 percent—a whopping wage cut. Blacks, in turn, have faced depression conditions for years: double-digit unemployment ever since the 1974-75 downturn, when black workers lost their jobs at double the rate of white workers; already an official 35 percent jobless rate for ghetto youth. From cold statistics to the hot flames of

April's rise in unemployment was the largest for any month in 30 years.



New York Times

Miami, it is clear that millions of blacks are being driven to despair. And white workers in droves are turning their backs on the Democratic Party.

Bourgeoisie's Dilemma: War, Taxes, Protectionism

This brings us to the "Tax Revolt." Taxes and inflation are complementary, because under a progressive income tax system higher money income throws people into a higher bracket. Today for many workers and many in the middle class, real gross (before tax) income is about the same or even less than it was a decade ago (adjusted for inflation), but they are paying a higher tax rate. In 1966 the general tax rate was 33 percent, while today it is 39 percent. This also intersects black/white relations, for at bottom the "revolt" which began with California's Prop 13 is the white backlash at two or three removes. For white workers, at or near full employment for the last couple years, the so-called welfare state has seemed like subsidizing ghetto blacks. And as their incomes suffer from galloping inflation they become prey to the right-wingers pushing for a tax cut associated with cutting social welfare programs.

But this can quickly change. Paradoxically, the worse the depression, the more likely the present appeal of Reagan's right-wing "populist" economics will be blown away. Because with millions of white workers and petty bourgeois out of work, suddenly unemployment insurance, welfare, job re-

Crazy Carter's Missile Madness

There's a scene in *Dr. Strangelove* where the U.S. president tells the Soviet premier that their radar will soon detect a strategic nuclear attack but they shouldn't get upset. But it was no movie last week when U.S. forces mobilized for a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union, after a "computer malfunction" at the North American Air Defense (NORAD) Command Center inside Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado, mistakenly signaled a Soviet missile attack. The three-minute false alarm June 3 tripped buzzers in the Pentagon and at Strategic Air Command headquarters. Minutemen button-pushers went on alert while B-52 nuclear bomber crews raced out in their underwear to rev the engines up. This was the second such incident to become known in recent months. Last November 10 a six-minute false alarm occurred when someone fed a war games tape into a NORAD computer at Colorado Springs, this time putting missile bases on alert and scrambling jet interceptors from Oregon, Missouri and British Columbia into the air.

The military didn't even bother to inform President Carter during the



McElhinney/Newsweek



training, public works, public housing, etc. will seem valuable for them. However, the inflation rate, while declining, is unlikely to go down enough to reverse the present trend of falling real incomes. So that by November, both inflation and depression are likely to be hot campaign issues. And it's far from clear that Carter can run as a new FDR against Reagan's Alf Landon. In fact, the present administration is responding to what is probably the greatest depression since the 1930s with more fiscal austerity and Hooveresque platitudes.

Traditionally the Republicans have presented themselves as the anti-inflation party and the Democrats as the anti-unemployment party. Liberal economic journalist Leonard Silk observes that we are seeing a peculiar historical reversal:

"... Governor Reagan and his Republican supporters, with their demands for 'supply-side' tax cuts have changed roles and are threatening to play the activists against passivist Democrats, much as Roosevelt did against Hoover, contending that they are prepared to act to strengthen the economy while President Carter hesitates, fixated on a balanced budget..."

—New York Times, 6 June

Actually, Silk overstates the differences and overlooks an important area of agreement between Reagan's and Carter's economic policies. Reagan links his tax cut proposals to even sharper cutbacks in government social welfare programs than those Carter has already wrought.

The American bourgeoisie is now caught in a contradiction. It wants to lower the inflation rate, raise profits,



Evans/Gamma-Liaison

improve the competitiveness of U.S. capitalism and rev up the Cold War. It wants to cut taxes, cut government spending, raise the military budget and keep out German and Japanese imports. But they can't do it simultaneously. If Washington thinks it has trouble with its allies now, watch what happens when it tries to cut Volkswagen and Toyota, Krupp and Nippon Steel out of the American market: half the German and Japanese bourgeoisie will soon be marching to Moscow singing the "Internationale."

Dump the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party!

When in 1974 the banks and capitalist politicians put NYC into receivership, they were implementing the "austerity" policy of the entire bourgeoisie. It was Democrats who took a meat ax to city workers' wages, slashing services to the ghetto. And soon it went national, provoking the badly defeated 1976 San Francisco city workers strike. As a result of this ruling-class offensive, today New York, Chicago and SF, all historically strong union towns, are now run by mayors who are genuine labor haters: Koch, Byrne and Feinstein.

For some time labor leaders in these key centers have felt themselves under the gun. When all they are "offered" is takeaway, takeaway, takeaway, they have no room to maneuver. Under pressure from the membership they called a series of municipal workers strikes in Chicago last winter, but all went down to defeat in isolation; and the sharply divided New York transit strike in April ended only with an abject, total sellout by the union tops. And in a few areas, notably California, some veteran labor misleaders have begun to mouth off about "considering" a labor party—in order to get more attention from their traditional friends in the Democratic Party.

For some nine months now California Federation of Labor executive secretary-treasurer Jack Henning has been complaining about the "conservatism of the two major parties." With the endorsement of several building trades and county union bodies he organized a special statewide conference June 5 to "weigh creation of [a] labor party" (*California AFL-CIO News*, 7 September 1979). But after all the hoopla, they end up with Carter—just pleading for a few crumbs in the Democratic platform.

Black and minority populations have no interest in voting for the party of Dixiecrats and hypocritical northern liberals who did in busing. But come November the "Black Elected Officials" will be out there again peddling the Democrats as a "people's party." It will be harder this time to sell Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter than in 1976 when he won 90 percent of the black vote, tipping a close election. But as ghetto frustration and despair mount, leaderless and directionless, it could be dissipated in explosions of random violence such as occurred in Miami's Liberty City last month in response to a racist atrocity. Facing increasing lumpenization of the inner cities, blacks are hit first and hardest by the depression. Black workers in auto and steel have a key position of strength, which they must use to channel black anger into a real fight, taking the lead in fighting the capitalist attacks on the unions and the ghettos.

The rulers of this country are running it into the ground. There are only two roads facing the labor movement: either go with the capitalists who are destroying America and the world, or struggle to overthrow their irrational economic system of production for profit, which scraps whole factories while millions clamor for jobs. Militants in the unions

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Racist Terror in San Diego Primary

Klan Rides in the Democrats

The Democratic Party has nominated a Ku Klux Klan "grand dragon," Tom Metzger, for U.S. Congress from the 43rd District of southern California. This notorious nightrider whose armed mob and attack dogs staged the March 15 race terror assault in Oceanside, California got 32,344 votes to squeak by in a three-way race in the Democratic primary June 3. As the official Democratic Party nominee, Metzger will be able to select six (hooded?) delegates to the state's Democratic Party convention. The most populous district in the country, the sprawling 43rd stretches from San Diego to the Arizona line.

Metzger's nomination has the Democratic Party bigwigs red-faced. But a California rabbi and others have begged Carter and Kennedy to denounce Metzger and thus far they have pointedly refused to do so. An "appalled" state Democratic Party chairman said, "He stands for nothing the Democratic Party stands for." "But," he was quick to add, "we would not encourage the election of a Republican" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

No wonder the Democrats are embarrassed to be represented by an actual cross-burner. It exposes something they stand for: racism. Of course, they prefer their racism without white sheets and swastikas, but they have created the right-wing climate in which fascists like Metzger thrive. It is Carter/Brzezinski and the liberals who have handed the KKK and the fascists a respectability they haven't had in years—Carter's Cold War jingoism, the campaigns of legislative racism against "the cities," Supreme Court decisions against school integration, the "Skokie decision" protecting fas-



Musgrove/Herald Examiner

Oceanside, California, March 15: Metzger's "program" of Klan terror.

cist provocations in minority neighborhoods.

Metzger is dangerous. Not least because he comes out of the school of "frat-fascist" Klan leader David Duke. While organizing for the kill, he speaks in the populist rhetoric so fashionable these days among the "mainstream" candidates of both parties: specific appeals to the "white working people" against the "welfare bums." The Democratic pols pretend that Metzger's nomination was just some terrible mistake attributable to his "name recognition." But for what was his name recognized? For Oceanside where his thugs, backed up by the cops, pummeled anti-Klan demonstrators and sent one to the hospital for 100 stitches in his head. For a vicious assault on Chicano workers when his KKK mob organized for armed "volunteer" patrols to shoot down "illegal aliens" and bragged that their "dead bodies stack up along the border."

Reflecting the embarrassment of "progressive" Democrats, Irwin Silber and his little group of trendy Maoists call upon the Democratic Party to

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Woo, Woo, Woo

As U.S. imperialism declines, there has been a corresponding deterioration in the caliber of bourgeois leadership. From "Tricky Dick" Nixon to "can't chew gum and walk at the same time" Ford to dull and dangerous "born again" Carter, the last batch of American presidents has hardly been of historic stature. Now we may even get Grade B cowboy star Ronald Reagan inflicted upon us. And then of course there's Teddy Kennedy—enough said.

In this respect virtually every one of this year's candidates (including the minor players) is a certifiable religious nut. Reagan, the Cold War ideologue, is lining up 100 Christian radio stations to broadcast his promise to make the halls of government "as inviolate and as near-sacred as a cathedral or a temple or a church." Jimmy Carter not only teaches Sunday School but reportedly tried to convert South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee to Christianity during a visit to Seoul in early 1979. He left, declaring the matter "in god's hands." (The almighty works in mysterious ways, however, and four

months later Park was struck down by the head of the Korean CIA, who in turn has just been executed by another of Washington's Korean puppets.)

Of course, there was the flaky mystic California governor Jerry Brown, a former Jesuit converted to Zen Buddhism. That was weird enough, but it's beginning to look like John Anderson, a former Goldwaterite "maverick" Republican, may garner a respectable protest vote as an anti-Carter, anti-Reagan independent. Anderson's main claim to fame in two decades in Congress has been his thrice-introduced "Jesus Amendment," submitting the United States "devoutly... [to] the authority and law of Jesus Christ."

Well, just remember that the guy now running the country claimed last year he was attacked by a swimming killer rabbit while paddling a canoe in Georgia. As Pope John Paul Wojtyla, another of Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" mafia, said in Madison Square Garden last fall, "Woo, woo, woo!"

Depression USA...

(continued from page 7)

must fight to break the many-million-strong army of labor from the Democrats and Republicans to mobilize it in a workers party, based on the strength of organized labor. Phony leftists, like the reformist Communist Party, tag along behind the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats with their "fight the right" rhetoric, a cover for support to liberal Democrats. (This year, with Carter on an anti-Soviet rampage and Kennedy in the dumps, the CP will uncharacteristically push their token "independent" campaign a bit.) Genuine communists, however, warn that the defeatist bureaucracy, which accepts mass layoffs while tying the ranks to the class enemy, must be replaced with a revolutionary leadership. And that the real answer, the only answer, to capitalism's cycle of inflation and unemployment is socialist revolution. ■

Klan...

(continued from page 7)

cleanse itself. They call on the organizers of imperialist reaction to "take a side" against "the right-wing tide." (But Irwin, they already have a side!) Demonstrating outside Democratic headquarters May 31, the Trend group chanted, "Democratic Party open your eyes, Don't be fooled by the Klan's disguise." But the Klan is not in disguise. They are open organizers of racist, anti-labor terror, fostered by a political climate of the anti-Soviet "progressive" liberals the soft-core Stalinist fellow-travelers like Silber have tailed for years.

Metzger was recognized for what he was at San Diego State University on April 9 when 500 students pelted him with bottles, cans and tomatoes and chased him off the campus. That is the way to deal with Metzger and his kind. But it will take a mass movement led by the workers and not Democratic Party "progressives" to do the job.

Last month the Republican Party was similarly "appalled" when the punk "führer" of the "National Socialist Party of America" took 56,000 votes in a North Carolina statewide election for attorney general. Harold Covington campaigned in a Nazi uniform saying that "Hitler was a great man." He explained his surprising vote with the comment that "there are many closet Nazis in the Republican Party." Perhaps so. And when George Wallace ran his racist presidential campaign of 1972 he used to say there wasn't a "dime's worth of difference" between the Democrats and Republicans. One thing is sure. The Nazis and the Klan can depend on the twin parties of capitalism to provide fertile ground for the growth of fascism in America. ■

Zionist Bombing...

(continued from page 3)

government's recognition as the legitimate instrument of local Jewish authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip." Moreover, the article continues, "Even before Monday's disastrous events... the authorities were aware that some settlements were setting up 'anti-terror' squads. The members are trained soldiers; the territory where they operate includes the neighboring Arab towns."

Regardless of which gang of fascistic Zionist thugs left their fingerprints on the bombs, Palestinians in the West Bank have good reason to think that Begin himself is complicit. The former

leader of the pre-1948 Irgun terrorists now commands the vastly greater terror apparatus of the Israeli state, including its nuclear arsenal. He has appointed as foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir, a former leader of the Stern Gang, the Zionist terrorist group even more extreme than the Irgun, and the mastermind of the assassination of Lord Moyne. And Begin has never given up the methods of right-wing anti-Arab commando terrorism, which are cultivated with the complicity of his government under the protective umbrella of the army from which they train and recruit their cadre.

The settlement policies of the Begin government and its "Labor" predecessors have worked out the logic of Zionist expansionism: permanent occupation of "Judea and Samaria," i.e., the West Bank. Seeking to create "accomplished facts" with many-sided government aid, the terrorist "settlers" want, as Gush Emunim spokesman Eliakim Haetzni put it, to make the military occupation into "an omelet which no American would be able to return to the shell" (*New York Times*, 8 June). Israeli commitment to annexing the West Bank makes it clear that liberation of the occupied territories (not to mention Palestinian Arabs in Israel or those forced to live in wretched refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan) will not be achieved without bringing down the Zionist state. In this struggle, the Hebrew working class, facing the prospect of endless wars and grinding impoverishment imposed by its expansionist rulers, must be the gravedigger of Zionism or Zionism will prove the gravedigger of the Hebrew nation. For the right to self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples in a socialist federation of the Near East! Israel out of the occupied territories! For organized armed self-defense against Zionist terror! ■

Blair Peach...

(continued from page 4)

role. As David Palliser of the *Guardian* (28 May) explained: "Politically... there were problems of prosecuting Scotland Yard's crack mobile reserve squad whose role has become increasingly one of dealing with the sharp end of public order policing." The SPG, you see, is trained for terror: "The SPG's job as exemplified at Red Lion Square and the Grunswick dispute, was to go in hard when the divisional police felt unable to cope."

And they do go in hard. Red Lion Square, 1974: another anti-Nazi leftist protester was killed, hundreds jailed. Grunswick, 1977: smashing of mass picket lines and dragnet arrests of the largely Asian workers trying to establish a union in the factory. Although the British ruling class has tried hard to glorify its trained killers, like the SAS commando units who stormed the Iranian embassy in posh Kensington,

it's clear that their state terror is aimed against the working class, the poor, the Asian and Caribbean immigrants ludicrously blamed for the ills of decaying British capitalism, and the left. Even the timid Trades Union Council has finally come out for dissolving the SPG—though its brutal terrorizing of the Grunswick strikers took place under a Labour government.

The "Blair Peach affair" exposes the futility of calling on the capitalist state to ban the Nazis, relying on the cops to defend against fascist provocations and then running to the courts for "justice" after the inevitable atrocities occur. This is the "strategy" of the Socialist Workers Party and its Anti-Nazi League, the International Marxist Group and most of the British left. The Spartacist League/Britain calls for independent, mass working-class mobilization to stop the fascists. The queen's courts have shown where they stand—squarely for the SPG killers and cover-ups.

The workers movement in Britain must demand: Publish the secret Scotland Yard report! Down with Britain's ultra-repressive libel and official secrets laws! Drop all charges against the Southall protesters! Abolish the SPG! Jail the SPG killers of Blair Peach! ■

Protectionism...

(continued from page 5)

other countries cut off those sales?

• **Protectionism means war.** Trade wars lead to shooting wars. It happened in the '30s and it can happen again. Import controls could be the first step on the road to an imperialist World War III.

So what's the answer? Instead of backing U.S. bosses against foreign workers, American workers must join with their class brothers around the world in a struggle against *all* the capitalist exploiters. Every now and again Doug Fraser makes noises about international workers solidarity. At Anaheim he said that as multinationals

integrate their foreign and U.S. operations, the UAW "must assist foreign workers' organization and strengthen our ties to them." But what does this mean? Oh, occasionally Solidarity House will host a gathering of International Metal Workers Federation bureaucrats, and Fraser even brought a Japanese union bureaucrat to address the UAW convention. But in terms of labor struggle Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats have done *nothing*.

When Ford's South African division fired hundreds of black workers last fall for daring to strike against apartheid discrimination, the UAW tops didn't lift a finger to aid their hard-fought and eventually successful battle to win back their jobs. When Mexican GM workers struck in January, Solidarity House turned a blind eye. And when Brazilian auto workers struck for 41 days this spring against the tanks and guns of the military dictatorship to defend their union, Fraser sat on his hands.

Auto workers: Don't buy Doug Fraser's protectionist poison! Black workers beware: Economic nationalism and hatred of foreign workers will be the rallying call of the racist terrorists who march under the fiery cross, the swastika and the stars and stripes. Flag waving doesn't save jobs—class struggle does! The workers movement began as an international movement. Its holiday, May Day, began with a struggle throughout the world by workers of all nationalities for the eight-hour day. It is the bosses who profit by national divisions. The workers of the world have no country and must fight all forms of national chauvinism and racism.

If UAW workers are to be able to fight for their jobs and fight the suicidal protectionism being pushed by the auto companies, they will have to begin the struggle by getting rid of Fraser and his whole crew of pro-capitalist, protectionist sellouts and replacing them with a militant, class-struggle leadership. Dump the bureaucrats! No to protectionism! No to import controls! Expropriate Big Oil! Save jobs with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! ■

Corrections

In our last issue (*WV* No. 257, 30 May) we brought to the attention of our readers a report from the British *Socialist Challenge* on the execution of one of their comrades of the HKS in Iran. However, a letter was printed in the 5 June *Socialist Challenge* from the author of the earlier article stating that there had been a confusion of names and neither of the two leftists executed in Ahwaz on that date was a member of the HKS.

In *WV* No. 256 (16 May) there were several errors which require correction. The introduction to a letter from Sheffield steel workers mistakenly referred to two "militants" who crossed

picket lines at BL Rover as supporters of the Workers Socialist League. The two whose scabbing was defended in the WSL newspaper (in a polemic against the Spartacist League) are supporters of the International Marxist Group. Also, the militant who refused to cross the picket line at SDI was incorrectly referred to by the WSL as an SL supporter. In an article on the same page on "Death of a Princess," we erroneously refer to the Indian custom of suttee as "wife-burning" instead of widow-burning. And the article "Labor Shakes Generals' Brazil" refers to the Brazilian industrial proletariat as the largest in the backward capitalist countries; however, India, at least, exceeds Brazil on this score.

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Black Panther Framed by the FBI

Free Geronimo Pratt!

Two men clambered halfway up the Statue of Liberty May 10 to unfurl a 25-foot banner reading "Liberty Was Framed—Free Geronimo Pratt." They thereby focused greatly overdue attention on the former Black Panther leader, imprisoned for almost a decade on a frame-up murder charge and long since abandoned by leftists who once cheered his every act.

Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party and the target of an FBI "neutralization" campaign which culminated in a pre-dawn police assault on the L.A. Panther headquarters in December 1969. The attack came four days after the similar one which killed Fred Hampton in Chicago and was part of a gigantic attempt to physically destroy the Panthers in America. Pratt survived the raid, but within three years his wife had been murdered and he himself was serving a life sentence for a crime he did not commit. The FBI wanted to get the Panthers—and that's why Pratt's in jail today.

The continuing harassment and imprisonment of Geronimo Pratt grow out of the assault on the militant wing of black nationalism in the late 1960s and early '70s. This assault was part of the notorious COINTELPRO program, and today enough COINTELPRO documents have been released under the

valor, one silver star, a soldier's medal, an army commendation medal, three combat infantry badges and master paratroopers wings (T.D. Allman, "Geronimo Lives," *New Times*, 11 November 1977).

Pratt also taught himself to read and write, and when released from the Army he passed college entrance examinations and went to school on the GI Bill. While a political science student at the University of California he was radicalized by the political ferment of his generation and became a member of the Black Panther Party. He thus turned his training and new education against the racist, capitalist state.

From that day on the story of Pratt's life is one of relentless state persecution. In 1968 his GI benefits were taken away—including medical care for his Vietnam war wounds. FBI memos make it clear that he became a prime target of J. Edgar Hoover's Racial Intelligence Unit designed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of the Black Panther Party.

Finally, before dawn on 8 December 1969 the Panther office where Pratt lived was attacked by hundreds of L.A. Police Department Metro Squad and SWAT Team commandos armed with M-60 machine guns, tear-gas launchers, dynamite and helicopters. They subjected the house to a five-hour barrage, and



Geronimo Pratt

Black Panther

black radicals.

The key witness for the prosecution, former Black Panther member Julio Butler, has now been identified as an LAPD agent. This cop, who infiltrated the Panthers, testified that Pratt had "confessed" the crime to him, which Pratt says is a lie. Recent evidence has confirmed that Butler was a member of the "black desk" of the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy section. Another member of the "black desk," Louis Tackwood, testified in 1976 that the purpose of the desk was to "infiltrate, disrupt and destroy black radical organizations" and their leaders.

Tackwood admitted that he was involved in an attempt to murder Pratt and added that the Olsen murder rap was a fall-back plan in case Pratt survived. (Tackwood's last assignment as a cop agent was to smuggle a non-functioning gun to jailed Panther member George Jackson, an assignment completed two weeks before Jackson's death in an "attempted escape.")

Caroline Olsen's husband, after weeks of meeting with state officials, identified Pratt as the man who committed the murder four years before, despite having previously made a positive identification of another man. A few months after the murder he had told police his wife was killed by a "very tall, very black man." Pratt is light-skinned and only 5 feet 9 inches tall. And the only testimony placing Pratt in the vicinity was from a drugstore owner who said at the trial that "they all look alike."

But most significantly, Pratt was 350 miles away in Oakland, California on the day of the murder. Former Black Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard told *Workers Vanguard*:

"There was a meeting that night at my house about the Black Panther Party Breakfast for Children Program. Seale was there. Pratt was definitely there, as one of the leaders of the L.A. party. Kathleen [Clever] was there. [Shirley] Hewitt was there."

Kathleen Cleaver and Shirley Hewitt both testified in Pratt's behalf, and Hilliard gave a sworn statement. Because Pratt had been expelled from the party prior to the trial after siding with the Cleaver wing in the 1971 Panther split, Hilliard's action flew in the face of direct orders from Huey Newton not to testify for Pratt.

The facts speak for themselves. Pratt is the victim of a vicious and deliberate frame-up.

Pratt and his attorneys have repeatedly tried to obtain the FBI surveillance records which would place him in Oakland on the day of the murder. In September 1969 they were successful in getting a District Court order demanding the release of any Pratt files maintained by the state Attorney General's office and the LAPD. But the order resulted only in a trickle of documents and an announcement that "a tremendous amount" of files on Pratt had been destroyed by the

department in its effort to conform to new intelligence guidelines. One batch of 500 documents, when finally pried away from the FBI, was found to consist entirely of blanked-out pages!

The FBI contends that it has no records on Geronimo Pratt dated before 20 December 1968—two days after the murder. But given the extent of surveillance, the FBI must have known of the meeting on December 18. Release of the relevant documents would reveal that the FBI knew perfectly well that Pratt was innocent but simply, in an act of breathtaking viciousness and cynicism, framed him up and put him away for his political beliefs.

FBI's Murder Inc. Hits the Panthers

The Panthers in their heyday were among the best of a generation of black militants, a generation crushed by a savage campaign of state terror. There were at least 295 FBI "operations" against black groups in that period, 233 of them against the Black Panther Party. In 1968 and 1969, 14 Black Panther leaders were killed. Huey Newton and Bobby Seale spent years in jail on false charges while Eldridge Cleaver was forced into exile.

The Black Panther Party of the late 1960s was a deeply contradictory black radical formation, genuinely seeking black liberation but lacking the working-class perspective which could show them the road. Already weakened by profound programmatic disorientation, the Panthers never had a chance against the concerted terror of the bourgeois state. As their influence waned they were abandoned by their former New Left tail-waggers and then, as demonstrated by Newton's orders against testifying for Pratt, they even abandoned each other. But while the Spartacist League never cheered the eclectic black nationalism of the Panthers—unlike many of the left organizations which subsequently ignored Pratt—we have always stood in defense of these militants against the state.

Eventually the Newton wing, under the influence of the Communist Party, descended into sniveling reformism while the Cleaver faction supported by Pratt expended its cadre in the dead end of lumpen urban guerrillaism. Today Newton and Seale look to the Democratic Party and Cleaver turns from born-again Christianity to found a cult called "Christlam" while praising the practice of wife-beating.

What stands out about Pratt is that he has maintained his dignity and the courage of his convictions—refusing to seek parole because it would mean confessing guilt, giving himself a university-level education with smuggled books because he was barred from the prison library—despite what can only be described as systematic harassment and torture by the U.S. government.

Release the FBI documents and expose the frame-up! Free Geronimo Pratt! ■



Militant

In 1969 SWAT commandos attacked L.A. Panther office, arresting Pratt (far right) and 17 comrades.

Freedom of Information Act so that anyone can see the truth—the "shoot-outs" were one-sided police attacks, the Panther casualties were deliberate executions and murder charges were fabricated by the FBI.

As regards Pratt, even liberal Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey has recently stated that "on the surface, this case smells to high heaven" and demanded a Congressional investigation. Under the pressure of new exposures of government frame-up, Pratt has been transferred from San Quentin Prison where he was incarcerated for several years under maximum security to San Luis Obispo.

Who Is Geronimo Pratt?

Geronimo Pratt was born 32 years ago in rural Louisiana and was educated in a segregated one-room schoolhouse which left him unable to read the enlistment forms when he volunteered for the U.S. Army at age 17. He was one of the many thousands of black youth who join the armed forces every year because they cannot find a job with wages higher than a private's pay. During the next three years he did two tours of duty in Vietnam. He was point man on 14 volunteer missions and was wounded three times. He received two purple hearts, two bronze stars for

Pratt's bed—its location pinpointed by an informer's blueprint—was riddled with bullets. But because of his war wounds the Panther leader routinely slept on the floor, and so he survived.

Pratt, the victim of the commando attack, was arrested and tried for "conspiracy to assault policemen." But the police conspiracy was so grossly obvious that the predominantly white jury acquitted him of all major charges, convicting him only of the relatively minor "conspiracy to possess an illegal weapon."

Later that year Pratt's wife Sandra, eight months pregnant and also a Black Panther member, was mysteriously shot in the head and dumped on a Los Angeles freeway. No arrests were ever made for this murder.

The FBI Frame-Up

Having failed to kill Pratt in his bed, the government went to Plan B. In 1971, while in jail on the weapons charge, Pratt was indicted for the murder of schoolteacher Caroline Olsen. Olsen and her husband had been attacked on a tennis court in Santa Monica on 18 December 1968. She was brutally and senselessly murdered, and the killer escaped with \$30 from her purse. It was exactly the sort of inhuman crime that Hoover liked to pin on respected

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They Wouldn't Cross Picket Lines, And Won!

Australian Workers Defend Militants

In the Australian labor movement, deeply divided by craft unionism and hamstrung by a compulsory state arbitration system, the bosses, the government and the trade-union bureaucrats have done their best to bury any expression of labor solidarity. But in recent months two trade-union militants at the John Fairfax and Sons printing plant in Sydney took an exemplary stand in defense of the elementary principles of class solidarity, scoring a victory that points the way forward for all of Australian labor.

"This Clerk Doesn't Scab"

In January printers at Fairfax struck in defense of a Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) chapel representative (committeeman) victimized by management. The PKIU was joined on the picket lines, which at times were over 100 strong, by metal tradesmen, iron workers, engineers, plumbers, sections of the Transport Workers Union and one clerk, Linda Menzie, who refused on principle to scab on another union's picket line.

Menzie was the first clerk in memory to honor a printers' picket line at Fairfax. In response, the leadership of her own union, the Federated Clerks, instructed her to get back to work and hold to the scabbing tradition. But Menzie stuck to her guns and regularly stood alongside the PKIU on the picket line with a placard reading, "This clerk doesn't scab." This was enthusiastically received by the strikers, who insisted that Menzie accept strike pay. The PKIU passed a resolution to defend all those, from any union, who supported



Fairfax printing worker pickets battle scabs.

Australasian Spartacist

the strike against any company threats of reprisals. When the strike was over, Menzie was the only clerk who could return to work without shame—and she was not victimized for her courageous stand.

The PKIU took a militant stand in defense of Menzie for her refusal to scab. But a few weeks later, on March 5, when some 80 metal workers, iron workers and members of the Australian Society of Engineers hit the bricks in protest against management's violation of traditional union work rules, the printers union found itself on the wrong side of the class line—inside keeping the Fairfax presses rolling. After briefly walking out twice in solidarity at the beginning of the strike, the PKIU leadership struck a deal with the

company in which their end of the bargain was to scab.

The refusal of the striking metal workers to set up a picket line provided a convenient cover for this backstabbing. Nevertheless at a mass PKIU meeting March 11, after the first printers' walkout backing the metal workers, a significant minority of 50 or so printers voted against returning to work. One PKIU militant, Ron Rees, argued that despite the absence of a picket line Fairfax was a struck plant, and regardless of the vote he would not return to work.

The bureaucracy's scabbing policy carried, and Rees was left to go it alone in solidarity with the metal workers strike. But the PKIU leadership was not about to tolerate this violation of the

"rules" of craft unionism. Infuriated by Rees' refusal to scab, the PKIU tops threatened not to defend him on the grounds that this action was "outside the rules" of the union! But the printers' union leadership quickly backed down in the face of a protest letter, signed by 14 metal workers' shop stewards and strike leaders, which defended Rees' stand as "purely one of Union Principle." The spectre of another union defending one of *their members* put the PKIU bureaucracy on the defensive. Backed by both unions Rees won an arbitration hearing and Fairfax readily accepted the recommendation to reinstate him.

In the wake of the Fairfax strikes Australian journalists called a national strike against the press bosses' attempt to slash jobs through the introduction of new technology. The journalists are widely viewed in the Australian labor movement, in particular in the printing trades unions, as the worst scabs, many of whom owe their position to strike-breaking. But this justifiable hatred for the journalists' tradition of scabbing must not make strikebreakers of the other press unions. The journalists are fighting against press bosses of the ilk of Australian press magnate Rupert Murdoch, whose slanderous yellow journalism was instrumental in bringing down the Australian Labor Party government of Gough Whitlam in 1975. Murdoch has also played a key role in the drive to smash press unions from Sydney to New York City. This hated enemy of the entire Australian labor movement must be met by a united struggle of all the printing trades unions. ■

Defend the Steelworkers—Defend Keith Anwar!

As United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31 prepares for its annual conference June 27 more than 50,000 steel workers have been thrown out of their jobs in the massive layoffs and plant closures that have swept the Midwest in the last three years. At U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago only one out of four blast furnaces is now operating. Next door at the U.S. Steel Gary works, three out of six furnaces are down. Yet USWA president Lloyd McBride, with the backing of the "dissident" Sadowski/Balanoff leadership of District 31, has rammed through another no-strike contract. Steel workers must not be made hapless victims of the bosses' job-slashing offensive! What is needed is industrywide strike action to save jobs.

In fighting for the steel workers' right to strike, the Keith Anwar picket line case is crucially important. Anwar, a member of USWA Local 1010, was fired from his job at Inland Steel one year ago for his principled refusal to cross the picket line of another USWA local at the plant. Anwar's fight to win his job back has won the support of hundreds of rank-and-file union members and union officials. Last year's District 31 conference voted to use "all available resources" in defending him, but the pledge was never honored by the Balanoff leadership. According to the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, composed of steel workers who support Anwar's reinstatement, this year's conference will see a showdown on the case. Already Local 1010, Anwar's union and the largest in the district, has submitted a motion reaffirming the basic right of union members to honor picket lines. We reprint below a leaflet distributed

recently at Chicago-area mills by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee.

On May 18, 1979, Keith Anwar, a millwright apprentice at Inland Steel was fired for honoring USWA Local 8180's picket lines. Many of you have heard about this and are wondering what has happened to it. Well so are we! Last year's District Conference unanimously passed a resolution pledging "all available resources" to Keith's case and supporting motions soon followed at Locals 65 and 1010. Hundreds of postcards poured into District Director James Balanoff from steelworkers pledging support. In October 1979 Local 1010 hosted a rally for Keith at their union hall. Over 1,500 union members signed petitions and over two thousand hard-earned dollars have been donated for Anwar's defense. Yet, since this case completed Step 4 not a single thing has been done!

Is the company stalling, as usual, hoping that this grievance will disappear? Not this time! Staff Rep Ted Rogus, at the International's behest, pulled this grievance from the arbitration docket and our District leaders have done *nothing* to reverse this. Our District and International union leaders are playing "hot potato" with this case trying to blame the other guy for stalling. When you ask them why, all you get is a lot of double talk and mumbo jumbo. Ask them yourself and you'll see!

Our union leaders are blind if they can't see that the ranks are solidly behind this important case. Our members who go into the mills every day know that this case puts the right to honor *our own* pickets on the line. To

the company this stalling can mean only one thing—this union will not defend its picket lines. What Keith Anwar is fighting for is the labor tradition that "picket lines mean don't cross." Don't our union leaders want a strong union?

Our International leadership has dropped picket line grievances in this District claiming that they have "no merit." Well the union ranks don't buy this and even the bosses' government doesn't think so. Earlier this year the National Labor Relations Board issued a complaint against U.S. Steel (Gary Works) for suspending a steelworker, Gene Goldenfeld, who refused to cross a rail workers picket line at the plant. It is likely that the NLRB hearing will reverse the arbitration decision the union lost and Goldenfeld will get a well-deserved award.

So what's all this stalling on Keith's case? We've come to expect this crap from our International desk jockeys but what about Balanoff and "Steelworkers Fight Back"? They know about the Goldenfeld decision and still have not acted.

Ever since the International dropped this case in Balanoff's lap he has been running from it. He claims he doesn't have the power and is being "set up" by McBride. This is bunk! Kleiman's letter to Balanoff, despite its cynical withdrawal from this case, did empower Balanoff to act. But all Balanoff has done is to demonstrate that he is more concerned with electioneering and factional maneuvering than with the *survival of our union*—and that's what is at stake when the companies attack union picket lines.

On May 15, 1980 Local 1010 unanimously passed and submitted to

the District Conference the following resolution: "Local 1010 urges this body to reaffirm our support of the basic right of all union members to honor picket lines." Fine words with which we couldn't agree more. But what about Keith Anwar—the union member that led the fight in Local 1010 to establish this position? Is the District leadership going to move to get his job back? Given Balanoff's inaction we're pessimistic. Our District Director is going to have to hear more from the membership—by telephone, letter or personal visit—before he gets off his duff. Call him at (219) 398-2051.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee plans to fight this case through to victory, not just for Keith but for the USWA. We hope the membership, that has been solidly behind this case, is as disgusted with this stalling as we are. Let Balanoff, your grievers and conference delegates know how you feel. The KADC will be at the June 27/28 District Conference to fight for the District leadership to take action on the Anwar case.

This union's taken a beating recently. Tens of thousands of jobs and whole plants have been lost. A victory for Keith would be an important step in reversing this trend. A victory for Keith Anwar is a victory for defense of our picket lines and defense of the entire labor movement. Let's stop this petty hassling and get Keith his job back!

DEFEND THE UNION, DEFEND KEITH ANWAR.

Keith Anwar Defense Committee
P.O. Box 7914
Chicago, IL 60680

WORKERS VANGUARD

Get the CIA Out of Our Unions!

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) has fought for years for the labor movement to break all links with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). CWA ties with the AIFLD—the big-business-dominated, government-controlled group which is the CIA's favorite "labor" front group in Latin America—go back a long way. Joe Beirne, founding International president, was the brains behind AIFLD, even donating the former CWA facility at Front Royal for an AIFLD training school. The CWA has also been used to legitimize another lesser-known CIA labor front, the Post, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI). But for years CWA bureaucrats denied any connection between the AIFLD and the CIA.

Now thousands of people nationwide have seen for themselves the true story of this shameful connection. In May a public television documentary, "On Company Business," interviewed ex-agents and survivors of CIA terror who exposed "the Company's" bloody history of assassinations, torture, spying, terror and overthrow of governments around the world. The three-part series covered CIA use of American union connections to smash strikes in post-World War II Europe, its plots and coups in the Dominican Republic, British Guyana, Chile, Brazil, up through CIA mercenary forays in Angola. What was undoubtedly most shocking to many working-class viewers was the stark evidence of deep involvement of top U.S. labor leaders with these criminal terrorists.

Part II of the series showed news clips of George Meany, Andrew McClellan (Inter-American rep of the AFL-CIO) and Bill Doherty (current head of AIFLD), going through their ritualistic indignant denials of CIA connections: "That is so ridiculous and so infantile, so juvenile" spouted McClellan, while

Doherty flat out said, "It's just not true." But the TV interviewers had found a former organizer for the PTTI, Richard Martinez, who told the real story—and the contrast was damning.

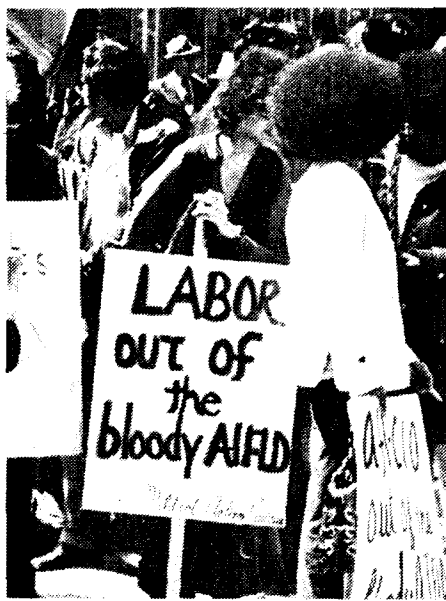
Martinez got involved via Tom Robles, of the AFL-CIO in Washington, who asked him to go to Brazil:

Martinez: "To me, a young man coming out of a ghetto, I felt it was a big opportunity. I didn't even know where Latin America was.... My position was going to be administrator and organizer for the PTTI, which later on I learned was one of these phony organizations under the CIA. My boss was Wallace Leggy who was one of John McCone's top hands. John McCone, at that time was the head of the CIA.

"The idea was to, ah, well, they didn't explain anything. You go there with the impression that you are going there to do a labor job.... So I started tackling the problems, combating the management for better conditions, working conditions, higher salaries, lenient rules. What you do in the labor movement. Apparently I was doing the wrong thing because three months later...they instructed me that I was to return to Washington...in 1962, the same year that I started there, to be trained in clandestine activities. Leggy pointed out to me that we were organizing for 1964.... He was the head of the whole PTTI operation then. And he said, Richard, look, we are organizing against Communists for 1964...."

That was the year the government of João Goulart in Brazil was overthrown by a rightist military coup, with the help of AIFLD-trained "labor officials." Thousands of labor militants and Communists were jailed, tortured and murdered. And at the time, Bill Doherty was pretty proud of his work, bragging to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

"What happened in Brazil on April 1st did not just happen; it was planned, and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders, some of whom



CWA Militant Action Caucus protests CIA labor front.

were actually trained in our Institute, were involved in the revolution and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

Doherty tried to backtrack on the TV show, claiming to interviewers it was really just "normal" trade-union work the boys were doing and they just "happened" to get caught up in a revolution. But Martinez spilled the beans:

Interviewer: "Did you have arms stashed right there in your office?"

Martinez: "Yeah, they were right there in my closet.... Shit, you name it, machine guns, all types of weapons."

Interviewer: "Did your field workers participate at all in that coup?"

Martinez: "Oh, yes.... They burnt out the Communist headquarters, they burnt up the whole damn building. My own people. All I knew was that the Communists had been put away in prisons, the military had brought in ships... confined the Communists, put them in the ships, locked the doors and thrown the keys away." (And, as Martinez said, these included many labor

militants—"there were more of them than us," he said.)

The Militant Action Caucus had already told how the CIA's "labor" front actively participated in the counterrevolutionary Brazil coup, pointing out that "AIFLD-trained leaders of the Telegraph Workers Union broke the strike [of workers supporting Goulart], kept communication open to the military, enabling the army to co-ordinate troop movements. The military dictatorship quickly appointed four AIFLD graduates to purge the unions of militants—socialist or otherwise" ("Why is the AFL-CIO known as the AFL-CIA in Latin America?" *Militant Action* No. 11, June-July 1974).

The MAC has also raised many of the other CIA/labor connections made on the TV series: AIFLD-backed "union" support to the U.S. Marines in crushing Juan Bosch's government in the Dominican Republic in 1965; and the bloody overthrow of the Allende government in 1973, where the AIFLD worked closely with the right-wing *gremios* (labor-business groups) to sabotage the economy. And AIFLD got its reward, MAC pointed out: "The reactionary Chilean junta... arranged and approved a meeting of 26 of the AIFLD-connected company unions last January—just a few months after the junta had outlawed the CUT (the Chilean equivalent of the AFL-CIO) and at the same time the junta's goons were torturing and executing labor unionists."

This year MAC is again fighting for a motion at the CWA's national convention to break with the AIFLD. This time it will be hard for the CWA tops to hide the truth, now that trade unionists across the country have seen the MAC's charges confirmed on national TV by the very people who carried out the dirty work. Militant unionists who are sick and tired of having their union used for the CIA's Murder Inc. crimes against the working class should support the MAC motion: CWA must break all ties with the AIFLD! ■

Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 12)

to endorse Jimmy Carter in 1976 and again in this election. How does this affect the union directly?

Margolis: Well, if you thought like a prominent labor bureaucrat campaigning for Carter's re-election would you want to put a national phone strike in your candidate's lap right before the election? Of course not. That's why Watts will do everything possible to ram through any sellout to avoid a strike.

Both Carter and Watts want to avoid anything "hot" before the election. Last July, for example, when Carter's popularity was lower than Nixon's ever was, Carter was invited to our convention as a guest speaker. I had intended to be one of the delegates to speak during the period set aside to ask questions. What I intended to say was that I did not feel that Carter should have been an invited guest to our convention when he had been blaming the workers for the economic crisis, when he had used the Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners strike and had threatened to use Taft-Hartley against a possible phone strike in 1977. I did not want to see the CWA convention being used as a platform for an anti-union strikebreaker. For this, I was dragged off the floor by the Secret Service at that convention to shut me up.

WV: Do you think the union is united

behind Watts' support for Carter?

Margolis: Not by any means. There are some forces in the union that want to support Kennedy—who wants a wage freeze like Nixon's. There are many others who are disgusted with both. The MAC believes neither Kennedy nor Carter nor Reagan deserve any labor support. All of these candidates stand for more austerity, more unemployment, more sacrifice by the workers while corporate profits are going through the ceiling. The Democrats and Republicans have nothing in common with the interests of working people.

That's why the Militant Action Caucus, for the past nine years, since our very beginning, has stood for "Not a Dime, Not a Vote to the Democrats or Republicans." We're for a workers party which will fight for a workers government, not a bosses' government.

WV: Besides Carter's re-election bid, what other political issues do you think will come up at the convention?

Margolis: I expect there will be resolutions in support of Carter's war-mongering over Iran and Afghanistan. The only reason Carter cares about either is Big Oil's profits out of the Persian Gulf and whipping up Cold War furor against the Soviet Union. What Jimmy Carter's foreign policy represents is a drive to get us into World War III. Do the CWA delegates want their world to be blown up and their sons and daughters to go to war over Jimmy Carter's attempt to get re-elected?

Also, I expect there will be a resolu-

tion of support for the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). This is a joint corporation/government/labor project which runs right-wing company unions in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Even U.S. Senate hearings have exposed the fact that it is backed by CIA money. The MAC has consistently called on the CWA—which was instrumental in setting up AIFLD and running it—to break all ties with "Operation South America" and AIFLD.

WV: MAC was active in the April 19 Committee Against Nazis which sponsored a rally preventing the Nazis from carrying out their plan to "celebrate Hitler's birthday" in downtown San Francisco. What is the Caucus' view of the upsurge nationally of Klan and Nazi activity?

Margolis: We see that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" campaign and the escalating Cold War have been helping create a social climate allowing the far-right-wing elements to grow in this country. There is a real racist backlash in this country, with the acquittal of the cops that beat to death the black insurance man in Miami, with the shooting of civil rights leader Vernon Jordan. It is critical that the union movement come to the defense of blacks and minorities that are being literally hunted down in cold blood by these racist killers.

We brought 75 phone workers from San Francisco, Oakland and Los Angeles to participate in the April 19 anti-Nazi demonstration. Twelve hun-

dred other people—mostly unionists—came from around the city. And the Nazis were frightened—they didn't show up, which was a real victory for labor.

WV: MAC exists now in San Francisco and Los Angeles. What are your perspectives for reaching out to the rest of the CWA, and how do you see this as related to a possible strike this summer?

Margolis: We would like the Militant Action Caucus to be a national caucus. The present union leadership believes you can't win against the phone company. They must be replaced. At every convention, whether we are delegates, or whether on our own time, we are talking with delegates from all over the country about our full program, about what kind of leadership we feel is necessary for the union movement.

Several local officers, many delegates and members helped support my suit against the Secret Service and also helped us build the ANCAN rally against the Nazis. We have gotten a lot of support in sponsoring our constitutional amendment to give locals the right to strike. We have a large mailing list in which we keep union members across the country informed about crucial issues before the union.

This year will be the ninth national convention that members of the MAC have attended. We're going to be at the convention trying to reach out to delegates who agree with us on the absolute necessity, if we are to defend our members and our union, for a national strike against Ma Bell. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down Ma Bell in '80! For a Workers Party!

Get the CWA On Its Feet!

Interview with Jane Margolis

We print below a WV interview with Jane Margolis, an executive board member of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, San Francisco. Last July, as an elected delegate from her local, Margolis was dragged off the CWA convention floor in Detroit by the Secret Service, because she was a well-known advocate of militant and independent trade unionism. Jane Margolis is also a spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition group in the CWA.

WV: Jane, what do you and the Militant Action Caucus see as the key issue facing delegates at the CWA convention?

Margolis: The key issue is the contract fight against Ma Bell. Our contract expires in six weeks, on August 9, and it is a critical time for members of the CWA. Automation is severely reducing the number of jobs of phone workers. Job pressures and harassment have increased dramatically. There is a rumor that the company is going to try and limit our already capped cost-of-living clause. These are serious and blatant attacks on our union and all of its members. So the convention should

spend its time talking about and preparing for a national strike against the phone company to turn back these attacks.

WV: American workers are being hit with double-digit inflation and mounting unemployment. Could you describe how these economic conditions affect phone workers?

Margolis: From 1974 to 1978, the AT&T workforce nationwide was reduced by over 100,000 jobs. If you go into any main phone buildings in any major city in the country, the offices are starting to look like ghost towns. *Business Week* says that automatic switching has reduced the staff needs in that area by over 70 percent. What AT&T wants to do is have maximum flexibility to reclassify phone workers to reduce labor costs through downgrades.

Personally, in the San Francisco local, I have been fighting for a case of a phone worker who has over 33 years service with the company, has been at top pay for the last 19 years, and he has just been told that his job has been "reclassified" and that in one year's time he will be receiving over \$100 a week less.

To further reduce the workforce the company has increased the job pressures and harassment, forcing people to quit, to take early retirement. No downgrades and fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay are crucial to protect our jobs.



Jane Margolis

WV Photo

None of these issues, from job security to a 100 percent cost-of-living clause to an end to job pressures, is going to be won by anything less than a strong united national strike against the phone company.

WV: What is the attitude of the company as you go into this bargaining period?

Margolis: At Pacific Telephone there have been many firings and disciplines of union officials. A steward and member of the Militant Action Caucus, Bobbi Sinnott, was recently framed up and fired [see "Bay Area Phone Work-

ers Say: Hands Off Our Stewards!" WV No. 257, 30 May]. Another steward in our local, Evelyn Wyatt, with 25 years service, 13 years as a steward, was suspended for two days for "union activities on company time." She was telling a fired worker the address of the union hall as she was walking to her desk! I, myself, an executive board officer of the local, was recently given a five-day suspension and a final warning for dismissal in a frame-up, also accused of "union activities on company time." It is very clear that the company is trying to silence the union by going after its most active and militant spokesmen so that they can go after the union as a whole.

As has been the case with other unions across the country, we can expect the company to propose a take-away contract. But we are not in a situation like the Chrysler workers or the rubber workers, where their decaying plants are being shut down. The profits of the phone company—always astronomical—are way up. We are in a stronger position to fight for our needs, if we wage a militant and united strike.

WV: Can you tell us something about the history of strike action in the CWA?

Margolis: On the local level strikes occur frequently. But these are seldom authorized by the International, which usually helps drive the workers back on the job. That's why we have authored a constitutional amendment to give locals the right to strike without authorization by the International.

In the last year alone, there were strikes in Cleveland, Washington, Oregon and in New York. About 18 months ago there was a national walkout in the Long Lines division in solidarity with workers in Tennessee who had refused to cross a picket line and had been suspended. This year Western Electric workers struck against absence control. The large number of local strikes shows a willingness of the membership to fight the company if they have a leadership that really wants to fight.

Since the founding of the union in the late '40s, there have been only two short national strikes, in 1968 and 1971. But in both of these the International pledged that management be allowed to cross the picket lines in order that phone service would not be disrupted. We need militant, mass picket lines to really shut down Ma Bell. That means nobody crosses—no scabs, no management.

The problem is, Ma Bell has never been hurt *bad* by the CWA—like the auto sitdowns in the 1930s, like the general strike which consolidated the ILWU. Today this monopoly lords it over phone workers like it was a slave plantation, and it gouges the public for billions. But they can be broken through hard strike action. Ultimately, what we're going to need is not walkouts, but *walk in*, sit down, take it over—and while the union's running things it's freephone service for everybody. Then we'll begin "negotiations."

WV: Your CWA president, Glenn Watts, was one of the first union leaders

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WV Photo

San Francisco, April 19—Large CWA contingent marches to stop the Nazis.