

For Labor/Black Mass Mobilizations

Smash KKK Killers!

GREENSBORO, North Carolina—On November 3, to the horror of more than 100 onlookers, the Ku Klux Klan stormed an anti-Klan rally here with guns blazing, murdering five demonstrators and wounding many others. The unprecedented broad-daylight murder raid upon the integrated crowd was shocking in its openness. This was no night-ride through town. No midnight cross burning. No hooded intimidation. This was murder, cold-blooded racist murder.

The killers dumped their hooded robes in favor of shotguns and semi-automatic rifles for this assassination attack outside the Morningside Homes, a black housing project in southeastern Greensboro. They knew what they were doing. There wasn't a cop in sight as they drove their cars into the middle of the peaceful demonstration on their mission of death. This was a declaration in blood to the enemies of the Klan—the blacks, the communists, the Jews and the labor movement—that the KKK is alive and deadly.

"They were super-organized," the wife of one of the slain demonstrators told *WV*. According to eyewitnesses, a caravan of Klan cars and pick-ups drove through the housing project, the assembly point for the intended rally. A passenger in the lead car fired a shot into the air, evidently a signal for the assault to begin. According to a reporter present at the scene, a gunman began screaming, "You wanted the Klan, here we are." Another observer described what followed:

"Watching in sheer disbelief, I saw four or five men step from an old compact



Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Klan and Nazi gunmen ready their weapons just seconds before murderous assault on anti-fascist marchers.

sedan and aim guns at the turbulent, scuffling crowd.

"Directly behind them, six or seven men jumped from a yellow van.

"A dozen or more Klansmen loosed a barrage directly into the center of the crowd not more than twenty feet away. They used pistols, shotguns.

"The killers fired relentlessly, never pausing to reload or survey their work. Without hesitation, they poured bullets

into the crowd, as panicking people raced pell-mell to find cover."

—*Greensboro Daily News*, 4 November

For Massive Protest Against the Greensboro Massacre

The bourgeois media is treating one of the most vicious massacres in

American history as though it were a blood feud between two competing Mafia "families." Busy ensuring the "free speech" of Nazis and Klansmen, the liberals deplore the "shootout" which erupted between two "violent" and armed extremist groups. "Tragedy on the Fringe" ran the *New York Times*

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Report From Greensboro



Greensboro Daily News/Wide World

Blood of Greensboro: we will not forget.

The following radio news report was played on several radio stations from coast to coast, many of them oriented toward black listener audiences. In the aftermath of the Greensboro murders, WV was the only left newspaper to provide on-the-scene coverage of this unprecedented racist bloodbath.

NOVEMBER 4—This is Mark Laughton reporting for *Workers Vanguard* in Greensboro, North Carolina. It's Sunday night and the black community here is still reeling in the wake of yesterday's bloody Ku Klux Klan attack which left four dead as an anti-fascist rally was assembling in a predominantly black housing project in southeast Greensboro. In addition to the dead, ten other demonstrators were gunned down and two of these are in critical condition.

Police and city politicians are stonewalling an explanation as to how that unprecedented daylight assault could have occurred. At a press conference today, held in Greensboro city council chambers, Chief William Swing explained that the Klan had in fact been under surveillance prior to the attack. I asked why the Klan was not stopped and Chief Swing responded: "Our police car was watching these cars. At that point in time there had been no law violated whatsoever. We had no right to stop any vehicle."

Although not one KKK assassin was wounded, official spokesmen as well as the local and national media are portraying yesterday's murders as a shootout between the Klan and leftists, involving "outsiders." Today, in fact, City Manager Tom Osborne issued a statement which blamed equally the victims and the perpetrators of this vicious crime.

Those actually present, however, tell a different story. Eyewitnesses told me that when the police remained several blocks away from the rally starting

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KKK Murders...

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editorial headline 6 November and continuing:

"Some Klansmen and Nazis, members of the violent fringe, killed five people. The victims were from another fringe, the Marxist left. They were members of the Communist Workers Party U.S.A. and they believed that provoking violence from the Klan might promote socialist revolution."

Going beyond the fraud of journalistic "objectivity," much of the press coverage appeared sympathetic to the Klan for standing up to the communists' insults, and ominously implying the demonstrators "got what they deserved." According to the *New York Times*' southern "movement" specialist Wayne King (notorious for his 1976 articles labeling the victims of the "Wilmington 10" racist frame-up "terrorists"), the Klan was just retaliating for an earlier Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) "raid" on a July 8 KKK rally in which a Confederate flag was burned. And a 12 November *Newsweek* article gloated that WVO had "publically taunted" the Klan as "two-bit punks" and "invited" them to show up at the rally. "So they came," the magazine smugly concluded.

It was murder, and the bourgeoisie is defending it. As John Kissack, a long-time organizer for the Textile Workers in the Carolinas, put it in a phone interview with *WV*: "...it's the old gimmick—if you're defending a murderer, the best way to defend him is to convince the jury that the person who got killed deserved to be killed." In the face of this criminal attitude, it is ever more urgent that all workers and socialist organizations, all black and other minority rights groups, and all those concerned with democratic rights come forward with a mighty outcry against this monstrous deed. It is a reflection of the present weakness of the black movement that not a single black organization has called for a protest. Likewise, although several of the victims were union militants, the trade-union bureaucracy has issued no response. It is in this climate that the fascist scum breed, protected by the cops, emboldened by the racist mobilizations that defeated busing in the streets of Boston and Louisville.

Every successful cross burning, every fascist parade through a Jewish or black neighborhood, every courtroom victory in the liberals' campaign for "free speech for fascists" whets the murderers' appetite for more violence. Today, while the bodies of the Greensboro Five have not even been buried in their graves, the Ku Klux Klan is preparing for a "victory" march through the streets of

downtown Detroit. This campaign of terror must be stopped. Socialists and militants in the labor movement must call on organized labor to mobilize its tremendous social power, in alliance with black and other minority organizations and the left to stop the Klan in its tracks. No more Greensboro massacres—For massive labor/black action to smash the Nazis and the Klan! No to gun control! Uphold the right to armed self-defense! Jail the killer Klansmen! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters!

Racists in Blue

In Greensboro on November 5, twelve of the assassins were arraigned on multiple counts of murder and

those arrested include convictions for breaking and entering, assault, assault on a female, larceny, forgery and drunkenness. Harold Covington, a Nazi from Raleigh, offered this "defense" of his fellow fascists: "They are guys who were trained in Vietnam to kill Reds. Their training just took over" (*Winston-Salem Journal*, 5 November). As they waited for their hearing to begin, the killers could be heard singing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and "Onward Christian Soldiers."

But it is not just the fascist triggermen who have blood on their hands. Why were the Greensboro police more than a block away from the demonstration rallying point? One *Greensboro Daily News* photographer (according to a

every right to be." "We were not sure what was going to happen," he said. So the cops provided an escort to this small army through the black community, right into the demonstration. As Burley Mitchell, State Secretary of Crime Control, defended the cops:

"They had no authority to stop the cars ... until some law was violated. Very tragically, in this case, the first law that had been violated involved the murder."
—UPI dispatch, 4 November

Witnesses report that several vehicles escaped on Saturday. Only after the killings did police finally arrive at the shattered rally. At that point they arrested three of the survivors! Workers Viewpoint spokesman Nelson Johnson later told *WV*, "They charged us with instigating a riot in the middle of a war that had already started." At the Sunday press conference in city council chambers, local politicians claimed that "outside radical influences" were responsible for the bloodshed and Greensboro mayor Jim Melvin stated that the police acted "very responsibly." Questioned by the *WV* reporter as to how the victims were to blame for the Klan's murders, city manager Tom Osborne stonewalled, "I don't blame anyone for it, because we don't have all the facts available yet." This, however, did not prevent him from banning all parades and marches until further notice, thus effectively making a previously announced WVO funeral-demonstration illegal.

Currently, 20 FBI agents and the entire local office of the state undercover police, SBI, are investigating the "possibility" that the demonstrators' civil rights were violated! These investigations will undoubtedly be used to increase the harassment of left organizations. The state attorney general told the *Raleigh News and Observer* (5 November) that in light of stepped-up Klan activities, he would review plans for scrutiny of "radical" groups. "We may have to monitor them more closely," he said.

All over the country reformists like the Communist Party (CP) and the liberals are calling upon the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." Greensboro shows the dangerous stupidity of this demand. The capitalist state will side with the Nazis and any anti-Klan law will surely be used to attack the left. On the very day of the Greensboro massacre, some 300 cops in Dallas protected a gang of 50 KKK marchers in full regalia as they stomped provocatively through that city for the first time in 60 years. One can only guess what the response of the Greensboro cops would have been had they "carefully watched" carloads of blacks load up car trunks with automatic weapons and drive into a demonstration of Klansmen.

Workers Viewpoint (which recently changed its name to the Communist Workers Party U.S.A.) claims not only complicity by the local cops, but also

After Klan massacre, Greensboro cops arrest survivors' wounded leader Nelson Johnson for "inciting a riot!"



Wide World

conspiracy to commit murder. Two more were charged only with conspiracy. With the exception of Ronald Wayne Wood and Rayford Caudle, members of a paramilitary Nazi storm-trooper group in Forsyth County, all are reportedly admitted members of one of North Carolina's five Klan organizations with an estimated total membership of 1,000. At least one—and possibly more—of the assailants is still at large. Individual criminal records of

November *New York Times* account) said he overheard policemen in a patrol car radio say that they were leaving the area. As one veteran observer noted, "During the whole civil rights fight the Greensboro police were known to always be ten minutes late." Moreover, Greensboro police chief William Swing stated at the November 4 press conference that the Klan convoy was under surveillance all the way into the demonstration area "where by law they had

weapons in the trunk and sped off. Twelve Klansmen were stopped and arrested 100 yards away but at least one carload escaped and remains at large.

This afternoon I spoke with the widows of two of the demonstrators and Nelson Johnson, a local leader of the Workers Viewpoint Organization, which organized the rally. Johnson's hands were heavily bandaged, both from a stab wound received at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan as well as the subsequent manhandling he received from the police. "There was a massacre," the demonstrators told me, which could only have occurred with the complicity of the police. They described how, when the police finally arrived, "they stood around with their guns trained on us." The women were dragged away from their husbands' bodies and Johnson was booked on the incredible charge of "inciting a riot." Currently, he is free on bail.

Yesterday's massacre in Greensboro, site of the first civil rights sit-ins during the early '60s, exposes the bloody reality

behind Carter's "New South" where runaway conglomerates like J.P. Stevens can brandish right-to-work laws in order to keep wages down and union organizers out. It is certainly no accident that two of the Klan's victims had been officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and worked at two of Cone Mills' area plants. A third was organizing a union among Duke University workers and a fourth, a black woman, was a long-time civil rights activist.

In fact, this atrocity could only have occurred in a climate where hundreds of thousands of workers remain without union protection, due to the failure of the AFL-CIO national leaders to launch a mass organizing drive which would unionize the South. Elimination of the open shop along with these murderous KKK defenders remains a vital task of the labor movement—in fact, it is a question of life and death.

For *Workers Vanguard* this is Mark Laughton in Greensboro, North Carolina. ■

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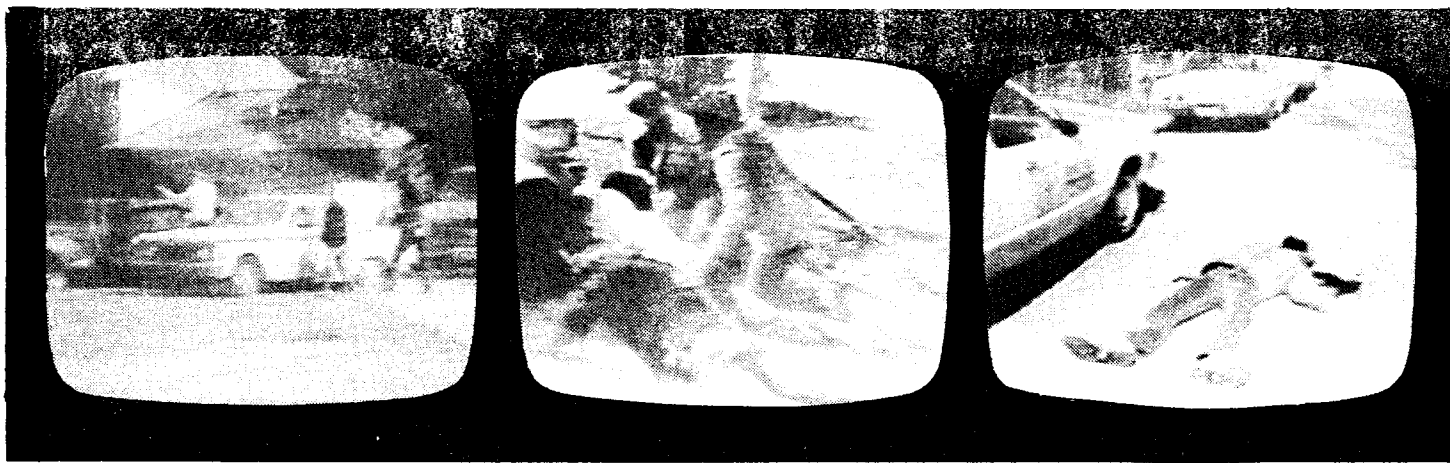
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Greensboro Report...

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point, the convoy of a dozen or more cars and trucks suddenly drove into the crowd of a hundred, which included many children, and stopped. Carloads of Klansmen emptied into the street shouting racial epithets. Gunmen leisurely opened the trunk of a Ford sedan and emerged with pistols, shotguns, lead pipes, knives and at least one automatic rifle—an AR-15, the civilian version of the army's M-16.

They began firing and did not stop for two full minutes. One woman was first clubbed with a picket sign and then shot as she lay defenseless. Another Klansman was seen firing two pistols simultaneously and point blank at his prone victim. As the crowd, many screaming in terror, fled for cover the gunmen returned to their cars, replaced their



Although millions saw the cold-blooded Klan attack on their TV screens, the media alibied it as "a shootout."

that the federal government and FBI are deeply involved in the murders. They have not yet offered any hard evidence. But the case of the hooded FBI agent, Gary Thomas Rowe, the "best [FBI] agent" J. Edgar Hoover had ever seen, ought to be remembered. Paid by the FBI and lauded by his Klan cohorts, Rowe organized and led the Birmingham, Alabama Klan action squads. His blood trail of atrocities included the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church which killed four young black girls, the brutal 1961 "bloody Sunday" ambush of the Birmingham "freedom riders" and the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway. In return for his "information," Rowe's grateful FBI employers paid him over \$22,000.

Uphold the Right of Armed Self-Defense!

Amidst all the illusions about cop protection, what stands out is the need for the right of armed self-defense against the murderous thugs. Although WVO spokesmen do not deny that some of the demonstrators were armed, it is self-evident that they were essentially defenseless against the Klan's onslaught. Police rulings stipulated that the demonstrators could not carry weapons and even picket-sign sticks could be no more than two feet in length. The capitalist state demands a monopoly on the means of violence and has been busy passing gun control legislation to ensure that the victims of the racist cops and Nazis are unarmed.

Particularly in the South, the defeatist tradition of liberal pacifism is strong. Ironically, the Greensboro lunch counters are among its principal shrines. But the lunch counters at Woolworth's are not North Carolina's sole memorial to the civil rights movement. In 1957, three years before the first black demonstrators stoically took the blows of racist cops for the "crime" of ordering coffee, a night-riding KKK crew set out to attack the home of Monroe, North Carolina black leader, Dr. A.A. Perry. They were met with a hail of gunfire. The Monroe branch of the NAACP, led by Robert F. Williams, "shot it out" with the Klan and drove off the racist vermin.

Robert Williams did not offer the black man's blood in exchange for the illusory promise of "protection" by the racist, capitalist state. He demanded the right to live. And so, in 1961, threatened with lynching, framed up on kidnap charges, he was forced to flee the country while the oh-so-respectable NAACP turned a cold shoulder to his defense. But the hooded cowards who sought an easy prey learned to fear black men with guns and they did not soon return.

In the Klan's Sights

Members of Workers Viewpoint are insisting that the murders were not committed at random, but were, in fact, executions carried out by "expert marksmen." It cannot be considered coincidental that out of a crowd of 100, all five dead were long-time prominent labor and civil rights activists. The

wounds were to the face and chest, indicating careful aim.

The WVO as an organization is best known for its sectarianism and rabid anti-Trotskyism. But the five dead and ten injured were shot down because they sought to oppose the Klan's vicious vendetta against blacks, Jews, unionists and leftists. The victims included individuals with a long and honorable history in the Southern civil rights movement and as union militants in the textile and hospital unions. The dead are:

Sandra Smith, 29, the only black among the murdered. A long-time Southern civil rights activist, she moved to Greensboro in 1969 and was active in campus politics and the Greensboro Association of Poor People. As a production worker at a Cone Mills textile plant near Greensboro in 1977, she was a leader of an employee plant committee fighting for union organization of the 1,000 workers there.

James Waller, 37, an early member of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). A physician, he was active in health worker groups both at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx and organizing brown-lung screening clinics in the South. A member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 11132 at the Cone Mills Haw River plant near Burlington, in 1978 he led a wildcat strike of 200 workers against company cuts in piece-work rates.

William Sampson, 31, a student activist at Duke University, a former member of the New American Movement (NAM) chapter there, and a shop steward at the Cone Mills White Oak plant in Greensboro.

Cesar Cauce, Cuban, active at Duke University organizing the campus workers AFSCME chapter. He was a hospital worker.

Michael Nathans, died of his wounds November 5 in the hospital, a physician. Before joining WVO, he was a member of Progressive Labor Party.

Still in critical condition is one of the rally organizers, Paul Bermanzohn, shot in the head. A former NAM member at Duke, he was active in the left since the early 1970s.

The long record of militancy by these martyred activists makes one immediately ask how they wound up in such a crazed and criminally sectarian outfit as WVO. Workers Viewpoint is perhaps one of the most hysterically disoriented of all the Stalinist/Maoist groups. Raving supporters of the deposed "Gang of Four," Jerry Tung's organization was originally based in New York's Chinatown and often acted as if they thought they were living in Hong Kong. After fusing with several dissident Maoist collectives, most importantly a North Carolina black nationalist group out of the African Liberation Support Committee, WVO looks more like the rest of the Mao-Stalinist milieu. But their specialty is still virulent thug violence, particularly directed against Trotskyists. If on Monday WVO is capable of holding a "Death to the Klan" rally, they are on Tuesday capable of holding a "Death to the Trots and Down with Russia" rally. Vicious sectarianism, the most stupid substitutional adventurism and verbal insurrec-

tionism characterize this bizarre sect.

Thus, a recent *Workers Viewpoint* (1 September) centerfold on Iran boasted that "Executing U.S.-Soviet Agents and Trots is Fine!" WVO also thinks it's fine to throw a trade unionist down a flight of stairs if they don't like what he says—which they did in New York last year when a militant from the National Maritime Union called for a transit strike to defend the workers instead of WVO's position of calling on the capitalist courts to "arbitrate" a union election.

Even now, after five of their comrades lie dead, Workers Viewpoint is determined to destroy united-front efforts of other black, left and labor groups against the murderous Klan. At press time it was reported that WVO has even taken to attacking SYL campus rallies protesting the massacre of their comrades! In Berkeley, October 6, a handful of WVOers showed up early at the SYL demonstration site at Sproul Plaza, and after virulent arguing began a brawl with SYL supporters. The WVO attempt to destroy the demonstration was unsuccessful, as over 200 people attended. After their attack was repelled the WVO retreated to another corner of the campus to hold their rally with 15 people. In Chicago, WVO speakers invited by the SYL to speak refused to give up the stage to other speakers from left, black and labor groups and finally had to be moved out to the perimeter of the demonstration by SYL marshals.

But that is not the reason the Klan gunned them down in the streets. For the Greensboro Klan, Workers Viewpoint was the "commie" organization in town. And, given the weakness of the left in America and the insular character of the South, even a tiny bizarre Maoist splinter group can occupy this position

unchallenged, not only in the eyes of the local KKK, but in the eyes of local activists. It is not really so strange, given the particularism of the South, that activists looking for a party looked to Workers Viewpoint in Greensboro as militants in Harlan County looked to Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party.

Those who saw the WVO cadre shot down knew well it could have been any of us. The Klan was gunning for the "commies," "nigger lovers" and "labor agitators." The Greensboro massacre was a spectacular show of force in the KKK's deadly race-hate war. Those Klan guns were—and are—aimed at every single black and minority-group family, every trade unionist and socialist, every social "deviant" in America.

Labor Must Smash the Klan

The Greensboro massacre is the next logical step in the increasing campaign of Klan terror. Protected by the cops, emboldened by racist mobilizations against busing, the Klan and the Nazis do their dirty work with their "rights" defended by myopic civil libertarians such as the ACLU and the Socialist Workers Party. Above all, it is the absence of a combative movement of blacks and labor to defend the democratic rights of the oppressed that most accounts for the Klan and Nazi resurgence.

It is not surprising that the Klan has re-emerged with such bloody force in the "New South" of Jimmy Carter. For that "New South" is built on the promise of a "union-free environment." No wonder that the Klan breathes so easily in such a bitterly anti-labor climate. Greensboro is J.P. Stevens country, where union-busting by-any-means-necessary is a way of life.

The Klan and Nazis cannot be defeated by small adventurist demonstrations. As the most recent one in Greensboro tragically showed, implicit reliance on the cops to protect the anti-racist militants is a deadly strategy. In this fight to the finish with the Klan and the Nazis, blacks and labor must rely on their own power. No reliance on the capitalist state! Jail the Klan killers and throw away the key! No to gun control—Uphold the right of armed self-defense! Drop the charges against the anti-Klan protesters! For massive labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan and avenge the Greensboro massacre! ■

Hands Off Assata Shakur!

Former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army (BLA) leader Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard) is out of prison—freed November 2 in a dramatic and well-executed escape. Three visitors signed in, got the drop on her guards at the Clinton women's prison, drove her out in a commandeered prison van with two guards as hostages, switched cars and got clean away from the New Jersey police. The FBI has begun a massive and deadly nationwide manhunt.

That Shakur is alive at all today, let alone out of prison, is something of a miracle. A whole generation of black radicals was wasted, some by murderous cop vendetta, some by the tragic political degeneration of the Panthers. The original cadre of the BLA derived from the old New York Panther leadership. They sought to keep alive the spirit of black rebellion through acts of individual terrorism which, while heroic, often bordered on lumpen criminality and were inevitably suicidal. One of the few survivors of the vicious FBI Cointelpro conspiracy to "get" the Panthers, Shakur spent over six years in

prison. For over four years the state held her without a conviction, staging three successive frame-up trials on different charges. She was acquitted all three times. Finally, after nearly dying of wounds suffered during a New Jersey trooper attack on the car she was riding in, having her baby (born in prison) taken away from her, spending over a year in solitary confinement, Shakur was successfully framed up in 1977 by an all-white jury, for supposedly wounding one of the troopers with his own gun.

As *Workers Vanguard* wrote at the time, "Assata Shakur is a class-war prisoner.... It is the responsibility of labor and socialist militants and all those concerned with defense of democratic rights to rally to her cause.... Free Assata Shakur!" (*WV* No. 146, 25 February 1977). Having now escaped the clutches of the brutal, racist, vindictive bourgeois state, Shakur is quite literally running for her life—if the cops catch her, they'll do their best to make sure she never gets a second chance. Hands off Assata Shakur! ■

SWP Joins the Non-Aligned

In the past year the normally staid and flaccid Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has really gone batso for Castro. The kickoff came with a "Fidel-taught-me-everything-I-know-about-socialism" speech by SWP *líder máximo* Jack Barnes on the 20th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, in which he hailed the Castro team as "superior to the Bolshevik leadership" ("once you leave aside Lenin, Trotsky, Sverdlov, and people like that"!). Now they've taken to reprinting Fidel's every hiccup, including three entire Castro speeches since July (and they are a lot more interesting than the garbage that usually appears in the *Militant*). And when the Cuban leader hit town for a speech at the UN, his local publicity agents published no less than *twelve* articles in the 26 October *Militant*, including (in addition to the complete text, of course) a full-page commentary by Gus Horowitz running under the Castro quote "I Speak for the Children Without a Piece of Bread."

In fact, the SWP's "socialist News-week" is beginning to look like the Cuban bureaucracy's *Granma* in more ways than one. *Militant* readers have lately been treated to the most vapid "human interest" pro-Castro pulp—for example, "They Call Me Fidel," in the 31 August issue which turns out to be the story of how a Puerto Rican worker from Schenectady saw the light and became a Castroite. Then there was the sappy travelogue of Cathy Sedwick and Matilde Zimmermann on their Cuban vacation last summer. Sedwick, head of the SWP's Young Pioneers, declared the country "an inspiration to youth" while the SWP's lightweight vice-presidential candidate Zimmermann gushed over every pearl which came out of Fidel's mouth. To top it off, we hear that plans are afoot to recruit a bigger-than-ever Venceremos Brigade under SWP auspices. Anytime now we expect to see the formation of a U.S.-Cuba Friendship Society—perhaps Linda Jenness will get the role of Anna Louise Strong publishing "Boy Meets Girl on Mechanical Cane Picker in the Isle of Pines"! Can the SWP really be naive enough to think it has a shot at the Cuban "franchise"?

The SWP and Castro go back a long ways, to the early '60s in fact, when the SWP—as part of its definitive rejection of Trotskyism—labeled Castro an "unconscious Marxist" and declared that an independent proletarian vanguard no longer was necessary to lead the socialist revolution. But with time the "Fair Play for Cuba" committees went the way of other SWP "progressive" front groups. By 1968, the "Year of the Heroic Guerrilla," the now-reformist SWP was locked into its antiwar coalitions with the Democratic Party doves and not about to cut cane with Maoist/Guevarist "ultralefts." When today they again pick up the cause of Castro's deformed workers state in the Caribbean, it's with an eye to

becoming the gray-flannel *fidelistas* of the '80s, looking for a bloc with the Andrew Youngs and the rest of the "far-sighted" liberals who see Cuba as a "factor of stability" in Africa and elsewhere.

So when Castro started his current pro-détente, non-aligned diplomatic offensive last spring, it was grist for the SWP's mill. It started with Fidel's annual 26th of July speech in which Fidel praised the OAS (Organization of American States) for rejecting a U.S. proposal for an imperialist "peacekeeping force" for Nicaragua. According to Zimmermann (*Militant*, 10 August) Castro "rightly hailed" this vote as "a great victory for the people of our

Pan American Union, as "a society to which the shark [the U.S.] can belong, temporarily impersonating a sardine." But no more such "epithets" for Cuba—they might insult the shark and alert the other sardines.

Then came Cuba's diplomatic triumph as the host and convener of the "non-aligned" nations summit in early September. According to the rules of protocol of this potpourri of "Third World" Stalinists, "anti-imperialist" colonels and out-and-out reactionaries, Castro was elected chairman of the non-aligned movement for the next three years. For its part, the SWP went all out: a 24 September *Intercontinental Press* article by Fred Feldman, entitled



Prensa Latina

Tito pontificates, Castro yawns, at September "non-aligned" nations summit in Havana.

America." The OAS action was no more a victory for the masses of the Western Hemisphere than any other occasion on which Secretary of State Vance gets one up on "hard cop" Brzezinski in Carter administration in-fighting. (And don't think the Latin American ministers cast their ballots without clearance from Foggy Bottom—even the U.S. voted against its own motion in the end.)

But for Fidel it was a "real act of insubordination on the part of the Latin American states" as a result of which "for the first time we can mention the name of the OAS without epithets." So for Castro this powerless body is no longer the "Yankee ministry of colonies" as he called it in his Second Declaration of Havana, the 1961 speech the SWP falsely hailed as evidence that Cuba was following the path of permanent revolution. Even former Guatemalan president Juan José Arévalo referred to the OAS' predecessor, the

"Havana Conference Deals Stinging Setback to Washington," glowed that the summit "marks a mighty triumph for the Cuban revolution." Separating out Cuba from the rest of the deformed workers states, the SWP argues that Havana's foreign policy is counterposed to Moscow's:

"The Castro leadership's class struggle stance is in striking contrast to the class-collaborationist approach of the bureaucratic castes in Moscow, Peking and Belgrade. Stalinist regimes view these gatherings as possible points of support for attaining economic and diplomatic deals with the imperialists on the basis of the international status quo. The Cubans have the opposite aims."

A "revolutionary triumph"? Hardly. Just take a look at the guest list. Among the assorted luminaries were such well-known "progressives" as Jordan's King Hussein, author of the Black September massacre of Palestinian refugees; Sadat's Egypt, of the U.S.-backed separate peace with Israel; and Ferdinand Marcos' Philippines, where thousands of leftist and Muslim rebels are butchered in one of the tightest police states of the capitalist world. Among the small-fry reactionaries were "independent" feudalists such as King Wangchuk of the Himalayan principality of Bhutan; a slew of black African countries whose regimes rest on the bayonets of French troops (Chad, Gabon, Djibouti), as well as other neo-colonialist subjects of French imperialism (Ivory Coast, Senegal); reactionary Near Eastern oil sheiks from Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Oman (which not long ago put down a Cuban-armed insurgency with the aid of the shah's troops); and even the South African client states of Botswana and Lesotho.

The notorious Central African Empire was represented, whose Emperor Bokassa was soon to be overthrown by his French sponsors, along with Equatorial Guinea, whose dictator, the record-holding mass murderer Macías (50,000 victims out of a population of 300,000) had just been ousted with the aid of Madrid. There was even a delegation from "non-aligned" Spain itself, an imperialist/colonialist power about to enter NATO, whose presence Castro praised in his speech as offering "a hope for friendly and useful relations with all the peoples of the world." Appropriately enough, chairing the session was Sri Lankan president J. R. Jayawardene, who recently imposed a state of emergency in the Tamil minority areas and drastic anti-working-class cuts of social services. Back home Jayawardene was known as "Yankee Dickie" because in the '50s he was John Foster Dulles' favorite Asian diplomat for his repeated attacks on the Soviet Union.

Yet according to the Socialist Workers Party, this gang struck a blow against imperialism. How is that possible? Feldman wrote:

"But these countries *do* confront something 'universal.' All are semicolonies or former colonies of imperialism.... The coming together of these countries reflects the realities of the laws of the world capitalist market and the resulting economic and political conflicts with imperialism, even among the most overtly pro-imperialist member governments."

To claim that the "Third World" nationalist and neo-colonialist regimes are opposed to imperialism denies reality, expressed in the theory of permanent revolution. In the imperialist epoch, wrote Trotsky, the backward countries cannot achieve national emancipation short of carrying out a proletarian revolution. The weak native bourgeoisies are so fearful of a revolutionary mobilization of the worker/peasant masses that they cannot break from domestic feudalists and foreign imperialists. It is these agents of imperialism, not the spokesmen for the oppressed masses, who were represented at Havana. And what about the SWP assertion that Cuba's policy is counterposed to Moscow's? In his speech to the "non-aligned" conference Castro asserted emphatically: "We must demand peace, detente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament." "Thus, we must greet with satisfaction the SALT II agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States...." You couldn't ask for a more explicit denial of the SWP's claims—and straight from the horse's mouth.

It's not just that Barnes & Co. are trying to prettify Castro, making him out to be a revolutionary proletarian internationalist. The SWP actually *approves* of Cuban policies. So when Castro hails various Latin American bourgeois regimes for supposedly winning a "victory for the peoples of America," the *Militant* cheers, "right on!" Although the SWP was *neutral* when South Africa and CIA-led mercenaries attacked Angola in 1975-76, it subsequently hailed Castro's aid to the Neto regime (including training security forces which put down leftist agitation in the Luanda slums) as an act of "anti-imperialist solidarity." And when Cuba props up the butcher Mengistu in Ethiopia, who is trying to suppress a national liberation struggle by the Somali minority and waging a war of extermination against Eritrea, Jack Barnes labels the Derg (junta) "revolutionary" and pretends that Havana opposes the bloody suppression of the Eritreans.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when Castro declares the "non-aligned" *continued on page 11*



Cuban Stalinist "Líder" greets King Hussein (left) and Wangchuk of Bhutan (right).

Shut Down Ag Imp!

Victory to Caterpillar/IH Strike!

CHICAGO—Some 75,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) employed by two large agricultural implements manufacturers have hit the bricks to repulse takeaways and sellout contracts such as those imposed on auto workers earlier this fall. The key strike issues: full seniority rights and no forced overtime. Most important, the walkout at Caterpillar and Harvester goes directly counter to the UAW's defeatist policy of "pattern bargaining" and one-at-a-time strikes. Here is a chance to hit the ag imp bosses with a solid strike of the entire industry!

The strike was kicked off by the huge 25,000-member Local 794 at Caterpillar Tractor Co. in Peoria, Illinois. When union contracts with the farm machinery producers expired on October 1, the UAW International attempted to impose its disastrous one-at-a-time strategy by striking only John Deere & Co. But Local 794 walked out the same day. In the face of attempts by the UAW International to force them back to their jobs by denying them strike and insurance benefits, the strikers stuck to their guns and forced the union to sanction a companywide strike.

The UAW bureaucrats had similarly threatened International Harvester (IH) workers with loss of benefits if they walked out. Members of UAW Local 6 (at the Melrose Park IH plant outside Chicago) also reported that local officials had pressured the workforce into "voluntarily" putting in up to 68 hours a week as a means of "persuading" the company that institution of mandatory overtime was unnecessary. But this appeasement policy, which only permitted management to do extra stockpiling, proved futile. When the lid threatened to blow off at Harvester as well, the

UAW tops were forced to call out 35,000 IH workers November 1. Contract talks with both companies have now broken down and are not expected to resume for some time.

At the heart of the contract battle are the bosses' efforts to impose on UAW members in agricultural implements the same rotten conditions that exist in the auto industry. Long the only UAW-organized company without some form of mandatory overtime, IH has tried to reverse this trade-union gain in the past and appears to be digging in for a showdown this time. Also at issue are a company proposal to limit seniority rights and the union's desire for "automatic recognition" at new IH plants. Caterpillar workers, meanwhile, are demanding improvement in their seniority rights and an end to the mandatory overtime provision in their last contract.

While the UAW settled last month with John Deere for a contract that accepted the same miserable annual 3 percent wage hike that auto workers got and retained the mandatory overtime provision, Harvester and Caterpillar workers are determined to defend and improve their union conditions. Strikers at both companies told *WV* that they are prepared to hold out for months if necessary to win voluntary overtime. At the IH plant in Melrose Park the entire shop committee reportedly threatened to resign if the International bargains away this provision.

UAW members in auto have long been subjected to grueling hours of overtime in the hot, filthy plants. At a time when 100,000 auto workers are already on the street and the industry is headed for even deeper crisis, many of those still in the plants are grinding



WV Photo

UAW picketer at Chicago IH plant.

away ten hours a day. This is the direct result of the traitorous policies pursued by UAW president Doug Fraser. Not only did he negotiate a desperately inadequate contract for GM and Ford workers, one that provided absolutely no protection against layoffs and forced overtime—and even committed the union to assist the companies in cracking down on absenteeism—but he accepted an even worse deal at Chrysler. For 40 years workers at the Big 3 have enjoyed contract parity. Now the Fraser leadership has thrown that away to embrace government bailout schemes financed out of the pockets of Chrysler

workers. In return Fraser gets a seat on the Chrysler board of directors, where he will help bleed his own membership as the company closes plant after plant.

These betrayals only emboldened the agricultural equipment bosses to hard-line it. They want to knock out voluntary overtime and union seniority provisions so they, too, will have a free hand to lay off workers and speed up those who remain. No doubt the ag imp bosses figured that if they could ram through a settlement to their liking at Deere, they could then pick off Caterpillar and Harvester one by one. But the militant workers at Local 794 busted this up when they downed tools in defiance of their own International.

Caterpillar and IH workers have delivered a powerful blow at the UAW bureaucracy's bankrupt strategy of "pattern bargaining," or one-at-a-time strikes under which the union sacrifices the power of a united membership mobilized solidly against the bosses. Clearly worried about the example a militant industrywide strike would set, just last week union officials were herding angry UAW members across picket lines set up by a striking machinists local at Deere's Moline, Illinois plant. It is imperative that John Deere be shut down companywide to junk last month's contract and that none of the striking locals return to work until a uniform contract is won that meets the needs of all!

This battle shapes up as a long and bitter one. A victory here in the fight to smash mandatory overtime could be the spark that sets off a militant struggle throughout the entire union. Auto workers must look to the example set by their brothers at IH and Caterpillar.

continued on page 11

Militant Strike Against Western Electric

We are reprinting below a leaflet by the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the Communications Workers of America in Los Angeles. MAC is a class-struggle opposition in the CWA, presently based on West Coast locals.

On October 1st 5,000 Western Electric sales workers from five cities staged a militant strike against company implementation of the justly despised absence control plan. The response of the ranks to the plan was to stand up and fight—and fight they did. At Montebello (Yates Street location) a sit-down in front of scab trucks halted the movement of supplies. Scab drivers were "taught" the union rule: picket lines mean don't cross! The around-the-clock picket lines were massive, militant, and spirited. In only three days Western supplies dried up, debunking the myth that you can't strike the phone company.

WECO workers, who never previously suffered absence control, now faced a plan even more vicious than Telco's. It included a barbaric retroactive clause making workers liable for absences going back three years! This meant automatic termination for hundreds.

Strikers told Militant Action Caucus (MAC) members who joined the lines in solidarity the treacherous news of the National leadership's betrayal. On October 3, the [Communications Workers] National telegraphed an immedi-

ate back-to-work order, criminally withholding any support for the CWA fighters. Despite this despicable stab in the back 500 angry phone workers voted nearly unanimously to stay out and win. On critical issues the National almost never sanctions local strikes. We need the local right to strike!

Encouraged by the National's refusal to fight, the company threatened to count struck days against workers' attendance. Then under extreme pressure from the National the bulk of the local leadership completely collapsed. First, scab trucks were allowed through picket lines, and then the picket lines were taken down altogether. At no time did the rank and file vote to end their strike! But by October 8 the strike was over, and the absence control plan was implemented—for now without the primitive retroactive clause. Predictably the National will not fight the plan, but will try to "sweeten" it for the workers. The intensified harassment and company reprisals which have already begun must be met head-on by the union.

For a Solid Strike in 1980!

Strikes in the phone company are effective—they can win. *After only three days Western Electric supplies ran dry!* All the technology in the world cannot run without supplies and manpower. It is the leadership's refusal to fight that leads to defeat, not the power of the company. If the company didn't desper-

ately need our labor they wouldn't impose absence control in the first place. In Cleveland last August, 350 angry service reps struck and *stopped* a company attempt to schedule breaks ten minutes after beginning their shift. They defied company threats and back-to-work orders from the local president... and won! The real lesson of the Western Electric and Cleveland strikes is that the ranks are strong, combative, and willing to wage an aggressive defense of working conditions. But we need a leadership willing to take on the company.

Absence control is a crucial issue of national importance. The WECO strike showed we don't have to accept it as a fact of life. We need a national strike in 1980 to bury absence control once and for all, and win full paid sick leave with no penalties for being sick. Phone workers need a big catch-up pay hike and a full 100 percent COLA. We demand: No forced overtime! No productivity quotas! No secret monitoring and other reform school work rules! We need a shorter work week at no loss in pay to provide jobs, eliminate unemployment, and undermine the company's speed-up drive. If we are to defend our members' jobs and working conditions the CWA must strike in 1980!

CWA President Watts says don't strike but rely on Jimmy Carter to defend us—7 percent Jimmy Carter, turn off the gas pumps Jimmy Carter. We say no reliance on Carter, Kennedy,

or any anti-labor Democratic Party politician. Watts and his gang must go! We need a leadership committed to class struggle, not class collaboration—a leadership that doesn't flinch in the face of company attacks, that doesn't police the militancy of the ranks but organizes and leads it. The "Committee to Elect a Militant Delegation to the 1979 CWA Convention" began to construct that kind of leadership. This alternative leadership must be national in scope. For this reason we have linked up with the Militant Action Caucus of San Francisco to form the MAC of Los Angeles. JOIN US!

We reprint below the treacherous back-to-work telegram sent by CWA WECO sales director K.H. Bergstrom to CWA Local 11595.

**PMS Chuck Gravette President,
CWA Local 11595
195 19 Georgina Circle
Cerritos CA 90701**

I am hereby directing you to return to work because you are in violation of Article 40, SD 79, and that you are to return all of your members to work immediately.

**K H Bergstrom
National Director CWA Sales
241 Summit Ave.
Greensboro NC 27401**

The United Secretariat has just become the "Untied Secretariat." Up until three months ago it was still balmy "unity" weather in the USec. The main factions had disbanded and Ernest Mandel was promising one and all an international that brought together "95 percent of the world's Trotskyists" (leaving aside only a few "sectarian grouplets" like the Spartacists). The "Fourth," he bragged, hadn't split in 16 years; in recent European elections "Trotskyist slates" had gotten close to a million votes. The USec was on the verge of becoming an "alternative pole of attraction" to the "3 to 4 million voters of the far left" on the old continent. Shining in its diadem would be a French section of 10,000 members. And with that, he said, echoing another centrist of the 1930s, "everything is possible!" No more. His grand schemes lying in tatters around him, Ernest Mandel looks today like a stock market

ridden European sections, many would-be leftists will face the question of remaining loyal to this fake "Fourth International" or going with the Moreno/Lambert lash-up, likely to be one of the shorter-lived, rottener blocs of all time.

Le Monde (1 November) commented wryly that "the motive, or the occasion" of the split was a "difference in evaluating the Nicaraguan revolution." Occasion, si; motive, no. In a document establishing a "parity committee" of the OCI/LTT/BF, the splitters argue that: "The danger of dispersing the forces of the Fourth International is much more serious than the one provoked starting in 1951 by Pabloism, since the attack on our principled positions is even more brutal than in 1951."

Certainly the provocations have been spectacular, beginning with the USec's support for (and alleged complicity in) the Sandinista Front (FSLN) expulsion of the Morenoite-led Simón Bolívar Brigade from Nicaragua last August (see *WV* No. 240, 28 September). True

those who would build a "Trotskyist" party in order to pressure the Sandinistas. But Moreno, while a charlatan of the first order whose policies at home are deeply reformist, is an inveterate maneuverist given to bursts of bravado and verbal leftism—as with the Bolívar Brigade and his Bolshevik Faction. Yet the BF presents itself in tandem with Lambert's hardened and not-very-left social-democratic OCI, whose pseudo-orthodox critiques of Mandel are a cover for virulent anti-Communist Stalinophobia. No real Trotskyist can join with those who sided with CIA-financed counterrevolution in Portugal!

The big loser in the present USec split will surely be Ernest Mandel, who bit off more than he could chew and now has lost the whole pie. Externally he has sought to broker a welter of opportunistic fusions with anti-Trotskyist "far left" reformists, from the OCI and Pablo's AMR in France to Tony Cliff's SWP in Britain, all of which have fallen through. Meanwhile, within the USec he has

After dragging their feet for years at the Mandel- and SWP-backed proposals for a rapprochement with the OCI, they gleefully jumped at this provocation. That same evening they circulated to the cells a motion demanding condemnation of the OCI/LTT/BF meeting as a "split attempt." Not voting for the motion would mean instant "exclusion."

extraordinary LCR congress which began November 1 in the Paris suburb L'Hay-les-Roses. When the motion condemning the "parity committee" was raised, over a quarter of the delegates (37 LTTers and 4 Morenoites, out of 160 delegates at the conference) refused to vote and walked out, thereby consummating the split. In an article entitled "The French LCR Spits Out Its Seeds," *Libération* of 2 November notes the "satisfaction" and rapidity with which the LCR tops "seized the pretext thus offered by their adversaries." After all, six weeks beforehand it was simply a question of what pace for a fusion with



Ernest Mandel



Jack Barnes

SPLIT IN THE



Nahuel Moreno



Pierre Lambert

UNITED SECRETARIAT

speculator on the day after the Crash of '79.

Now it is the hour of split in the USec. On the eve of its "Eleventh World Congress" a provocation/expulsion/walkout has ripped out a quarter of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The expellees were mainly supporters of the Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT), the USec friends of Pierre Lambert's Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI). This means that the long-rumored marriage of the LCR with the OCI is definitely off, and Mandel is left with a French section not of 10,000 but 1,200. In Latin America more than two-thirds of the USec's supporters have gone with the Bolshevik Faction (BF) of Nahuel Moreno, temporarily and miscegenously allied with the OCI and certain to be expelled at the world congress (it exited along with the LTT in France). As the split spreads through the USec's crisis-

enough, where Pablo ordered the "deep entry" of sections of the FI into Stalinist CPs in the early '50s, today his epigones order their Nicaraguan followers to liquidate into the FSLN. But aren't Lambert/Moreno forgetting something? The USec was founded in 1963 on the basis of total support to Castroism. Where do they claim to have been for the last decade and a half?

The OCI/LTT/BF split will pick up a number of sincerely leftist elements aghast at the spectacle of their comrades being arrested at gunpoint and expelled by the Sandinista regime with the approval/aid of the USec tops. And if the issue was really that of maintaining an independent section in Nicaragua, genuine revolutionists would stand on the same side with those opposing liquidation into the petty-bourgeois FSLN. A split along these lines could open the way to a struggle for consistent proletarian independence and against

allowed the hardened reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party to pick off and grind down centrist Mandelite oppositions in their own bailiwick (e.g., the demolished Internationalist Tendency in the U.S., the absorbed Canadian RMG). Up until now Mandel has had the votes to call the shots at the USec HQ in Brussels, but Barnes' SWP has the tremendous advantage of a consistent political line. With the departure of the LTT/BF and various leftists they drag along behind them, the USec will likely consolidate around a reformist axis with the SWP holding the whip hand.

The Hammer Goes Down at L'Hay-les-Roses

The pretext for the split in the United Secretariat was a deliberate provocation by the OCI/LTT/BF bloc. The weekend prior to the LCR conference scheduled to elect delegates for the USec world congress, the Lambertists and Morenoites met to form a coordinating committee for the stated purpose of fighting the SWP leadership's capitulation to the Nicaraguan FSLN. Barnes & Co. were accused in the founding document of the parity committee of "abandoning the terrain of Trotskyism and the Fourth International and going over to the terrain of Castroism" (true enough, but the discovery is about 18 years late). And the parity committee adopted a BF proposal for a "democratic conference open to all forces claiming to be Trotskyist"—i.e., a counter-world congress—for January 1980. This was the chance which the "historical leadership" of the LCR, Alain Krivine and Daniel Bensaïd, had been waiting for.

the OCI which would have left Krivine/Bensaïd out in the cold. Now they're back in the saddle again, and with the most obstreperous oppositionists gone their "solid" 43 percent plurality on the CC should be enough to ensure a more-or-less stable "minority cabinet" in the hectic politicking at the LCR helm.

On the other side there is the momentum of an aggressive split, but with plenty of fraying on the edges. The Morenoites, of course, knew long before that their number was up and they were just carrying out rearguard actions as they pulled out of the United Secretariat. (Their factional rampaging has been so blatant that more than two years ago Mandel/Barnes threatened to chuck them out at the next opportunity.) Lambert has nothing to lose at this point on the USec side, and presumably felt it better to start carving up the spoils of their raiding operation before Moreno starts making inroads north of the Pyrenees and the Alps. In France it is calculated that the take from the LCR will be roughly 350-400 militants, who after a period as a formally independent group will simply be swallowed by the OCI.

However, there are those who may balk at the prospect of life under Lambert. In France the parity committee gambit was decided at the top, leaving many rank-and-filers disoriented as the next day they were faced with peremptory demands for a loyalty oath. Meanwhile, across the Channel in Britain LTT leader John Strawson was talking of the "French split" and swearing fealty to the International Marxist Group (IMG) and the USec.

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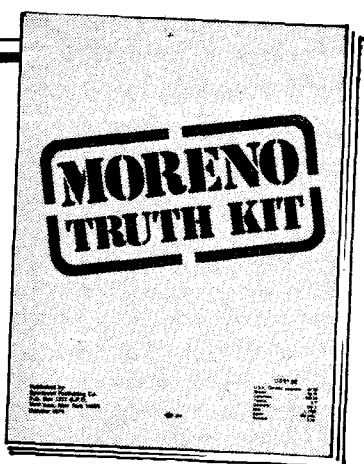
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The International Marxist Group is visibly in trouble. Its less and less frequent public events attract ever smaller and more dispirited attendances. Its grand initiatives to attract the children of '68, through such Menshevik "regroupment" manoeuvres as Socialist Unity and an ostensibly broad "non-party" incarnation of *Socialist Challenge*, have been clear failures. Plaintive

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pleas in the lifeless *Socialist Challenge* throughout the summer advertised serious financial problems and suggested a dramatic decline in sales. As the backdrop to it all is the increasing factional polarisation and looming split in the IMG's crisis-ridden International, the so-called United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), a polarisa-

Centrism is by nature transitory and inconsistent, incapable of engaging in systematic political combat with the much larger reformist, state-capitalist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) [of Tony Cliff] or even with the execrable political flotsam and jetsam which left the SWP to the right three years ago. The only conceivable alternative for the IMG was to grovel before them.

The IMG formally approached Cliff & Co. last year with some centrist idea of discussion and conflict in mind in a ludicrous combination of appeal and attack. An IMG letter last November urging formal discussions enclosed a central committee resolution which hoped that the IMG and SWP could be "moving toward unity in the medium term" but began with the sentence, "The SWP's politics represent a syndicalist break from revolutionary Marxism, i.e., Trotskyism." It added that the SWP is "prone to being drawn behind alien class forces" (SWP/GB *Bulletin*, December 1978). The SWP was quick to pick up on

unconditional defence of the workers states against imperialism have long since lost any claim to be considered as Marxists" (IMG introduction to "The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism" by Ernest Mandel [1969]). Now, however, the same IMG makes crystal clear that it considers defence of the USSR to be of no fundamental importance.

The IMG leaders feel obliged to willfully distort the history of the Trotskyist movement for this, claiming in a recent reply to the SWP (authored by Ali, Ross and national secretary Brian Grogan) on international perspectives: "We do not believe that the state capitalist analysis of the SWP necessarily excludes it from the Fourth International. This was the position taken by Trotsky at the time of the foundation of the Fourth International and we see no reason to change it" (*International Socialism*, Autumn 1979). But Trotsky did object on principle to forming a common organisation with anyone who drew from a "state capitalist analysis"

warm themselves in the reflected glow of "the FI," i.e., the pseudo-Trotskyist USec. If a thoughtful IMG'er was only too aware that the "United" Secretariat was never united and daily demonstrated somewhere in the world that it could only betray the program on which the Fourth International was founded, still it was much the biggest group claiming the mantle of Trotskyism. Not for much longer will USec leader Ernest Mandel be able to boast that "for 15 years now the FI [sic] has not witnessed a single international split" (SWP/GB *International Discussion Bulletin* No. 9). If the decade-long factional war between the American-led minority and European-based majority led by Ernest Mandel has, of late, subsided into an SWP/U.S.-dominated truce, things are by no means quiet in the USec.

The left-posturing Bolshevik Faction (BF) led by chameleon-like reformist and charlatan Nahuel Moreno is clearly headed for an expulsion or split, taking with it most of the USec's Latin



WV Photo

tion from which the IMG itself has predictably not been immune.

The organisation exudes an air of decay. The student vanguardism and vicarious guerrillaism of the early IMG circa 1968-72 have not aged well. And the heady perspectives of a rapid emergence of dual power in Britain, which guided the organisation through its next few years of rapid growth, have long since gone flat. Membership since has remained stagnant; lately it has begun to fall. This September's Marxist Symposium—the annual fashion show for the IMG's latest intellectual fads—featured one cadre after another musing on the organisation's numerical weakness, and John Ross openly admitted a mood of pessimism inside the IMG. It is not primarily an organisational, but a political crisis which has brought the IMG to this impasse of despair and disaffection.

The Increasing Devotion to Dubious "Lefts"

Today hundreds of IMGers, having stored away their Che Guevara posters and the motorcycle helmets which used to be *de rigueur* on demonstrations, are ensconced in a mellow routine of parochial reformist campaigns—[social services] cuts committees, solidarity groups, the tired feminist milieu, the ANL [Anti-Nazi League], etc. For many, continued membership in the IMG is an act of nostalgia. It was not the opportunities which were lacking, but a revolutionary program with which to intersect them. Reformism has at least a consistency of purpose in its pursuit of influence within the bourgeois order.

the inconsistencies. Replying for the state capitalists, Chris Harman pretended to be hurt:

"What disappointed and angered us in all this was not merely the tone and sectarian phraseology which seems to have been borrowed from some publication of the Spartacists or the [Healyite] WRP, but what it indicates about the majority of your leadership. They clearly do not take seriously the aim of unification of the forces of the revolutionary left."

The IMG response has been to discard more and more criticisms. Thus we have the spectacle of a "dialogue" at the final session of the recent Marxist Symposium. Amid an atmosphere reminiscent of a chummy Oxford Union debate, the old mates of the IMG led by Tariq Ali, and a few selected SWP cadre who pride themselves on dabbling in international affairs led by Harman, swapped stories of the bad old days when both groups snarled at each other and engaged in sly, witty digs all with the proper coy camaraderie. The IMG's theme was that as a "serious revolutionary organisation" the SWP should "join the Fourth International," which Ali explicitly stated did not involve international democratic-centralist discipline.

The Russian Question

But how about the Russian question which should be the key difference between the ostensibly Soviet-defencist IMG and the "Third Camp" SWP? The IMG used to correctly consider this a key programmatic difference, sharply insisting that "those who have deserted the revolutionary Marxist position by refusing to adopt the class line of

the programmatic conclusion of refusal to defend the Soviet Union:

"The whole course of the world workers movement beginning with July 1914 demonstrates that defeatists and defensists cannot remain in the same party if the concept of the party has in general any sort of sense. The basic task of the present discussion consists in demonstrating the full political incompatibility of defeatism in relation to the USSR with membership in the revolutionary party."

—"Defeatism vs. Defensism,"
Writings [1937-38]

That was the position taken by Trotsky at the time of the foundation of the Fourth International and it remains true today.

The SWP and its predecessors are and have been social-democratic renegades from Trotskyism since their definitive capitulation to imperialism in 1950 when they abandoned the military defence of the North Korean deformed workers state. In chasing this organisation so assiduously the IMG is only underlining how vastly removed from Trotskyism they themselves are. There is a potentially fatal organisational corollary to the IMG's politically liquidationist course, for if the far larger Cliffite organisation is "revolutionary," then the outstanding differences are unimportant. The appropriate conclusion for frustrated IMGers is to vote with their feet for the SWP. Indeed there are reports that this is already happening around the country as the IMG loses members to the larger and superficially more stable SWP.

In years past IMGers downcast by domestic reversals and worn by incessant inner-party strife could at least

American presence. So, apparently, is the French-based Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency (LTT) which politically supports the OCI of Pierre Lambert. Add to this the extreme organisational difficulties and membership decline of the European USec star sections in France and Spain and you have a recipe for gloom. USec members desperately need to tell themselves that it is better somewhere else—but it isn't.

While the BF has as yet gained few adherents in Britain, there is now a sizable contingent of the LTT headed by a political quick-change artist named John Strawson whose main talent lies in borrowing a political line from elsewhere and building an opposition around it. Having led an "anti-Pabloite" split from the IMG to join the [ex-Healyite] WSL [Workers Socialist League] in 1976, Strawson turned around less than a year later to lead a Mandelite split from the WSL back to the IMG. A staunch opponent of the SWP/U.S. line while in the WSL, Strawson wasted no time in making a bloc with SWP/U.S. supporters once back in the IMG at the 1978 national conference, only to go on to his current stint with the LTT, with yet another vastly different program.

If Strawson's British followers, many of whom were doubtless attracted by the LTT's hard "orthodox" pose in contrast to the craven liquidationism of the Ali/Ross/Grogan ilk, were to exit from the USec along with the rest of the LTT they would find themselves in the uncomfortable position of having to unite with the wretched British OCI section—the

continued on page 11

At DSOC Conference

SYL Lambastes Democratic Party "Socialists"

After years of leading a shadowy existence even more marginal politically than several self-proclaimed "communist" groups, American social democracy is starting to come out of the closet. For decades the descendants of anti-Communist Sunday school socialist Norman Thomas have been content to act as powerless brokers and "influential advisors" for liberal sectors of the government bureaucracy and labor officialdom. But with the Kennedy-Carter rivalry in the Democratic Party they now feel the time is ripe to gain the popular backing they have always lacked.

The largest of the social-democratic groupings, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), is currently pushing for a broad liberal/populist regroupment with, among others, the pro-free enterprise Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) of Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden (which backs the middle-class "Tax Revolt" and serves as stalking horse for the presidential ambitions of California's weirdo governor Jerry Brown). To its "left," DSOC has also set its sights on merger with the pudding-head neo-New Leftists of the New American Movement (NAM). In early October the DSOC front Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition joined with the Hayden/Fonda CED, NAM and a slew of liberal union tops to sponsor "Stop Big Oil" rallies around the country.

At the same time, as the U.S. heads into a major economic slump, with a president who nearly every sector in bourgeois politics agrees is a disaster, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy senses a need to engage in some militant huffing and puffing to create the impression that they are doing something about it. *Business Week* (24 September) commented: "Unions that used to bait 'commies' and 'kooks' now join forces with socialists." And in a *Chicago Sun-Times* (22 October) article, entitled "Labor and the New Radicalism," William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), a vice chairman of DSOC, said, "I tell them [IAM members] that their president is a Socialist over and over again."

DSOC's circle of friends also includes Lane Kirkland (slated to replace George Meany as head of the AFL-CIO later this month), who, according to the *Sun-Times*, even denounces the vicious "class war" of big business against the unions. Other labor fakers in this camp include long-time crypto-social democrats Doug Fraser of the UAW, and Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME. To top it off, even leaders of the 17 building trades unions, traditionally among the most reactionary of union hierarchs, took out an ad in the September issue of *Democratic Left* hailing DSOC's "firm and militant support of the American labor movement."

What does it all mean? Actually, the only thing "democratic" about DSOC's ultra-reformist brand of "socialism" (in reality FDR New Dealism dressed in wolf's clothing) is its total subservience to the Democratic Party. Thus coming up this month is the DSOC-organized "Conference for a Democratic Agenda" in Washington, D.C. Its aim—to pressure the Democratic Party to implement its own 1976 campaign platform.



Aging social-democratic Wunderkind Michael Harrington spouts liberal mush...

DSOC's youth chapters on the campuses will provide the foot soldiers for "Students for Kennedy" in 1980, while the newly "socialist" trade-union tops will once again attempt to herd their members into the voting booths to pull the levers for Democratic Party politicians. Harrington explains it this way:

"Teddy is the best liberal in America at a time when liberalism is not enough. We need an anti-corporate candidate, willing to stand up and say, 'We've got to attack the corporations.' Teddy doesn't do that. But [a Kennedy victory] would set in motion forces very beneficial to the formation of an anti-corporate left. At first, if he wins [we should] give him a chance, a honeymoon."

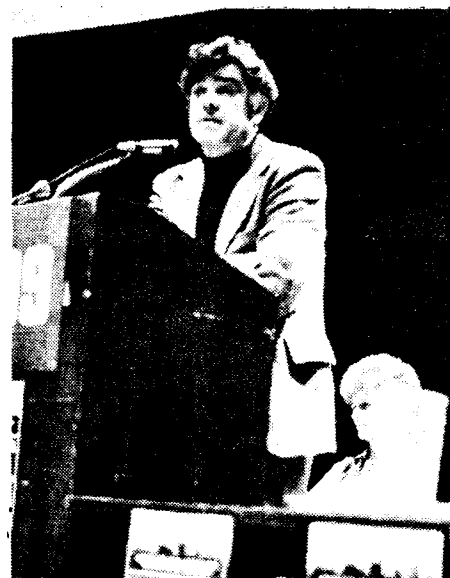
—*Village Voice*, 29 October

Harrington has lately taken to jetting around the country to explain why socialists should support Kennedy's campaign to become capitalism's chief executive. But wherever he goes he comes up against the revolutionary communists of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). In Berkeley an SL member asked Harrington, "Could you explain how your comrades in the German SPD funneled CIA money to your comrades in the Portuguese SP to crush the revolution there in 1975?" Harrington snapped, "I'm tired of questions like that." At a meeting in San Francisco an exasperated Harrington lamented that if he got on a spaceship and went to the moon, as he opened the door there would be a Spartacist shaking his finger and accusing him of betraying the working class. And in fact while pseudo-Trotskyists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) try to nudge Harrington in the direction of building a phony "third party" movement, the SL/SYL has exposed his long and sordid history, from supporting capitalist counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956 to refusing to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam in the 1960s (see "Harrington's DSOC: Exhuming the Rotting Corpse of Social Democracy," *Young Spartacus*, October 1979).

At the New York City DSOC convention held October 20-21, Harrington & Co. demonstrated to the audience of 75 young bureaucrats and aging ex-Shachtmanites that they cannot answer the revolutionary critique of their "Democratic Party" socialism put forward by the Trotskyists of the SL/SYL. Even DSOC's selling point of being in tight with the big-time wheeler-dealers of the American labor move-

ment backfired, as several of the labor fakers in attendance strove to distance themselves from even DSOC's milksop liberalism. At the workshop on "Politics and Social Change" a cynical Norm Adler, AFSCME District 37 political action director, boasted that he could make or break bourgeois politicians from Bay View to the Bronx; and as a "pragmatist" he made it clear that he has no use for the likes of DSOC. Although Ellen Polansky of the McGovernite liberal New Democratic Coalition (NDC) winced as Adler reeled off the names of the machine politicians he had helped put into office, state senator Olga Mendez from East Harlem couldn't see any difference between machine Democrats and reform Democrats. Mendez announced that she had just finished eating breakfast with New York City's racist labor-hater mayor, Ed Koch.

In the discussion that followed, the Spartacus Youth League counterposed the need to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government. "Name me one Democratic Party politician who stood with the coal miners against the bosses and the Taft-Hartley Act in 1978!" demanded an SYLer. Rather than answer this challenge, the chairman vainly attempted to silence the comrade. Due to vigorous protests by SYL members and others in attendance, the chair finally backed down and in a humiliating attempt to maintain bureaucratic control over the meeting, offered to alternate between Spartacist and non-Spartacist speakers. At the feminist



...AFSCME's cynical Victor Gotbaum shrugs.

caucus the chairman wept as she attempted to silence an SYLer who denounced the social-democratic murder of heroic German Communist Rosa Luxemburg. And the student caucus was simply disbanded after four of those in attendance (at a meeting of over 20 people) identified themselves as members of the SYL during the introductions.

In the plenary session, keynote speaker Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District 37 and a prominent member of DSOC, as much as told his "comrades" to get lost. "I read your program," he said. "It's easy to embrace. But I don't know how the hell we carry it out!" This says a lot about the manifest bankruptcy of social democracy, particularly in the context of New York City where both DSOC and its even more openly right-wing CIA-linked kindred, Social Democrats USA (SDUSA), have connections to the city's labor leaders.

Gotbaum wasn't kidding. During the brutal 1975-77 NYC fiscal crisis, neither he nor the SDUSA's Albert Shanker (of the United Federation of Teachers) put up any kind of fight to defend union members' livelihoods against the rapacious onslaught of the financiers. As a result 60,000 jobs were lost, not to mention millions of dollars of union pension funds which went down the Big MAC rathole. DSOC spokesman Paul DuBrul suggested in retrospect that perhaps the unions should have "used their power" during the fiscal crisis. By calling a general strike against layoffs and cutbacks? No—by withdrawing union pension funds from the banks! DuBrul also called for public takeover of that hated symbol of monopoly price-gouging, Consolidated Edison...in order to ensure "the salvation of private enterprise!"

About 30 minutes before the conference was over, the building supervisor of the hospital workers union Local 1199 hall kicked the participants out of the facility, forcing the remaining DSOC loyalists out onto the sidewalk to listen to Michael Harrington. Speaking in the wake of the stock market nose dive, Harrington announced that the capitalist system is in a crisis. His idea of a fightback? Franklin Delano Roosevelt. "It took 'til 1935, seven years after the depression, until you got some legislation that really began to respond to it." What FDR was "responding" to, however, was not the suffering wrought by the Depression but the militant union struggles of the working class, reflected in the Toledo and San Francisco general strikes, and the Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

DSOC has no program to lead such struggles—its aim is to keep them from happening in the first place, while maintaining intact the unions' ties to the dead end of Democratic Party politicking. Besides, the Democrats didn't lead American capitalism out of the Depression through the New Deal but through *World War II*. As an SYL leaflet distributed at the New York DSOC conference stated, "The Democrats are a party of strikebreakers, racists, imperialist butchers, a bosses' party which differs not one whit from the Republicans as an enemy of the workers of the world.... Break with the Democrats! Dump the Meany, Millers and Gotbaums! For a workers party to fight for a workers government!" ■

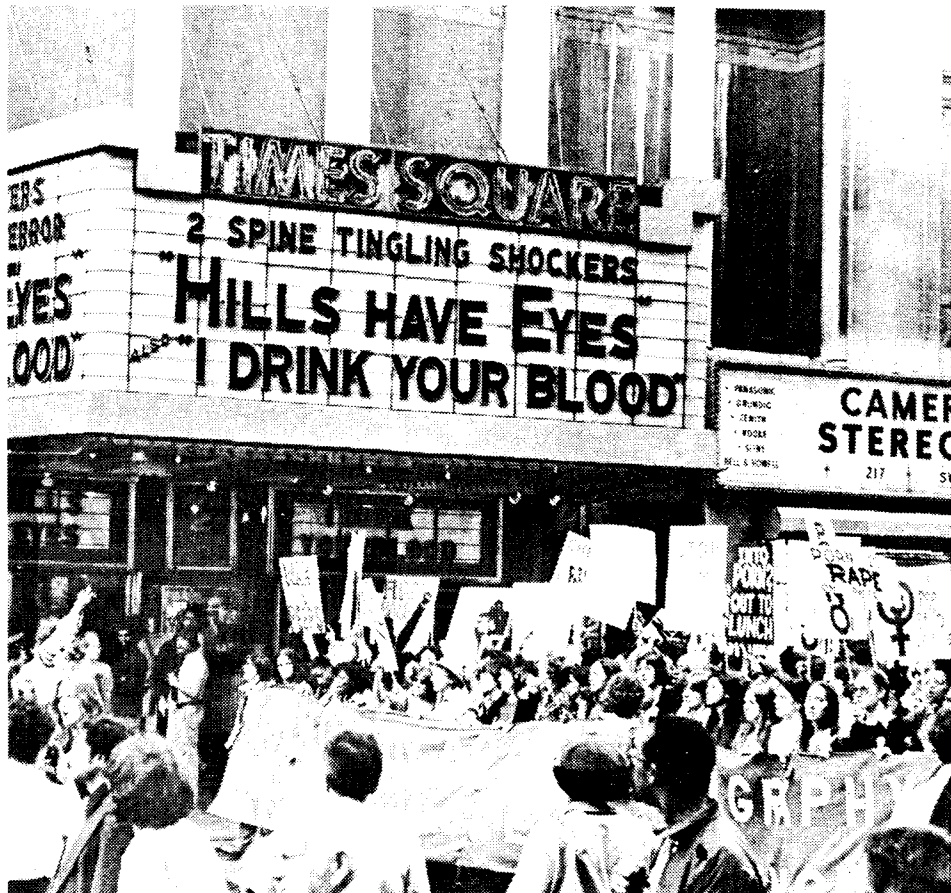
NY Anti-Porn Demo:

Feminists in Alliance With Reaction

New York's cruddy Times Square pinball/porn/Kung Fu-killer fantasyland isn't the nicest place to while away a few idle hours—besides being downright dangerous during the almost nightly lumpen pack-assaults on passers-by. But if people actually have the guts to go there in search of whatever furtive pleasures the place affords, that's their own business. Unlike those 5,000 feminists who marched through Times Square October 20, chanting "Pornography is the Theory, Rape is the Practice," we understand that there is a qualitative difference between the violence bred of class society and erotic/pornographic fantasies. As Marxists we oppose attempts at puritanical censorship, whether launched by open reactionaries seeking to smash whatever (limited) civil liberties formally exist, or by this new feminist "Legion of Decency."

However, the "Women Against Pornography" demonstration, led by the old *Ms.* magazine-liberal literati New York feminist gang (Gloria Steinem, Susan Brownmiller, Robin Morgan, but of course Bella Abzug, etc.), was not just another display of feminist radical-chic self-righteousness. It was a disgusting political mobilization objectively serving the most reactionary interests. Ayatollah Khomeini—not to mention Anita Bryant's anti-homosexual "Save our Children" crowd and small town "dirty" book burners—would have loved it. The "sisters" did try to keep out the open reactionaries—ripping up one man's relevant anti-abortion, anti-homosexual poster. But like it or not, that is who they're in a bloc with on this issue, all their protestations of their deep love for the First Amendment aside.

And nobody should think it's just hard-core or sadistic stuff they're after,



WV Photo

either. At the preparatory conference for this march, one of the main publications held up for condemnation was... *Playboy* magazine (many of whose readers would probably faint dead away if they ever took a look inside those plastic-sealed magazines at the back of Times Square shops)! It's no accident that "Women Against Pornography" has received heavy financial contributions and free office space from Times Square real estate and business interests, who have been pushing the cops for some time to "clean up Times Square" so they can make a few bucks.

Pornography is not the source of violence against women. The results of Denmark's legalization of the most far-out porn prove that! It is this capitalist society with its enforced poverty, rigid family structure and straitjacket morality which breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence. But since the feminist leaders of this creepy "clean up America" campaign have all long since made their peace with the powers-that-be, it's not surprising that they end up in a political bloc with the most reactionary tendencies propping up this violent and hate-filled class society. ■

Demo Against Mutilation of Women

Under a banner declaring "Women Against Genital Mutilation of 30 Million Girls," about two dozen people demonstrated before the United Nations October 31. Called by "Women Against Mutilation," the rally protested the barbaric practice of female circumcision in many African and some Asian and South American nations. The demonstration had its post-New Left feminist eccentricities (ending, for example, with a chant to the "Great Mother"), and its organizers have plenty of illusions in the UN. However, unlike the fundamentally reactionary anti-porn mobilizations, this protest exposed a little-mentioned but horribly real and widespread atrocity.

Supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) joined the protest with signs

reading "No to the Barbaric Practice of Clitorectomies/Infibulation," "Stop Brutal Mutilation of Women" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." No other socialist groups were to be seen. By and large the American left hails the "progressive" demagoguery of "Third World" nationalist regimes. But even many tribalist politicians who talk of "African socialism" or sport the radical-sounding label "Marxist-Leninist" defend barbaric sexual mutilation of women. "Progressive" Kenyan nationalist Jomo Kenyatta, for example, was quite explicit: "The abolition of *irua* (circumcision) will destroy the tribal symbol which identifies the age groups, and prevent Gikuyu from perpetuating that spirit of collectivism and national solidarity which

they have been able to maintain from time immemorial" (*Facing Mount Kenya*). Unlike such bourgeois nationalists, Marxists struggle not to return to the primitive solidarity of the tribe, but rather for an *internationalist* collectivism based on the highest level of social and economic development. And liberal prattle about "cultural relativism," supposedly an answer to missionary society ethnocentrism, simply serves to justify the worst aspects of barbarism.

It is estimated that more than ten million girls annually are subjected to infibulation and at least an equal number to clitorectomy. Clitorectomy is the removal of the entire clitoris and labia minora, i.e., to achieve marital fidelity through surgical frigidity. Infibulation is the sewing up of the vagina, with the exception of a small hole through which the woman is supposed to urinate and menstruate. Although this circumcision is often performed as a tribal puberty rite, in many places it is carried out on children of four to eight years and younger. The "surgeon" is generally a village matron; her implement, a razor blade, knife or glass splinter. The result is pain, humiliation, shock, infection, infertility, excruciating

labor in childbirth and often death.

The rationale for this savage destruction is the stability of the polygamous tribal family structure: that is, to ensure a marketable young woman at the time of marriage and a faithful one afterwards. Genital mutilation, though immeasurably more brutal, is not unlike the chastity belt in theory. In advanced capitalist countries, the bourgeois revolutions legally and formally wiped out the more abhorrent aspects of female servitude. But the Western "democracies" did not bring these bourgeois-democratic reforms with them into the colonial countries. Indeed, the most noticeable "reform" in the practice of female circumcision in the past century is that it is now often performed in hospitals! Rather, the penetration of decaying imperialism into Africa has perpetuated the most reactionary aspects of degenerated tribalism.

It is not the indifferent, condescending imperialist thieves in the UN, but the mobilization of the proletariat for the destruction of class society in its economic foundations and ideological excrescences that will end the mutilation of millions upon millions of girls. ■

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Pitiful Labourites Scold Chairman Hua

Squarely in the tradition of the Great Helmsman, Chairman Mao, who clinked glasses with Nixon while American bombers were devastating Hanoi, Chinese Prime Minister Hua Guofeng last week praised British Tory boss Margaret Thatcher for "her warnings about a Soviet military buildup" (*New York Times*, 1 November). Having just come off a visit to West Germany where even his capitalist hosts were embarrassed by his anti-Russian sabre-rattling, Hua found Thatcher's creepy, long-time, obsessional, fulminating anti-Soviet Communism very much to his liking.

The following morning, as Hua was leaving London's Highgate Cemetery after laying a wreath of roses at Karl Marx's tomb, he was approached by a delegation from the Public Employees' Union who told him they disapproved of his support for the Tories. Said group spokesman Michael Thomas, "Karl Marx would turn in his grave if he saw how Chairman Hua is talking to a woman who is keeping workers' wages down."

So what else is new? Is support to Thatcher somehow worse than China's dirty deals with butchers like the former

shah of Iran and Chile's Pinochet? China's 1975 military combination with South African/U.S. imperialism to combat Russian/Cuban influence in Angola and last year's provocative Chinese invasion of Vietnam cheered on by the Americans evidently escaped the notice of the Little Englanders who now expect Hua to come out for higher wages for British workers. What a laugh! Hua would joyfully depress British wages even further in the interests of strengthening anybody's anti-Russian regime.

The British labor bureaucrats are fitting descendants of the Fabian Socialists like George Bernard Shaw and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, proponents of "socialism" through gradual evolutionary reform of capitalism. While the Fabians of the second mobilization wait for "socialism" to evolve, they devote themselves to buttressing illusions in both Labourite economism and Stalinism, which give the decaying capitalist order an extended lease on life.

The British economy has gone to hell. A desperate capitalist class prepares for an all-out fight to screw up its resolve to try to restore itself to a competitive position on the world market or die



Chairman Hua and the "Iron Lady." AP

trying. The brutal wage-slashing offensive which has run an uninterrupted course through successive Labour and Tory governments is merely a half-way measure. While the Labourite tops disorient and demoralize the workers with apologies for austerity and class collaboration, sinister racist and fascist movements are massing and no longer only on the fringe of society, awaiting the moment when their leading

edge of blood and terror, now directed at immigrant workers, is to be thrown up against the organized labor movement itself. And the earnest reformists can find nothing better to do than to shake a reproachful finger at Hua as if this representative of nationalistic, peasant-based "socialism" were a militant workers' leader.

As Comrade Trotsky commented in 1925 regarding the ideological antecedents of today's British Labour "leadership":

"These inflated authorities, pedants, conceited and pompous cowards are systematically poisoning the labor movement, obscuring the consciousness of the proletariat, paralyzing its will. Thanks only to them, Toryism, liberalism, the Church, the monarchy, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, continue to maintain themselves and even to feel secure in the saddle...."

"In discrediting them, we are performing an immense service to historical progress. On the day when the English proletariat frees itself from the mental baseness of Fabianism, humanity, particularly in Europe, will increase in stature by at least a head."

—Where Is Britain Going?

Where to now—European Maoists—toward invasion of Russia or toward the working class? ■

Usec ...

(continued from page 6)

Evidently he would prefer his comfortable niche as house critic to the prospect of deep immersion in the Labour Party, which has certainly been the fate of British branch offices of the OCI. In Sweden and Germany, Bolshevik Faction forces appear to be playing for time in order to consolidate support. But sooner rather than later the logic of the international split will be felt, whether the individual actors like it or not.

SWP Calls the Shots

The split in the Usec comes in a context where virtually all of the European sections (and many elsewhere) are in a state of permanent crisis. Most dramatic has been the French LCR, which ever since its last congress in January 1979 has been without a majority for any tendency. At that meeting the outgoing leadership Tendency 4 received 143 votes, while the semi-oppositional Tendency 3 (of H. Weber and J.-M. Vincent) got 142. (LCR superstar Alain Krivine was not part of any of the tendencies.) The hot issue was whether or not to "fuse" with the by-now substantially larger OCI, which claims to have over 5,000 members, with Tendency 3 being hard opponents of fusion. The Bolshevik Faction Declaration/Platform quotes a graphic description of the LCR Political Bureau functioning in this period which sounds more like a truce committee than a PB of an ostensibly Marxist organization: "The PB... is a sum of individuals (who) meet once a week to make sure that no major differences have arisen since the previous meeting" (cited in [SWP] *International Internal Discussion Bulletin*, No. 3, July 1979).

If the LCR has long been the "star" section of the Mandelite majority, the British IMG was the second most important of the European Usec sections. Its internal situation was no better, and after the failure of various regroupment schemes the IMG leadership has been discussing for some months a proposal for fusion/liquidation into the Cliffite SWP (see "IMG in Crisis" elsewhere in this issue). At its congress to elect delegates to the world Usec meeting, the IMG leadership under John Ross squeaked by with

52 percent, with three opposition tendencies receiving roughly 15 percent each (one of these centering around another "historic" Usec honcho, Tariq Ali, most ardent for total immersion in the SWP). And in Germany last year the Political Bureau of the GIM became so inoperative due to clique/tendency squabbling among the leadership that a tie-breaking vote was given to the Usec, in effect moving the PB to Brussels. Meanwhile, virtually every other Mandelite section is in more or less acute organizational/political crisis, including Spain, Germany, Mexico and others.

What the Morenoites do not explain is the political origin of the malaise in the Mandelite ex-majority of the Usec. The BF document notes that after the "new mass vanguard" evaporated following the forced-draft cooling down of the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal (November 1975), Mandel's International Majority Tendency (IMT) had to find a new tactical orientation. This it did, in the form of becoming the loyal left critics of a series of popular fronts (France, Italy, Spain). But because Moreno & Co. have the same policy or worse toward the Stalinists' and social democrats' class-collaborationist blocs with the bourgeoisie, the Bolshevik Faction makes no fundamental critique of the IMT's post-1975 policies (other than accusations of lingering "ultraleftism"). Yet it is precisely the collapse of the French and Italian popular fronts which placed the Mandelites in their present dilemma. As *Le Monde* of 1 November put it:

"...within the LCR, the policies outlined by the leadership of the movement over the course of the last years have been subjected to revision after the failure of the Union of the Left without another policy having been clearly defined."

Mandel's tendency is that of rapidly rightward-moving centrism, in the tow of "Eurocommunism" and lacking any current real opportunities to tail a mass movement. But while the Mandelites whirl around looking for a new vanguard in the ecology movement, a belated feminist upsurge, lost-cause nationalists (Corsicans, Bretons), the Saharan Polisario Front—anything!—the American SWP has the political advantage of knowing what it wants and a consistent reformist program to get it. On the prosaic day-to-day level this is seen in the Usec's SWP-initiated "proletarian turn," a program to become advisors to dissident union bureaucrats.

But reformism is not just doing donkey work for liberal and social-democratic labor fakers. At bottom, when the crunch comes, it means counterrevolution. It means supporting Mário Soares' CIA-financed Socialist Party in Portugal in 1975, or remaining pro-imperialist neutral in the face of the imperialist invasion of Angola in 1975-76.

It also means betrayal, if necessary of their own "comrades"—which is why the SWP leapt at the chance to back (or engineer?) the expulsion of the Simón Bolívar Brigade in Nicaragua. As a recent leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, put it:

"The United Secretariat is nowhere large enough—and certainly not in Nicaragua—to exchange, as do the reformist parties, its influence in the working class for a ministerial portfolio in the government. The Usec leaders therefore offered themselves up for the dirty little job they figured might win them a place in the Sandinista entourage: [to be] an international goon squad against left critics of the petty-bourgeois FSLN and the bourgeois Nicaraguan government."

—Supplement to *Le Bolchévik*
No. 13, 1 November 1979

And the SWP not only did the job itself, but it strong-armed the Mandelites into shamefacedly shuffling along behind. While the latest Usec resolution on the subject has the mildest critique of the FSLN, in the final analysis it goes along with the SWP's policy of redbaiting and framing up BF and LTT supporters in Nicaragua.

Iran! Iran!

But in Nicaragua it is only a dissident faction in the Usec that immediately pays the price. The even graver betrayal is the one that none of the competing Pabloist-liquidationist Usec gangs dares to mention, for they are all deeply complicit: Iran. For it is there that the women, the Kurds, the Arabs, other ethnic and religious minorities, the oil workers, leftists, homosexuals and drinkers are now suffering murderous repression at the hands of Ayatollah Khomeini and his Islamic fundamentalist mullahs. The 12 members of the Usec's HKS now sitting on death row are the least of the thousands of victims. For over a year we have exposed how the SWP, Mandelites, Morenoites and Lambertists all hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as "anti-imperialist," "one of the greatest revolutions of the century" (this from Moreno, of course,

who does everything with bombast), "the beginning of the proletarian revolution," etc. The international Spartacist tendency alone said, "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs" and warned that Khomeini would put "women in veils, workers in jails." We, and only we, told what would come if the Iranian proletariat did not forge its own independent leadership.

But finally it was too much for even Iranian Usecers, and following the HKS' shameful participation in Khomeini's plebiscitary "election" for an Islamic "Council of Experts" last August the "fused" (SWP/Mandelite/OCI) Iranian group has come apart at the seams. The HKS was patched together early this year as Iranian exiles returned from Europe (Mandelites) and the U.S. (SWP), with the SWP supporters arriving on the scene first and dominating the new organization and its political line. As the most rabid mullah lovers and legalists, the SWPers naturally wanted to participate in the rigged "vote," even though Khomeini was denouncing all Marxists as "Satanic elements" and had already arrested more than a dozen HKSers. But as the ranks began to get worried about what was in store for them, the Mandelites got a majority in favor of boycott and flew off to Europe to get Usec backing. While they were away, however, Babak Zahrahi, leader of the pro-SWP forces, overturned the decision and publicly announced the HKS would participate in the voting. The result was an open split, now consolidated into essentially separate organizations, as Mandelite candidates withdrew at the last minute.

So the HKS split becomes part of the crisis in the Usec, and in September the LTT issued a statement condemning the SWP for its "shameful policy of 'participating' in the... so-called 'election' to a supposed 'Constituent Assembly'...." But where did this policy come from? The LTT only denounces it for having "ruined the unity" of the HKS in the "initial moments of the Iranian revolution." That "unity," which included all of the competing Usec factions, was based on the program of helping the butcher Khomeini to achieve power. The "disunity" comes when it is time to pay the piper—and it is not the SWP that flinches at the bloody sight. No, in fact the latest word from the SWP's Zahrahi was that, "As strange as it may seem, there has never been as much freedom in Iran as now" (quoted in *Le*

Matin, 3 October). The cynical leading the blind.

Those who know that Trotskyism does *not* mean telling the working people of Iran that they "never had it so good"—and that it does mean putting forward an independent communist program, against both the butcher shah and the bloody ayatollah—should investigate the record of the international Spartacist tendency. Those that agree with Zahrahi will find it more congenial with Barnes, Mandel, Lambert or Moreno... provided they aren't in Iran and don't have to live with the consequences of these betrayals.

In early 1977, the iST proposed that if, under the pressure of revolutionary events in Portugal a section of the USec had polarized around opposition to popular frontism and in favor of dual power and a Leninist party, we would welcome the opportunity to join with them in common opposition to the Mandel/SWP USec leadership. As a model for such a principled Trotskyist program we put forward a draft platform of nine points, including: no political or electoral support to popular fronts; for proletarian leadership of the national/social struggle; for military, but no political, support to bourgeois nationalist forces fighting imperialism—build Trotskyist parties in every country; for unconditional defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism, and political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies; against violence in the workers movement; for communist fractions in the unions based on the Transitional Program; for the communist tactic of the united front from above, for revolutionary regroupment and intransigent exposure of centrism; rejection of the claims of the ostensibly Trotskyist internationals, for the re forging of the Fourth International through the political destruction of Pabloism ("Reforge the Fourth International!" *WV* No. 143, 4 February 1977). That is the program that stood the test of time. ■

Caterpillar...

(continued from page 5)

Rather than submitting to a standard contract and more layoffs, Chrysler workers should strike to get full wages, benefits and conditions. If Iacocca and the rest of the Chrysler bosses plead bankruptcy and inability to pay, strikers should seize the company assets, sell them off and divide the money among themselves without a penny to the parasitic stockholders. UAW members need to dump the bankrupt Fraser bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership that will not only win voluntary overtime, but jobs for all through a strategy of sit-down strikes to combat layoffs and plant closings, and a powerful industrywide fight for a shorter workweek with a big pay boost and full cost-of-living protection. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Who Gets the Shah?

The American ruling class in all of its imperialist arrogance and bourgeois hypocrisy can never understand the explosive hatred that the now-deposed shah of Iran evokes among his former "subjects." Nor can it understand that the Islamic zealot who deposed the shah, Ayatollah Khomeini, is a man who says what he believes when he talks about restoring the moral codes of seventh-century Bedouin tribes to present-day Iran. They didn't anticipate that allowing the bloody torturer and mass murderer who once occupied the Peacock Throne to jet to New York for expensive medical treatment would unleash a storm of fury in Iran. And they did not anticipate that the theocratic despots who now rule Iran would not only back but help mobilize fanatic Islamic students demanding the extradition of the shah to occupy the U.S. embassy in Teheran and U.S. consulates in Tabriz and Shiraz, holding their staff (including Marines) as hostages, forcing the impotent Bazargan cabinet to resign and precipitating a major diplomatic crisis.

The U.S. government's immediate reaction has been to play down the traditional recourse of "sending in the Marines," but talk of a military "rescue operation" echoes throughout the federal catacombs in Washington. President Carter, his secretary of state Cyrus Vance and various senior-grade Dr.

Strangelove foreign policy advisor have congregated in the White House's 24-hour Situation Room, brooding about how to save their imperialist diplomats, CIA/NSA agents and Marine guards held prisoner in a country where the U.S. embassy was once the second seat of government. Should the U.S. launch an invasion of Iran, revolutionaries would militantly oppose this imperialist adventure.

But Khomeini is at bottom no enemy of U.S. imperialism and the cooler heads in Washington know it, though they might prefer a more "modern" Third World tyrant to deal with, like Marcos of the Philippines or the terminated president Park in South Korea. They understand that the violently anti-communist and Persian chauvinist mullahs, even as they attempt to take Iran back to the middle ages, must sell oil on the imperialist marketplace and were originators along with the Kaiser of Carter's "Human Rights" crusade against godless Russia. This is why in the past few months Washington has resumed arms shipments to Iran—arms that have been used to drown in blood the courageous uprisings of the oppressed Kurdish minority, crush the strikes of Arab oil workers and smash demonstrations of women for emancipation from the chains of Koranic "justice." Khomeini enjoys spitting in

the face of the "degenerate Christian-Jewish" U.S., but for lack of an alternative source of capitalist stability, the American ruling class will swallow it. Nevertheless, the present diplomatic crisis has the singular virtue of disrupting American military support for the Islamic clerical regime, thereby giving some respite to the oppressed of Iran, particularly the tenacious Kurdish rebels.

Khomeini did not come to power simply on the basis of religious fervor, but because the shah's regime was so barbaric that many falsely believed the rule of the mullahs could not possibly be as bad. But as the ayatollahs consolidate their clerical dictatorship over the dead bodies of workers, women and minorities, Khomeini must bolster his anti-shah credentials, to hide the fact that his theocratic dictatorship is reactionary as was the shah's. Proletarian revolutionaries demand, "No asylum for the butcher shah!" Of course, it would be fitting if this sadistic murderer is shipped back to Iran to experience the vengeance of a "justice" which equals his own in the lack of due process and the barbaric practices of torture. But it is Khomeini and not the sick and deposed "king of kings" who is now the oppressor of the Iranian toiling masses. And we demand that Khomeini be tried for his crimes by his victims, through proletarian revolution and fair trial! ■

IMG...

(continued from page 7)

Socialist Labour Group. This gang of reformists has toiled for the past few years to build a geriatric base for [the Tony Benn/Michael Foot Labour "left"] *Tribune*.

The incessant unclear factionalism, cynical horse-trading manoeuvres and wild programmatic gyrations which are the stock-in-trade of Pabloite politics have over the years ground down or even destroyed scores of subjectively revolutionary IMGers who gravitated to its earlier impressionistic leftism in the absence of a genuine Trotskyist alternative. A Trotskyist party will not and cannot be built on the basis of tailing a mass movement for Islamic reaction in Iran; of uncritically hailing treacherous Stalinists like Castro and Ho Chi Minh; of lauding any and every petty-bourgeois radical movement which comes along as a short-cut substitute for the uniquely vanguard role of the conscious proletariat.

There is no substitute for the Trotskyist program. That is what is decisive in the struggle for a revolutionary party. Not numbers, not clever manoeuvres, not impressionistic organizational "turns." Break with the centrist swamp! For the re forging of the Fourth International! ■

Non-Aligned...

(continued from page 4)

movement has replaced guerrilla struggle as the wave of the future, the SWP is ready with an explanation of how these tin-pot dictators are really anti-imperialists despite themselves. As usual, however, the response of other wings of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) to Cuba's diplomatic offensive was all over the map. In a round-up of press reactions on the subject in *Intercontinental Press* (22 October), those groups associated with the American SWP couldn't contain their praise; the New Zealand *Socialist Action* proclaimed "Cuba Summit Victory for Workers." The Costa Rican *Qué Hacer?*, on the other hand, asked in

its headline, "Who Are the Non-aligned?" and answered, "Tyrants, dictators and...Cuba!" The Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency of the USec, with which the Costa Rican group is aligned, presented a recent motion complaining that the SWP position on the "non-aligned movement" led to "abandon[ing] the most elementary class criteria" (*Minutes* of French LCR Central Committee Meeting, 6-7 October 1979).

Who are they to complain? The SWP's support to the Cuban bureaucracy has been a constant for the last two decades. And Castro's present foreign policy of seeking alliances with Latin American capitalist governments is a replay of its line in the early 1960s (see "Castro's Search for Hemispheric Détente," *WV* No. 141, 21 January 1977). The only current which has consistently denounced the class-collaborationist policies of the rulers of the Cuban deformed workers state and called for political revolution has been the international Spartacist tendency.

For the reformist American SWP, the class struggle has become something fought out in the UN. Reactionary capitalist dictators are transmuted into "progressives" when they applaud the speeches of Stalinist bureaucrats and "stinging setbacks" are dealt the imperialists through diplomatic coups. This is the foreign policy of "socialism in one country" and stands flatly counterposed to the real defense of the Cuban Revolution through its extension internationally.

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BERKELEY

Meanwhile the SWP is flirting with everything except Trotskyism. Its argumentation claiming that Pol Pot's Cambodia was "capitalist" openly prepares the road to a "Third Camp" position claiming that the degenerated/deformed workers states are simply new kinds of exploitative class societies. In line with this position, arising from capitulation before bourgeois public opinion in the imperialist "democracies," Max Shachtman broke with the Fourth International in 1940 by refusing to defend the Soviet Union in the Second World War. Jack Barnes and his social-democratic friends may not yet be ready for their leap into the Shachtmanite "Third Camp." But they have certainly already joined the "non-aligned." ■

Correction

4 November 1979

Editorial Board
Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

As the reporters responsible for the article, "Jeff Mackler: Racist" which appeared in *Workers Vanguard* No. 241, 12 October 1979, we would like to correct an extremely serious error in our reporting of the incident. The Socialist Workers Party member whom we identified as the author of the racist insults aimed at a black supporter of the Spartacist League was *not* Jeff Mackler. The SWPer who was in fact responsible for this barrage of racist epithets was Roland Sheppard, a long-time member of the San Francisco branch of the SWP and brother of SWP national leader Barry Sheppard. All the other facts regarding this incident are correctly reported.

Comradely,
Larry Cooper
Joan Haney

WV Replies: It is indeed necessary to be scrupulous in these matters. The provocative racist slurs of long-time SWP cadre Roland Sheppard speak volumes about the SWP. But not every individual member of this rotten race-baiting organization is equally a race-baiter.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Auto Workers :

Drive the Klan Out of Detroit!

The following leaflet was issued on Tuesday, November 6, by several members of United Auto Workers Local 600 at Ford Motor Co.'s River Rouge complex in Dearborn, Michigan.

Cold-blooded, pre-meditated murder was committed by the Ku Klux Klan in Greensboro, North Carolina. Last Saturday the Klan leveled a hail of semi-automatic weapon fire at a peaceful demonstration of black and white textile union organizers, community activists and anti-racist militants in the black community of Greensboro. In minutes 14 anti-Klan demonstrators lay in pools of their own blood. Five are now dead. Yesterday the blood-hungry Klan in Michigan announced its challenge to the population of Detroit—they said 1,000 or so Klansmen would march "with or without a permit" at 1 p.m. on Friday from the Renaissance Center to Kennedy Square for a rally. We warned that [Rouge foremen] McKulen and Beinke's actions [see "Auto Workers Drive Out KKK-Hooded Foremen," WV No. 242, 26 October] were not a joke. That horrible truth could not be clearer!

If this provocation is not met by decisive action on the part of organized labor and black organizations in particular then it will not be too long before the Greensboro massacre is repeated right here. Let us not forget the audacious, brutal razor slashing of a young girl's thigh that happened last year—right in front of a UAW-sponsored anti-Nazi rally. Our leadership must immediately announce a counter-demonstration for Friday at 1 p.m. on the same spot as the threatened Klan march. Failure to do so will be a crime of cowardice that will go unmatched for some time! Turn Out the

Rouge, Wayne Assembly, Wixom, Cadillac, Fleetwood and Laid-Off Auto Workers—Join with the NAACP, Urban League, etc. to Drive These Bigoted Scum from the Streets!

On Monday before the announcement of the KKK march, we met with

America to Smash the Klan and Nazis! Defend the Right of Armed Self-Defense! Jail the Killer Klansmen! Drop the Charges Against the Anti-Klan Protesters!

We must not flinch from the obvious. We must have a recognized right to

when demonstrators sought to prevent more deaths, they were arrested! Civil rights activists in the South learned this lesson—it took the heroic organization of armed self-defense by the black community to drive back the Klan. The cops, courts and FBI are not our friends. They have a job to do for Carter, or whatever resides in the White House. For years the FBI carried out a vendetta against Martin Luther King—Gary Rowe, the paid FBI informer, murdered Viola Liuzzo in 1965 for the Klan. Rows of [Detroit mayor] Coleman Young's cops, incidentally mostly black, guarded the Nazi headquarters in Detroit last year. Individuals must not be left isolated and defenseless. We must have organized, disciplined and effective self-defense. We in the organized labor movement must smash the Klan's terror with a mobilization of our thousands of ranks.

Rouge workers were victorious with our anti-Klan petition. Many believed it was not possible, only to experience jubilation when we got the union to force McKulen and Beinke out. They must be run out of their holes! Motions passed in the DAP unit meeting last week committing our unit to the fight for firing McKulen and Beinke and to action against a small right-wing hate group in the plant called the "Brass Knuckle Caucus." Once again the membership must make its powerful voice heard! Demand our Local 600 leaders call us together to demonstrate on Friday. Tell your committeeman to fight for this. Call Brother Lofton and express your determination that the Klan be stopped. We are thousands and we are strong! Once the labor movement has entered the battle with fierce determination the murdering Klan and Nazis days are numbered! ■



WV Photo

SL contingent at 1978 Detroit demonstration to close Nazi bookstore.

Ernest Lofton, second v-p of Local 600 and other Local and unit officials calling on them to mobilize a mass labor-centered demonstration in response to the Greensboro massacre. Now, plans to hold a Saturday demonstration must be scrapped and a massive counter-demonstration must be called for Friday. We must raise the slogans: For Mass Labor/Black Action Across

defend ourselves, our families and homes against attack. We must defend the right of armed self-defense. Look at the black family in [the Detroit suburb of] Romulus—the Klan attacks, the police arrest him for protecting himself! This is what happened in Greensboro as well—the cops self-admittedly knew and allowed armed Klansmen to drive right up to the demonstration. Then,

Rouge Workers Demand Anti-KKK Demo

ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH
4 NOVEMBER 1979

DEARBORN, Michigan, Nov. 4 (AP)—United Auto Workers union members at Ford Motor Co.'s Dearborn Rouge Plant passed a resolution this weekend demanding that two white foremen who wore Ku Klux Klan-type garb to the plant in September be fired for their actions.

The foremen, Tim McKulen and Fred Beinke, were transferred respectively to Ford's Wixom and Wayne Assembly plants in Michigan, according to Portia Maddox, a Rouge plant worker who organized support for these resolutions.

They were approved Saturday by [a union meeting representing] 4,500 members of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit within the massive UAW

Local 600, which collectively represents several smaller workers units at the Rouge plant.

"Myself and others organized the petition drive that drove the foremen out," Frank Hicks, a Rouge tradesman, said Sunday. "We found out Friday they just were transferred to other plants. The workers thought that was just a slap on the wrist. Now (the demand for their firing) is an official union motion."

Miss Maddox, who has worked for two years on the Rouge production line, said Sunday [members of] the assembly unit also [are] asking Local 600 leaders to [hold] a "smash the Klan terror" demonstration in downtown Detroit. The rally would protest what she called growing Klan power and Saturday's death of four anti-Klan marchers in Greensboro, N.C.

Police arrested 14 persons, a dozen of whom they said claimed to be KKK members, after Saturday's violence. Two carloads of whites emptied automatic weapons into a "Death to the Klan" rally in Greensboro, killing three white men and a black woman.

"The (Dearborn) workers are really mad," Hicks, a white worker, said. "We want the union to make a powerful statement in defense of the rights of blacks." The resolution itself read: "This unit calls on Local 600, UAW Local 36 [Wixom] and the International to take all necessary actions to insure the firing of these two supervisors for their outrageous KKK provocations."

Miss Maddox, who is black, said she personally learned about the Klan through the '60s turmoil in the South. "I went through it in Birming-

ham (Ala.) in 1963 and I know what they stand for," she said. "A lot of people here don't like what they stand for. I think the response of the white workers has been great." "We were happy in the plant because we thought the foremen had been gotten rid of, but when we found out that they were just transferred we were really angry," she continued. "The company didn't tell us anything, we just found out about it Friday. We were under the impression they had been fired."

Asked why she thought there has been an apparent resurgence of KKK activity, Miss Maddox said, "I don't know what's sparking the Klan again but they are twice as large now as they were ten, fifteen years ago. I guess it has to do with jobs. With the economy so bad, (maybe they wonder) why would blacks be working and they're not."