

Hitler-Lovers Turn Tail

San Francisco:

All Out on the 19th!

SAN FRANCISCO, April 15—The Nazis are on the run. Whether or not they get run right out of town depends on what happens in the next few days.

Only last week two-bit Nazi führer Allen Vincent and his little gang of demented storm troopers were getting ready to raise their swastika right here at the S.F. Civic Center—a “birthday party” for Hitler on April 19! But that was last week. That was before outrage against these racist terrorists swept this city. From the heart of the labor movement to the Mission District, to Sunset and the Castro came waves of support for the call to action by the April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN): “Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler’s Birthday.” Just tonight CWA (phone workers) Locals 9410 and 9415 in S.F. and Oakland have endorsed the April 19th labor-based demonstration. For the first time in years a labor-led militant mass mobilization was building that could do the job.

The Nazis saw it coming, too. This was not another street fight with a small group of adventurous leftists or a pacifist “ban the Klan” vigil. This was the Bay Area labor movement—which has the real power that the Nazis fear most.

So the Nazis went straight to their protectors, the police. And the cops and the city administration are working overtime to head off the ANCAN mobilization. On April 10 San Francisco police chief Cornelius Murphy revoked the Nazis’ permit, saying the cops could not protect the “National Socialist White Workers’ Party” from the estimated 5,000 anti-Nazis he expected would overwhelm the Nazis’ provocation (see excerpts from Murphy’s press conference, in this issue). Murphy hoped that if the Nazis say they won’t show, then the ANCAN mobilization will cool off. So Murphy says the

Nazis won’t show. The Nazis and cops must not get away with this scheme to demobilize the enemies of fascism! Too much is at stake.

In hopes of making the anti-Nazi mobilization go away, the media tried to black out the ANCAN action. A Channel 7 KGO reporter on his way to cover an ANCAN press conference was approached by the cops and told in no uncertain terms, “You don’t want to cover that.” So he didn’t. But the blackout can’t last while the population is welcoming tens of thousands of ANCAN leaflets and posters, and labor militants are working to mobilize their coworkers behind the demonstration. A speaker at a recent “Carnival 80” Latin cultural festival drew enthusiastic applause as soon as he identified himself as part of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis. The thousands attending knew what that meant, blackout or not.

The cops revoked the Nazis’ permit on a legal technicality, providing them

with cover for a retreat. The cops said there will be no Nazi rally on the 19th. Hitler’s birthday party is canceled in San Francisco? Good—if it’s true. It is already a victory if the Nazis have been made afraid to carry their campaign of racist terror into the streets on April 19. We are told that the Nazis will not “Heil Hitler” and his mass murder machine here on that day.

But then what? The Nazis and the Klan are still active and growing. They are waiting for this present snowballing militant anti-Nazi action to be rolled back so that they can come out again—if not in San Francisco this Saturday then in Fontana or Walnut Creek or somewhere else—with their burning crosses and truncheons. We need a fighting labor movement that will mobilize the unions along with blacks, Asian-Americans, Jews, Latins, gays to smash the Nazis and Klan whenever and wherever they stick up their banner of genocide. And the ANCAN mobiliza-

tion is one important step in that direction.

The last few days have once again shown that working people and their allies get only what they are willing to fight for. With the labor leadership in full retreat under the blows of strike-breaking mayor Feinstein, the Nazis thrived. No wonder they were given a permit while the city stalled on a permit for the anti-Nazis. But when plans for the ANCAN mass mobilization started to snowball, with the support of leading labor figures, things changed. The Nazi permit was revoked. ANCAN got its permit. And the Board of Supervisors passed a paper condemnation of the Nazi rally. The threat of a broad-based labor mobilization is what did it. Let’s not stop now.

The Nazi gutter misfits recruit to their racist terrorism by preying upon the disorganization, disunity, passivity and apparent social weakness of their

continued on page 3



They Won't Celebrate Hitler's Birthday Here!



WV Photo

Bob Mandel,
Member of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 General Executive Board

Yesterday, as all your listeners know, the police chief revoked the permit that had been given to the Nazis for their rally on April 19. And what came out in his press conference was very clear: that they did not think that they could provide protection to the Nazis against the 5,000 demonstrators who were going to come out to make it clear that the Nazis would not be in this city to celebrate Hitler's birthday.

The April 19 Committee is based mostly on the labor unions. Longshoremen and warehousemen, postal workers, Teamsters, office workers, machinists have made it clear that they would be out by the thousands to run the Hitler-lovers out of town. And we don't think that it's because of some so-called error in the application that the police chief suddenly found grounds for revoking the permit. The Klan was allowed to come into this city December 8 with the okay of the local police, the mayor and federal officials and stage an armed demonstration at the Federal Building December 8. The only reason that the Nazis and their Klan allies aren't showing up and are scared on April 19 is because our committee had won such widespread support in the labor movement and from the black community, the Latino community, the Jewish community, Asian-Americans and the gay community. It has not been the mayor; it has not been the police chief; it has not been the board of supervisors that stopped them. It's been the threat of a massive labor demonstration. And we're saying to everybody: This is an important victory. We should follow it up, by a massive demonstration next week, to say that we understand that the Nazis and the Klan are trying to grow, [but] they will not set foot in this city publicly. This is a labor town and they are not welcome here.

So we urge everyone to turn out next week as a massive confirmation that the Klan and the Nazis will not ride in San Francisco. The other thing that I would like to say is that we've been getting major support not only in the Bay Area but nationally; so that we just received the endorsement of Thomas Gleason, who's the International president of the International Longshoremen's Association, the East Coast longshoremen's union. As our endorsers list shows, we have support from as far away as Israel.



WV Photo

Willie Lee Bell,
Civil Rights Chairman of International Association of Machinists (IAM), Lodge 739

I'm the Civil Rights Chairman of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers in Alameda. I am in support of the move to outlaw racism, Nazism and anything that suppresses and oppresses all people, minorities or otherwise. And I'm here to say that I'm requesting and urging all leaders of all the labor organizations in the community and area to support us with whatever is necessary in order to achieve a means of protecting the community from the oppressive violence, killing, murder. Also I would like to say that I feel that today with our presence here we have a much more peaceful environment than we would have with the Nazis performing.



WV Photo

William Mandel,
Commentator for KPFA Radio [William Mandel is an author and former United Press expert on Russia during World War II. He has taught at Golden Gate University and the University of California.]

During World War II Hitler's propagandists would drop leaflets over Soviet troops, especially those commanded by Jewish generals—of whom there were a considerable number—saying, "What are you fighting for the Jews for? This is a war for the Jews." And that particular version of anti-Semitism has been maintained since the war, largely by Israel and with the help—strangely enough—of the U.S. government, in that they have forgotten that the Jews exterminated by Hitler were only one-quarter of the *civilians* killed by Hitler

according to the evidence presented by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Jackson, who was our prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. The Nazis kept very careful records, and Jackson demonstrated from *their* records that 25 million civilians were killed, of whom Jews were a quarter. The gypsies were also exterminated as an ethnic group. But in addition he had a modified racial policy to kill Yugoslavs, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians with a specific purpose of reducing the Slavic peoples in number so they'd never be strong enough to challenge Germany again. His policy also involved the killing of all homosexuals.... This is important to understand because the United States is a signatory to the genocide convention.

When the Nazis rally, that is incitement to commit genocide. When they march on Hitler's birthday that is incitement to commit genocide. This is against the law which our country's signature commits us to obey. I say this because there are the civil libertarian arguments, and the police chief used that yesterday, that the Nazis have a right to freedom of speech. As far as I am concerned—and this is UN policy, it applies to South Africa and many other places—freedom of speech is barred to those who would kill human beings solely by accident of birth. Perhaps that's the most important thing I can leave with you.



WV Photo

Al Nelson,
Bay Area Spartacist League

It was clear from chief of police Murphy's statements yesterday that the only reason that the permit of the Nazis was revoked for April 19 was the fear on the part of the police department that they would not be able to guarantee the safety of Allen Vincent and his little group of Hitler-lovers, because of police intelligence that as many as 5,000 people would show up.

He also made it very clear that in his opinion the Nazis had a perfect right to speak anywhere, assemble any time and say anything they want in the city of San Francisco. Now we disagree with this. And we think this shows what the real attitude of the authorities is—equating those who would kill with those who would protest the killers, putting them on the same level.

Despite the fact that the Nazis' permit was revoked, we understand from an article in one of today's newspapers that Allen Vincent has announced that they seek to reapply for another permit. In any case, what we want to do next week

is to show these racists, these labor-hating terrorists—which is what they are—what they can expect if they try to show their face in the city of San Francisco again. This is not a Nazi town. This is a labor town. This is a town of blacks, of gays, of Asian-Americans, of Latinos, hard-working people who have a right to live in safety in this city. As long as these killers are allowed to roam the streets with their Gestapo uniforms and their hoods, the city of San Francisco and all its decent people are not safe.

We say that there's no question of free speech involved here. It's simply a question of the self-defense of the population of the city against the alarming growth of the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, not just in the state of California but also nationally. In the last year the Department of Justice published figures that there's been a 450 percent increase in Klan- and Nazi-related activities, which is a euphemism for cross-burnings, beatings, shootings, murders, etc.

The program—if you want to call it that—of the Nazis and the KKK was amply demonstrated in November in Greensboro, North Carolina when in broad daylight with the police standing just blocks away, they pull up in their car, open the hood of the car, pull out automatic weapons and pistols and start firing pointblank into a crowd of peaceful protesters. The protesters had several things in common: they were labor organizers, they were for the rights of black people and they were leftists. Those categories cover a lot of people in this country and in this city, and that is the program of Allen Vincent; that is the program of Tom Metzger, the statewide head of the KKK.

In yesterday's [Oakland] *Tribune* there was an article that Tom Metzger—who is running for Congress, if you will, on the Democratic Party slate in La Jolla, southern California—was booed and beaten off the stage when he attempted to speak to a crowd of 500 students. They threw everything they could get their hands on, broke through the police lines and ran him out of the stadium where he was speaking. We think that this exemplifies the justified outrage of the people of that area, and we know, from the preliminary work that the April 19 Committee Against Nazis has done, that this outrage exists in the city of San Francisco. The main thing that will make this important is a massive turnout by the organized labor movement. This is what is represented by the overwhelming weight of the organizers of this demonstration. ■

Additional Endorsers of ANCAN

Marcel Beaufrère, survivor of Buchenwald, co-author of "Declaration of the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald," 20 April 1945
Consortium of United Indian Nations
Alvin S. Gant, President, Mail Handlers Local 302
Thomas Gleason, International President, International Longshoremen's Association
Jim Grant, former Charlotte 3 defendant; USW Legal Services, North Carolina
Daniel Guérin, author of *Fascism and Big Business*
Jewish Student Union, San Francisco State University
National Post Office Mail Handlers Local 302, San Francisco
Dalegor Suchecki, Executive Director, Polish Community Center, San Francisco
Women's Building of the Bay Area

San Francisco Police Chief Says:

Cops Can't Protect Nazis Against Thousands

Excerpted remarks by San Francisco Police Chief Cornelius Murphy at a press conference at the S.F. Hall of Justice on 10 April 1980:

"Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. The purpose of this press conference is to publicly announce that I have revoked the permit which had been issued to the National Socialist White Workers' Party, otherwise known as the Nazi Party. The permit was issued in error in that the application was incomplete and it did not provide us with enough information to adequately police the event.

"A representative of the Police Department has discussed this matter with Mr. Allen Vincent of the Nazi Party and it is mutually agreed that the rally would not be held in San Francisco at this time and there are no known plans at this time for any future rallies. Any questions?"

Question: "What was the matter with the application or was that just an excuse to revoke it?"

Murphy: "No, it wasn't actually an excuse. The information that was given in the permit was just not enough information for us to prepare an adequate policing for the event. As I said before, we did meet with Mr. Vincent and explained this to him and we explained the very real possibility of violence there and our ability—or inability, whichever way you want to look at it—to adequately protect the people who wanted to demonstrate and the counterdemonstrators. Therefore Mr. Vincent decided that he would not

WV Photo
Oakland cops guard Nazi "white power" rally in 1977.



hold the rally."

Question: "Mr. Vincent didn't indicate he was going to court on this at all?"

Murphy: "No, Mr. Vincent clearly indicated that he will not go to court and that he will not attempt to have the rally in San Francisco."

Question: "It had nothing to do with the finger marks on his neck?"

Murphy: "Well, I wasn't present at the meeting where it was said, but the message that was sent to him through me was that I just wanted to make it very clear to him that we would to the best of our ability police the event, but from the intelligence that we had gathered, the groups that were going to counterdemonstrate, that there could be upwards of

5,000 people there and that would severely limit our ability to provide him with protection."

Question: "I understand that the April 19 Committee Against Nazis has also applied for a permit at the Civic Center Plaza.... If they're granted a permit, wouldn't the Nazis come back and say, look..."

Murphy: "No. The Nazis will not come on April 19."

Question: "What kind of deployment of police would you need for a group of 5,000?"

Murphy: "A group of 5,000, depending on the nature of the group, we might have no more than a sergeant and two patrolmen down there. A group such as

the people that we anticipated coming to this particular rally, we would probably have had upwards of 600 police officers there, and mutual aid on standby."

Question: "Last autumn there was a similar rally in Walnut Creek and basically about a half a dozen Nazis showed up. But as far as law enforcement, at least it seemed as if everyone in the East Bay had a million representatives."

Murphy: "No doubt about it, yes."

Question: "Was Mr. Vincent told that he would be arrested if he appeared in a uniform on April 19?"

Murphy: "No, this is the United States of America. Mr. Vincent can appear any time, any place, in any uniform he so chooses, as long as he's not trying to impersonate a police officer. He's entitled to his rights; whether or not you or I disagree with him is not really material to the fact...."

Question: "The implication here is that, for whatever reasons, Mr. Vincent's First Amendment rights have disappeared."

Murphy: "... This is not a question of First Amendment rights. Mr. Vincent elected not to come to San Francisco. When we spelled it out to him, our policing problem for the event, he elected not to come. We didn't intimidate him, we didn't coerce him, and if that had been the case, he certainly would have been free to go to court and get that permit issued and come on down and do it, but he does not want to do it." ■

Reformists Cop Out on Stop Nazis Demo

ANCAN's April 19 Mobilization to Stop the Nazis has stirred the powerful Bay Area labor movement, gathering widespread support from thousands of trade unionists. Against ANCAN, which insists the Nazis can and must be stopped through militant mass labor action, stand S.F. mayor Dianne Feinstein, the cops and the courts. And with them, too, the leaders of certain reformist "socialist" groups who have done their best to obstruct and ignore the anti-Nazi rally.

For years in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

(ILWU), union bureaucrats supported by the Stalinist-reformist Communist Party (CP) proclaimed their support to "broad anti-fascist people's struggles." But when a labor mobilization to stop the fascists is initiated by ILWU members in the Militant Caucus, Local 6 bureaucrats line up with Mayor Feinstein against it. At the April 12 ILWU Local 6 convention in Oakland, Local President Keith Eickman and Secretary-Treasurer LeRoy King postponed action all afternoon on the popular ANCAN call, endorsed by 55 local members. Finally they adjourned the meeting to avoid a vote.

Local 6 general executive board member Victoria Mercado, a well-known CP supporter, did her bit for Feinstein too, tabling a motion to establish a "standing committee against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis." These labor toadies for strikebreaker Feinstein have taken on the repulsive job of trying to head off the gut outrage in this country

against the Nazi scum, particularly on the part of workers, Jews and blacks. Interestingly, even Oakland's bourgeois black mayor Lionel Wilson was seen dropping a dollar on the ANCAN table following his keynote address at the convention.

Reformist groups have tried to insulate their members from the powerful call to action of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) mobilized a squad of goons to stop well-known trade unionist Jane Margolis (who was dragged off the CWA convention floor by Carter's Secret Service last summer) from speaking for ANCAN at an SWP "public" forum April 12. But the pressure from the ranks is mounting to take a side against the Nazis. Even some Militant salesmen have helped hand out ANCAN leaflets, despite the SWP leadership's cowardly and destructive policy. The same thing happened with some Latino supporters of Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), who helped ANCAN hand out hundreds of leaflets in the Mission District last weekend. When the sectarian RCP honchos tried to squelch this class impulse, they were told by their own supporters that all must stand firm together to stop the Nazis. ■

Every \$ Helps Stop Nazis

The April 19 Committee Against Nazis urgently needs funds! ANCAN supporters in the trade unions, in poor, Jewish and minority communities—the Nazis' main targets for genocide—are working hard to teach these fascist creeps a lesson they'll never forget. Tens of thousands of leaflets are being distributed; people are putting stacks in their workplaces, in bars, in taxicabs, on campuses—and asking for more. Posters, sound equipment, chartered buses cost money too—ANCAN has bills totaling several thousand dollars so far. Help make April 19 a real mass mobilization against the Nazis! Send \$10, \$25, \$50—whatever you can—to support ANCAN. Contributors will receive the ANCAN "STOP THE NAZIS!" poster. Send your check or money order to: ANCAN, c/o P.O. Box 6571, San Francisco, CA 94101.

Statement of Solidarity from David Hilliard,

organizer for SEIU Local 411 in Los Angeles and former Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party

There is no defense or security for blacks, Chicanos and Jews except through unified resistance to racist Klan/Nazi terror and violence. The only defense we have is a unified resistance to the Klan and Nazis. We have to present one strong bastion. I urge the fullest possible support to this rally. Our security and rights can

be secured only by protesting against the Klan and Nazis and their outright murders of blacks and Jews, and harassment of Mexicans at the border. It is in the interest of social justice to come out and show your discontent with the Nazis. I urge folks to come out in the broadest possible coalition. Malcolm X said that if blacks are attacked they are entitled to retaliate. Folks don't have to ask for a right to self-defense. All forces against racism should come out and this issue cuts across all ethnic boundaries.

Stop Nazis...

(continued from page 1)

intended victims. They want to look "military" and bold while others look the other way. That's why they murdered leftists and labor organizers in Greensboro in broad daylight. That's why they want to goose-step right into the Civic Center. That's why they wave their weapons around in front of City Hall. But the powerful labor movement of this city is not looking the other way now! We are out to organize a show of force that will really "Stop the Nazis."

Even now the Nazis continue to advertise for the April 19 birthday party for Hitler. But we've got them on the run. Let's finish the job! All out for April 19! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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If the Vietnam War indirectly led to a weakening of the U.S. alliance with the European imperialist powers, Washington partly recouped by pulling in Maoist/Stalinist China. Both Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger were toying with the idea of using China against Russia even before they took over the White House in 1969. In this they showed a greater sense for global power politics, unaffected by formal ideological posture, than most American bourgeois politicians. Kissinger fancies himself a *Realpoliticker* conservative of the Metternichian school. Nixon is just a power-hungry creep with no principles and believes everyone else is too.

According to Kissinger, the Kremlin's extreme and visible nervousness over a U.S. rapprochement with China had just the opposite effect. It convinced the Nixon administration that the China card had a high value. Viewing the present situation, one shouldn't forget that in the late 1960s and early '70s the Soviets were more than willing to form an alliance with the U.S. against China, including for military purposes. In early 1969 Dobrynin, the Russian ambassador to Washington, suggested to Kissinger that the USSR might recognize Taiwan as an independent state. More seriously, in 1970 the Soviets proposed to the U.S. an "accidental nuclear war agreement," which contained a provision allowing each party to take action

BOOK REVIEW

WHITE HOUSE YEARS
HENRY KISSINGER

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 1979

PART TWO OF TWO

against any "nuclear provocation" by a third country. As Kissinger observes, this was nothing but an appeal for American endorsement of a Soviet preemptive attack on China's nuclear facilities.

Kissinger, appealing to balance-of-power doctrine, rejected these Soviet overtures for an alliance against China. From the very outset he saw an alliance with China as having military value, if only in diverting Soviet forces from NATO Europe:

"In such circumstances, the Chinese threat against many of our friends in Asia would decline; at the same time, by evoking the Soviet Union's concerns along its long Asian perimeter, it could also ease pressures on Europe."
—*White House Years*

Kissinger reveals that even before Nixon's visit to Mao country in February 1972, the U.S. had decided to defend China against the Soviet Union. During the India-Pakistan war in late 1971 the White House believed the Chinese might intervene on behalf of their battered Pakistani allies. The Soviets in turn might attack China on the basis of their treaty with Indira Gandhi's India. Kissinger explains White House thinking at this point:

"Nixon understood immediately that if the Soviet Union succeeded in humiliating China, all prospects for world equilibrium would disappear. He decided—and I fully agreed—that if the Soviet Union threatened China we would not stand idly by."

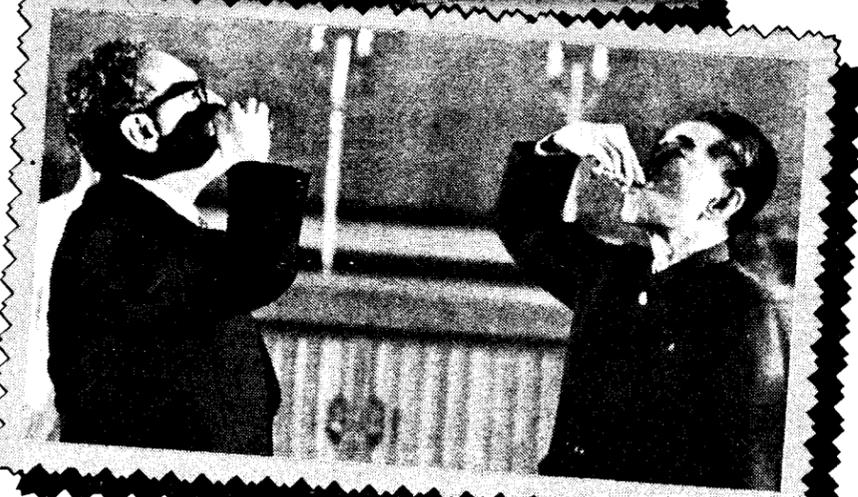
Back in those days of the Vietnam War the Mao regime and even more so its foreign followers were rather reluctant to proclaim openly their new alliance with American imperialism. In his toast on Nixon's visit, Chou En-lai simply spoke of "establishing normal state relations on the basis of the Five Principles of mutual respect for sovereignty." Foreign Maoists even claimed Nixon had gone to China to pay obeisance to the Chairman. Wilfred Burchett writing in the *Guardian* (16 February 1972), then in its mainstream Maoist phase, described Nixon's Peking summit like something out of the Wizard of Oz, as "a tribute-paying visit by the President of the superpower of

How Stalinist Treachery Helped Imperialists Rearm After Vietnam

THAT WAS THE DETENTE THAT WAS



Kissinger toasts Stalinist betrayers Gromyko and Chou.



Der Spiegel

the West." Later, pro-"Gang of Four" Maoists have tried to pin the China/U.S. alliance on Mao successor Deng Xiao-ping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing).

In their memoirs, Nixon and Kissinger give a rather different account of their relations with Mao. In his first *secret* talks with Mao the U.S. imperialist chief baldly offered China a common bloc against the USSR as the main enemy of both countries:

"The question is, which danger does the People's Republic of China face? Is it the danger of American aggression—or of Soviet aggression?...
"...it is what brings us, China and America, together, not in terms of philosophy and not in terms of friendship—although I believe that is important—but because of national security I believe our interests are in common...."

—RN: *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*

According to Kissinger, Mao replied: "At the present time, the question of aggression from the United States or aggression from China is relatively small." (This while U.S. planes were carpet-bombing North Vietnam!) Kis-

singer logically concluded: "By a process of elimination, the Soviet Union was clearly Mao's principal security concern."

While we Trotskyists were not privy to this meeting, we declared in the March 1972 *Workers Vanguard* headline: "Nixon and Mao—The New Alliance." We figured the leader of U.S. imperialism did not go to China to dine on Peking duck or see the Great Wall. Kissinger agrees with our assessment. He recounts that on his numerous visits to China between 1972 and 1976 its leaders always pressured him to take a harder line against the Soviet Union. He summed up U.S. relations with China *under Mao*: "...I only half-jokingly called the People's Republic one of our stronger NATO allies."

SALT Hoax

The 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty was the centerpiece of détente, certainly in the Kremlin's eyes. SALT I (which required the dismantling of Soviet but not American missiles) resulted from the retardation of U.S.

strategic weapons programs because of the Vietnam War. Washington sought an agreement which would allow it to catch up after Vietnam while arresting the Soviets' momentum. For example, during the course of the war the U.S. Navy stopped building Polaris submarines, but the new, superior Trident submarine wasn't scheduled to become operational until 1978. So Washington demanded (and Moscow agreed) that submarine-launched missiles be included in the freeze on offensive missiles for five years, just about the time needed for the Trident to enter the seas.

For the U.S., SALT was rather like a ceasefire negotiated by a beleaguered army to buy time to move up new reserves. Here is how Kissinger in his 3 February 1979 *Economist* interview described the 1972 "arms limitation" treaty:

"Our strategy was to agree on a five-year freeze—the interval we judged would enable us to catch up by developing cruise missiles, a new submarine (Trident), a new ICBM (MX) and the B-1 bomber...."

"We froze a disparity which we inherited in order to gain time to reverse the situation. And we did. We stopped no programme; we accelerated several.... If there had been no agreement, we could have done no more; and we would have been worse off because the Soviets were in a position to add numbers immediately and we were not." [our emphasis]

Contrary to popular propaganda, SALT I did *not* freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles at the then-existing level; it merely changed their form. There was one new strategic weapon in which the U.S. had a clear lead, the multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV). Termed a "warhead," this weapon is in a sense a small guided missile which rides most of the way to an enemy country on a larger missile before separating from it. One Minuteman III, with its three MIRVs, is in effect three separate missiles capable of hitting widely distant targets.

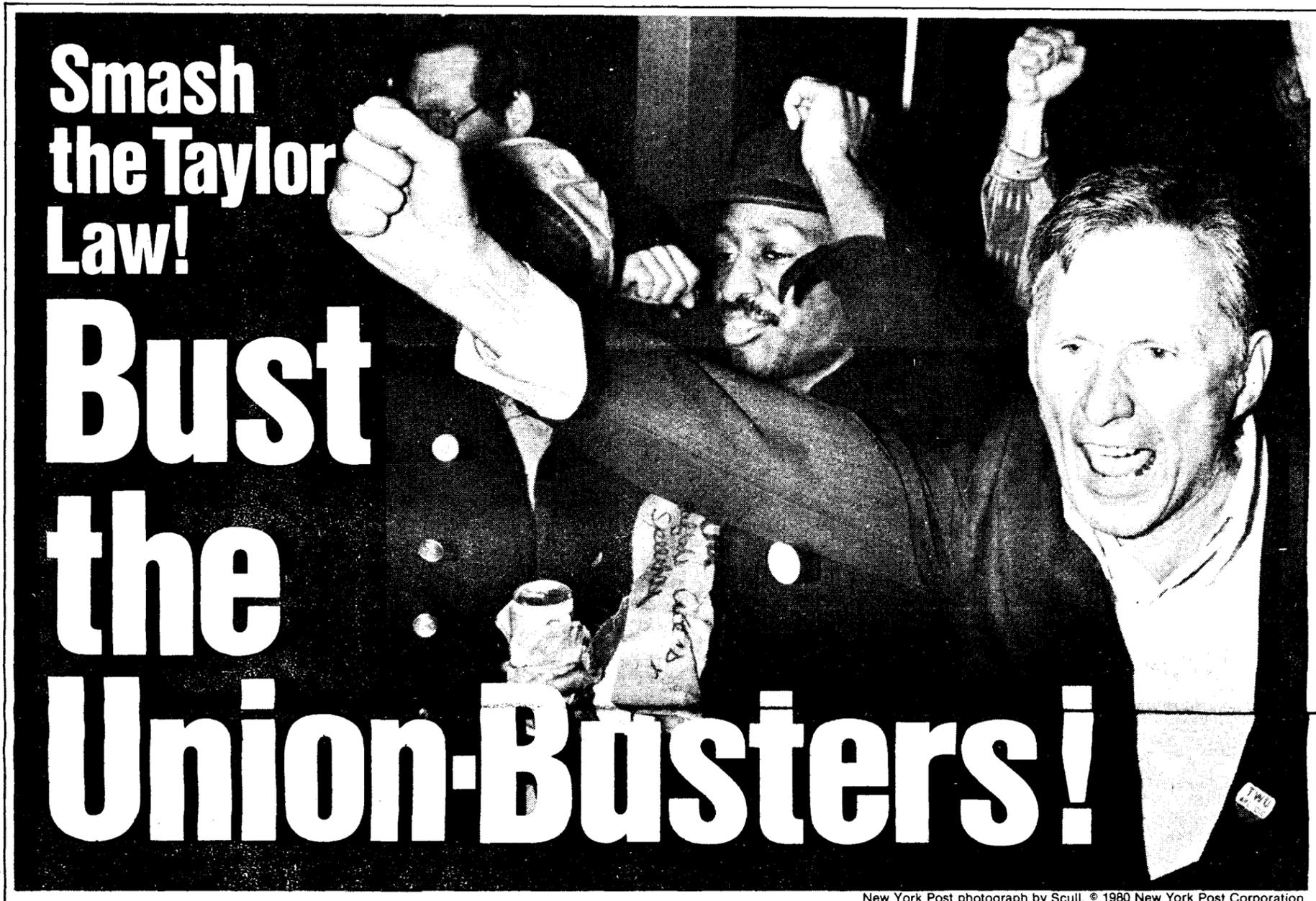
The U.S. first tested MIRV in 1968 and first deployed them in 1970. At the time of the SALT agreement in 1972 the Soviets hadn't even tested this weapon (they were to do so the following year). Moscow naturally proposed a freeze on the deployment of MIRV, and Washington refused. Nixon took a hard line: no MIRV, no SALT. And in the eight years since SALT I the U.S. has added three MIRV warheads to its nuclear arsenal *every day!*

Why did the Soviets agree to an arms treaty so advantageous for the U.S.? Why didn't they push ahead with their strategic weapons programs when the Pentagon was still under the burden (political as much as fiscal) of Vietnam? The Soviet Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism has long had as a central focus ending or at least constraining the arms race. In the early 1970s the Soviet Union's national output and standard of living were only 40 percent of the United States'. Thus, keeping up with the military arsenal of its wealthy, implacable capitalist-imperialist enemy is an enormous drain on the Soviet economy and a harsh sacrifice for the Soviet people. In the 1950s Nelson Rockefeller (Henry Kissinger's political mentor) advocated a galloping arms race as the most effective way to weaken the Soviet economy. Conversely, the Kremlin bureaucracy has chased the will-o'-the-wisp of arms limitation with the imperialists in order to free scarce resources for other uses.

Over and above the Soviet bureaucracy's more-or-less constant desire for ending the arms race, there are likely specific reasons why in 1972 the Kremlin made the extraordinary concessions which led to SALT I. They figured that after Vietnam the Pentagon would greatly accelerate its strategic weapons build-up. Perhaps they believed SALT would restrict this. Or maybe they half believed their own illusion-mongering

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NY Transit Strike:



New York Post photograph by Scull. © 1980 New York Post Corporation.

Smash the Taylor Law!

Bust the Union-Busters!

APRIL 8—After eight days of the New York transit strike, there is no doubt on the picket lines that Mayor Koch and the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) are out to bust the union. Every day bus and subway workers are told that they do not have the right to strike, that they will be forced to pay huge fines, that their union leaders could be jailed, that even their jobs are in jeopardy according to the strike-breaking mayor. Every day they watch Ed Koch crank up one of the most vicious anti-union propaganda campaigns ever seen.

Today Judge John Monteleone slapped a total of \$1 million in fines for contempt of court against the transit unions under the state's Taylor Law banning strikes by public employees. Further fines are expected Thursday when the unions go back to court. And in a calculated move to split the unions, the fines have been disproportionately stacked against the smaller Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), with 6 percent of the strikers and one quarter of the fines. In reaction, the ATU International has declared this an unauthorized

strike, ordering its members back to work.

But make no mistake. The men walking the line from 241st Street to Coney Island have real power, and they can win. The Transport Workers Union (TWU) is not a weak organization of clerical workers but the powerhouse of NYC labor. And every day the transit workers shut down the city they strike a blow for all New York workers and public employees across the country. They are not about to giveback, "buy back" or give up. Transit workers: don't buckle to the bosses' threats! Close it tight—stay out and win! No one goes back until everyone goes back! All NYC labor must actively support the transit strike!

For several days everyone was taking stock, not quite sure what the impact of the first NYC transit strike in 14 years would be. The TWU solidly shut down the city's bus and subway system—the trains aren't running. Koch, however, is running around the city denouncing the unions and rallying the middle class politically for his all-out war against the unions. Both sides are dug in for a cold, hard economic duel, waiting to see

whose nerve breaks first. But things can't go on like this for long. Underneath all the "funstrike" atmosphere lies the threat of bringing in the army or National Guard. And if they do, then Carter, Koch and Carey will find out that you can't run the subways with bayonets and court injunctions!

The TWU strikers are facing a determined union-busting offensive being waged by a united capitalist class. As transit workers walked out, the liberal *New York Times* (2 April) called for a long strike, editorializing against a "premature settlement" and "ruinous contracts." Investment banker Felix Rohatyn, head of "Big MAC" and architect of the 1974-76 "fiscal crisis," contended that Carter should have headed off the transit strike by imposing a wage freeze (*New York Post*, 5 April). With the city in financial receivership to the banks and the federal government and the national wage limits at stake, you can bet that Washington is already involved. Especially in a Carter-Reagan election the racist WASP politicians who run the country will be on the warpath against New York. As we have said:

"They act as if they would like to see this black, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Italian and union town sliced off and floated into the Atlantic Ocean. But the capitalists ultimately need New York, as they will quickly find out in a transit strike!"

—"NYC Transit Showdown,"
WV No. 252, 21 March 1980

The major cause of the walkout has been intransigence by the MTA and city bosses. Meanwhile, within the union there has been strong pressure for a strike, reflecting increasing opposition to the no-fight policies of the TWU Local 100 leadership of John Lawe. Divisions in the union leadership reflect not only a growing militancy in the ranks but also the changing racial composition of a union that was once predominantly white and heavily Irish, and is now roughly half black and other minorities. They also reflect the fact that transit workers along with all city employees have seen their real wages drastically cut in the last half decade. Now, for the first time since the bankers' and capitalist politicians' assault on NYC labor and social services began, the most powerful municipal union in

continued on page 8

Transit Workers: They may have you by the throat, but you've got them by the balls!

Ranks Explode Over...

British Steel Strike Sellout

LONDON, April 5—The longest national strike in post-war Britain ended two days ago when 150,000 British Steel Corporation (BSC) workers were forced back to work by their union leadership. Instead of the 20 per cent wage rise with no strings and no redundancies [lay-offs], the demands for which militant strikers had battled for 13 weeks, they returned on the basis of a humiliating arbitrated settlement. The deal announced by Lord Lever's "Committee of Inquiry" consists of an 11 per cent basic wage rise tied to "productivity" (speed-up) bonuses of 4.5 per cent to be negotiated locally—while inflation is raging at 19 per cent annually. This abject sellout—barely 1 per cent more than BSC had offered six weeks earlier—also gives management the green light to eliminate fully one-third of the existing jobs. Thus the union tops have handed Margaret Thatcher's Tory government a victory for its programme of vicious attacks on the unions and the workers' living standards.

The steel workers were not slow in expressing their outrage at this deal. On April 1 over 100 pickets, drawn mainly from South Yorkshire and Wales, greeted the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC) negotiating team with jeers and catcalls as it emerged following its 41 to 27 vote for the settlement. Delegates who had supported the sellout were kicked, spat at and assailed with cries of "you're out," "you're fired," "that's it for you, you won't get reelected" and "sellout." Scuffles broke out between cops and enraged militants who were attempting to stop cameramen from taking their pictures—though a Spartacist photographer was left alone. "She's ok, she's from 'Spartacus'," said a picket to his mate.

The speed with which ISTC head Bill Sirs and his cronies forced through the return to work reflected their fear that the strike was on the verge of spreading. Even as the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) steel delegates were meeting in London's Transport House on April 1 to approve the settlement, in the same building T&G dockers were voting to call for a one-day national dock strike the following day in solidarity with the 12-day-old Liverpool dock strike over the blacking ["hot-carguing"] of scab steel. The steel delegates voted a return to work ignorant of the dockers' decision.

At a picketers' meeting that evening at the Victory Club in Sheffield, South

Yorkshire there was not a striker to be found who saw Sirs' deal as a victory. And the next day at a mass meeting of 3,000 Sheffield and Rotherham steel men, the local bureaucrats pointed the guilty finger at the union tops but pleaded for a return to work nonetheless. They almost lost the day when ISTC divisional officer Keith Jones swore from the platform, "We were not party to the settlement in London but we've got to live with it, and we will and

Port Talbot, South Wales for refusing to unload lorries [trucks] which had been blacked for crossing picket lines in the strike, new picket lines were immediately thrown up in Sheffield, Rotherham and Port Talbot. The strike soon spread to plants in Stocksbridge and Teeside to include a total of 25,000 workers. At Port Talbot, threatened with 12,000 redundancies this year, the strikers set up a mass picket of 1,000 men. Some 700 of the angry pickets

discussion with management at TGWU strike headquarters in Rotherham on April 4 local officials announced to the score of pickets standing outside that the wildcat strike had been ended by BSC's agreement to reinstate the victimised workers and "investigate" the question of the blacklisted lorry firm. As two days earlier they had screamed "sellout" at Sirs & Co., these militants now yelled "sellout" at the local misleaders.

The treachery meted out to the steel strikers has ramifications far beyond the wretched pay deal. In the wake of the sellout a national strike at British Leyland called for April 8 has been whittled down to a handful of plants. The government's anti-union Employment Bill is waiting in the wings as are over 50,000 redundancies in the steel industry and a new round of attacks on living standards, exemplified in the budget introduced in Parliament two weeks ago. In this context, Sirs' posture that the sellout is preparation "to gird our loins for the next struggle, in which we will fight the case for jobs" is truly obscene. Yet this disgusting apology was echoed by the Socialist Workers Party and International Marxist Group even before the strikers had actually gone back.

Nonetheless, the bosses had better tread warily. Not since 1974 has Britain been so close to a general strike. The steel men have been defeated, betrayed, but they have not been broken. "It could flare up again," said one Rotherham militant after the latest walkout was quelled. To make sure the next battle ends in victory, the best militants must now set about drawing the lessons of this defeat: the crying need to cohere a revolutionary opposition to Labourism. As archaic British industry grows increasingly uncompetitive, the ruling class talks of "deindustrialisation," forcing massive cuts in nationalised enterprises and social services. The programme of the Labour Party in office is not fundamentally different, only Callaghan and Benn want to make the unions agree to their own impoverishment in a treacherous "social contract."

Sirs and all the reformist misleaders, from Labour "lefts" to Communist Party-backed union "hards" like Arthur Scargill, only dicker over how many cuts to take and who will get them. In refusing to call a general strike against the hated Thatcher government, Trades Union Congress head Len Murray stated clearly the fear of all the reformists: "If we did that we would not know what to do with the power we have got." They know that in a revolutionary confrontation they would quickly be swept aside—that is why they sabotage the steel strike. A Trotskyist party is needed with a programme to use the power. The Spartacist League is dedicated to building that party, which will lead the struggle to break the death grip of decrepit British capitalism. It is the only alternative to sellouts like this one. ■



Spartacist Britain

British steel strikers demonstrate in London March 9.

you will." The response was a deafening chorus of "20 per cent! 20 per cent!" Rumours that flying pickets from Wales were headed for Yorkshire were greeted with an enthusiastic acclamation that the picket lines would be respected.

But even within hours of the return to work the militant steel men demonstrated that their fighting spirit had not been broken. When the BSC disciplined two workers in Rotherham and another in

stormed and briefly occupied the plant's pay office after the company failed to pay them the £50 return-to-work bonus which had been part of the settlement. Steel workers in Scotland and Scunthorpe were also considering joining the new walkout.

A day later the Yorkshire strikers were ordered back to work by their local officials, with Port Talbot following suit the next morning. After several hours of

Down With the Mullahs! For Workers Revolution!

Oppose U.S. War Threats Against Iran!

When Jimmy Carter broke all ties with Iran April 7, over Khomeini's refusal to do a deal over the hostages, it marked a sharp setback for his attempt to bloc with Muslim fundamentalist theocracy in a global anti-Soviet alliance. What Carter doesn't understand is that Khomeini is not very interested in the exigencies of 20th century capitalist politics; his aspirations are medievalist and religious. And while no less fanatically anti-communist than the American imperialists, the Persian mullahs' regime faces mass turmoil and a population deeply hostile to the U.S.

For years the U.S. propped up the torturing shah and his bloody SAVAK police state. With Iran now engulfed in chaos, with its national minorities rebelling, its working class under daily economic attack, its women forced into veils, the reactionary religious fanatic Khomeini is hard put to appeal to nationalistic and anti-shah feeling. Hence the diversion of seizing the

American embassy and holding its personnel hostage.

Carter's threats stopped short of a declaration of war, but whatever their actual impact, they are clearly designed to whip up a reactionary war fever. Among his new measures is the threatened expulsion of some 50,000 Iranians, mostly students, when their visas expire. Socialists and all supporters of democratic rights must oppose this despicable chauvinist policy, which could send many of these Iranian youth to the ayatollah's prisons or even to their death.

If Khomeini is a nut, Carter is pretty fanatical himself in pursuit of his "holy mission"—staying in the White House. "Military force is not ruled out," government officials tell everyone. It is by no means unthinkable that Carter will in the end send in the Marines. As revolutionary socialists we resolutely oppose these war threats and would stand for military defense of the Iranian people against a U.S. imperialist attack.

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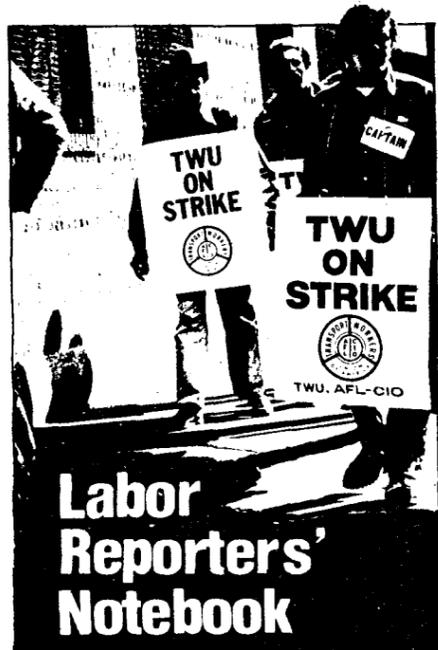
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On the Transit Picket Lines

"We're Going to Teach the Politicians a Lesson"

On the transit picket lines there's a lot of hard feelings against the press. The guys are tired of reading about the maintenance worker who supposedly made \$58,000 a year, angry about taking the rap for the lousy conditions on the subways and the upcoming fare increase. In spite of claims to "objectivity," the mass media clearly speak for definite class interests—those of the employers. *WV* is different. We're a labor-socialist press. We tell the story of the strike from the workers' side of the barricades. Below is some of what we saw last week: a "Labor Reporters' Notebook" by our two main men on the scene, Mark Lance, who reported from the coal fields of West Virginia and Kentucky during the miners' strike of 1977-78; and Fred Ferguson, a veteran of years of union struggle in the printing trades.



Thursday, March 27, City Hall: The New York Central Labor Council calls a demonstration to support the TWU. The confused rally embodies all the contradictions of the upcoming struggle. Eight to ten thousand people on the street, stopping traffic up and down Broadway. Five to ten abreast they surround City Hall Park, an area five city blocks square. The municipal unions are there, sanitationmen, the IBEW. The firemen drive up on a flatbed truck, their shouts of "No Contract, No Work!" echoing through the concrete canyons of lower Manhattan. But where are the LIRR and PATH unions? *That* would be a real statement of determination to shut this city down. Instead the cops are there, and big, pretending to be part of this labor demonstration. This is dangerous. These are the guys who will be bashing heads and arresting strikers once the picket lines go up. The cops have no place in a union demonstration and should be kicked out of the labor movement.

The rally shows the potential power the NYC labor movement could have. But it's totally disorganized. Most of the time there's not even a TWU contingent. In an utterly confusing move, the TWU rally is supposed to be held simultaneously with the police/fire/sanitation rally on two adjoining side streets. Most TWUers end up at the wrong rally.

Today could have been an opportunity to make a powerful statement of the transit workers' militancy and determination: tear up the Ravitch letter and its

Taylor Law threats, build for the strike. But Lawe is so afraid of his own men, he pulls a maneuver. After only 15 minutes he asks for a quick show of hands of how many are ready to strike. Then he scrambles off the platform before there can be any more talk of a strike. The crowd is stunned. From atop a dumpster opposite the speakers' platform, Henry Lewis and a crowd of TWUers chant "Don't Sell Us Out!" But after Lawe & Co. turn tail, the dissidents don't pick up the ball and continue the rally, using it to prepare the ranks for the hard days ahead. They have no alternative program, and after awhile they, too, drift away.

Monday, March 31, Sheraton Centre: For hours union dissidents and the press corps are jammed together in the lobby, trying to find out what's going on behind the closed doors of the negotiating sessions. *WV* was there too. Beginning at 5 p.m. there are 300 TWUers marching across the street for several hours in the freezing rain. Later, the men enter the lobby and mill around outside the Imperial Ballroom. They talk angrily about conditions underground. "Those trains are unsafe. Every single goddamn one." "The rats in the hole remind me of 'Nam.'"

Whenever Lawe appears in the lobby, chants of "Don't Sell Us Out!" break out and he quickly disappears behind closed doors. Later this chant turns into a song, "Don't Sell Us Out Johnny Lawe" with verses multiplying through the night. On Channel 13 TV next week Lawe will rant, "The media is whipping up... what they call the dissidents.... It's a question of how well you can whip up the lunatic fringe.... It was a bunch of drunks out in the lobby that created the chaos." No wonder Lawe is hated by his own union members. No wonder you can't find a subway worker on the picket lines who voted for him or knows anybody else who did.

Midnight passes but no word. Historically the union has stood for "no contract, no work"; in recent years this has been gotten around by the subterfuge of "stopping the clock." It's after 12—is the clock stopped? No, not officially. "If the clock isn't stopped, why aren't you on the streets?" *WV* asks leading dissident Arnold Cherry. "That's a good question," he replies. Already it is falling out sideways. Before midnight another dissident leader George McDonald comes barreling out on his way to the Coney Island yards to pull out the men. Some time later Henry Lewis, a third oppositionist, leaves and heads uptown. At 1:10 it is announced that Local 100 drivers of the private-line Queens Bus Division have walked out. An hour later Walter Gellhorn, chairman of the mediation panel, announces a strike.

In addition to the dissidents in the hotel tonight, there's the media, the capitalist media. And *Workers Vanguard*. At a press conference that afternoon, an MTA publicity man displays a new token. The media write about how the new token is needed because the fare is expected to rise due to the strike. But we are suspicious. *WV* asks when the token was minted. "Sometime in '75-'76," the PR man shamefacedly admits. Already there are 35 million in stock. So the fare increase has nothing to do with the transit workers—it was planned five years ago!



WV Photo

"Don't sell us out!" chant TWU dissidents at March 27 rally.

After the strike is announced, Mayor Koch and Governor Carey, supposedly "not involved" in the negotiations, suddenly turn up at the Sheraton Centre and hold a press conference jointly with MTA chief Ravitch. Used to the bourgeois press which is blaming the strike on the unions, the politicians can't handle the presence of a labor paper. When *WV* asks whether banker David Rockefeller's "hang tough" statements played a role in the city's hard line, Carey and Koch stared at our man in amazement (see photo, p. 5). While everybody else beats around the bush, *WV* asks the key question, "Governor, are you going to use the National Guard?" Carey replies, "There is no requirement or need for the National Guard at this time." Lawe can't deal with our questions either. When *WV* asks him whether he would take the men back without amnesty from the Taylor Law he snaps, "What kind of question is that?"

Tuesday, April 1: On the picket lines there is initial confusion—not enough placards, no sign-up cards for picket duty—the result of the bureaucracy's failure to adequately prepare. Across the city pickets are dispatched from local bars and storefronts serving as makeshift strike headquarters. At many of these locations, bundles of *WV* leaflets titled "Victory to the Transit Strike!" are dropped off in bulk and distributed by the hundreds on the picket line. The leaflet is a big hit—it's just about the only thing in print which stands on the strikers' side. Overall, morale is high and the lines swell throughout the day. "We here in TWU are going to teach the politicians a lesson, from Carter on down," says a striker at an uptown MABSTOA bus garage. At 179th Street in Queens the line is big and militant. One worker explains, "We're mostly black here and we're on the line."

Wednesday, April 2: Things are better organized today. But there is bad news too. Strikers at 207th Street gather silently around a transistor radio as it is announced that striking Teamster trackmen on the LIRR are going back to work. But the TWU is determined to stay out, injunction or no injunction. "Fuck the Taylor Law," one man says.

"Laws are made to be broken." At Coney Island Yard, 100 strikers demonstrate. The mood is militant. But after calling for unity against the TA, dissident leader George McDonald deflects the anger with an anti-communist tirade, recalling the struggle for "democracy" he fought for in Vietnam, urging the strikers to beware of leftists, and concluding the rally by leading "God Bless America."

Thursday, April 3: Strikers at 207th Street are amused when the radio reports that a leftist on the Brooklyn Bridge almost came to blows with Mayor Koch. One striker rushes up to *WV* and says, "A worker on the bridge just punched Koch." "What workers? The transit workers?" "No," says the picketer. "Your workers, the Daily Workers." At Stillwell Terminal in Brooklyn, picketers are wondering about Jimmy Breslin's *Daily News* article which quotes Mike Scott, an exec board member allied with Cherry in the Unity slate, as saying, "I support John Lawe.... He is handling himself very well." When Scott shows up at Stillwell, he has to "explain" his statement and try to assure the strikers he has not caved in to the discredited TWU chief.

Friday, April 4: Victor Gotbaum, president of DC37, calls a press conference to announce he will not cooperate with Koch's call for a four-day, ten-hour workweek. But that's it as far as "solidarity" with the striking TWU goes. "What will you do to stand behind the union if the Taylor Law is invoked," asks *WV*. Gotbaum replies, "The sad truth is... that's the law. And when you break that law you're going to get your behind kicked...." What else can you expect from the man who rolled over and played dead in '74-'76, when the Big MAC onslaught slapped a wage freeze on the city unions, ripped up their contracts and axed 60,000 jobs?

Monday, April 7: Now it's Week Two of the strike and tempers are rising. At 5 a.m. four hundred transit workers pack into the meeting hall at 231st Street in the Bronx. Liberty Lines, a private bus company in Yonkers, is scheduling extra runs into NYC and the militants are planning to protest. After similar actions on Staten Island last week, they had to give the scab buses a police

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NY Transit Strike...

(continued from page 5)

the country has joined battle.

But the key question for transit workers in this strike is leadership, or the lack of it. Lawe, a minority president who was elected with only 43 percent of the vote last December, has sown defeatism since before the strike began. He tried to avoid a walkout altogether, but the city and MTA were spoiling for a confrontation. Now the Local 100 dissidents control the executive board; yet they are hiding behind the excuse of closing union ranks to avoid taking responsibility for the strike or negotiations. Already, without consulting the membership, they have lowered the original 30-percent-now wage demand to 12 percent in each year of a two-year contract (12-and-12). Will they soon cave in to the 20 percent "compromise" being put forward by phony "friend of labor" Ted Kheel—an amount that would place the settlement inside Carter's wage-cutting "guidelines"? Above all, the "dissidents" have not mobilized the membership for a no-holds-barred fight against the bosses. For that is what the NY transit strike of 1980 is, or must be if the TWU is to emerge victorious.

Week One: Stand-Off

With all of Koch's contingency plans, city employers were able to squeak by for a week of religious holiday and sunny weather. The petty bourgeoisie, conditioned by a decade of ecology and physical-fitness indoctrination, responded to Mayor Koch's exhortations of civic pride by turning it into a jogathon. Tens of thousands decided to "bike the strike." The mayor wants people to see themselves as strikebreakers by the act of getting to work.

"Nightmare Monday" didn't materialize (the calamity predictions may be deliberately exaggerated to make actual inconvenience look small by comparison), but auto traffic is already up by one-third over normal and climbing. Even ride-sharing and staggering of the traffic flow (tens of thousands are rising at 4 and 5 a.m. to beat the rush) will eventually break down, threatening the kind of "grid-lock" tie-up that brought New York to a screeching halt in the 1966 strike. NYC traffic operations director Connell is proclaiming, "There is no such thing as dreaded grid-lock in our city," but he may be in for an unpleasant surprise. Though the LIRR did not go back out on Monday, refusal by operating engineers to work overtime led to cancellation of the PATH express between 33rd Street and World Trade Center, spilling 25,000 more commuters into the streets around Penn Station desperately hailing cabs in the morning rush hour. On Wednesday there will be more chaos as 970,000 elementary and secondary school students return to school after a week's vacation. And on Saturday, April 12, a 30-day "cooling



WV Photo



Transit workers go out. NYC takes a walk.

WV Photo

off" period imposed by court order on the PATH unions will expire.

The strikers, meanwhile, are hopping mad—at Koch with his incessant, infuriating anti-union slanders; at the press for its blatantly biased reporting of the strike, treating it as some kind of natural disaster; at MTA management for its threats and cynical attempts to divide the union. When MTA boss Ravitch had a letter pinned to paychecks handed out yesterday declaring, "It has been determined that you have violated the Civil Service Law..." a number of transit workers burned the letter in front of news cameras. Others forced TV newsmen to film their paystubs—a bus driver taking home \$235 after deductions, another with a family of six and \$400 rent receiving only \$218 a week—proving that management talk of \$40,000- and \$50,000-a-year transit workers is straight-out lies. One of these black workers exclaimed angrily, "Koch is anti-union, anti-human. So anything Koch says, I don't agree. He's an animal, Koch is."

In the first week striking members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) were charged with slashing tires, stoning, throwing eggs and shooting at scab commuter buses on Staten Island. Yesterday 400 TWUers gathered outside Liberty Bus Lines in Yonkers to protest the express runs added during the strike from the Bronx into Manhattan. Today at Kings Boulevard in Brooklyn there was another mobilization picketing 35-40 scab buses brought in from Maryland. Today's draconian ruling against the unions by Judge Monteleone—fining the transit unions a total of \$1 million for contempt of court, added on to the "automatic" fines of two

days pay for every day on strike—has visibly hardened the strikers' resolve. So, too, has the bosses' hard line on giveback demands and amnesty from Taylor Law penalties.

It has become frequent in recent years for management to put forward "take-away" demands as bargaining chips, to be dropped later in exchange for a lower wage settlement. But in this case the Transit Authority (TA) is hardlining it, demanding the elimination of 41 separate items included in the present contract. Today Ravitch told reporters, "Unless the union is prepared to negotiate the issues of productivity, cost savings, management efficiency, this is going to be a very long, long strike." The "productivity" items they are going after are wash-up time, coffee breaks, overtime and sick leave. Even the *New York Times* (8 April), no friend of the workers, admits that these are practices "office workers consider as basic rights and get without question." The demand for hiring part-timers is an undisguised effort to sap the union's strength, and a shameless attempt to avoid payment of "fringe" benefits worthy of the grubbiest sweatshop operator.

On another major sticking point in the strike—Taylor Law penalties—Koch asserts that these are "automatic" and revels in telling strikers that they will each lose an average of \$125 a day during the walkout. But then he turns around and says he won't jail Lawe in order not to create a martyr, as TWU founder/leader Mike Quill became when Lindsay jailed him in 1966. What Koch and Ravitch are asserting is that the law is unconditionally at the service of employers against labor, which it is under capitalism. Whether they can

enforce it and declare 33,000 transit workers criminals, however, depends on the relationship of forces. If the unions win big there won't be reprisals: in 1966 the TWU forced the state legislature to pass a special bill granting amnesty from the even more draconian Condon-Wadlin Act. "No fines—No reprisals!" must be a non-negotiable, bottom-line condition for returning to work. The right to strike is an inalienable right of labor, but like all other union gains it will have to be won and defended on the picket line against the bosses and their state. Smash the Taylor Law!

Behind the Negotiations

Meanwhile the transit negotiations have resumed and are dragging on. There is a story behind the negotiations, but not the one you read about in the big business press. The capitalist media would have it that the New York transit strike of 1980 was caused by divisions in the union, which just couldn't "get it together." This was the repeated theme of reporters' questions following the breakdown of negotiations in the early morning hours of April 1, and the theme repeated ever since. The real story is how the ruling class—from David Rockefeller and Felix Rohatyn to the *New York Times* to Koch, Carey and Carter—provoked what they hoped would be a drawn-out strike by a disunited union, in the hopes of "finishing the job" on NYC unions that the banks began six years ago. It is the story of "The Little Sellout that Couldn't," as the *Village Voice* entitled its exposé. It is also the story of how the MTA is demanding that the union give back virtually every gain won in the last 40 years. And it is the story of how, after the initial sellout attempt was stopped, the potential began to build for a strike that could tie New York up in knots.

As the April 1 contract deadline neared, Dick Ravitch was predicting a long strike. He should know, for up to the last minute the Transit Authority refused to offer anything at all. From February 4, when negotiations began, to March 30, management refused to put a penny on the table. On Sunday afternoon the MTA chief came up with his first proposal: 3.5 percent a year over three years, linked to takeaways including ending weekend differential pay, lower pay scales for new workers, less break time and freedom to hire part-timers. On Monday, D-Day, nothing until 3 p.m. when the figures were upped to 5 percent per year over three years. Then sometime after 11 p.m., minutes from the deadline, Ravitch came up with his "final offer" of 6 percent yearly, plus all the givebacks. It's an ultimatum and a provocation: with 18 percent inflation, no one could expect this to be accepted. The bosses' message: sell out or strike.

In the "Little Sellout" article, the 7 April *Village Voice* broke the story of a deal Ravitch allegedly worked out with Lawe. Opposition TWU leaders have subsequently confirmed the main outlines to *WV*. In the *Voice* account, Lawe was to reject the MTA's 6 percent offer, then go back to the Local 100 executive board and recommend a counterproposal of 7 percent; management would give up part-timing and the union would swallow the rest of the givebacks. But a few hours earlier two exec board members had defected from Lawe's side, giving the dissidents a 24-21 majority, and the board wasn't buying. At 2:05 a.m. the strike was on.

But it was not just the subways and TA/MABSTOA buses. The Queens private-line bus drivers in Local 100 struck as of 1 a.m. And four hours after the TWU walked out, the LIRR trackmen, members of Teamsters Local 808, broke off negotiations; the other six operating unions on the Long Island commuter line agreed to respect their picket lines, except for a "private agreement" with the United Transportation Union so they can comply with a previous court order. The owner-

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operated taxicabs were threatening to strike for a fare increase. A rulebook slowdown was announced by toll-takers on Port Authority bridges and tunnels linking New Jersey to Manhattan, although it is called off at the last minute. The clock was stopped in contract talks for workers of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. And PATH workers under a court restraining order were threatening to walk. If all of these were to go out at once, all that would be needed is for the bridge tenders to raise the bridges and take the keys with them (as they did in 1971), and it would be The Day New York Stood Still.

Funstrike in Fun City?

From Day One of the strike, city rulers, in particular NYC mayor Ed Koch, have gone all-out to mobilize the New York population against the strike. They know where their class interests lie and that they are at war. At 7 a.m. on April 1 Koch was already out at the foot of the Brooklyn Bridge greeting weary pedestrians trudging on their way to Wall Street or Midtown. "We're not going to lie down and give away our city," he lectures the crowds to build support for union-busting.

A Channel 4 round-up called the Koch crusade "Funstrike in Fun City"; a WINS broadcast reported love on the 59th Street bridge as telephone numbers are exchanged at the foot of the stairs. If you have ideas on how to hoof it in style or cycle a mile you can be a "transit strike tipster" by calling 557-5197. It was a celebration of the entrepreneurial spirit: WNBC stationed reporter David Diaz on the Brooklyn Bridge for a full week (the "turkey on the Bridge"), interviewing everyone from bicycle spare parts salesmen to hawkers of "I survived the NY transit strike" T-shirts. Rupert Murdoch's *Post* interviewed a famous psychiatrist who saw the strike appealing to Gotham residents' sense of sharing: "New Yorkers would do very well in a nuclear attack. If we had some time to prepare, we'd all die with grace, with class."

Not everybody thought it was funstrike, however. On Thursday one woman on the Bridge screamed "strike-breaker" at the mayor, to which Koch snapped: "Don't put your hand on me or I'll have you arrested." On Friday there was an identical encounter with a biker who called the mayor a union-buster. "They're whackos," commented the mayor. Of course the ruling class believes that anyone who is for the union in the midst of this mobilization of the "classless" public has to be nuts.

But the media was only doing its job—to present the ruling-class point of view as if it's the only one possible, the opinion of "all New Yorkers." Koch is massively using the media, flooding the airwaves with twice-daily live press conferences, to mobilize the atomized "public" into a conscious strikebreaking force. Through racism, by sending out the message that the strike is the work of black and Hispanic militants, not "reasonable" white union leaders like

John Lawe. And by blaming the abysmal state of the subways—a "tunnel of fear" the *Times* called them—on the transit workers.

This theme is sounded over and over in justifying management's insistence on taking back every work rule ever won by the union. Yet in terms of productivity, NY transit workers are not only paid 30 percent less than subway and bus workers in other cities, they carry more passengers per TA employee per year than any other system in the U.S. And as for the sorry state of the subways, it is management that is deliberately running them into the ground—from spending billions of dollars on new cars with wheels that are not strong enough to carry them, causing endless breakdowns; to simple preventive maintenance, which has been "postponed" for the last five years.

For a Transit Strike to Save New York!

But while the bosses and capitalist politicians are vigilantly defending their class interests, the "business-as-usual" union leaders, eager to prove their "responsibility," are defending those same class interests rather than mobilizing the labor movement to lead a fight against the anti-working-class "austerity" attacks. When Judge Monteleone served a Taylor Law restraining order on TWU leader Lawe, the latter boasted that at least he didn't rip it up as Mike Quill did in '66. And meanwhile the bourgeoisie is consciously trying to set one group of union leaders against the other. The MTA has clearly put its money on Lawe. But it actively considered making a play for the "dissidents," giving rise to rumors last week that Arnold Cherry, George McDonald and Henry Lewis would be brought into the bargaining.

Cherry is head of the Unity Slate, McDonald heads "The Committee" and Lewis is a leader of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers. The three are presently grouped together in a Good Contract Committee, which together with defectors from the Lawe camp has a majority on the Local 100 executive committee. Many militants in the TWU believe that these "dissidents" will prevent a sellout, while the big business press paints them as the cause of the strike. For five years one of the main activities of these dissidents has consisted of filing one court suit after another against the union, in the same capitalist courts that are now out to bust the TWU with the Taylor Law! Their bloc was based on support for the 30 percent wage demand originally raised by the TWU leadership, a demand which the sellout Lawe claimed to support but soon abandoned. Yet the Cherry/McDonald/Lewis joint "opposition" has already lowered its sights to 12-and-12, and liberals such as the *Village Voice* are looking to them as the vehicle to push through Kheel's "20 percent solution." Is this the great hope for militants in the Transport Workers?

No. In the first place, they should stop pretending they are just dissidents—



WV Photo

What kind of question is that? Carey and Koch meet Workers Vanguard.

they have a majority on the executive board that makes them at least co-leaders. The various claims by Cherry and McDonald that they are behind Lawe all the way are not just covering up for the utterly discredited Local 100 leader; this is an attempt by the "opposition" to avoid taking responsibility for leading the strike. They are in the driver's seat now. What will they do? Secondly, they present *no* alternative program to Lawe's. The two leaflets put out by the "Good Contract Committee" so far in the strike have no program at all. But what about point-for-point 100 percent cost-of-living protection, equal pay for equal work, or the 20-year, no-age-limit pension? The reformist oppositions raise none of these demands—and make light of our demand to *double* present wages and more—because they accept the same framework of the capitalist system as does Lawe. In fact, their "12-and-12" maximum demand, considering present inflation rates, will leave transit workers worse off after two years than they are today.

The TWU membership on the lines in this strike needs a leadership with the guts and *program* to stand up to the bosses' courts and politicians, and to wage a militant class struggle against the capitalist austerity offensive, from Carter to Koch. This is fundamentally where Cherry, Lewis and McDonald cop out. A class-struggle leadership with a program for victory would seek to mobilize all New York labor to defend the TWU against the Taylor Law. It would shut down *all* the commuter busing and put the screws on PATH and LIRR unions to bring out their ranks as well in a powerful joint transportation strike. Such a genuinely militant leadership would call for democratic, elected strike committees to make it into a mass strike against the ruling-class offensive that can stay out to win.

The transit strikers must fight Carter, Koch and Carey *politically*, just as the politicians are fighting against the TWU. At the same time as he blames the strike on minorities in the union, Koch tries to mobilize the ghettos against the strikers: "Those transit workers are causing pain and suffering to blacks and Hispanics and the poor—to the people of the South Bronx and Bed Stuy, who

don't have cars to get to work." This is an old refrain, the same strategy New York rulers have followed since Mayor Lindsay mobilized blacks against the UFT in the 1968 teachers strike. The fact that Lindsay and Beame were able to get away with this falls at the feet of the union leaderships, however, with their ties to the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party.

It is not too late for the New York labor movement to win for its members and all working people, by waging a concerted assault against the banks, capitalists and their politicians by all those layers whose desperate frustration cries out from every corner of this city under siege. Broad sections of the working masses and middle classes who now see "big labor" as one of the factors conspiring to drag them down would rally to the side of the union movement if it showed it could win and raised a strategy to fight the cutbacks, givebacks and takeaways. Rising unemployment, grinding inflation, falling real wages—these capitalist assaults on the working class are compounded by measures which afflict the middle classes, from the abolition of rent control to the effective demise of low-tuition public higher education.

What is urgently needed is a militant leadership with a program to win the strike. No contract, no work! Eliminate the phony mail ballot. Demand elected strike committees and mass membership meetings to take over conduct of the negotiations and to formulate strike demands! Rally the city labor movement in support of the TWU. New York's 230,000 municipal workers know that they are next on Koch's chopping block, and that their fate depends on a transit victory. The PATH and LIRR workers should be brought out *now* in a joint strike with the TWU. In the face of serious attempts to break the strike, the labor movement must shut down NYC through citywide strike action. In a city where 40 percent of black youth are without jobs, the demand for a shorter work-week at no cut in pay is crucial in uniting transit workers with the unemployed. Against the city bosses' talk of making the riding public pay with a fare increase, the TWU must fight for *no fare*. Free transit has been a paper demand of the union for years—now make it a reality.

For five years the working people of New York City have been bled by the bankers and capitalist politicians. The transit strike is the first time labor has fought back, and the TWU has the power to bring the bosses to their knees. It proved that in 1966. But the union is weighed down with a leadership which has sold out time and again, and an opposition that is qualitatively no better. The Lawe bureaucracy and its fake-militant opponents with the program of relying on the capitalist courts and the strikebreaking Democrats are no answer. The TWU needs a leadership that uncompromisingly stands for the independence of the labor movement from the bosses' parties and state, that will fight for a genuine workers party. Forging such a leadership is key to winning this battle, to smashing the Taylor Law and Carter's wage limits. ■



John Lawe



George McDonald



Henry Lewis



Arnold Cherry

WV Photos

Detroit Mayor Burned When Black Workers Said:

"Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

In the aftermath of the broad-daylight massacre of leftists and unionists by the Ku Klux Klan at Greensboro, North Carolina last November, the "respectable" civil-rights politicians got worried about growing black dissatisfaction at their do-nothing attitude toward rampaging fascists. A *New York Times* headline (18 November) caught the mood: "Rights Leaders Troubled by Prospect of Leftist Gains Among Blacks." In an attempt to bring the outrage over Greensboro under their control, black preachers and liberal Democrats associated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference called a "National Conference of New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan" in Atlanta on December 14. One of the featured speakers brought in to argue against holding a protest march was Rev. Dan Alridge, an assistant to Detroit's black Democratic mayor Coleman Young.

Now here's a man who's got some experience under his belt. Coleman Young has the dubious distinction of trying to stop the most significant labor/black anti-fascist demonstration Detroit's seen in many years. When the KKK announced they were planning to hold a race-hate march in the heart of Detroit the week after the Greensboro massacre, Young banned *all* demonstrations, threatening to arrest anyone who marched, Klansmen and anti-fascists alike. But an ad hoc committee endorsed by union militants and heavily built by the Spartacist League called for a mass anti-Klan counter-demonstration on November 10. Despite the ban, the threats of mass arrests and an initial media blackout followed



Detroit, November 10: 500 say no to the Klan.

WV Photo

by a red-baiting campaign, some 500 anti-KKK protesters—including about 200 black workers from Detroit's auto plants—turned out to insist that "The Klan Will Not Ride in the Motor City!"

At the subsequent Atlanta convention Young's sidekick Alridge felt compelled to defend the decision to ban anti-Klan demonstrations—a decision which "has come under some criticism." Alridge admitted that the city had promised to arrest equally the Klan and the anti-Klan but in the next breath tried to take credit for protecting the anti-Klan rally:

"So, our posture was that we would simply...arrest anyone who we saw assembling and marching without a permit. Subsequent to that, however, there was a counterdemonstration by persons opposing the Klan and we provided the best possible protection we could for those persons."

In fact, Young *denied* a permit for the November 10 rally. But his threats having failed to stop the anti-Klan militants, who distributed nearly 100,000 leaflets calling for a mass black/labor demonstration, Young backed down at the prospect of arresting maybe a couple hundred black workers—not too good for the career of any Detroit politician, much less one who trades on the illusions of "his" people. Finally, when a federal judge intervened, Young indicated the rally would have a "de facto permit." But the media refused to take an ad from the rally's organizers publicizing this backhanded backtracking. The scare campaign was still on. Had a layer of militant black workers not come forward (despite the best efforts of their union chiefs) to support the demonstration, it is not hard to imagine what Young and his cops would have done to the rally and its radical organizers.

Those "hard-core" militant blacks who attended despite the red-baiting and the threats listened sympathetically to the speeches—dominated by the politics of the Spartacist League given

the default of the more "respectable" forces—but many remained skeptical of the perspective that the organized labor movement take the lead in the anti-fascist struggles to come. Indeed, many black workers who showed little surprise at the sabotaging passivity of their union "leaders" evidenced lingering illusions in the black Democratic "machine" of Coleman Young. "Mayor Coleman should be here today" was a common comment from those whom Young had threatened to arrest through a media campaign to bait the meeting as "illegal."

If the rally fell far short of the massive outpouring which would really have sent the Klan scrambling, it did show the racist marauders that there is among the most advanced workers a layer committed to a real fight against Klan terror. And it did expose the "anti-racist," "friend of labor" Detroit mayor as another hustler in the service of the racist capitalist system. A month after the event, the glib black Young spokesman Alridge felt the pressure to justify Young's "neutrality" between the Klan and the anti-Klan. And not surprisingly, he offered what must surely be the most "leftist" rationale ever for having threatened to unleash the cops against anti-racist militants:

"I think that a movement, one that considers itself to be a revolutionary movement, ought not to come and ask the police department—if you will, the lackeys of the capitalist-imperialist state—to protect you."

"Leftist" verbiage aside, Young is in an unenviable position as a front man for a bourgeois party whose presidential candidates didn't even bother to show up for a major black establishment gathering last month. When Young suggested at that confab in Richmond, Virginia that Carter should be supported, his speech was drowned out with boos. But the real verdict was offered at the Detroit anti-Klan rally by Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander:

"You know what Coleman Young is—the awful example of what selling your black political soul to the Democratic Party means. You go morally and politically blind. After a while you can't tell the difference between the guys in white sheets and the guys on the other side."

Those who can tell the difference must break from illusions in the capitalist state and its political parties and fight for a union-based workers party on a program of working-class power and liberation of all the oppressed. ■

Hands Off Doc Who Put... Egg on Koch's Face

On March 26, Dr. Nayvin Gordon was convicted of tossing eggs at NYC mayor Ed Koch. The doctor, a member of the Progressive Labor Party's Committee Against Racism (CAR), had been arrested at the annual convention of the American Public Health Association at the New York Hilton last November. There he was protesting Koch's vicious program of eliminating medical facilities in the ghettos, including closure of Sydenham and Harlem Hospitals in Manhattan and Lincoln Hospital in the South Bronx. Now Gordon faces up to a year in jail plus a \$1,000 fine for "assault"—i.e., wounding the ego of the petulant "mayatollah."

Even the bourgeois press wasn't too sympathetic to the mayor. The *Washington Star* ran an editorial congratulating the CAR members, "It is with a definite surge of nostalgia that we greet—nay welcome—the news that a time-honored form of political dissent has made a vigorous reappearance." But Koch responded by calling for legislation that would make *any* "harassment" of a government official a felony. It seems Hizzoner needs *lèse majesté* laws and lots of cops around him at all times because it's hard to keep up a "man of the people" image when you've got egg all over your face.

In fact, right now thousands of New Yorkers would like to do more than just put yolks in the mug of this racist labor-hater. One transit worker re-



Daily News

marked to WV after the strike-breaking Taylor Law was invoked, "The only thing that bothers Koch is when someone throws an egg in his face. Now he is throwing egg on our face." And when a Teamster on Brooklyn Bridge called him a "union-busting bastard," the mayor threatened, "Go ahead, strike me and I'll have you arrested." Koch better not keep this up or he may find that taking a poke at him could become quite a popular pastime.

The CAR stunt last November was no more militant than the pie-throwing antics of an Aaron Kay. But it certainly was defensible and even enjoyable. Drop the charges against Doc Gordon! Don't let Koch throw the egg man in the can!

Reporters' Notebook...

(continued from page 7)

"escort" to start their runs. Today the strikers form a caravan with their cars and drive to the Liberty terminal in Yonkers. Obviously taking the cops by surprise, TWUers set up mass picket lines at two gates, marching and chanting, "No Extra Runs! No Extra Shifts!" Despite the militant mood, however, the officials try to minimize the demonstration's impact, dispersing the men after just 15 minutes on the line.

Wednesday, April 9: Two hundred men show up early this morning at the New York Bus Company terminal near Co-op City in the Bronx. This company is organized by Local 100, but the TWU bureaucracy is incapable of achieving elementary solidarity through normal union mechanisms. The men are working overtime and extra runs—it amounts to scabbing on their own union brothers! This time when the pickets

arrive, the cops were tipped off in advance. There are 75 riot-equipped cops guarding the entrances to the terminal.

The pickets block both ends of the block, some 150 of them sitting down in the street until the line starts walking. No buses move from 5:00 until 6:45 a.m. When the TWU bureaucrats try to move the picketers away from blocking traffic they shout back, "Shut It Down" and "Nothing Moves!" Finally, union officials succeed in dispersing the crowd. Some bus windshields get busted as the workers reluctantly depart.

These militant actions center on the bus drivers. The subways are shut down tight, but the MABSTOA drivers are most directly threatened by actual and potential scabbing. It's clear the drivers are getting edgy. TWU cars block traffic on the Major Deegan and Hudson River Drive, infuriating the commuters. What is necessary is action by the whole union to mobilize the NYC labor movement in solidarity with the TWU. Stop all the scab buses! Stop the scab flotillas! Shut down PATH and the LIRR! ■

Initial List of Endorsers, April 19 Committee Against Nazis

The following individuals and organizations have endorsed the April 19 demonstration to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday." The demonstration will take place at 11:00 a.m. at the San Francisco Civic Center.

Bernie Abrams, survivor of five years in Nazi concentration camps
Larry Ackerman, Steward, CWA Local 9410
ACTWU Local 1414C Executive Board
Maria Amaral, President, Norte Alameda Mexican American Political Association (MAPA)
American Indian Movement, San Francisco
Matt Ayon, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT-ACA Local 9
Bay Area Spartacist League
Spence F. Burton, Director of Education, California State Association of Letter Carriers
Tim Chapman, Steward, ILWU Local 6
George P. Cleveland, Directing Business Representative, IAM District Lodge 56

Rev. Michael Collins, Co-Chair, Affirmation
Virginia Collins, civil rights activist
Walter Collins, civil rights, antiwar activist
Committee of Salvadorean Progressives, United Salvadorean Front
Paul Costan, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Crusader, San Francisco gay newspaper
Jim Danzy, President, ATU Local 1555
Bob Dawson, Vice President OPEIU Local 29
Pete Farruggio, Steward, ILWU Local 6
Rick Flores, Vice President, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Charles Garry, attorney
Gay Liberation Alliance, San Francisco
Dr. Carlton Goodlett, editor and publisher, *Sun Reporter*
Stan Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Earl F. Grogan, President, APWU, San Francisco Local
Fernando Guerrero, Board of Governors, OCAW Local 1-1978
Hilda Guerrero, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bill Hampton, brother of murdered Black Panther leader
David Hilliard, former Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party, SEIU Local 411
Norman Huntsman, President, District Lodge 56, President Local Lodge 739, IAM
Kathy Ikegami, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Mike Kasian, Steward, ILWU Local 6

Sanford Katz, attorney
Howard Keylor, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10
Bill Kiesel, retiree, UAW Local 1364
Ray King, Executive Board member and Trustee, USWA Local 2869, Fontana, CA
Seymour Kramer, President Local 1741, United Transportation Union
William Kunstler, attorney
Conrad Lynn, attorney
Bob Mandel, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6
Tanya Mandel, East Bay Women for Peace
Jane Margolis, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410
Hilding Martinson, Business Agent, UE Local 1412
Militant Caucus, UAW Local 1364
Militant Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union
Howard Myron, Chief Steward, Long Lines Division, CWA Local 9415
National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch No. 214, San Francisco
New American Movement, S.F. Chapter
New York Gay Activists Alliance
Pacific Center for Human Growth
Sophie Polgar, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Mark Pope, past Co-Chair, National Caucus of Gay and Lesbian Counselors
Dave Ramet, ILWU Local 34
Robert I. Rowe, President, ACTWU Local 1414C

George Santori, OPEIU Local 3
Henry Schmidt, retired International Vice President, ILWU, leader of 1934 San Francisco general strike
Dennis Serrette, National Organizer of the National Black Communications Workers Coalition (NBCC)
Israel Shahak, chairman, Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp survivor
Yvonne Smith, Steward, CWA Local 9415
State Association of Letter Carriers
Stan Steiner, author, *La Raza and Fusang*
Vera Steiner, survivor, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp
Yuri Suhl, author of *They Fought Back* (history of Jewish resistance in Warsaw Ghetto)
Ron Teninty, Business Agent, IBT Local 315
Third World Women's Alliance, S.F.
Terrie Valenzuela, Recording Secretary, ACTWU Local 1414C
Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes With Guns*
Women's Committee, UAW Local 1364
Evelyn Wyatt, Steward, CWA Local 9410
Bob Zellner, civil rights activist
Dorothy Zellner, civil rights activist

Organizational affiliation listed for purposes of identification only.

Anti-Nazis...

(continued from page 12)

Defense Guards to Smash Nazi/Klan Violence!"

One of the most emphatic speakers was Seymour Kramer, president of Local 1741 of the United Transportation Union representing schoolbus drivers. The crowd cheered Kramer's call to action:

"The fascists are not open to discussion... but to a superior mobilization. The Nazis have two freedoms: to run, and to full nationalized health care after we catch them. We will fight in the spirit of the Warsaw Ghetto... and we will win!"

Following the rally Kramer and another speaker, Maria Amaral of the Norte Alameda Mexican American Political Association, endorsed the April 19 mobilization.

The ILWU demonstration was the day's top news story. ILWU Executive Board member Bob Mandel, one of the initiators of ANCAN, was interviewed on major local TV stations. The editor of a gay community paper, the *Crusader*, has endorsed the April 19 demonstration, as has Carlton Goodlett, editor of the Bay Area's major black newspaper.

ANCAN's work for a labor-led action is gaining momentum because the

Resolution by the National Association of Letter Carriers, Golden Gate Branch 214 (which covers all of San Francisco) at its branch meeting April 7:

Motion:

1. To endorse the April 19 demonstration "Stop the Nazis celebrating Hitler's birthday."
2. To inform our members and encourage their attendance.
3. To use the influence of the union to get other unions and organizations to participate.

hatred of Nazism runs deep in the working class. What Allen Vincent and his Jew-baiting, race-hating terror mob represent is so repugnant that the sentiment to pull the Nazis' plug is becoming irrepressible.

The Nazis are advertising their "birthday party" with a piece of racist filth which is a provocation against blacks, Jews, women, gays and all decent people. The leaflet—which outraged people have ripped to shreds wherever it has been pasted up—rails against the "Jew democracy" which "enforces your right to blow dope, turn queer, marry a nigger, and kill the unborn." These creeps even have a dial-a-Nazi phone number to advertise for their Hitler "party." After filling the phone lines with obscene racism, the voice says: "Don't forget the Nazi Rally in San Francisco, April 19th." We won't forget. And we won't forget the Nazi reign of mass murder it celebrates.

Liberals Talk While Nazis Grow

It is clear that even a fraction of the Bay Area labor movement in a mass militant mobilization could easily wipe

the Nazis off the streets. The will is there; certainly we have the power. Why do the brownshirts think they can show up to spit in the faces of the people of San Francisco? All that stands in the way of a complete wipe-out of Hitler's birthday is Mayor Dianne Feinstein and the cops.

There is an orchestrated campaign emanating from the mayor's office to undermine the April 19 ANCAN demonstration. The city is stalling on a sound permit for the anti-Nazis—though they gladly offered one to the Nazis! Quentin Kopp proposed a resolution to the Board of Supervisors condemning the Nazis but telling the outraged public to "eschew attendance" on April 19. To defuse the pressure for a militant mass mobilization, Feinstein is pushing for an "educational" event on Nazism—the mayor's "Days of Remembrance" on April 13-19. In effect the government is trying to demobilize the population while threatening to mobilize the cops to protect the Nazis. One local newscast reported that 500 cops would be ready to protect the Nazis on April 19.

The liberals are worried about the Nazis' "free speech." But the Nazis and Klan recruit not by words but by armed terror and murder. And this is broadly understood. "If they have the right to free speech," said one maritime union official, "we have a right to kick their ass." This is the only "education" that Nazis understand. And the Jewish community has had the most excruciating "education" at the sadistic hands of Hitler, Eichmann, Goering, Himmler—all the heroes of Allen Vincent's little band of sociopaths. We know that when the Nazis started out they were treated as a joke. And when the stench of burning flesh filled the air, it was too late to put up an effective fight. The Nazis must be stopped, wherever and whenever we can.

While the liberals talk about "free speech," the Nazis grow under the careful protection of the cops. Just last month in Walnut Creek, California, the state reportedly spent \$200,000 extra of taxpayers' money to pay the cops to protect the Nazis. If Mayor Feinstein, already despised by the most conscious workers for her strikebreaking, unleashes the cops against thousands of sworn enemies of fascism—unionists, blacks, Asian Americans, Latins, concentration camp survivors, World War II veterans, gays—she will go down in history as the Nazis' favorite mayor. And she better not expect to run for elected office again, or appear in public, or plant a tree in Israel.

And as the capitalist state continues to protect the fascists, many who call themselves leftists go right on calling on the state to "ban the Nazis and Klan." At the ILWU rally Linda Wong of the Legal Alliance for Greensboro Justice appealed to the Board of Supervisors to withhold a permit for the Nazis. This futile gesture parallels the reformist strategy of the Communist Workers Party and the "Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition," which pins all hopes on the Board

of Supes: "If the Board of Supervisors votes to support the fascists, then we will hold our rally at the United Nations Plaza" (some distance away from the Nazi rally).

The strategy of relying on the state to get rid of the Nazis is worse than futile. It is no less dangerous in the long run than the strategy of adventurist substitution by small groups of leftists in street fights with the Nazis. In these situations, the fascists and cops come out ahead. What both fascists and cops fear is *mass mobilization*—the organization of force against Nazi/Klan terror, backed up by the power of organized labor.

"California Reich"

The Nazis have backed down only where they have been met head-on by mass action. Allen Vincent, the California Nazis' demented führer, tried to take over a San Francisco State University classroom one day in 1975. A crowd of angry students and workers drove him off. This incident is the central event in the film "California Reich" which documented the social depravity and genocidal intent of the California brownshirts. After Vincent has fled the campus he offers the camera a glimpse of his fear that "the communists will get me": "Sometimes when I'm in the shower—of course I put it out of my mind immediately—but I wonder if when I pull the shower curtain back, they're going to be standing there, waiting for me." Perhaps more than a Götterdämmerung flaming death, this sick criminal dreads public humiliation. He must have nightmares of being stripped of his Hitler costume, his swastika, his leather boots, and running away down Polk Street with a yellow stripe painted on his naked back.

In 1977 Vincent and his Nazis set up headquarters in the "Rudolph Hess Bookstore" in the Sunset district right across from a synagogue attended by survivors of the holocaust. Only a few days went by before the store was bombed out and the Nazis run out of town. After the fact, even the *San Francisco Examiner* (5 April 1977) was forced to acknowledge: "San Francisco is one of the nation's most tolerant cities but a terminal point was reached when a

group of American Nazis tried to revive Hitlerism with all its horrors.... The ransacking and burning of the store was inevitable." The same paper reported the comment of then-supervisor Dianne Feinstein: "I conceivably could have done the same thing if it had been in my neighborhood.... In Nazi Germany the same thing existed and people laughed. Then suddenly the Nazis were in power."

Flash!

APRIL 9—In San Diego today a Klan ringleader, Tom Metzger, got a little of what these hooded race-terrorists deserve. According to an AP dispatch, 500 students at San Diego State University "jeered and pelted him with bottles, cans, and tomatoes" when this KKK thug took the podium at a "candidates night" (he is running for the Democratic Party nomination for Congress). Outraged students charged through a police barricade and "mobbed" Metzger, who was finally led off campus by the cops. To the students at San Diego State we say: Come on up to San Francisco April 19!

But that was Dianne Feinstein the Jewish Supervisor. Now as mayor she wants to stop us from doing "the same thing" now. She says now is the time for education. We say: long live the spirit of the smashing of the Rudolph Hess Bookstore. ANCAN says the Nazis are coming to your neighborhood, Mayor Feinstein—on April 19. And we will be there to stop them.

After the Greensboro massacre, Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit, tried to stop a labor/black mobilization against the Klan/Nazis. He tried to equate the Klan and the anti-Klan. But 500 mainly black auto workers, leftists and anti-Klan militants came out to say: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" Now the Nazis say they will celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco. Thousands must come out on April 19 to say it better not happen here. We have a chance to push the Nazis back so far they won't dare show their faces or try to fly their swastika over San Francisco. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

The Nazis say they are going to celebrate Hitler's birthday in San Francisco.

STOP THE NAZIS!

SAN FRANCISCO—The Nazis who plan to celebrate Hitler's birthday at San Francisco's Civic Center on April 19 are in for a big surprise. The April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN) reports that thousands of angry people do not intend to sit back and let the "National Socialist White Workers' Party" wave its swastika of race terror in the heart of this city. The powerhouse of northern California labor is stirring to the ANCAN call to "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday":

"We say San Francisco is a labor town, not a Nazi town.... This is a city with several hundred thousand homosexuals who know what happened to 'social deviants'—along with 'non-Aryans,' unionists, socialists—in Hitler's Germany. This is a city of blacks who know they are the central target of race terror in America. Of Jewish survivors of the extermination camps.... If the Nazis march here on April 19, no one will be safe."

When the unions—along with blacks, Jews, gays, Latins, Asian Americans and others who know they are the targets of Nazi terror—get mobilized, that will be the end of Hitler "birthday parties" in San Francisco. These sick little Hitler-lovers with their helmets and weapons, their dreams of death camps and plans for race war, will find that Hitler's birthday is no holiday here.

Support for the anti-Nazi action is building. The president of International

Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 739 in Alameda says his Local will distribute 2,000 ANCAN leaflets. This is the Local that brought out 500 members last November to protest the slaying of Charles Briscoe, a black worker and IAM steward, by the racist Oakland cops. More leaflets are being distributed by anti-Nazi unionists in the Molders Union and Teamsters in key shops and warehouses, including the Safeway warehouses which were centers of militancy in the Teamsters strike. All three postal workers unions' leaderships

have thrown their support behind the anti-Nazi mobilization and one union official said he hoped this would be the largest labor demonstration in years. The National Association of Letter Carriers (Golden Gate Branch 214) motion (see box) passed overwhelmingly, with only one dissenting vote.

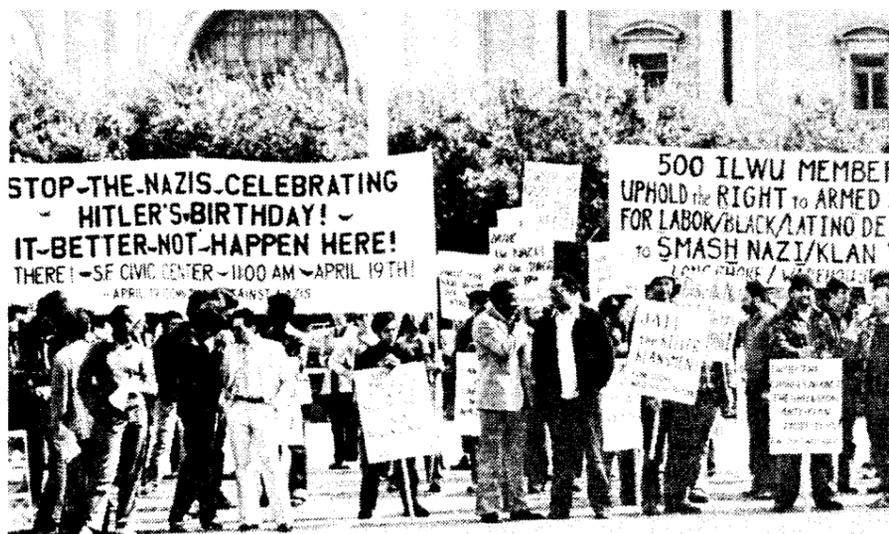
Recent Nazi/Klan activity in California has given the Committee's call special urgency. "We've got to stop these guys," said Rick Flores, vice-president of the heavily black and Chicano Steelworkers Local 2869 in Fontana,

California where a Chicano member of the Local was driven from his home by Klan night-riding terror.

On April 5 the Bay Area's first officially sponsored anti-fascist labor demonstration in years was held at the Civic Center by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The demonstration was in response to a petition circulated by supporters of the ILWU "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" now actively working with ANCAN. Although 500 ILWU members had signed the petition demanding labor action after the November massacre of leftists and union organizers by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina, only a couple of hundred turned out for the April 5 rally thanks to the apathy of the union leadership and a publicity blackout in the official union bulletin.

Some elements of the ILWU bureaucracy, aided by the Communist Party, hoped the April 5 demonstration would replace the one being built for April 19, but the event had the opposite effect. Nearly half the crowd stood with the ANCAN banner: "Stop the Nazis Celebrating Hitler's Birthday! It Better Not Happen Here!" "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" supporters carried their own banner: "500 ILWU Members Say Uphold the Right to Armed Self-Defense! For Labor/Black/Latino

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ILWU demonstration at S.F. Civic Center, April 5. On to April 19 anti-Nazi mobilization!

WV Photo

April 19 Committee Against Nazis

Mass Mobilization, S.F. Civic Center, Saturday, April 19, 11a.m. Be There!

Myth of Muslim Unrest in USSR Exposed

Soviet Central Asians Back Afghan Intervention

"Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" has been the Spartacist League's slogan since the Soviet Union's military intervention against the feudal-reactionary "rebels" in December. In that poor and desolate country, the only road forward lies through defeating these tribal leaders who are fighting for the primitive and repressive institutions of feudalism and tribalism—especially the veil, illiteracy and slavery for women. We have insisted that, despite bureaucratic domination of the USSR, the transformation of Afghanistan into a society like that of Soviet Central Asia would be a tremendously progressive development for the Afghan masses. This elementary Marxist proposition is fiercely resisted by most avowed "leftists," but evidently not by the peoples of the Muslim regions of the USSR. In a recent article in the New York Times (11 April), Craig R. Whitney revealed that in his travels through Soviet Central Asia he could not find a single soul who supported the CIA-armed Afghan rebels—not even a mullah! We reprint below some excerpts from his article, "In Soviet Asia, Afghan Thrust Finds Wide Acceptance":

DUSHANBE, U.S.S.R.—A young man, 23 years old and a student at the university here, close to the border of Afghanistan, will have to do three months of active military duty this summer.... In December, he recalled, "...Reservists were given secret orders, at night, to return to active duty.... They weren't told where but after a few days it was clear—Afghanistan."

"The reservists are all back home now," he went on. "And most of them were glad to go to help—it's a very backward country and we are neighbors, after all."

* * * * *



Central Asian Red Army soldiers in Afghanistan: "This myth that the Soviets AP invaded Afghanistan because they are afraid of Islamic fundamentalism infecting Soviet Central Asia is not merely bullshit... in fact, the European Russians would be much less committed to the liberation of Afghanistan than the young soldier who only has to walk into a village to see his own past."
—speech by Joseph Seymour, *Young Spartacus* No. 79, February 1980

...the Uzbeks and Tadzhiks who live in the region and share linguistic, ethnic, and religious ties with many of their Afghan neighbors seem to display a far wider acceptance of the Soviet military role across the border than Russians in Moscow's critical intellectual circles.

* * * * *

Years of ideological and social transformations, extirpation of ancient customs and exposure to Russian culture have made Soviet Central Asia a different world from the mountain backwardness of Afghanistan. Women on the Soviet side of the border do not wear the veil and they are not chattel of their husbands. There is little unemployment. And if there is no great wealth,

there is also no abject poverty or hunger.

* * * * *

"We remember the Basmachi rebellion here," commented a university professor in Dushanbe. "They were also a bunch of mercenaries and gunmen, much like the Afghan rebels. Ibrahim Bek, the last Basmachi leader, was caught near Dushanbe only in 1931, a decade after Soviet rule had been proclaimed in Tadzhikistan. We know the barbarism and the suffering of that kind of war, and any Tadzhik would be able to sympathize instinctively with the supporters of the revolution in Afghanistan."

* * * * *

Moslem religious leaders here preach political loyalty to the Soviet state so

Islam is officially tolerated. Moslems, when they are asked to express their feelings about Afghanistan in private, say their duty is to help their fellow Afghan Moslems reach the same levels of economic progress and social emancipation that they have in the Soviet Union.

In Bukhara's 16th-century Mir-Arab Medresseh, or Moslem theological seminary, one of two still permitted in the Soviet Union, the director, Abdulkakhar Gaparov, said:

"Wherever there has been a revolution, there have been people who are against it. Here, after our revolution, the Basmachi rebels fought against it for a long time. Many of the rebels in Afghanistan are from the Moslem brotherhood, an extremely reactionary group."

"If they were truly patriots," he went on, "the Afghans outside their country would support the revolution, for bringing social progress to their people at home."

* * * * *

Out in the desert at Khiva, Bakhadyr A. Rakhmanov, an irrigation engineer born in the town, remembers that there was a slave market there until the Soviet authorities deposed the last Khan of Khiva. He added: "The Afghans are our neighbors. Where there is poverty and backwardness it is our duty to help."

* * * * *

At a park in Dushanbe, a truck driver was no less fiercely loyal, as William R. Carter, a Harvard graduate student, found out when he was having an innocent conversation with a friend of the driver.

"Carter!" roared the truck driver, a Tadzhik. "Carter is a warmonger, a menace, worse than a gorilla! Don't give him your address." ■

Iranian USecers Having Second Thoughts About Khomeini

When the American embassy in Teheran was seized last November with the blessing of "imam" Khomeini, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) joined the chorus of opportunists who portrayed this diversion as a great "anti-imperialist struggle." Ever faithful to the "faghi" Khomeini, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) even went so far as to dub the "Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam" at the embassy as some kind of Marxists (not even Brzezinski believes that!).

But for the centrist USec majority, who have criticized Khomeini now and then while embracing his "Islamic revolution," all the rah-rah for the embassy takeover hasn't gone over so well. Judging from the Mandelite press lately, the USec has been catching flak from Iranian militants in Europe. In a recent issue of *Socialist Challenge* (7 February) the British International Marxist Group (IMG) ran a centerfold, "Iran: One Year After the Insurrection," featuring two articles with counterposed lines on the embassy issue. One article by John Leadbetter simply enthuses over how the Iranian masses are in motion, recalling Bernstein's hoary reformist dictum, "The movement is everything, the final goal nothing." The second, by Azar Tabari, rips his argu-

ments to shreds:

"The occupation of the US Embassy in Teheran and the events around it have very little to do with anti-imperialist struggle. Nor can the demand for the return of the Shah be characterized as anti-imperialist in any meaningful sense....

"The embassy occupation, far from impelling these [mass] struggles forward, acts as a brake upon them. It simultaneously diverts attention from the real issues facing Iran and serves as a rallying cry for the most typical obscurantist appeals to 'national unity,' overlaid with the Islamic veneer that renders this time-honored reactionary appeal even more retrogressive....

"The nefarious effects of this project on the consciousness of the workers and rural poor of Iran cannot be underestimated. The consolidation of Khomeini's authority over the past nine months has meant mounting self-abdication of any confidence and independence in favor of trust in god and his imam."

So after a year of massacres of Kurds and Arabs, stonings of homosexuals and adulterers, arrests of oil workers and leftists—including their own comrades, a dozen of whom sat on death row for over six months—it seems that the scales are falling from the eyes of at least some Iranian USecers. All the babble about an "unfolding process of permanent revolution in Iran" won't wash with the reality of clerical reaction in power. References to the embassy seizure as a

"diversion" might suggest that the writer has been influenced by the international Spartacist tendency. More likely they are due to pressures emanating from the fact that with its uncritical enthusing over the American embassy seizure the USec has placed itself to the right of even the left-nationalist Fedayeen guerrillas. The latter at least recognize that the takeover is "a pretext for violently crushing the oppressed of our country" (Fedayeen al-Khalq leaflet dated 22 November 1979). But the "alternative" to Khomeini put forward by these latter-day Guevarists is simply bourgeois liberals such as Mehdi ("You are weak, sir") Bazargan.

An even sharper criticism of the Mandelite Iran line appeared in the form of a letter from a group of Iranian supporters of the Swedish USec section, the KAF, published in its *International* (2 January):

"Will the Iranian working class become conscious of the fact that there is no difference whatsoever between the existing regime, i.e., Khomeini's government, and the capitalist regime of the shah? That an Islamic republic in principle serves the same interests as the shah's regime or any other capitalist government....

"Exposure of imperialism' from Khomeini's class interests is calling Carter 'Satan.' A trial of the shah will be nothing more than denunciations such

as 'Satan,' 'murderer,' that his actions are in conflict with Islam and 'God' and that's all. With this political outlook, the only purpose of Khomeini and the Islamic Republic is to stupefy the people."

In response, the KAF political bureau could only respond lamely that "Khomeini has not been successful in holding back the mass struggle, even though he has used quite brutal methods."

In her article in *Socialist Challenge* Azar Tabari bemoans the fact that "most of the far left" internationally could possibly portray Khomeini and the Persian mullahs as "progressive":

"It does not bode well for the future of Iran that the majority of the international left has been unable to distinguish between a deepening process of permanent revolution and a rise in irrational fanaticism serving to consolidate the rule of a repressive and reactionary theocracy."

How true. But the "majority of the international left" included every USec section, "sympathizing" section and split sections—including the rival groups in Iran. In fact, the on tendency which counterposed a proletarian revolutionary alternative to Khomeini, even before the reactionary fanatic came to power, was the international Spartacist tendency. ■

Détente...

(continued from page 4)

propaganda, that SALT combined with all the détente rhetoric would induce "peace-loving" elements in America to curb the militarists and warmongers in the Pentagon. Fat chance! Additionally, in 1972 the Soviet leadership was obsessed with the budding Washington-Peking axis. Maybe by giving Nixon a sweet deal on arms, they thought, he would be less interested in an alliance with the bellicose Chinese.

Whatever Brezhnev & Co.'s motivations and illusions around SALT, it did nothing to stop the U.S. arms build-up targeted at the Soviet degenerated workers state. The Pentagon continued to deploy those weapons not covered by SALT (MIRV, cruise missiles) and developed new ones (the MX missile, Trident submarine). Eventually the Russians had to counter with their own arms build-up or risk a nuclear first strike. And now Carter has launched the most massive, accelerated nuclear weapons program in U.S. history.

With SALT I the Soviet bureaucracy threw away an exceptionally favorable opportunity to shift the balance of forces against U.S. imperialism. Had the Soviets pushed ahead with their weapons programs in the early-mid 1970s, they might have achieved a strategic advantage. And given the anti-militarist climate in the U.S. in the early 1970s, a rapid escalation of the Pentagon budget would have met great resistance. If at that time Nixon had attempted anything like Carter's present nuclear weapons program, he would have pushed this country further down the road toward a political explosion.

1972: Brezhnev Dances to Nixon's Tune

The first volume of Kissinger's memoirs ends in January 1973 on a triumphant note. It was the year of Nixon's February visit to Peking, of the Moscow summit and SALT I a few months later and finally of the Paris "peace" accords on Vietnam. It was the year of détente. As we have seen, the Nixon administration made détente with the Soviets conditional on their cooperation in arranging a "fair compromise" over Vietnam. This strategy was brought to a head at the time of the North Vietnamese 1972 spring offensive.

While U.S. planes were bombing Hanoi and the U.S. Navy was mining Haiphong harbor, Kissinger went off to Moscow for secret talks with Brezhnev. He threatened to cancel the upcoming Moscow summit, torpedo SALT, oppose ratification of the West German *Ostpolitik* treaties—in short, to scrap détente—unless the Russians pressured North Vietnam to show "restraint." Specifically, he proposed a ceasefire in

place, which became the basis of the Paris "peace" treaty nine months later. A top Kremlin aide was immediately dispatched to Hanoi to deliver Washington's message. And as Kissinger observes: "Nations do not generally transmit offers with whose rejection they intend to associate themselves."

North Vietnam, however, did reject the offer *then*. But the Soviet bureaucracy is nothing if not persistent, including in selling out its allies. Since the Russians supplied almost all of North Vietnam's modern weapons, they were not limited to purely moral suasion. Brezhnev & Co. kept assuring the Nixon administration that they weren't stepping up arms shipments to Hanoi. And shortly after the Moscow summit Soviet



Vietnam News Agency

NLF rolled to victory in 1975 despite Stalinist sellout in "peace" talks.

president Nikolai Podgorny visited Hanoi to explain to his Vietnamese comrades the ways of détente. This time the Kremlin's "good offices" had the desired effect.

When North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho returned to the negotiating table the following month, he was singing a different tune. Hanoi dropped its demand for unconditional U.S. withdrawal and agreed to an indefinite ceasefire in place as a condition for the American pull-out. It further dropped its demand for the elimination of U.S. puppet Thieu, instead proposing a coalition government with him! A little later even this was shelved as too radical and Thieu stayed in power another two-and-a-half years. As we wrote at the time, this compromise with U.S. imperialism which the Hanoi (and Moscow) Stalinists accepted was "based on the fundamental *strategy of betrayal*" ("The Civil War Goes On," *WV* No. 16, February 1973).

At this point the U.S. rulers ran into an obstacle they didn't expect, but probably should have—their own puppets in Saigon. Subsequently, following the ignominious collapse of the Saigon regime in 1975, the Big Daddy imperialist war criminal and his corrupt flunky Thieu (who managed to escape at the

last minute with several tons of gold dug up from the presidential palace grounds) engaged in rather comical mutual recrimination. In his 1972 diary, Nixon wrote:

"... our fate is really in the hands of the South Vietnamese...."

"We give them the most modern arms, we emphasize the material to the exclusion of the spiritual and the Spartan life, and it may be that we soften them up rather than harden them up for the battle."

"On the other hand, the enemy emphasizes the Spartan life, not the material, emphasizes sacrifice and, of course, with the enormous Soviet technical help on missiles, guns, etc. they have a pretty good advantage."

But as ludicrous as Nixon's ode to "the spiritual and Spartan life" is, it was

might argue, the Communists conquered South Vietnam in 1975, so what did it matter what happened in 1972-73? For opponents of U.S. imperialism, the tens of thousands of Indochinese who died as a result of the needless prolongation of the war matter. But Kissinger also believes it mattered and, at least in terms of American politics, he's right.

The Nixon administration had written off South Vietnam by 1971, maybe earlier. But they still believed it very important *how* the U.S. disengaged. They were determined that the American army would not be conquered by the Communist forces nor would they capitulate to antiwar agitation by unconditional withdrawal. As Kissinger put it:

"An ignominious end in Vietnam would also leave deep scars on our society, fueling impulses for recrimination and deepening the existing crisis of authority. I continued to believe that we needed to leave Vietnam as an act of government policy and with dignity, not as a response to pressures and a collapse of will."

If North Vietnam and the Viet Cong had gone for victory in 1972-73, Nixon would have continued the war even at the risk of a domestic explosion.

And an explosion there would have been! Never has popular opposition to anti-Communist militarism been anywhere near as great as in the early 1970s. Around 1970 antiwar agitation began to extend from the campuses to other sectors of American society. A number of key trade unions, especially those with large black memberships, came out against the war. If Nixon had pushed the Vietnam War another year or so, the campus protests would have been joined by *political labor strikes against the war*, an unprecedented development in American history. The "existing crisis of authority," so feared by Kissinger, would then have acquired revolutionary implications.

But the imperialist/Stalinist compromise of January 1973 was a political victory for Nixon. Kissinger's description of American reaction to the treaty at the time is accurate enough: "Doves could rejoice in the end of the war. Hawks could take pride in the preservation of America's dignity." To many people it seemed as if Nixon/Kissinger had achieved peace on their own terms, i.e., the Saigon puppet regime remained in power.

Of course, it took no great insight to see that the weak, unpopular, corrupt, clique-ridden Thieu government would likely as not fall to the North Vietnamese in time. But time is often a decisive factor in politics. Those two and a half years before the fall of Saigon—"the decent interval"—were immensely important for U.S. imperialism internally. Those years defused a grave and escalating political crisis and demoralized a generation of antiwar radicals.

But détente did more than allow U.S. imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam in the least damaging way. With the blessing of Brezhnev (and Mao), the bloody-handed imperialists Nixon and Kissinger could present themselves as the architects of a stable world peace. Remember, incredible as it seems, Kissinger won the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize (jointly with Le Duc Tho, who refused it!)

There's an old saying: war is the mother of revolution. The long, losing, dirty colonial war in Vietnam created the potential for a mass revolutionary defeatist movement in the very heartland of world capitalism. No man did more to arrest this revolutionary potential than Leonid Brezhnev. To break the counterrevolutionary détente with imperialism it is necessary to carry through a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy in the deformed workers states—and a social revolution in the imperialist centers as well. Only the Trotskyists, who warned from the beginning against treacherous illusions in "peaceful coexistence," can lead this world revolutionary struggle. ■

Times' Sulzberger Got His Gun

When Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* (3 April) revealed that *New York Times* publisher C.L. "Punch" Sulzberger keeps a .38-calibre pistol in his desk drawer, we wondered why. After all, the prestigious liberal publisher doesn't ride the subways like the rest of us, nor does he live in the South Bronx, and we bet he doesn't walk alone through Central Park late at night. Deep within his plush offices—how many armed men routinely patrol the *Times* building?—you wouldn't think Sulzberger would need his own piece, too. The *Post* coyly suggests it makes Sulzberger feel more secure in *Times* labor disputes: "Punch has been running the *Times*, and negotiating with union leaders, with a persuader at his side" for about 15 years.

In a *WV* article not too long ago, responding to a liberal media campaign to channel public outrage over escalating "random, almost casual

violence... into a campaign for more cops, stiffer prison sentences, the death penalty" and tighter gun control, we noted:

"The bourgeoisie's response to crime is to strengthen its own repressive apparatus, while disarming the citizenry. Sulzberger and his cronies—who are driven about in chauffeured limousines and never have to descend to the subways—can advocate strict gun control knowing that they are protected by a host of private guards and cops while the masses are kept defenseless."

—"Fear and Violence in NYC," *WV* No. 147, 4 March 1977

Now it turns out Sulzberger is also one of 550 "civilians" (in all of New York City) approved by the police department for a pistol permit.

Meanwhile the press, *Times* included, continues to scream about crime on the streets in "Fear City" and to propose more cops and mandatory jail terms for anybody found carrying

an unregistered weapon on the streets (which is where you need one). Criminals, nuts and 30,000 brutal racist off-duty cops in bars have guns. Law-abiding NYC working people don't. Sulzberger doesn't think we need them. After all, he's got his—and anyway, in the words of F Scott Fitzgerald, "the rich are not like you and me."

The only real solution to spiraling crime rates is abolition of the capitalist system which breeds poverty, frustration, desperation, race hatred and violent crime. The bourgeoisie's recipes—more cops, crushing the unions, cutting welfare—only make more violence. Marxists struggle against the bourgeois state's monopoly of the means of violence and defend the right of the working people to defend themselves. And the next time the pressmen have to negotiate with Sulzberger, we hope they too can bring along their "equalizers."

NY Transit...

(continued from page 16)

maniacal war against the people of New York. His antics have people yelling at their TV sets and even pedestrians on the Brooklyn Bridge fantasizing about punching the mayor in the face. The *New York Times* (12 April) commented:

"It is an irony of New York labor negotiations that Mr. Koch... could be one of the strongest allies of Mr. Lawe in winning ratification. For in saying the settlement is high, he might convince transit workers that it is, and thus help Mr. Lawe."

The sellout pact is certainly worthy of John Lawe. Transit workers have lost so much in the last six years that the 30 percent demanded by the TWU would barely suffice to restore real wages to their 1974 levels! This time around the rotten deal is for 9 percent increase in the first year, 8 percent in the second. The COLA applies only for the last six months of the contract, with a cap limiting it to 3.7 percent. And inflation is galloping at 18 percent! This "raise" is subway robbery.

Then there are the open giveaways. Twenty minutes wash-up time gone. "Broadbanding"—using lower-paid workers to do more than one job. Stretching out to two-and-a-half years the period required for new workers to receive the full wage scale. According to management figures, this giveback alone is worth \$15 million—while the 1 percent more "won" by the strike in wages is only \$10 million. The Taylor Law fines, meanwhile, are to be deducted from paychecks in the first 30-90 days after the strike (not right away, of course, so that they don't provoke a big "no" vote against the contract). The fines will total \$35 million, to be handed over to the MTA bosses! This rotten betrayal of everything the transit workers fought for—this contract which is nothing but takeaways from start to finish—should be and may well be overwhelmingly rejected by the TWU membership.

What then? Now as two years ago there will be the court suits by dissident groups challenging the union vote. Dragging the union into the capitalist courts (as the revenue collectors recently did also) cannot bring a victory for labor even if the dissidents "win." It merely increases state control of the unions. And it can backfire, as happened in 1978 when the courts threw out a ballot that was going against the sellout pact. And if the contract is voted down, what does it mean to "return to the bargaining table" without resuming the strike? Already all wings of the TWU leadership are making a mockery of the union's traditional demand, "No contract, No work!" Militant transit workers must demand a resumption of the official union strike, and prepare to win full amnesty and the full demands *and more*. Doubling the wages should be the start—along with an iron-clad, 100 percent, uncapped COLA, full 20-years-and-out pension! And there must be the corresponding effort to mobilize the union—for democratically elected strike committees—and the rest of NYC labor in an all-out fight against Koch, Carey... and Carter.

The Dissidents Go Along

As Lawe rushed to the mikes to announce a "settlement" on Friday, the press sought out the "dissident" members of the Local 100 executive board for their comments. "TWU Rebels Vow to Topple the Accord," headlined the *Post* (12 April). A follower of George McDonald, head of "The Committee," was quoted as saying, "This is the biggest swindle in the history of the labor movement." This undoubtedly reflected the mass sentiment in the ranks. As transit workers went back to work dejectedly, those who said they would vote for the pact were few and far between. "Eleven days on strike for *nothing*," was the frequent comment. But the dissident leaders did *not* unani-

mously denounce the contract as a sellout. And most importantly they bear the crucial responsibility for the fact that it is being foisted on the strikers. This is the real story of the betrayal: the opposition *majority* on the exec board not only went along with Lawe's sellout, they were instrumental in producing it; without their acceptance he couldn't have pulled it off.

McDonald, Arnold Cherry of the Unity Slate and Henry Lewis of the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers had formed a Good Contract Committee to unite the anti-Lawe dissidents in the bargaining period. Now they come out smelling like a rose. It's Lawe's sellout, right? They voted against it, right? Not so fast. In the first place, why didn't they object when Lawe announced that the "agreement," which the exec board did *not* approve, would be sent to the membership? Obviously Lawe meant a mail ballot which would take a minimum of two weeks—and that clearly meant a back-to-work order. Then when the Local 100 president told the media the strikers were ordered back, why didn't any of the executive board members contradict him? Some say they were buffaloed, that Lawe pulled a fast one with his "gift of the gab." The fact is, the dissidents let Lawe decree an end to the strike because it got them off the hook.

This much, at least, is clear in the strange and murky case of Arthur Morris. Since Morris was elected on Cherry's Unity Slate, various anti-Lawe dissidents argued on Friday night that they were robbed since he would have voted against the pact. What really happened to cause his absence in the crucial hours? Was Morris shanghaied by Governor Carey with the connivance of the MTA? Did he leave on his own after receiving assurances from Lawe supporters that nothing of importance was in the offing? There are several contradictory stories. But in any case, why didn't the dissidents do anything about it?

They could have called up and gotten his vote by telephone. They could have held up the vote to get him to return. They could have screamed to the press, storming out of the executive board meeting en masse to denounce government interference in the bargaining. They could have demanded an immediate mass meeting of the TWU membership to discuss and vote on the "settlement." Any one of these actions would have stopped the sellout in its tracks. In 1978 the miners constantly lobbied their general executive board to "keep them honest," then refused to go back until the whole membership had voted on the pact.

The TWU "dissidents" didn't, because they wanted the deal to go through—with their "dissenting" votes,

Bosses Own the Courts

Taylor Law Must Be Smashed On Picket Lines

With NYC transit workers ordered back to work under an "agreement" that has not been agreed to by any union body—whose terms subject the TWU membership to court fines totaling tens of millions of dollars—there is a predictable explosion of court suits by union dissidents. They range from the unprincipled to the ineffective, all seeking to gain in the bosses' judicial system what they haven't won on the picket line.

Suit Number One is against the Transport Workers Union itself, demanding that the back-to-work order be overturned because of irregularities in the Local 100 executive board meeting where Local president John Lawe rammed through the pact despite a tie vote. This anti-union "tactic" may well backfire, and in any case only aids the capitalist state in its efforts to hamstring the labor movement; it must be repudiated by all defenders of union independ-

of course. Otherwise they would have had to take responsibility for the strike. After all, as Cherry admitted in an interview with *WV*, "We can't call ourselves dissidents because we are in the majority at this point." Arthur Morris was a godsend for the "dissidents." If this or some similar fortuitous event had not occurred, *they* would have had to push through the sellout, and thus seriously damage their militant image. So it is no surprise that McDonald should reply to *WV*'s question, did he see the strike settlement as a defeat: "No, I think it was a move forward for labor." For his real goal is to be elected in Lawe's place, not to win the strike. By Monday morning, McDonald was urging his supporters to accept the pact: "To vote it down now would be ridiculous.... We'd lose more than we would gain" (*New York Post*, 14 April).

From the very beginning of the strike we warned that the dissidents had no program for victory. In fact, we foretold exactly what happened: "The point is not to call a disorganized strike for a few days or even weeks until there is a new majority on the TWU executive committee, and then have essentially the same rotten settlement shoved down the throats of a demoralized membership" ("Strike to Win!" *WV* No. 253, 4 April).

If there is defeatist sentiment among transit workers today it is because their union leaders, both Lawe and the dissidents, failed to lead a militant mass strike, then engineered a return to work at the moment when its effect was taking hold. They have convinced many who wanted to struggle that there is no way for the unions to win. But the strikers were prepared to stay out for full amnesty—and even today the TWU membership could be galvanized to go back out on strike, *to finish the job*, if they saw a leadership capable of leading it.

TWU Can Still Take the Lead

What was needed to win the strike was first of all to exercise the power that the union had, to tighten the tourniquet around the bosses' arteries and keep on squeezing. It was also necessary to combat Koch's efforts to whip up anti-union frenzy in the city. A powerful demonstration of 100,000 NYC unionists downtown in the centers of power would have dramatically proved that not all New Yorkers are strikebreakers.

A joint transportation strike would also have heated up the conflict in a hurry. But there was nothing but tokens. Long Island Railroad Teamster trackmen went out for 31 hours; PATH operating engineers refused to work overtime for one day, temporarily laming the scab shuttle from Penn Station to World Trade Center. Teamster chief John Mahoney expressed the back-stabbing spirit of the business

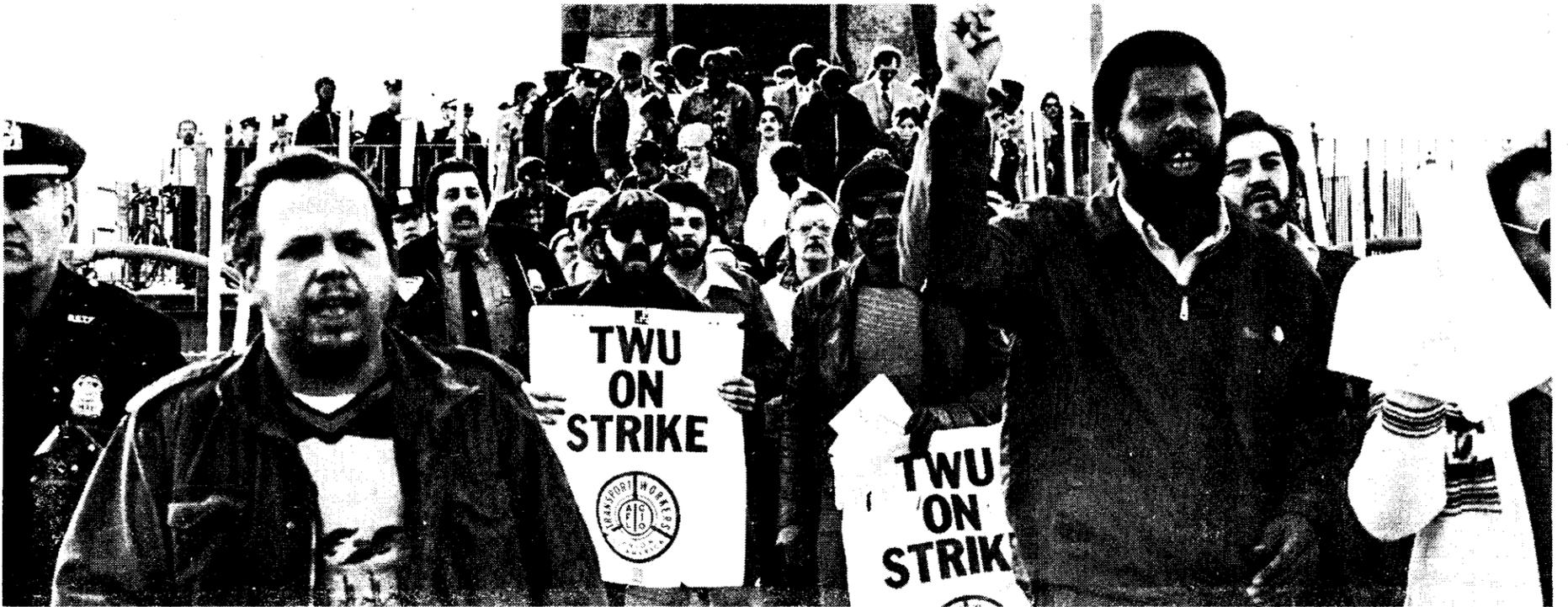
unionists perfectly with his greasy statement that the LIRR union was going back as a demonstration of "good faith." It was an explicit invitation to the city to piece off the more peripheral unions in order to strengthen its hand against the main enemy—the lower paid, more heavily black, traditionally more militant subway workers. Moreover, throughout the strike, 2,700 members of Victor Gotbaum's DC37 of AFSCME crossed TWU picket lines every day to man control centers for the MTA bus and subway system—and this at a time when there were no buses or subways to run! What kind of solidarity do they expect when their own contract expires June 30?

From Day One to the end, the transit strike was a political battle. In the aftermath, union-buster Koch is still fighting, ludicrously posing as the great defender of the 50-cent fare. But the TWU could undercut this cynical ploy to scapegoat the union by demanding and fighting for a free fare—an official union position since the days of Mike Quill, but one neither Lawe nor the "dissidents" talk much about. In black and Hispanic communities there was certainly an awareness that when the TWU was under attack by the strike-breaking, labor-hating, race-baiting mayor, their side was not with Koch.

In the middle of the battle there was a real opportunity to reverse the dangerous polarization between the minority population and the unions which has lasted since the 1968 teachers strike. As city politicians try to polarize New York along race lines, which Koch's cutbacks of ghetto hospitals and schools have done, transit workers could take the lead in uniting all the oppressed against the capitalist "austerity" drive. A class-struggle leadership of the TWU could have led a break by the labor movement from the anti-union Democratic Party of Carter, Koch and Carey, sparking the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The abysmal sellout of the NYC transit strike of 1980 is a defeat for the entire NYC labor movement, for the black and other ghetto populations, the poor and working people. It was a defeat caused not only by the official union leadership—which was in management's pocket from the get-go, just looking for the moment to call off a strike they didn't want—but also by the legalist/reformist "opposition" groupings which didn't want, plan or lead a militant transit strike to save New York. Today, transit workers must fight back with every means of labor struggle at their disposal. Turn the contract vote into a rout of John Lawe, who sold us out, and the McDonalds, Cherrys and Lewises who went along. Rip it up! Vote it down! Prepare a strike to win! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



WV Photo

Vote It Down—Prepare a Strike to Win!

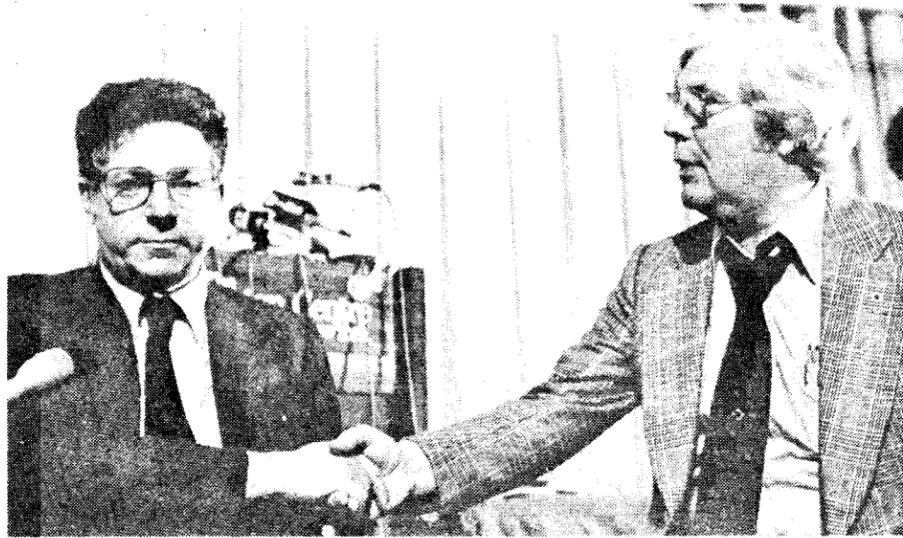
NY TRANSIT SELLOUT

How Dissidents Went Along With Lawe Sellout

APRIL 15—This one really stinks. After 11 days on strike, with their ranks solid and the city beginning to feel the pinch, 33,000 New York transit workers were sold down the river. The Transport Workers Union of America is the strongest municipal union in the country, the powerhouse of New York labor. For a week and a half, TWU Local 100 held the threat of dreaded "gridlock" over the heads of city rulers. But the membership was betrayed.

They could have won this strike if they had leaders fighting to win it. Instead they had a leadership fighting to lose, joining MTA bosses in grinding down the membership's supposed "strike fever" until a moth-eaten contract could be imposed. "Johnny Lawe sold us out," say thousands of transit workers. And they are right. But the Local 100 chief had more than a little help from his opponents, "dissidents" who sat on their hands, more interested in getting into office two years later than fighting for a contract to protect their men from massive speedup and inflation.

An official union sign at the March 27 City Hall demonstration proclaimed: "TWU Leaders Will Go to Jail Before Their Men Go to the Poor House." Well, Lawe isn't sitting in the slammer, and transit workers *are* in the poorhouse. Meanwhile, the "opposition" is talking out of both sides of their mouths—some now call for approval of the despicable contract, others are back to their backstabbing tricks of suing the union. All of them promote the illusion that they can "fight" the Taylor Law in the bosses' courts. And none of them call for what is obviously necessary: go back out again, this time prepared to



WV Photo

TWU's Lawe (right) and MTA's Ravitch shake on rotten deal for NYC transit workers.

finish the job! Don't buy the "buy-backs," throw back the givebacks! Smash the Taylor Law!

Strikers Winning in the Streets...

Above all, the TWU strikers had to hold out: "Transit workers, they may have you by the throat but you've got them by the balls!" Our slogans found an echo because they told a basic truth: "They've got the money—You've got the power!" The ruling class knew it well and seriously prepared for class war. City Hall, the Wall Street bankers and Midtown corporations mobilized everything from 10,000 extra cops to a flotilla of hundreds of scab boats. The mass media churned out anti-strike propaganda hour after hour. At the Brooklyn Bridge and in his "operations control" bunker, union-busting mayor Koch tried to galvanize the population against the unions. They showed the fist of the capitalist state—judges "evenhandedly" meted out million-dollar fines against the unions while wagging their fingers at the Metropolitan Transit Authority whose insulting "offer" pro-

voked the walkout in the first place. Behind it all were Carey and Carter, and the threat of calling out the troops to break the strike.

But the strike was effective, doing what it had to do. Sure, in the first week—with Passover, Good Friday, Easter and school vacation—the traffic tie-ups weren't as big as in the 1 January 1966 transit strike. Nevertheless, despite Koch's propaganda, business interests were hurting. Private industry and commerce were losing \$100 million a day, department store sales off 30 percent, garment shops talking of moving out of town. The *Post* put the total loss at a billion dollars. The united front of the ruling class was beginning to come apart. And if "Nightmare Monday" didn't materialize, "Nightmare Wednesday" did. The power of a strike is based on withholding labor and stopping production—and those trains didn't move. Even the scab buses were increasingly being stopped at the terminal gates. The TWU strikers had done the essential. Now it was necessary to stay out until the bosses began to scream.

But Lawe ordered the men back to

work—without a majority vote on the executive board and with no authority under the TWU constitution to do so. Even the 22-22 split in the Local 100 leadership was the result of a bizarre episode smacking of duplicity or worse. Anti-Lawe dissidents had held a majority until one of their number, Arthur Morris, disappeared on the night of the crucial negotiations only to appear the next day at a National Guard camp in Connecticut! Lawe took advantage of this absence, slammed through a vote, declared the union deadlocked and rushed to the cameras to announce a "settlement," ordering the men to report to work. And for what? A contract with a wage "increase" only half the current rate of inflation. For one percent more than the mediators' last proposal before the strike was called. For givebacks that will cost TWU members tens of millions of dollars. And with no amnesty from the anti-union Taylor Law which threatens to take a grand from the pocket of every striker and \$1 million from union treasuries!

But the struggle isn't over. Transit workers can still fight back. The TWU bureaucrats still pretend the membership has a right to vote on the contract—if only by undemocratic mail ballot, which doesn't allow them to debate the pros and cons, and only after the strike was called off without consulting the ranks. Lawe and his cohorts couldn't shove the '78 contract down the transit workers' throats without two votes, and then stuffing the ballot boxes with votes from non-TA employees. They don't have to get away with it this time.

...Union Misleaders Sell Out at the Bargaining Table

In the aftermath, Koch railed that "the city won the battle in the streets; the MTA lost it at the bargaining table." If there were differences between the capitalist rulers, Koch distinguished himself as the all-purpose hater—against unionists, blacks, whoever crosses his

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