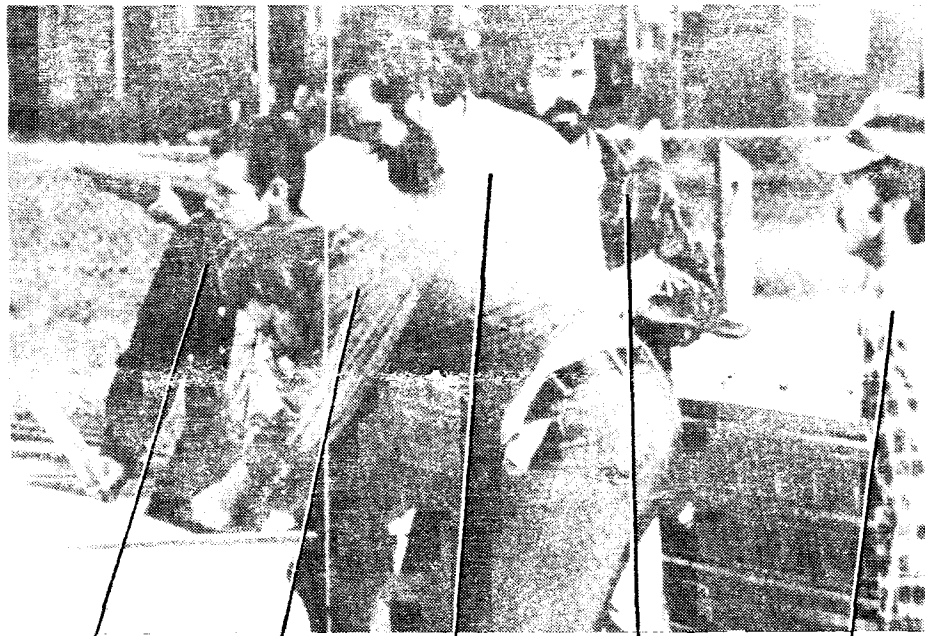


Greensboro Daily News

Court Turns Fascists Loose

They staged the massacre on TV. A Nazi/KKK motorcade of death drove up to the black housing project in Greensboro, N.C. that sunny morning last November. Millions watched in living color as the fascists calmly opened the trunks of their cars, pulled out pistols and rifles and opened fire on the small gathering of left-wing and black demonstrators. Then they packed their weapons back into the trunks and drove off.

It was cold-blooded murder for all to see. But last week an all-white jury in Greensboro let the KKK killers go free—acquitted on five counts of first-degree murder, felonious rioting and all other charges. Now the courts can get down to their real aim—persecuting the fascists' victims in the Communist Workers Party (CWP). Some commented the verdict was a license to kill. It was



Davis/Greensboro Daily News

Claude MacBride

Jack Wilson Fowler (Nazi)

Roland Wayne Wood (Nazi)

Lawrence Gene Morgan (KKK)

Jerry Paul Smith (KKK)

more—it was an invitation to racist murder.

It was an open and shut case. *No one* doubts that the fascist terrorists deliberately planned and carried out a premeditated execution. The videotapes have been replayed so many times on national television that the scene—the crackling shots, the image of fascist guns aiming to kill, the dead bodies of leftists, blacks, union organizers lying in a pool of blood—is fixed in the memory. The killers got off scot-free and the *victims* now face trial on conspiracy charges that could land them in jail for years.

It was all done under the stars and stripes. The Klan murderers claimed they were just doing their patriotic duty in the war against communism. The

racist courts set them free in the name of "evenhanded" American (capitalist) "justice." Harold Covington, head of the National Socialist (Nazi) party crowed, "It's a victory for white America. We've taken on the government now on their home ground, right in their own courtroom and we beat them." But the Nazis didn't have to beat the government. They were on the same side.

They were all there together in the motorcade. A "former" FBI informer rode in the first car, a Greensboro cop brought up the rear. Even the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the "Justice" Department got into the act: their agent told the fascist killers how to legally transport the guns. At the trial, everyone agreed it was the FBI testi-

Jail the KKK/Nazi Killers!

mony that clinched it for the defense. From the outset, the American ruling class has maintained a remarkably disciplined line on the Greensboro massacre. For over a year they unanimously labeled the fascist murder attack a "shootout" between two "hate groups," equating the murderers and their victims. Now they greet the verdict with sighs of "who can ever know what really happened?" Not a peep of liberal protest but studied agnosticism, again serving to victimize the left and embolden the ultra-right terrorists. For the bourgeoisie understands that it is now necessary to stand with fascists against communists.

Public reaction to the Greensboro verdict was varied. Liberal reporters expressed shock and dismay, but Southern blacks long accustomed to Jim
continued on page 13

Cops Out of the Unions!

Chicago, Illinois
To the Editor:

As a follow-up on the article in *WV* [No. 265, 3 October] regarding the Teamsters support for the three cops who murdered a black man for the "crime" of smoking on the subway: despite the fact that the Teamster bureaucracy has been boot-licking these three racist cop scum, the Teamsters lost the election on October 16. These thugs for the ruling class don't want a union—they think their masters treat them just fine and dandy. Indeed they do!

I work in Melrose Park, Ill., an industrial suburb of Chicago, and it's a well-known fact that the cops regularly receive big donations to their police associations from the local capitalists for the fine job they do busting heads, harassing blacks and herding scabs across picket lines. In the eight years that I have been working for International Harvester in Melrose Park, the cops have compiled a record that their masters can be proud of:

1) Beat my co-worker and union brother Bennie Lenard to within an inch of his life and blinded him in one eye for the simple reason that he is black.

2) During a strike at Capitol Packaging Company, they set police dogs upon defenseless women and children and fined a scab truck driver \$15 after he deliberately ran over and killed the union vice president.

3) Cleared the entranceways of pickets so scabs could freely move in and out of the gates during the 172-day International Harvester strike.

The list could go on but I think *WV* readers get the point—the cops are doing a valuable service for the capitalist class and I'm sure the bosses will always have enough crumbs on their table to feed their armed thugs. Furthermore, I'm certain the cops realize this fact, by and large.

Cops are the enemy of working people. Workers must learn to rely on themselves and no one else! My



WV Photo

Chicago, October 1980: Teamsters protest bureaucracy's hiring of three racist killer cops.

local union succeeded in setting up a workers defense guard around the home of C.B. Dennis, a member of Local 6. C.B. Dennis is a black man who moved into an all-white neighborhood and had arsonists attempt to burn him out on two occasions. Of course the cops were unable to do anything about the arson but the Labor Struggle Caucus was. The Labor Struggle Caucus was based on the principles of the Transitional Program of Leon Trotsky and had the support of the Spartacist League.... The Labor Struggle Caucus put forward a motion at the subsequent union meeting telling the membership to come forward in defense of their union brother. The motion passed and around-the-clock defense was set up around the home of C.B. Dennis. I'm proud to say that C.B. and his family are still living in that home and that I spoke at a Local 6 membership meeting for the motion that initiated the defense.

Some events happened at my last union meeting and I think readers of *WV* will find them interesting. The sell-out Teamster bureaucracy is not alone in its support for cops in the union movement. The cops

have a lot of friends on the left. I presented a two-part motion which goes as follows:

1) That UAW Local 6 goes on record condemning the Teamsters for their support of the three cops responsible for the murder of a black man for the "crime" of smoking on the subway.

2) That UAW Local 6 goes on record as opposing cops in the union movement on the basis that cops are nothing but scab-herders and the hired guns of the capitalist class.

Point one of the motion passed without opposition; however, point two was defeated after long-time Communist Party supporter and ex-president of Local 6 Norm Roth spoke against it. Norm Roth's arguments were not unique but quite entertaining coming from a man who claims to be a Marxist. Here is a quote from this "Marxist": "Who are we to tell the cops they can't join a union? We want the union movement to grow. We can't tell anyone not to join a union." I imagined the CP and hacks like Roth will be organizing the KKK and Nazis into unions, given their incredible logic! In a personal conversation with Roth after the meeting, he informed me that all cops were not bad, in fact he even had some friends who joined the force. After getting nowhere in my attempts to explain the role of cops in capitalist society, I informed him that he should go back to Lenin and read "The State and Revolution."

A Maoist in the local who supports the politics of the *Call* newspaper abstained on the second half of the motion. He was not sure if we have the right to tell cops what to do or not. However, he was sure of one thing and that is that I had no right to tell Norm Roth what to do!! You see, according to this Maoist, Norm Roth has been fighting the cops for thirty years and who am I to tell this old warrior what to do?! I have not been a member of Local 6 for thirty years but I've been around long enough to know that Norm Roth did not want to take on the cops during our 172-day strike. The fact is, Norm Roth and other union bureaucrats tried to stop me from speaking at a strike rally when I was putting forward the need for mass picketing to stop the scabbing. Maybe Roth was worried mass picketing might bloody the noses of some of his friends on the police force?!

Sincerely,
Chuck Marino
member, UAW Local 6

Stop the Deportation—Defend Marian Bustin!

Reviving 1950s-style witchhunt tactics, the U.S. government is trying to deport 26-year-old Marian Bustin, an active member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 and a member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

About a year and a half ago Bustin was called into the New York office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and warned that her permanent residence status was in jeopardy because she attended SWP meetings in 1974. Now it has been

revealed that the INS "warning" was only part of a six-year effort against Bustin by the government's various spies, snitches, stoolies, finks and public officials. Born in Scotland, Bustin moved to this country in 1977 after marrying an American citizen, and currently works at Republic Steel Kitt No. 1 Mine in Philippi, West Virginia. The latest information came out when lawyers for the SWP received copies of INS and FBI files as part of the ongoing party court suit against government harassment.

The U.S. government has always displayed a conscious *class* standard on immigration: while any blood-soaked dictator from Nicaragua or Vietnam can get instant American "asylum," a poor Haitian black or a socialist or union militant often can't even gain entry into the U.S., or faces the constant threat of deportation. Stalinist fellow traveler Harry Bridges fought for decades to stay in the U.S., and it was the power of his union which protected him; Trotskyist Carl Skoglund lived under the threat of deportation until his death in 1961.

Of course, the SWP long ago abandoned the Trotskyist revolutionary heritage for civil-libertarian social democracy, but the witchhunters are not attuned to such fine distinctions. The entire workers movement must put a stop to this latest government attempt to witchhunt the labor movement by selective deportation.

Stop the deportation—Down with the anti-communist McCarran-Walter immigration act—Defend Marian Bustin! ■



WV Photo

Smash Northern Ireland H-Block Hellhole!

"Smash H-Block! Smash Long Kesh!" chanted 800 protesters at the British consulate in New York City, November 22. The demonstration was one of many around the country, organized by the Irish Northern Aid/Irish Prisoners of War Committee, in support of seven Irish nationalist prisoners on hunger strike in Britain's Northern Ireland concentration camp of Long Kesh. A flatbed truck drawn up before the consulate carried a Long Kesh-style cell holding a "blanketman." Skits depicting British torture of political prisoners dramatized the plight of the hunger strikers, several reportedly near death, as they continue into their fourth week of defiance of their arrogant imperialist jailers.

As communists and internationalists we join with the protesters in supporting the hunger strikers' demand to be treated as political prisoners instead of as common criminals. However, the Northern Aid Committee made a purely nationalist appeal, demonstrated by the huge American and Irish flags decorating the staging area. In contrast Spartacist League supporters participated in the picket with signs demanding "Smash H-Block! Free Long Kesh/Armagh Republican Prisoners!" "British Army Out of North Ireland Now!" "For an Irish Section of the Reborn Fourth International!" and "For a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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No. 269 28 November 1980

CWP Supporters Set Up In San Diego

Defend NASSCO Frame-Up Victims!

LOS ANGELES—Three San Diego left-wing union activists face serious frame-up charges for allegedly plotting to blow up the main power transformer at the National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO), the largest shipyard on the West Coast. The NASSCO 3, as they are called—Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), and David Boyd, another union militant—were arrested September 16 by a San Diego police SWAT team and the FBI. Union officials and others have linked the crude frame-up attempt with NASSCO's attempt to bust the union in the shipyards. According to newspaper accounts, the three militants were among 28 unionists fired by NASSCO for their participation in union protests last August over safety conditions in the yard, culminating in a three-day wildcat strike.

Los Angeles attorney Leonard Weinglass said the three arrests grew out of "entrapment" by FBI and local police intelligence agents in collaboration with NASSCO (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 19 September). Boyd and Johnson were arrested in a van allegedly containing a pipe bomb and two vials of acid. The van belonged to an FBI informer who drove the two union activists to a pre-



San Diego Union

Ramon Barton, FBI provocateur.

arranged pick-up spot where the cops were waiting. Loo, an IAM shop steward, was arrested a half hour later at his home. The three are now out on bail; if convicted of the charge of "conspiracy to bomb affecting interstate commerce," they face prison terms of five years and \$10,000 fines. Additionally, Boyd is accused of planning to assault a labor relations manager (who was never assaulted) and threatening the life of a security guard (who was never identified). All FBI evidence against the three is based on the testimony of one Ramon Barton, an agent provocateur who says his goal was to "penetrate the CWP, expose them, and stop people from getting hurt" (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 26 September).

The arrests were the latest in a series of union-busting moves by NASSCO, where unsafe working conditions culminating in the on-the-job death of two machinists in September had sparked an angry protest movement by workers at the plant. In June, Loo and Boyd led a work stoppage over noxious fumes in the hull of the Navy destroyer tender, *Cape Cod*. On August 2 Iron Workers

Local 627 at NASSCO demonstrated at the launching ceremony of the *Cape Cod* to protest health and safety conditions. On August 4 the company retaliated by firing 17 trade unionists. On August 5 the workers responded with a three-day wildcat strike whose picket lines were respected by all the unions at NASSCO. Seven more workers were fired during the strike. A month later, on September 2, machinists Michael Beebe and Kenneth King were asphyxiated by leaking argon gas from an open unmarked tank on the *Cape Cod*—the sixth and seventh deaths due to gross company negligence in the last five years at NASSCO. Beebe and King's funeral was attended by over 900 workers. Two weeks later the NASSCO 3 were arrested.

FBI informer Barton was one of the 28 NASSCO workers originally fired in August. During this period, Barton now testifies, he had been constantly wired with recording and transmitting devices. This provocateur spoke with and attended meetings of fired union activists, taping conversations while he tried to involve workers in plans to blow up the homes of NASSCO officials, tape propane tanks to mufflers of cars, kidnap Labor Relations officials, throw gasoline bottles through company windows and so forth. As former Local 627 Assistant Business Agent Miguel Salas commented,

"The company is desperate. They've tried to divide the union by offering to hire back some of the 28 fired workers. They've tried red-baiting, and now an informer is used in what appears to be entrapment of three of our members."
—*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 17 September

While shop stewards and many rank and file unionists in the shipyard have come to the defense of the NASSCO 3, several of the local union tops have supported NASSCO in its frame-up and McCarthyite red purge. With contract expiration less than a year away and union elections due to be held this January, the company had been using the union safety protests as an excuse to fire many union leaders. Assistant BA Salas, one of the original 28 fired workers, was removed from his union posts after coming to the defense of the arrested three and expressed the fear that the arrests will be used to put the militant local into international trusteeship.

On September 16 Salas had distributed a leaflet calling on the union ranks to defend the arrested union brothers from the NASSCO/government attack. The next day Salas was removed from all his union positions by Lou Goodwin, head of the Shopmen's Division of the International Ironworkers. Goodman says there was a "deplorable" situation at NASSCO, "which I think we all know now was created by the CWP." Working hand-in-glove with the company, Goodman continued his red-baiting smear. "The criminals will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law, and I think the CWP will find itself on the decline..." (*San Diego Union*, 18 September).

The NASSCO frame-up comes in the context of a national media attack against the CWP ever since KKK/Nazi murderers shot down five CWPs in cold blood in Greensboro last November. One ominous sign was an NBC-TV special on the CWP November 10, which skipped over the fascist killers then on trial, instead stirring up fears of the "party [which] vowed to avenge the deaths" of Greensboro. Police officials were quoted that the CWP "are for violent overthrow of the government."



San Diego Union

IAM shop steward and CWP supporter Mark Loo victimized in union-busting at NASSCO shipyard, San Diego.

The NASSCO bomb-plot charges were linked to CWP antics during the presidential campaign, throwing eggs at Anderson and Kennedy, and their clash with NYC cops outside the Democratic convention in August. And the commentator made a pitch for beefing up federal secret police powers to persecute left-wing groups:

"So far police in 20 states have sought information on the organization [CWP], but because of new restrictions, the FBI cannot provide it. As a result the Greensboro police department has become a national clearing house for information about the party."

Now it's Reagan country, and should the bourgeoisie step up repression against the left as part of its renewed Cold War anti-communist drive, the frenzied CWP may well be first in line for attack. It is the duty of all left and labor militants and defenders of democratic rights to defend the NASSCO 3 against these blatant frame-up charges. But the CWP certainly makes itself an easy target. According to a fact sheet put out by supporters of the NASSCO 3 defense, there were no less than 12 specific incidents during the two-month period of August-September that Ramon Barton behaved as an agent provocateur—trying to suck workers into his plans, bringing semi-automatic rifles and shotguns in his van to the picket lines, approaching workers for various bomb-making plots, suggesting

the buying of expensive surveillance equipment and so forth. So why did Boyd and Johnson stupidly enter Barton's van on September 16 and let themselves be taken for a ride?!

The closely coordinated government/company conspiracy to frame the NASSCO 3 is an attack on the entire labor movement. If left-wingers are picked off in San Diego, it makes it that much easier to go after militant unionists around the country. And what are they accused of? Alleged plans to sabotage the operations of a bloodsucking company engaged in a vicious union-busting drive. Even if anyone besides the feds and their paid provocateur had dreamed up such fantastical plans it would be no crime, merely a stupid diversion from the class struggle. Such alleged plots are the product of a raving cop mentality—the demented idea that communist revolution is a conspiracy to bomb, loot and maim.

This vicious lie must be denounced and the charges dropped against the victimized San Diego union militants! Let's talk about the real criminals: NASSCO gets seven workers killed and scores seriously injured, while the FBI is called in to frame up labor activists. Socialists and class-conscious unionists must respond to this anti-red witchhunt by mobilizing labor and minorities against the capitalists and their secret police. Defend the NASSCO 3! ■

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RWG: A Cult for Scabbing

This fall a new journal suddenly appeared on the shelves of some Ann Arbor and Detroit bookstores. Misnamed the *Fighting Worker (FW)*, this journal is the publication of the Ann Arbor-based cult/sect of Peter Sollenberger which now calls itself the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG). This most bizarre of tiny "anti-Spartacist Leagues" has never before, in its admitted four years of existence, felt obliged to issue any kind of newspaper. Private letters, henhouse gossip and "court documents"—all directed against the SL—have been the defining features of the Sollenberger group. In fact, the main real document of the group was for years a privately circulated "27-point outline for a critique/analysis" of the SL (see "What Is the 'Revolutionary Workers Group'," *Young Spartacus*, March 1980).

It is not even that the RWG is finally responding to our challenges to put its confused positions down on paper where the words stay on the page. But that, after having organized a series of stunning defeats, even Peter Sollenberger apparently realized that "socialism" in one college town was a dead end. This "theorist" had managed to get a union decertified, left an alphabet soup of collapsed front groups, flopped in an attempt at an anti-Klan rally (after slandering as dupes the black workers who attended the successful anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the SL in Detroit last November), justified scabbing on an AFSCME strike and generally muddied the name of Marxism in his tight little corner of Ann Arbor with posturing, patronizing and punishing of his own members. And some of his better members were escaping.

Of course, the way the RWG puts it, its public silence thus far was appropriate to its location, but now the "RWG needs a publication to move forward." In fact, Ann Arbor was chosen precisely to maintain the private methods of a study circle, and most of all to avoid the SL. And that didn't work. The SL came to town and the para-political anti-Spartacists had to face reality, even as they denied it. In 1977, to accompany some new set of initials, they announced (to the astonishment of people they'd been working with for years!) that they'd always been "Leninists," even "Trotskyists."

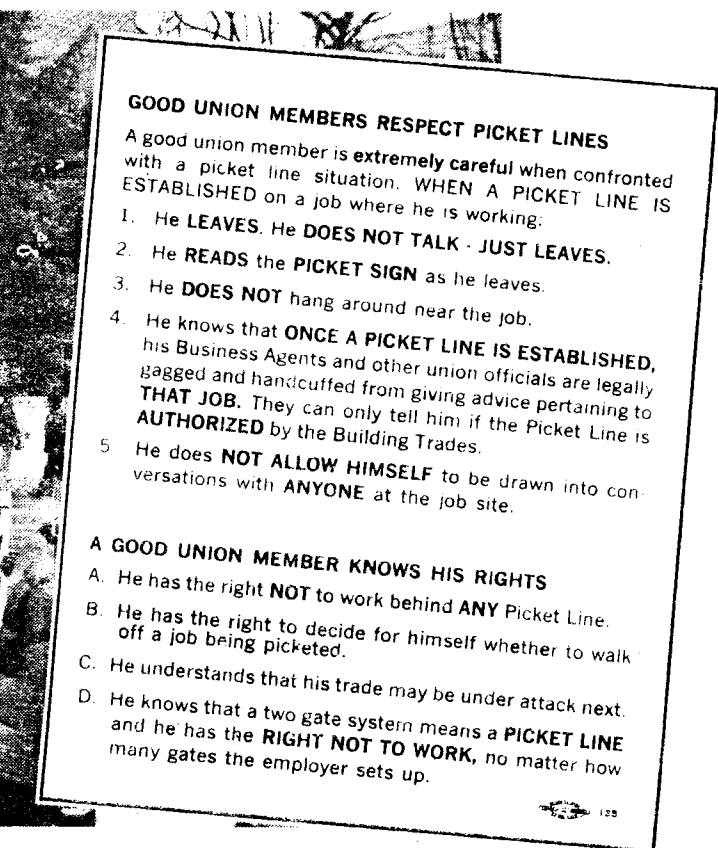
In the U.S. there are two substantial organizations claiming to be Trotskyist. There is the Socialist Workers Party, a pretty consistently reformist organization, and the revolutionary Spartacist League. And a big gulf in between. At various points, all sorts of petty centrist honchos have seen that if they could just plant themselves between the SWP and the SL, they ought to find a fertile field on the U.S. political landscape. If only they could appeal as a less hard-nosed SL, as a group that doesn't swim quite so hard against the stream of petty-bourgeois radicalism. Easier said than done. The problem for such soft-core centrists is that the revolutionaries won't allow them to fudge the hard choices of political life. There is room for "soft Trotskyists" only where the authentic Trotskyists are not around to expose the class collaboration behind the incoherence and confusionism.

But it is different in Europe. There, large centrist currents have historic roots and the continuity of revolutionary Trotskyism is represented by the relatively recently established, small propaganda groups of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The iSt's recent successes have helped create a market of frightened centrists for the RWG's only product: anti-Spartacism. In particular, the Workers Socialist



WV Photo

According to RWG, "A scab is one who tries to break a labor action by doing the work of a striking worker." So supposedly it's okay to cross picket lines. Even craft unions consider this scabbing (see IAM card, above



right). There's a purpose to RWG word games, of course: they were caught scabbing on 1977 AFSCME clerical strike (above) in Ann Arbor.

League (WSL) in England has shown the most interest as a potential customer. Indeed, the *FW* informs us that they met representatives from "the largely European Trotskyist International League (TILC) and the largely Latin American Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) at a TILC summer camp in Britain." It is a gross exaggeration to describe the TILC as "largely European." Its dominant section has become an organization restricted increasingly to Oxford thanks to the iSt's successful regroupments out of the WSL in Britain.

If the RWG has any fears that the WSL might meddle with its internal cult world, Steve Bryant's Socialist League (Democratic Centralist)—the WSL's present American mini-affiliate—can reassure them otherwise. At the very most the RWG would be committing itself to an international non-aggression pact; in return it would get false international credentials. This would probably require the unnatural coupling of Bryant's immediate family with Sollenberger's cult/sect. These are unlikely partners, despite their common addiction to fake mass work. But they do appear undeterred by the prospect and have even been issuing joint leaflets.

How the *Fighting Worker* Fights the SL

With *FW* the Sollenberger clique still does not have a publication that takes programmatic positions on central issues, because the *FW* is fundamentally a maneuver. If Marxists begin, as Trotsky insisted in *The Third International After Lenin*, from an international political program, the RWG begins from petty opportunist appetite and the need for "theoretical" cover for hostility to the SL. To be sure, they baptize their miserable ragsheet "a contribution toward the rebuilding of the Fourth International." But true to form, *FW* devotes six of its eight pages to the iSt, ignoring ostensibly Trotskyist formations like the United Secretariat, about whom the RWG has never written a single word.

FW is a mix of patronizing Marxist primer, material rehashed and blunted from *WV* and an avalanche of "theory" to cover the failures and misadventures of Sollenberger in his obsession with the SL. Nearly half the first issue is devoted

to an article justifying crossing picket lines (the SL having caught them in the act). *FW* is thus the literary expression of the RWG's bid to become America's "soft Trotskyists"—the Spartacist League without the SL's hard programmatic line and angular clarity. But the SL's "hardness" isn't a matter of style; the class line is a hard line.

The RWG wants to claim orthodoxy on defense of the Soviet Union but it also wants to drift a little with anti-Soviet reaction. So does *FW* say "Military Victory for the Soviet Union in Afghanistan"? "Defend the gains of October"? Sure. But its real line is presented as a long attack on the SL's angular slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and as a capitulation to the Polish Catholic church. And in the refusal to draw political blood between the RWG and the various third-camp/state-capitalist groupings with whom they share a common platform on Poland.

Here is a journal that appears to be directed at the SL. And it ought to be, if one believes what the RWG says about the SL. After all, the RWG is a group of a handful which claims the much larger SL has been for most of its history the embodiment of revolutionary Trotskyism. But sometime in the mid-1970s it went bad (about the time Sollenberger began his low-level front-group work among clericals at the University of Michigan).

In a letter to "J" dated 22 September 1980, it is claimed that the RWG has a one- to five-year recruitment perspective directed at "winning away from degenerating Spartacism the best elements from its periphery and membership." If this were true, the RWG would be anxious to get the SL into a debate. But all the polemical huffing and puffing is directed not at the "best elements" of the SL but at the "best elements" of the RWG! Eleven years of parasitic Spartacist-fixation has brought Sollenberger fewer ex-SLers than the SL has won from the infinitely smaller pool of Sollenberger supporters.

Sollenberger's main problem is to keep his membership away from direct political combat with the SL. The leadership has imposed a gag rule on its members and front-group supporters barring them from talking to SL members. One leading member of the

RWG's main union caucus who later joined the SL had argued within the Sollenberger group to take up the SL's debate challenges. But she was admonished that such a debate would only "confuse" her.

The "sparkling theorists" who run the RWG have concocted every sort of excuse to avoid an open debate: they said the SL "was mean to [WSL leader] Thornett" and that "trade unionists can't debate reds." Or they placed privatizing conditions to block the way, like the suggestion for a closet debate in which there would be allowed no more than "five BLG [former acronym of RWG] comrades... five SL comrades... five BLG contacts, five SL contacts" and of course the "unaligned" who must be "willing to state openly they are not supporters or sympathizers" of either group. Apparently Sollenberger has only five members he feels he can trust.

An open debate would threaten the cult character of the RWG. They have good reason to have no confidence in their incoherent and contradictory political line, because it is not politics which really holds the group together. Face to face with the SL, they would be forced to defend their history and actual practice. Real debate goes on in political life as hard choices, not cushioned readings from texts.

The Making of a Cult

In the many attempts of Ann Arbor's poseur Sollenberger to look more serious than the SL, he has taken to attacking us for having a sense of humor. No jokes, demands Peter Pompous. But humor, besides other salutary effects, can contain insight. Take this one about the RWG, for instance. An RWG member is charged with being a member of a cult. A week later the member makes his retort: "The RWG is not a cult. Peter said so."

The weakness of the U.S. left makes possible all sorts of cults with political and quasi-political missions. The more petty-bourgeois the environment, the more removed from the great class forces that shape history, the more habitable for cultists.

It began in 1969 when Sollenberger and fellow ex-Harvard student Leland Sanderson briefly flirted with some

SLers in Boston. What they said was they rejected our regroupment perspective, in particular our orientation to the mass radical SDS. But it was our democratic-centralist Leninist organization that scared the boys away. So they packed their bags and moved to Michigan, presumably to conquer the proletarian masses—in Ann Arbor. That Sollenberger/Sanderson found reasons to avoid Leninist discipline is not unusual, particularly among the failed academics who hang around the left. What makes these two special was their deluded self-image as unappreciated Marxist thinkers. Yet even today they admit the SL was a revolutionary organization in that period, and have never attempted to justify independent existence. These Marxist “thinkers” produced no documents, no position papers, no explanations—just took it on the political lam. What did they think of Chile? Of Portugal? Who knows?

They effectively dropped out of sight but kept themselves busy assiduously reading *Workers Vanguard*. Later they appeared at SL forums, armed with tape recorders, masquerading as interested labor historians. And so it might have remained, had they not stumbled across a group of women clericals in Ann Arbor. Now for the first time Sollenberger was presented with an opportunity to create the pond in which he could be the big minnow. He latched onto Clericals for a Democratic Union (CDU) on a low-level, economist basis. It was an organization that emanated straight from Sollenberger's ego and was organized accordingly, with no officials or regulations for years. It was simultaneously a “union” without an elected leadership, a “party” without party democracy or real internal political life and a front group. Sollenberger should have stuck to “theory.”

When the CDU took over leadership of hapless UAW Local 2001, Sollenberger bragged that he had created the first really red union in American history. But he didn't brag red to the clericals who had elected the CDU on the most minimal, sub-reformist program. In fact, the majority of the CDU membership, up until the latter part of the CDU's term in office, did not know that a secret group presumptuously called the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency and headed by Sollenberger was calling the shots. The clericals were thus completely unprepared for and taken aback by the barrage of redbaiting attacks from the UAW bureaucracy. So after only seven months of CDU leadership, during which hardly a grievance was processed, the clericals decided no union was better than the one they had, and voted to decertify.

Now this short-lived and sorry history of UAW Local 2001 is being hailed as one of the best pieces of union work ever accomplished in America! An RWG supporter of the decertified union recently declared with hilarious pomposity that the CDU has “a record which no other left organization has ever paralleled in this country in the past three decades.” That is of course a good thing, as the union movement doesn't need more decertifications.

But defeats must be glorified in the making of a cult. This is necessary not only to preserve the infallibility of the great leader but to pose a *test* for cult initiation. It is in this sense that even the bloodless academic cultism of the RWG shares something of the method of that mad suicide cult of Jim Jones in Guyana.

According to his followers, never ever has Sollenberger made a mistake or been wrong. Someone else is always responsible. When decertification occurred, it was the fault of the clericals' backwardness and any “flaws” in the CDU's work were due to the “initial lack of political consciousness of even the most advanced workers in the CDU” (Open Letter to Comrade H., 30 January 1977). The political lead and advice provided by Sollenberger in this

UAW militants don't accept RWG's definition of “non-striking worker” as he tries to cross Ford River Rouge picket line in 1941.



disastrous episode were never brought into question.

Thus the welter of front groups and study circles set up and folded at the whim of Sollenberger serve to provide a protective covering behind which the guru can hide from the political responsibility for his errors. And this kind of anti-Leninist organization makes it easier to seal the members from political reality. Any attempt to even suggest that the BLT or BLG or RWG or whatever was the current alias of the Sollenberger cult supported any of these front groups brought forth howls of paranoia that they were being “fingered.” Yet any approach to these supposedly “independent” groups to get a signature on a petition, or even an opinion, was met with the standard response: “You know who to ask.” Or more honestly and simply, “Go ask Peter.”

While Sollenberger has attempted to seal off his people from reality, Sollenbertown is not on the agenda. Reality has a way of asserting itself, mainly by hurting the members of cults, sometimes tragically. So this organization, which was developed during the “me-decade” of touchy-feely self-improvement groups, held out the promise of “supportive” internal life. The SL is “so hard,” went the Sollenberger recruiting approach. But the problem was that this personality-centered approach, without democratic Leninist *political* norms, hurt more. The primacy of personality

over politics sent RWGers reeling, as their supposed mistakes were treated psychologically rather than politically by the “supportive” RWG leaders. Members took all the heat for Sollenberger's inability to provide a coherent program and political leadership.

As one leading CDU member who joined the SL put it, “Everyone knows that the SL has a ‘closet rule’—what you do in your personal life is your own business as long as it doesn't affect your organizational work. The trouble with the CDU study circle mentality was that everybody was busy trying to get into everybody else's closet!” And as this ex-CDUer pointed out, the members sometimes paid a terrible personal cost. One member, Carolyn Weeks, was given the Sollenberger version of the Mennonite custom of “shunning,” and she cracked. “Caucus leaders with intimate ties to ‘the leader’ ended up being dumped in the local Roman Catholic insane asylum” (see “An Interview with the Notorious Comrade H.” *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). Even now, the mention of the name Carolyn Weeks sends RWGers close to “the leader” into tearful hysterical fits. Just as the Sollenberger “soft” version of “Trotskyism” turns out to be a species of class collaboration, his “soft” organization turns out to be a distasteful nest of anti-political personal abuse.

We wish for more serious, more political opponents; but we have to take

what we can get. We take small groups seriously. We take even some left-talking sects and cults seriously, precisely because given the weakness of the U.S. left they can attract some activists who might otherwise be attracted to Trotskyism. Our pages have included polemics against such groups as the RSL and the TOC; more to the point, in the days when Lynn Marcus' cult group was still part of the left we wrote sharp attacks on his economic claptrap. But we always pointed out what was the real glue which held the NCLC together—the cult of Lynn Marcus.

It is nothing new for groups like the RWG to proclaim themselves the revolutionaries, born whole and pristine out of someone's thigh, with no past, no “sin.” The reality is that they have no future. We would like to save at least some of the members of such groups for the revolution. We have too often seen decent young people ground up in the self-justifying circle of some guru, spit out unfit for revolutionary politics and more often than not fed up with politics altogether. Such members crawl out of the cult/sects on their psychic hands and knees with just enough energy to escape, like slipping through the underbrush at Jonestown, relieved at last to be out and vowing never ever to return. In this regard, it is interesting to note that in the last year or so the SL has re-recruited a dozen of its own ex-members. This is unthinkable for the RWG, NCLC or any other cult.

Cult Cries Fraud

There is a limit to how long such a subterranean cult-cocoon can perpetuate itself in the groves of academe, especially after the RWG/BLG/BLT's fairly disastrous experience organizing (or disorganizing) U of M clerical workers. But when they leave Ann Arbor, even for occasional forays into Detroit, they risk running into the class struggle—or it running into them. In the center of the American auto industry you can't avoid the *class line*: you're on one side or the other, “there are no neutrals here.” And in this majority-black metropolis there's no escaping the *black question*, the strategic key to the American proletarian revolution. Thus repeatedly over the past year, the U.S. left has been confronted by racist attacks by the KKK and other fascist terror groups. What has been the response of the RWG?

When the Ku Klux Klan threatened last November to stage a march through downtown Detroit to celebrate the fascists' bloody Greensboro massacre, the Spartacist League joined militant auto workers from Ford's River Rouge plant to mobilize the largest labor/black protest against fascist terror the city had seen in a long, long time. Backing down

continued on page 11



WV Photo

Detroit, November 1979: RWG calls these black workers dupes.

SL FRAUD IN DETROIT!
Read the Truth About the SL's Phony Labor/Black Rally in Detroit!

On 10 November 1979 the Spartacist League (SL) staged a demonstration in Detroit to protest the 2 November 1979 Ku Klux Klan march through downtown Detroit. The rally was organized by the Detroit branch of the SL. The demonstration was held in front of the Ford River Rouge plant. The SL leadership, including Comrade H., Comrade J., and Comrade K., were present. The demonstration was a success. The SL leadership was praised for their leadership and for their ability to organize a large demonstration. The SL leadership was also praised for their ability to bring together black workers and white workers in a common struggle against the KKK. The SL leadership was also praised for their ability to bring together labor and black workers in a common struggle against the KKK. The SL leadership was also praised for their ability to bring together labor and black workers in a common struggle against the KKK.

For Workers Revolution!

Down with Turkish Junta!

ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN NOS. 24 AND 26
AUGUST/SEPTEMBER AND
OCTOBER 1980

On September 12, after months of spiraling political instability, the Turkish military under chief of staff General Kenen Evren seized power from the government of Suleyman Demirel's rightist Justice Party. As army limousines whisked politicians off to "protective custody," the new National Security Council of five top-ranking generals warned on television that any resistance would be "broken in the severest manner instantaneously." Parliament and all political parties were declared dissolved. Ordering strikers back to work, the military illegalized some 750 labor organizations and arrested more than 1,000 unionists, including all leaders and officials of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions (DISK), the principal Turkish union federation.

Army patrols have rounded up "suspected terrorists" by the thousands, arresting more than 3,000 in a dragnet at one Ankara university alone. The National Security Council has reported that nearly 7,000 have been arrested since the coup, another 4,000 detained but not yet charged and 750 sentenced for "terrorist activity." The repression has been particularly savage in regions inhabited by the oppressed Kurdish minority, especially in northeastern Turkey. Tanks and troops occupied the Kurdish community of Baglar on September 22 in retaliation against a protest there demanding an end to martial law. More than 500 were reported arrested. Meanwhile the generals have launched a big mopping-up operation in the southeast. Military dictatorships are never bloodless—and this one promises to exact its share from the Kurds, workers and leftists.

Just about everyone knew the coup was coming—it was a question of when. Five times in the past year the generals issued stern warnings to the bourgeois politicians to stop feuding and halt the country's slide into chaos. And when the Turkish military makes such threats, they mean business. When the army took power in 1960 it executed right-wing prime minister Menderes. In the March 1971 "coup by communiqué," a simple threat to intervene forced Demirel to resign and brought about three years of martial rule. But this time the two main capitalist parties—Demirel's conservative Justice Party and the "liberal" Republican People's Party

Military coup results in savage repression against workers, Kurds, leftists.

(RPP) of former prime minister Bulent Ecevit—remained deadlocked in parliament, unable to appoint a president after five months of wrangling and more than 150 votes.

Also blocked were the repressive laws being demanded by the generals. In the big-city slums, on the campuses and even in remote provincial towns, fighting between savage fascist bands and a myriad of "far left" commando groups had led to a state of near civil war, claiming 20 to 30 lives daily. Military calls for an "anti-terrorist" crackdown were certainly not without popular support, as the political fighting often had the character of gang vendettas and indiscriminate terror. Coffeehouses known as hangouts of leftists or rightists were attacked without regard to bystanders, and slums or villages identified with one side were routinely attacked by the other.

Meanwhile, the Turkish economy was beset by inflation running at 130 percent last year, and about the only export the country had was its workers—more and more of whom were being booted out of West Germany due to recession in Europe. Demirel was having trouble carrying out the drastic austerity measures that his IMF patrons in Bonn and Washington had dictated as conditions for further bailouts. And the combative Turkish proletariat had responded with a wave of militant strikes and factory occupations, which

threatened the crippled economy even though they were led into reformist deadends by the Stalinist and pro-RPP labor tops. Faced with the paralysis of parliamentary government, the Turkish bourgeoisie was virtually unanimous in greeting the military takeover, the only means, in their view, of imposing "stability"—by straitjacketing the rebellious working class.

Legacy of Atatürk

When the Turkish generals sent their tanks into the streets, they justified the coup as a necessary measure "to steer the country back to the path of Atatürk." And on the morning after the takeover, General Evren ostentatiously placed wreaths at the mausoleum of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the modernizing general who in 1923 gave the coup de grâce to the decrepit Ottoman Empire and founded the Turkish republic. To this day the mainstream of the army considers itself to be the inheritor and guarantor of the Kemalist tradition: bonapartist bourgeois nationalism, combining anti-Communism and pro-Western secularism. But where Atatürk saw himself as a modernizer, dragging a medieval country into the 20th century by fighting religious obscurantism, he could not lay the economic basis for continued social progress. Half a century later, "Kemalist" generals are acting as the agents of Western imperialism

and a domestic bourgeoisie which has increasingly appealed to clerical-reactionary and fascist forces to shore up its shaky rule.

Much has been made of the so-called "evenhandedness" of the new regime. In a radio-television broadcast to the nation, General Evren attacked those who refuse to sing the national anthem, whether "they are acting as religious fanatics or as partisans of foreign ideologies, who instead sing the Internationale" (*Le Monde*, 14-15 September). Not only were leaders of the Justice Party and RPP arrested—and thousands of leftists and unionists—but also the two leading rightist politicians: Nemcettin Erbakan, leader of the Islamic-fundamentalist National Salvation Party (NSP), and Alparslan Türkeş, *Führer* of the fascist National Action Party (NAP) and its paramilitary gangs, the notorious Grey Wolves. While Demirel, Ecevit and Erbakan have been released, Türkeş, whose growing support within the armed forces has worried the old guard generals, remains in "protective custody."

It has been reported that the expansion of Erbakan's NSP figured prominently in the generals' decision to take power. A month before the coup the NSP led a march of 50,000 through Konya (Turkey's equivalent of Khomeini's Qom) demanding a return to Islamic law, the "Sheriat," proscribed by Mustafa Kemal. Banners and slogans were in Arabic script, declared illegal in 1928 when the Latin alphabet was introduced; much of the crowd refused to stand for the national anthem (hence Evren's complaint), and many male marchers wore the fez, the traditional Ottoman headdress abolished by Atatürk for all but the clergy. The military top brass is keenly aware of the danger that the far right presents. They look next door at Iran and worry that the victory of Islamic obscurantist forces would mean disruption of the army.

As for the organized working class, the military clearly wants to crack down without cracking a lot of bones Pinochet-style. One of the first acts of the new junta was to announce a 70 percent "advance pay" increase to get striking workers back to work. Of course, with inflation almost double that rate, this amounts to a whopping



Syigma



Der Spiegel

Junta chief Evren on day of the coup visits mausoleum of Kemal Atatürk (right).

cut in real wages. As an incentive to "moderate" unionism, they have left intact the conservative Türk-İs labor federation. But everyone knows that the generals are first and foremost sworn enemies of the left and labor. The "path of Atatürk" is strewn with corpses of Kurds and Communists; the TKP has been officially outlawed since 1926. On the economy, the new junta announced it would carry out "Demirel's program without Demirel"—meaning ruthless austerity measures, implemented at bayonet's point if necessary.

NATO Coup

The imperialist response to the Turkish coup was summed up in the *Economist's* "Welcome Back, Generals." Of course, General Evren at first tried to claim that the United States "did not know even beforehand" about the planned coup. But whether the U.S. embassy had only an hour and fifteen minutes' advance warning when the move came (as was subsequently admitted), it's clear that Washington, Brussels and Bonn were among the instigators. This was a coup for NATO. Turkey is a strategic bulwark in the anti-Soviet imperialist military alliance, sharing a common border with the USSR and having an army of nearly 500,000 (the largest in NATO except for the U.S.). It's hardly coincidental that the generals made their move at precisely the moment when there were NATO maneuvers underway in Turkey—nor that they went on uninterrupted. (When the Greek colonels seized power in 1967 it was also under the cover of NATO operations.)

Imperialist approval of the coup was hardly disguised. In Washington, a State Department spokesman refused to criticize the takeover, while in Bonn the SPD economics minister is quoted as hoping that the putsch would be "a salutary shock" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 13 September). This backing is all the more important because of West Germany's special relationship with Turkey within the NATO framework. Since 1964 the Social Democratic/liberal coalition has provided the Turkish government with almost a billion dollars (DM 1.6 billion) in arms aid, surplus army equipment and "emergency" credits following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Another \$300 million in economic aid was provided by West Germany since the start of 1980 alone, and federal chancellor Schmidt has reassured the new martial rulers in Ankara that this backing will continue.

After Greece withdrew from NATO in 1974 in protest over the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and Portugal was embroiled in leftist agitation following the "captains' revolt" that April, the U.S. began to worry aloud about the "soft underbelly" of the Atlantic Alliance in the Mediterranean. And when Uncle Sam's southern sentinel against the USSR, the shah, was swept away by the mullahs' "Islamic Revolution," the Pentagon became alarmed by Turkey's slide toward civil war. With the loss of



Bojesen/Now!

Junta has arrested leaders of Turkey's principal trade-union federation DISK. Here the DISK protests government economic policies in Izmir earlier this year.

key electronic listening posts in Iran, similar American installations in Turkey henceforth accounted for a quarter of all NATO intelligence on Soviet missile and satellite launchings. And for more than a year Washington has been requesting to use Turkish airspace so its U-2 spy planes could fly reconnaissance missions over the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the U.S. was keen to bring Greece back into NATO, but the Turkish government vetoed this four times as both Demirel and Ecevit courted the smaller Islamic chauvinist parties which held the balance of power in parliament. The coup suddenly resolved this question: one day after the Greeks formally announced their decision to re-enter NATO, the Turkish foreign ministry hailed it. This reversed Turkey's previous adamant position that Greece was out unless it gave up exclusive military jurisdiction over the Aegean. In turn, Athens hailed the Turkish coup. Behind this sudden show of brotherhood between historic rivals (Atatürk first became a military hero by defeating the Greek army in 1921) is clearly the hand of the Pentagon and NATO's HQ. After the coup the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General Bernard Rogers, visited Ankara four times, reportedly to discuss the Greece issue.

The bonapartist role of the military in Turkish society has historically been strong—from the "Young Turk" constitutionalist revolution of 1908-9 to Mustapha Kemal's struggle for a Turkish republic in 1919-23. The president of the republic has always been a former

high-ranking officer. And now for the third time in two decades the Turkish masses are again under the yoke of direct military rule. But between the Kemalism of the '20s and the political outlook of Atatürk's heirs today there is a considerable distance: instead of development through state-owned industry, "free enterprise" austerity; instead of hostility to English imperialism, integration in the NATO anti-Soviet alliance. While the RPP has long had considerable influence among the army high command, today the officer caste is deeply penetrated by former colonel Türkeş' NAP.

Workers, Kurds Under the Gun

Even before the September coup, the Turkish working class was clearly on the defensive, beset by ultra-rightist terror and military repression. The latest incident was the assassination on July 22 of Kemal Türkler, head of the militant metal workers union Maden-İs, outside his home in Istanbul. Türkler was a founder and former president of the left-wing DISK union federation and a known supporter of the Communist Party. His murder was evidently a reprisal for the killing of NAP deputy chairman Gun Sazak, blown away by leftist guerrillas last May. Many Maden-İs militants walked out in spontaneous strikes in response to the fascist provocation. But faced with threats by martial law authorities to fire every striker, the DISK leaders capitulated, channeling the workers' outrage into a one-day general strike.

Repeatedly the Turkish working class showed a determined will to struggle, but went down to defeat due to their Stalinist-reformist and RPP left-wing misleaders. Last January, when the Demirel government ordered a search for arms in the Taris nationalized agricultural cooperative, workers in the complex defended themselves. In rapid succession several hundred were fired, 10,000 workers responded with a strike, and government threats of closure were met with an occupation. Barricades were thrown up in the surrounding Izmir workers districts. For three weeks Taris was in the hands of the workers, but the DISK did little more than send a protest telegram to the president and call a token two-day strike which it ended prematurely, causing a general strike in Izmir to collapse. Finally Demirel sent in 10,000 troops, backed by tanks and helicopters, to crush the workers. Following a brutal house-to-house search, when the military was

done the fascists were given free rein to rampage and terrorize.

The fascists derive bourgeois support from their function as shock troops to crush the labor movement. But as always their mass base comes in large measure from exploiting national and religious antagonisms. The Alevis (Shi'ite Muslims), primarily Kurds, have been a frequent target of ultra-rightist mass terror mobilizing the majority Sunnis. In July fascist mobs and clerical reactionaries converged on the town of Corum for an anti-Alevi pogrom which left 50 dead in three days. Alevi-owned shops were attacked by crowds chanting "Allah-u-Ekbar [god is great], Corum will be a grave for Communists." When the army moved in it tore down the defensive barricades erected by the townspeople and stood by while the murderous Grey Wolves continued to loot and burn.

Now the junta's leading figure, Chief of Staff General Evren, has declared war on "separatists" (i.e., Kurdish nationalists). In this situation defense of the right of self-determination of the Kurdish nationality is key to successfully combatting the reactionaries. The fight against the fascist scum demanded a struggle within the trade unions for the formation of armed workers militias to defend workers districts and Kurdish and other minority communities. Despite the ultra-rightists' increasingly murderous ascendancy, a successful defense would have laid the basis for a pre-revolutionary situation, posing the prospect of the only real solution to the plight of Turkey's workers and oppressed, proletarian revolution. What was lacking was above all the authentic communist (Trotskyist) leadership capable of waging such a fight, in the first instance against the reformists whose defeatist program paved the road to the coup.

Stalinism: Organizer of Defeats

The 1971 military coup, also directed against Demirel, was initially greeted by part of the left, but resulted in a ferocious repression against the working class. The resulting demoralization within the proletariat was exacerbated by the futile "armed struggle" strategy taken up by many of the most subjectively revolutionary elements on the Turkish left—like the Guevarist Devrimci Genclik, since split into the Dev Yol, Dev Sol and Dev Sav groups—killed in isolated shootouts with the police or tortured and murdered in

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Der Spiegel

The ex-Premiers, Demirel (left) and Ecevit

by Joseph Seymour

The basic Marxist understanding that religion is reactionary is today being challenged on the left. First in Iran, now in Poland, various fake-left groups have maintained that the traditional church (Islamic Shi'ite and Roman Catholic respectively) can play a progressive, even a revolutionary, role. It is therefore important to recount the historically counterrevolutionary role of organized religion, especially the Catholic church, in the modern world. Part I of "Religion and Reaction" (WV No. 268, 14 November) covered the Catholic church in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Paris Commune, and the conflict between the Bolshevik Revolution and the Russian Orthodox church.

PART TWO OF TWO

During this century the Roman Catholic church was a major factor in establishing and consolidating fascist and other right-wing dictatorships throughout Europe in the inter-war period. Horthy's white terror in Hungary, the Pilsudskiite dictatorship in Poland, Mussolini's fascism were all blessed by the pope and his local agents. In two of the greatest defeats for the proletariat in this period the Vatican acquiesced to the victory of Nazism in Germany and enthusiastically supported the Francoist armies in Spain. The support of the Catholic hierarchy the world over for the Francoist cause was so open and aggressive that to this day Catholic propagandists don't even try to deny it.

It is now also notorious that, despite numerous appeals from liberal Catholics, Pope Pius XII refused to protest the Nazi genocide against the Jews. The Vatican was scandalized when in the mid-1960s a young West German liberal recounted these facts in his play, *The Deputy*. Less well known is the fact that Nazi Germany's two most loyal and bloody satellite states were both clerical-fascist regimes—Msgr. Tiso's Slovakia and Ante Pavelić's Croatia. What follows is an account of the alliance of the Vatican with fascism, and also a consideration of the Trotskyist attitude toward the Stalinist repression of the Catholic church in East Europe.

With the political astuteness sometimes possessed by extreme reactionaries, the Vatican realized that the outbreak of World War I marked the end of the old social order and could open up an era of revolution. Thus, the beginning of the first imperialist world slaughter brought forth from the Holy See an encyclical, *Ad Beatissimi*, attacking socialism! When capitalist governments were sending millions of youths to kill one another for the sake of profitability, Pope Benedict XV decried "disregard for authority" and "unjust quarrels between the various classes."

The "disregard for authority" and "quarrels between classes" so feared by the papacy culminated in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Whereas once Jacobinism had turned the papacy into the vanguard of monarchist reaction, so now the spectre of Communism drove the Catholic church into the arms of counterrevolutionary fascism. Unable to crush "atheistic Communism" in its Russian base, the Catholic hierarchy took its bloody toll on the socialist working class from Spain to Poland.

Horthy, Mussolini, Pilsudski: "Men of Providence"

Clerical fascism was prefigured in the

white terror which followed the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. Admiral Horthy's fascistic bands, such as the Blood Pact of the Double Cross, killed and tortured any Communist or socialist worker they got their hands on, the counterrevolutionary terror against "reds" naturally extending into a general anti-Semitic pogrom. The savagery of the Horthyite white terror is described—and not even fully—by the former Hungarian liberal prime minister, Count Michael Karolyi:

"Workers and peasants were hurled alive into burning furnaces, a proceeding jokingly called 'using them as fuel.' Innocent Jews were dragged out of a train and hung on trees in the forest of Orgovany. Wives of Communists were raped by officers and then turned over to the ranks."

—*Memoirs of Michael Karolyi* (1956)

The Horthy regime christened itself a Christian and National Agrarian Democracy, thereby encapsulating the three main ideological bases of the counterrevolutionary terror: religious hostility to materialism, chauvinist reaction to internationalism, and the appeal to the backward peasantry against the urban socialist proletariat. While bearing certain fascistic features, Horthy's regime was essentially a

military dictatorship based on the old officer corps and landed magnates. Fascism proper—the mobilization of the petty-bourgeois masses against the working class—was born in the Italian revolutionary crisis of 1920-22.

Despite Mussolini's sometime belligerent atheism and occasional flirtations with Roman paganism, the Catholic church supported the fascist movement from the very beginning. In fact, Mussolini enjoyed good personal relations with Pius XI from the time the latter was still Cardinal Ratti of Milan. In 1921 the future pope proclaimed to an Italian writer:

"Mussolini is making rapid headway and, with elemental strength, will conquer all in his path. Mussolini is a wonderful man.... He is a new convert, since he comes from the ranks of the extreme left, he has the zeal of the novice to spur him on."

—quoted in Edmund Paris, *The Vatican Against Europe* (1961)

Needless to say, when Ratti became Pius XI the following year he did all he could to aid "the wonderful man." The Vatican systematically *undermined* the Catholic Popular party, which had impeded the consolidation of fascist bonapartism. In 1926 the pope proclaimed to the world: "Mussolini is the

man sent by Providence" (quoted in Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* [1949]).

The close alliance between Italian fascism and the Holy See was codified in 1929 with the Concordat and Lateran Treaty. The former made Roman Catholicism the official state religion; the latter recognized the Vatican as an independent state, thereby reversing one of the major attainments of the Italian bourgeois-democratic revolution of the 1860s. On this historic occasion Il Duce proclaimed, no doubt entirely sincerely:

"We recognize the pre-eminent place the Catholic Church holds in the religious life of the Italian people—which is perfectly natural in a Catholic country such as ours, and under a régime such as is the Fascist."

—quoted in *ibid.*

A few years later Pius XI returned the compliment. His 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, endorsed the fascist corporate state as a model of good government:

"Now this is the primary purpose of the state and of all good citizens: to abolish conflicts between classes with divergent interests, and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society."

After outlining the main features of the

Religion & Reaction



Bundesarchiv

Papal nuncio di Torregrossa negotiated Concordat with Hitler's Germany.

corporate state, it concludes:

"Little reflection is required to perceive the advantage of the institution thus summarily described: peaceful collaboration of the classes, repression of socialist organizations."

—reproduced in Anne Fremantle, ed., *The Papal Encyclicals in Historical Context* (1956)

In one of those historically significant coincidences Ratti-Pius XI was also involved in the early career of another of Europe's leading right-wing dictators. Ratti was papal nuncio to Poland in 1919-20, when he became friendly with the chief of state, Josef Pilsudski. What especially impressed the future pope with the future fascist Polish dictator was the latter's victory over the Soviet Red Army in the historic battle of the Vistula in 1920.

Thus, when Pilsudski staged his coup against the parliamentary government in 1926, the Vatican fully supported him although a number of Polish prelates didn't:

"The Pope's readiness, in 1926, to adopt a more favorable view than many Polish Catholic ecclesiastics of Pilsudski's new—even though usurpatory—regime may also have been conditioned by the prevailing European expectation that Pilsudski's foreign policy would be fundamentally anti-Soviet."

"The Pope took a series of discreet yet unmistakable steps to signal his positive attitude toward Pilsudski."

—Joseph Rothschild, *Pilsudski's Coup D'Etat* (1966)

That some Polish prelates did not share the pope's positive attitude toward Pilsudski was not due to any democratic scruples on their part. Far from it! The Polish Catholic hierarchy was if anything more narrowly bigoted, more fanatically reactionary, more anti-Semitic than Pilsudski, who fancied himself a sophisticated man of the world. The Polish church was the main force behind the massacre and forcible conversion of hundreds of thousands of traditionally Eastern Orthodox Ukrainians in the late 1920s.

The character of the Polish Catholic hierarchy in this period was accurately described by a present-day Polish liberal

True face of Catholic reaction: Francoist army conquers Barcelona, 1939.



Catholic, Jerzy Zawieyski:

"I must admit with pain that for us Catholics, the greatest obstacle to faith was the Church itself, as personified in its official representatives. It was synonymous with anti-Semitism, fascism, obscurantism, fanaticism, and with all unprogressive and anti-cultural phenomena."

—quoted in Abraham Brumberg, "The Open Political Struggle in Poland," *New York Review of Books*, 8 February 1979

The only false note in this statement is the implication that things have now changed.

Nazism in Germany, Francoism in Spain

"Nazism is a Christian reaction against the spirit of 1789." So hoped Franz von Papen, the German Catholic politician who in 1933 maneuvered to make Hitler chancellor of Germany. And von Papen was far from being a lone or isolated figure within German Catholic ruling circles. A few months after *der Führer's* accession to power, Msgr. Ludwig Kaas, head of the mass Catholic Centre Party, offered the following testimonial:

"Hitler knows well how to guide the ship. Even before he became Chancellor I met him frequently and was greatly impressed by his clear thinking, by his

way of facing realities while upholding his ideals, which are noble."

—quoted in Manhattan, *op cit.*

Despite totalitarian restrictions on their activities, the German Catholic hierarchy faced with the alternative supported the Nazi regime and constantly offered it friendly collaboration against the mutual enemy: Bolshevism. (The bitter resentment of the Catholic church to Nazi Germany's takeover of Austria in 1938 flowed from the elimination of the clerical-fascist state there.)

The overthrow of parliamentary democracy and destruction of working-class organization in Germany had a traumatic impact on the consciousness of the European proletariat. Thus, when in July 1936 the Spanish generals issued their *pronunciamento* against the Popular Front government, an almost unarmed working class rose up and with extraordinary courage insurrected against the military coup. The Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 marked the greatest proletarian revolutionary struggle of the inter-war period. It also marked the open, full-scale alliance between the Catholic church and the fascist powers.

In July 1937 a "Collective Letter from the Spanish Bishops" declared that the Republican government's policies were "contrary to the nature and require-

ments of the national spirit" and that the issue had now become one of "perishing under the assault of Communism or attempting to resist it" (quoted in Pierre Broué and Emile Témime, *The Spanish Revolution and Civil War* [1970]). It was at the height of the Spanish Civil War in early 1937 that Pius XI issued his infamous encyclical denouncing "bolshevistic and atheistic communism" as "a barbarism worse than that which oppressed the greater part of the world at the coming of the Redeemer."

The German Catholic hierarchy couldn't contain its enthusiasm for the Nazis' aid to Franco. In early 1937 the German bishops issued a laudatory letter:

"The Leader and Chancellor of the Reich, Adolf Hitler, has foreseen in time the advance of Bolshevism, and he has concentrated his thoughts and strength in the defence of the German people and of all the Western world against this frightful danger."

"The German Bishops think it their duty to support the Reich-chancellor in this war of defence, with all the means that the Church puts at their disposal."

—quoted in Manhattan, *op cit.*

When Franco crushed the revolutionary Spanish proletariat in 1939, Pius XII sent him a message of congratulations. If one picture is worth a thousand

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RWG on Religion and Poland

On the Road to the "Third Camp"

That Ann Arbor dilettante-cult, the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), has just published in the second issue of its journal a polemic titled, "Lenin vs. *Workers Vanguard* on Religion." Like all the other fake-Trotskyist groups, the RWG is very upset by our assertion that the present crisis in Poland "could bring either proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy or capitalist counterrevolution led by Pope Wojtyla's church." Of the charge that the Polish Catholic church is capable of leading a counterrevolution, these "Marxist" sages enter the plea of Not Guilty: "...the explosion did not and could not bring either workers political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution" (*Fighting Worker*, October).

In other words, the Stalinist status quo is inviolable for now and the foreseeable future. Brezhnev and Kania should take great comfort from the views of Peter Sollenberger and his RWG. Actually the RWG has little to say about the concrete situation in Poland other than that nothing significant is happening or could happen. They apparently think Poland is Ann Arbor, so the bulk of their "polemic" against us consists of a 1908 quotation from Lenin that has no relevance whatsoever to the present crisis in Poland.

Here is the hypothetical situation

Lenin is addressing. The workers in a particular industry are divided "into an advanced section of fairly class-conscious Social-Democrats [Marxists], who are of course atheists, and rather backward workers who are still connected with the countryside and with the peasantry, and who believe in God, go to church, or are even under the direct influence of the local priest..." Lenin further posits "that the economic struggle in this locality has resulted in a strike." He then wisely counsels that in such a situation Marxists shouldn't antagonize their fellow striking workers by engaging in aggressive atheist propaganda.

Lenin is here considering a localized economic strike in a capitalist country. Just like the present situation in Poland? Wrong! And Lenin was talking about propaganda against religion, not warnings about the present political danger represented by Polish nationalism and Catholic clericalism. The RWG membership should be downright embarrassed as we point out a couple of "small" differences.

First, we remind them that Poland is not a capitalist country; it is a bureaucratically deformed workers state. To take this Lenin quote as applicable to Poland is to obliterate the question of the class nature of the state. And in fact, the RWG is closer to "Third Campism"

than to Trotskyism. It is, as they say, no accident that Sollenberger first presented his views on Poland at a forum solidarizing with the Baltic coast strike jointly sponsored with three anti-Soviet "state-cap" groups (see "Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit," *WV* No. 264, 19 September).

Second, the August Baltic coast strike was not primarily for higher wages; it was essentially a political general strike against the Stalinist regime. Therefore,

the political character and allegiances of the strike leadership are decisive questions for Marxists. Certainly many of the workers taking part in the strike were socialists and not clerical-nationalists. But the leadership of the strike did not consist even in part of Marxists and atheists. It fell into the hands of committed Catholic activists, under the influence not of the local priest, but of the counterrevolutionary

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Pope Wojtyla on pilgrimage for anti-Communism in Poland, 1979.

Olympia

Religion & Reaction...

(continued from page 9)

words, then the true face of the Catholic Church victorious is captured in a photograph of the Francoist army kneeling in prayer after conquering revolutionary Barcelona in 1939. More than 100,000 proletarians were murdered in Spain's concentration camps in the next few years as a result of the victory of Franco's *crusada*.

Clerical-Fascism Par Excellence: Tiso's Slovakia, Pavelić's Croatia

When Nazi Germany conquered East Europe it set up clerical-fascist satellite states, notably Msgr. Tiso's Slovakia and Ustasha Croatia. These states were marked by a savage terror against leftists, Jews and other minorities even greater than in Nazi Germany itself. A prominent Slovak liberal describes life in the Christian state of Slovakia:

"The advent of Slovak independence [in 1939] led to a wave of uncontrolled terror, persecution, and looting. The Guardists and the Ordners assaulted people of democratic and anti-Separatist views, as well as Czechs and Jews; by day and by night, they picked them up in the streets and in their homes, threw them into jail, and beat and robbed them. ... People, beaten up and bleeding from their wounds, were thrown into dirty, stifling underground coal-cellars."

—Josef Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia* (1955)

The Tiso regime boasted that its laws against the Jews were even more extreme than the Nazi Nuremberg laws: "...rigid decrees, such as not even Germany has applied, have been introduced by us to prevent all sorts of machinations between Jews" (quoted in *ibid.*).

Tiso was as good as his word. The first Jews sent to Auschwitz were from the Christian state of Slovakia. And anyone who maintains that the Vatican dissociated itself from Tiso's regime is ignorant or lying. For example, in 1940 the Vatican radio announced: "The declaration of Msgr. Tiso, Chief of the Slovak State, asserting his intention to set up Slovakia according to a Christian Plan, is greatly appreciated by the Holy See" (quoted in Edmund Paris, *op cit.*).

Probably the purest expression of clerical-fascism was Ustasha Croatia. It was also the most genocidal regime, given the size of the country, in modern European history. Pavelić's Ustashi killed approximately 750,000 Serbs, 60,000 Jews and 26,000 gypsies.

The spirit of the Catholic church in Spain was well captured in the following catechism taught in the public schools during the 1920s:

"What does Liberalism teach?
"That the State is independent of the Church.
"What kind of a sin is Liberalism?
"It is a most grievous sin against Faith....
"Is it a sin for a Catholic to read a Liberal newspaper?
"He may read the Stock Exchange News."

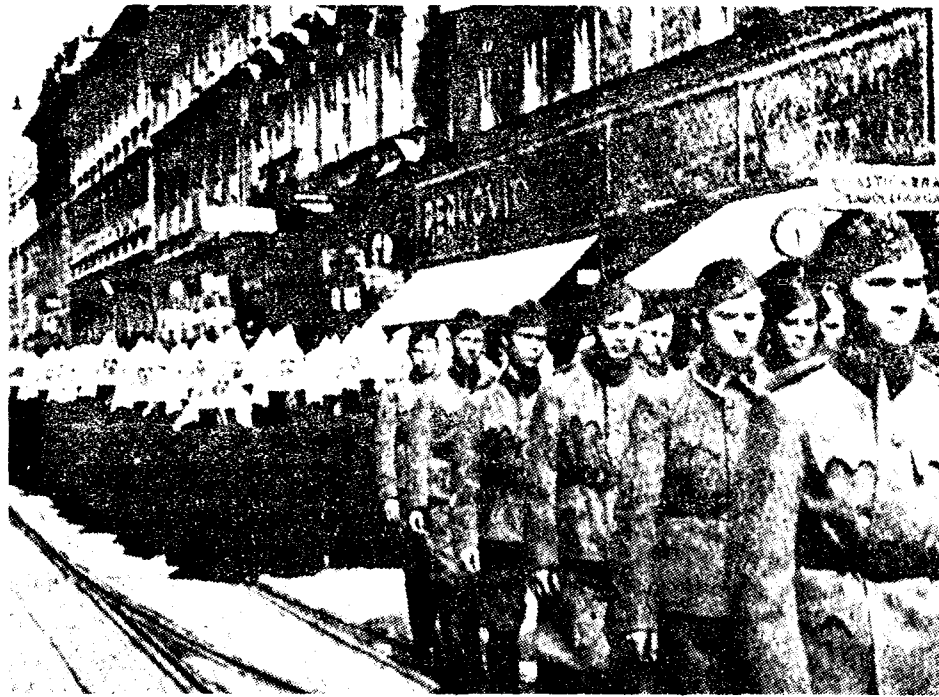
—quoted in Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* (1949)

When the German army conquered and dismembered Yugoslavia in 1941, they set up a Croatian satellite state, bringing Ante Pavelić and his Ustashi bands over from Italy to run it. Just before he left for Zagreb Pavelić had a private audience with Pius XII, who duly blessed the new head of a Catholic state.

And what a Catholic state! The Croatian Ustasha mainly killed but also drove out or forcibly converted the traditionally Eastern Orthodox Serbian population. Nor did the Ustashi just kill their victims outright—that was too easy. They buried them alive, gouged out their eyes, slowly hacked off their limbs. "A good Ustashi is he who can

use his knife to cut a child from the womb of its mother," Pavelić told his henchmen. The atrocities of the Ustasha sadists were such that they turned the stomachs of German and Italian officers, who made some efforts to restrain them.

Not so the Catholic church! "The Ustashi movement is based on religion. Therefore our acts stem from our devotion to religion and to the Catholic Church," declared the regime's minister of education (quoted in Edmund Paris, *Genocide in Satellite Croatia, 1941-1945* [1962]). And in a sense he was absolutely right. Since the dissolution of the Italian papal states in 1870, nowhere did the Catholic clergy play a more



Clerical-fascist Croatia in World War II: Nuns march behind Ustashi sadists.

active role in any government than in Ustasha Croatia:

"Bishops sat in the Ustasha parliament, priests functioned as police chiefs and as officers in Pavelić's bodyguard, Franciscans commanded in the concentration camps, members of Catholic Action and its affiliated organizations were frequently also Ustashi, and even the nuns, their bosoms partially bedecked with Ustasha medals, saluted in the fascist manner and participated in the parades, marching directly behind the soldiers."

—Karlheinz Deschner, *Mit Gott und den Faschisten* (1965)

The Catholic primate of Croatia, Archbishop Stepinac, was intimately involved in the Pavelić regime. In 1942 Pius XII appointed him military vicar to the Ustasha armed forces. Most of the top German Nazis claimed ignorance of the concentration camps and "final solution." By contrast, Stepinac admit-

ted the Ustashi's atrocities (they were quite common knowledge), dismissing them as unavoidable excesses in a good cause: "We cannot be considered responsible for many of the hot-headed fanatics in the ranks of the church."

The atrocities of the Croatian Ustashi were discussed at length in Vatican circles, but, needless to say, no public protests were raised. Likewise, the papacy's notorious refusal to protest the Nazi extermination of the Jews was not a matter of diplomatic reserve. In their own way Hitler and his henchmen like Pavelić were making East Europe safe for the Roman Catholic church. Unfortunately for the Vatican, Soviet Russia defeated Nazi Germany. At that point

the Catholic hierarchy redirected its alliance to U.S. imperialism.

The Vatican, Cold War and Once-Revolutionary SWP

"I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world."

—James P. Cannon, "How We Won Grace Carlson and How We Lost Her" (1952) in *Notebooks of an Agitator* (1958)

So the founding leader of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

wrote at the height of the Cold War when a prominent party figure became demoralized and returned to the bosom of the church. What a far cry from the reformist SWP of today, which favors Catholic masses being broadcast over Polish state radio and retrospectively condemns the Stalinists' imprisonment of Cardinal Wyszyński in the late 1940s-early '50s because it made him "a symbol for many Poles of the sweeping violations of national and human rights by the Soviet and Polish bureaucrats" (see "SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October). The SWP certainly did *not* come forward as lawyers for the Catholic hierarchy at the time when the Stalinists were imprisoning them. Quite the contrary. But at that time it was a revolutionary party.

As early as 1946 the SWP pointed to the increasing role of the Vatican as an important Cold War ally of U.S. imperialism:

"After the June elections in Italy and France, the *Economist* noted 'the emergence of a loose Catholic Western bloc with a liberal pole—the [French] Popular Republicans—and an authoritarian pole—the Franco regime in Spain.' The character of this bloc, and its purpose, are manifest: to rally and unify all the forces of capitalist reaction to combat the revolutionary tide and to act as the ideological spearhead of the campaign for war against the Soviet Union."

—Li Fu-Jen, "The Vatican in World Affairs," *Fourth International*, October 1946

The following year Art Preis wrote a special series in the *Militant* exposing the reactionary activities of the Catholic church the world over. This series was doubtless precipitated by the function of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in providing the shock troops to drive reds out of the American labor movement. Remember it was at this very time that the Stalinists' show trials and imprisonment of East European Catholic prelates—Stepinac in Yugoslavia, Mindszenty in Hungary, Wyszyński in Poland—were turned into a major ideological justification for the Cold War, the "human rights" crusade of its day.

The question of defending the East European bourgeois leaders, including the princes of the church, against the Stalinist regimes was posed for the SWP

in the sharpest possible way over Poland, where the mass Peasant Party of Stanislaw Mickolajczyk appeared to represent the strongest opposition to the Stalinist regime in any East European country. In a 1946 article, "The Kremlin in East Europe," E.R. Frank (Bert Cochran) summarily described the conflict in Poland:

"Soon Mikolajczyk became the rallying point for all the variegated groups which constitute the capitalist opposition to the [Stalinist] government: The fascist military formations; the Catholic Church hierarchy, which is headed in Poland by the Pilsudskist politician, Cardinal Hlond; the dispossessed landlord and factory owners; elements of the middle class and peasantry, who are suffering grave hardships and are outraged by the seizures of the Red Army and the brutalities of the police regime which governs over them.... he [Mickolajczyk] is leading this capitalist-reactionary opposition to the government." [our emphasis]

—*Fourth International*, November 1946

The SWP was challenged head-on over Poland by its principal opponent on the left, Max Shachtman's "Third Campist" Workers Party. Claiming the basic issue in Poland was defending "democracy against the Stalinist dictatorship," the Shachtmanites declared:

"These are the rights for which the vast majority of the Polish population yearns today and which finds distorted expression in the Mickolajczyk opposition. It is here that revolutionary Marxists will find decisive elements for the Third Camp, i.e., a revolutionary, proletarian, socialist opposition to the Stalinist dictatorship. The political line of the Marxists must, therefore, be one of critical support to the Mickolajczyk camp."

—*New International*, September 1946

This editorial statement concluded with a challenge demanding that the SWP and Fourth International defend Mickolajczyk and his collaborators against the Stalinist repression.

The Trotskyist answer was given in a polemic by Ernest Germain (Mandel) entitled "The Conflict in Poland—From Abstentionism to Active Intervention In the Camp of the Class Enemy." While this polemic is marred by Mandel's belief that the Stalinists were incapable of overturning capitalism in East Europe and establishing deformed workers states, he rightly denounces the Shachtmanites for defending the "democratic rights" of the Polish bourgeoisie:

"WE COUNTERPOSE TO THE POLICE TERROR AND PROVOCATIONS OF THE STALINISTS THE REVOLUTIONARY TERROR OF THE MASSES as a thousand times more effective method of fighting fascism.... Not for a moment, however, do we undertake the defense of our *main enemy*, the Polish bourgeoisie and all its political lackeys." [emphasis in original]

—*Fourth International*, February 1947

While rightly condemning the Stalinists for employing police methods to suppress the bourgeoisie instead of mobilizing the working masses against them, at no point in this period did the SWP or Fourth International demand that the Wyszyńskis, Mindszenty, Hungarian Smallholders Party leaders, etc., be freed and allowed to resume their old political activities.

The Stalinists certainly committed great crimes against socialism in East Europe—the suppression of any independent working-class organization, the murder, torture and imprisonment of Communist militants and honest socialist workers, the totalitarian regimentation of cultural life. But the repression against the counterrevolutionaries in priests' cassocks was no crime against socialism. On the contrary, the Stalinists are to be condemned for creating a situation, especially in Poland, where the Catholic church is the only organized, mass-based opposition to the despised bureaucratic regime. Thus, it will be the proletarian political revolution in East Europe which will, in the words of the Paris Communards, destroy "the old governmental and clerical world." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

RWG/Cult...

(continued from page 5)

Mayor Young and despite the sabotage of the UAW bureaucracy and black Democratic liberals, on November 10 some 500 demonstrators, overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black, a hundred or more from Detroit-area factories, proclaimed, "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City." Yet two months later the RWG came out with a scurrilous leaflet titled, "SL FRAUD IN DETROIT! Read the Truth About the SL's Phony 'Labor/Black Rally' in Detroit."

In addition to denouncing the only demonstration by unionists and blacks to stop the Klan in the wake of the Greensboro murders, RWG supporters at River Rouge urged fellow workers not to attend. And they slandered those who joined the protest despite the mayor's threats and a danger of fascist violence: "Most were accidental passers-by downtown to shop or just hang out." "Given that the rally was in downtown Detroit on a Saturday afternoon," claimed the RWG leaflet, it just couldn't be helped that "many" of the "passers-by" were workers and "most" were black. A 4 December 1979 letter by RWG supporter Dallas Kenney stooped even lower, claiming, "Black onlookers were repeatedly told to hold SL signs and then photographed by *WV* photographers...whereupon the sign-holding shopper would turn the sign around, read it and quickly give it back to a demonstrator." Given Sollenberger's consummate cynicism, he evidently assumes that everyone is engaged in the same business of manipulating people.

This anti-communist diatribe is also the vilest racism, claiming that the black workers who took part were just *dupes*. Can't blacks have damn good reason for wanting to smash the Klan killers? The RWG simply dismisses the aspirations of the most potentially revolutionary layer of the oppressed and exploited in America. This was revealed in its response to one of the events leading up to the November 10 Kennedy Square demonstration: a fight at River Rouge to get rid of two foremen who had paraded along the line with cone hats bearing the letters "KKK." Although UAW Local 600 militants successfully drove the provocateurs from the plant through a petition drive which amassed 1,000 signatures of Rouge workers, the RWG dismissed this and its supporters in the plant refused to even sign the petition!

Having initially denied the impact of this campaign, the RWG's "SL Fraud" leaflet claimed that UAW officials only did "what they had already promised to do before the petition was started..." (what faith). But then comes the clincher: "Neither foreman was actually a Klan member, contrary to the impression the SL leadership has tried to create." It's staggering—how could any black person or opponent of racist oppression support the RWG after this disgusting Klan apology? Two company bosses symbolically call for lynchings and cross-burnings, in a heavily black plant moreover, and Peter Sollenberger goes to bat...for the foremen!

After so much talk of fraud, however, the RWG finally got a chance to show what it could do last summer. When a band of Hitler-lovers threatened to march on August 23, Rouge Militant Caucus spokesman Frank Hicks, speaking at a city hall hearing, supported calls for a mass counterdemonstration to stop the Nazis, adding a suggestion to "send the Detroit police force out of town" to make it easier to take care of business. The opportunist left, however, called on Mayor Young to declare August 23 "anti-racist day." This pitiful appeal was issued by a loose coalition which held a conference August 9 hoping to attract Democratic Party notables such as Representative John Conyers for an old-fashioned "anti-racist" popular front. Despite this

explicit kowtowing to the class enemy, relying on the racist capitalist state that has protected the KKK killers, the RWG went along with the coalition, begging for the creation of a steering committee for them to be on.

But when the bourgeois politicians failed to show, the coalition collapsed. The RWG finally held a demo August 23 anyway, issuing a leaflet which they prominently reprint on page 1 of the first issue of their *FW*. So here is their answer to the "SL fraud" in November: only leftists showed up, less than 100 all told. And it was another Saturday afternoon in downtown Detroit. What happened to all those "passers-by" and "shoppers," we wonder, did they somehow lose their class-consciousness between November and August?

Scabs International

When Hugo Oehler split from the Trotskyist movement in the mid-1930s he also named his paper the *Fighting Worker*. But Oehlerite ultra-leftists the RWGers surely aren't. In fact, if wags dubbed Oehler's paper "The Revolting Worker," a more accurate handle for the RWG's rag would be "The Flinching Scab." For who else would devote the central article of the first issue of their publication to justifying crossing picket lines?! No kidding. In "Picket Lines and Spartacists" we stand accused of waking up one day four years ago and inventing the picket line question. Or as they put it in a letter dated 22 January 1980, "In early 1976 the SL invented the commandment: 'Thou shalt not cross a picket line'." (Actually, the SL has *always* followed this commandment.) The RWG particularly goes after the case of Keith Anwar, a steel worker from USWA Local 1010 (Chicago) who was fired for respecting the picket lines of another Steelworkers local at Inland. The RWG contemptuously dismisses this stand for basic unionism as "an adventurist moral gesture," "a senseless moral sacrifice" and "sectarian self promotion."

We refer our readers to the October issue of *Young Spartacus* for a letter from Anwar demolishing the RWG's pitiful attempt to smear his courageous defense of the picket line—which has inspired and received the backing of hundreds of co-workers in his and other steel locals. But the fact that the Sollenberger cult would spend three pages *defending scabbing* only proves it is light years removed from the labor movement and not just politically. Did the Spartacist League really invent the picket line question? Ye gods, this is an elementary principle of trade unionism. All you have to do is go to the Appalachian coal fields to find out that "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross," and always have. Those who think differently aren't around to say so, through a process of natural selection, or else they're in wheelchairs. It's a simple matter of "which side are you on," just like the old song says. We are merely upholding working-class principles against a sellout labor bureaucracy which betrays them with its phony "informational picket lines."

But the labor fakers who sabotage one strike after another try to do it quietly. Not the Sollenbergerites: they brag about it, theorize about it, even form international ties on the basis of... scabbing. According to the RWG, it's just a question of definition: only "outsiders" brought in by the bosses are really scabs, you see. The "sectarian" Spartacist League "bungles" this: "From 1976 on, however, the SL threw all distinction to the wind and openly accused *non-striking workers* themselves of being 'scabs'.... RWG's position, of course, is that picket lines are not some abstract, *moral principle*, but rather one tactic in the workers' arsenal in their fight against the employers" [emphasis in original]. And so it is all right to cross them?! This incredible article—Peter Sollenberger's unique achievement—may earn a footnote in communist history as one of the most

cynical arguments for betrayal of all time. Snotty punks who write such garbage will earn their living as company labor lawyers and should stop masquerading as part of the left. And any decent union militant would spit on the paper it is written on.

Even the dictionary is against the RWG. According to Webster's Third New International: "Scab—a member of a union who refuses to strike or returns to work before a strike has ended...[see also] rat." Or take a look at a recent *Sunday Times* crossword puzzle, which had "SCAB" as 91 Down. The definition was nice and succinct: "Picket-line crosser" (*New York Times Magazine*, 16 November). But it really isn't a question of academic definitions. Strikes aim at *shutting down* plants or work sites, and picket lines are there to *prevent* anyone—imported or indigenous—from going in. It shouldn't be so hard for the RWG to figure this one out. They could simply contemplate the famous photo of the 1941 Ford strike and the fate of the "non-striking worker" shown there being greeted by a union education committee. Obviously the UAW boys didn't buy Sollenberger's meaningless distinction either, and were intent on demonstrating their view that "a scab is a scab is a scab."

Now you may wonder why the RWG spends so much effort trying to exonerate scabs. The answer is easy to figure out. As this little anti-Spartacist cult holed up in Ann Arbor for the last eight years, nursing bruised egos and trying to find programmatic differences with the SL, their only claim to real existence was their work with Ann Arbor campus workers. And there we caught them scabbing. During the February 1977 AFSCME clerical workers strike at the University of Michigan, four members of the RWG's predecessor group, the BLT, crossed the picket line daily on Sollenberger's instructions. Mind you, retorts the "Flinching Scab," they "came close to organizing non-striking workers" to participate in a work stoppage! And it was this "well-intentioned" scabbing (rather than building and respecting picket lines), we are told, that made the BLT/RWG into what it is today, "the class-struggle opposition in the Ann Arbor labor movement...." What a feather in their cap!

The Sollenberger cult is, after all, sensitive to a careful examination of its wretched record. When an RWG member spoke to the Spartacist-initiated April 19 Stop the Nazis labor/socialist rally in San Francisco, probably the largest meeting a member of his tendency ever addressed, his main point was, "We're not scabs." But they are. And the RWG is certainly "internationalist" in its approach to the question. Protesting what it calls SL "scab-baiting," it reveals a remarkable basis for its international ties. "RWG in the U.S. and the Workers Socialist League (WSL) in Britain have been SL's main targets." Scabs of the world unite? Lenin metaphorically labeled the social-democratic trade-union grouping the Yellow International because its leaders supported their bosses in World War I rather than forging proletarian solidarity. Yet this must be the first time ever someone has actually thought to build an International of strikebreakers!

The Sollenbergerites' attempt to stake out the political terrain to the right of the SL is subordinated to a hatred of the Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) that could lead them to almost anything, from racism to scabbing. Their new-found positions are not the product of a coherent international program, but attempts to soften the sharp cutting edge of the iSt's revolutionary Trotskyism. The massive contradictions in their political worldview and bizarre internal life are already more than enough to blow a politically based organization apart. Finally, the rejection of Leninist organization and the making of Sollenberger's cult are fatally connected. We Leninists are

organized for power, with a program for power—power for our class, not personal power within some sick little circle. ■

RWG/Religion...

(continued from page 9)

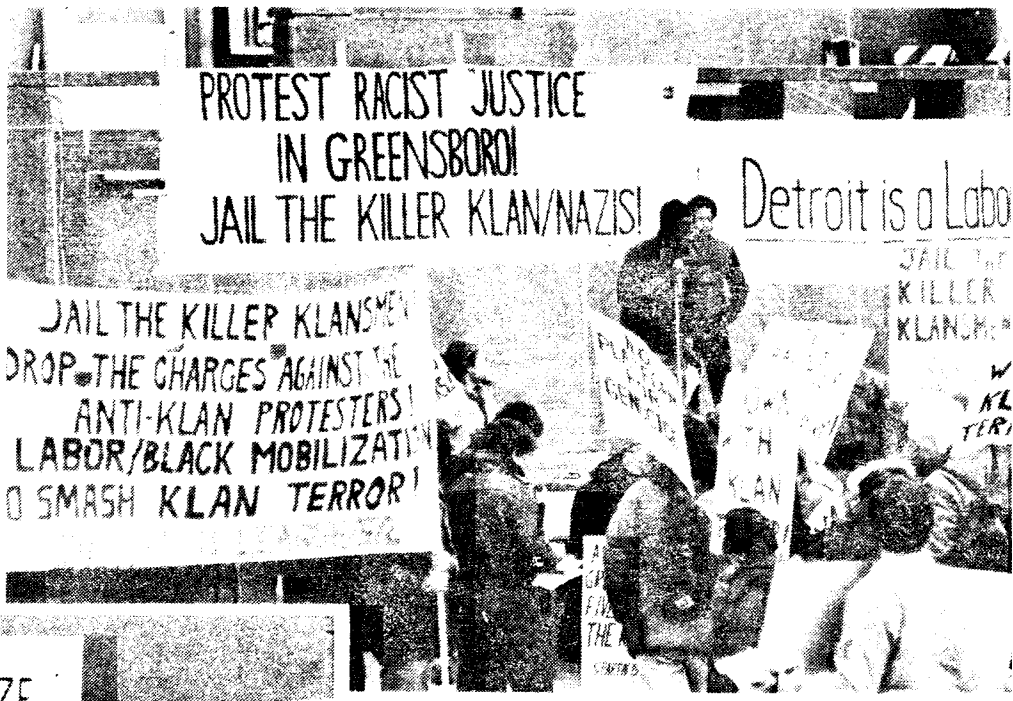
Vatican and top Polish church hierarchy. Thus, right after the regime conceded that Solidarity did not have to stipulate the "leading role" of the Communist party in its statutes, Lech Walesa went to confer with Cardinal Wyszynski, who in turn had just returned from conferring with Pope Wojtyla in Rome. The ideological appeal of the Catholic church for Polish workers is not primarily religious, it is above all *nationalistic*. The unofficial anthem of Solidarity is the national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland."

If the RWG's Lenin quote is irrelevant to the Polish situation, its own non-views are simply false. We are assured that "Without a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, successful political revolution was impossible." But what about another Hungary, which certainly demonstrated that the political revolution could explode without such a party? They proceed from non sequitur to nonsense. "And without a decisive, demoralizing defeat that left the Polish working class immobilized—and a deep split in the Stalinist bureaucracy, in which one wing went over to fascism—the peasant-based church could not hope to lead a capitalist counterrevolution."

Everyone in the world except the RWG understands that the present mass social struggles in Poland are *breaking down* the repressive capacity of the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus. If ordered to suppress mass workers' strikes, the Polish army, which is serviced by Catholic chaplains, could well mutiny. And as we have previously stated, in a *power vacuum* the church, well organized and with a mass base, will be a potent force for capitalist counterrevolution. Why does the RWG think the Stalinists have just appointed a Catholic ZNAK deputy premier?

At this point the RWG resorts to the classic fallback of opportunists on the left: the workers always know what is best for them. The SL, they protest, doesn't believe "in the ability of the Polish workers to tell the difference between workers' political revolution and capitalist counterrevolution." The majority of the Polish workers would certainly oppose capitalist restoration if it were presented to them *as such*. But of course it is not and will not be. The counterrevolutionary forces in Poland appeal to the workers in the name of "democracy, national independence, religious freedom and the traditions of the Polish people."

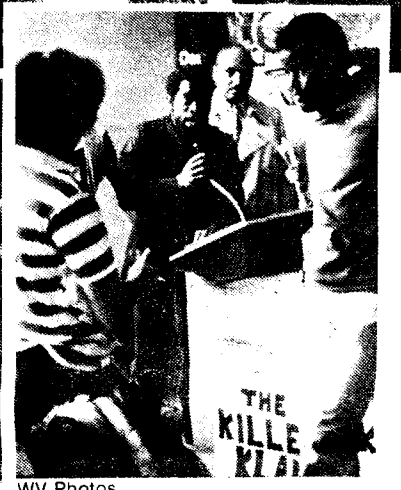
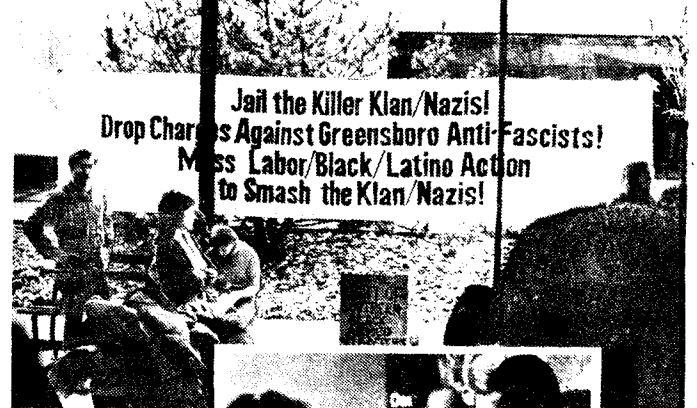
Given the church's mass peasant base and its *present* support from a large, active section of the proletariat, a "democratic" uprising against the Stalinist regime could bring to power a clerical-nationalist party. This would be a capitalist-restorationist government, although capitalist restoration on the economic level would necessarily proceed gradually. Frustrated with the inequality and oppression fostered by the bureaucracy, and blinded by higher living standards in the advanced capitalist West, many workers could be misled into supporting such a counterrevolutionary regime. Of course, their own experience would soon teach a majority of Polish workers that capitalist rule had been restored and they would turn against the clerical-nationalist regime. But as communists we do *not* passively accept counterrevolution (and that is what the RWG's denial of 'his real possibility amounts to) in order to break the Polish workers from their illusions in the Catholic church. ■



Clockwise from upper right: U.C. Berkeley, Old Westbury, S.F. State, Ann Arbor and Detroit.



SL/SYL Protest Racist "Justice" in Greensboro



WV Photos

The November 17 acquittal of five Klan/Nazi assassins by an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina is a warning to every black person, militant trade unionist and socialist that we are facing not just fringe groups of crazed fascist killers, but the power of the capitalist state backing them up. Racist terror and "Moral Majority" social reaction have been given the green light as the domestic counterparts to Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. And with the liberals refusing to utter a word of criticism against the Greensboro verdict, it was only the left that would initiate protests against this incitement to racist murder.

As soon as the acquittals were announced, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League issued calls for nationwide protest demonstrations. An SYL statement declared: "This verdict gives the fascists a license to kill! Only labor-centered, massive militant mobilizations can stop the KKK/Nazi scum." Hundreds of students, unionists and leftists responded to the call for action in seven cities. At Berkeley, San Francisco State, UCLA, Oberlin College, Ann Arbor, University of Illinois (Circle Campus) and the State University of New York (Old Westbury) SYL-initiated rallies demanded "Jail the Killer Klan/Nazis! Drop the Charges Against Greensboro Anti-Fascist Demonstrators! For Mass Labor/Black Action to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror! For the Right of Armed Self-Defense Against Racist Terror!"

In addition, class-struggle militants in several unions, including the Communications Workers of America (CWA), National Maritime Union and United Auto Workers, called on their

unions to mount protests against the racist verdict. In Chicago, a small rally by UAW Local 6 was held in the union hall; speakers warned of the Klan/Nazi threat and pointed to the local's experience in stopping racist terror with a union defense guard several years ago.

SL/SYL-initiated protests were largest in the Bay Area. Klan provocations in California have been ominously increasing, with weekly and even daily reports over the last nine months. But in April Nazis had been prevented from staging a "celebration" of Hitler's birthday in San Francisco's Civic Center by a mobilization of more than a thousand unionists, minorities and leftists. On November 20, 300-400 turned out to the University of California at Berkeley's Sproul Plaza for a united-front demonstration initiated by the SYL and endorsed by an impressive number of student groups, minority organizations and union activists. The day before, 150 attended a similar rally at San Francisco State to express their outrage.

More than 125 rallied on November 22 in Detroit's Kennedy Square, site of last November's anti-Klan rally built by the SL/SYL and militant auto workers in the wake of the Greensboro massacre. UAW Local 600's largest unit, the Dearborn Assembly Plant, officially endorsed Saturday's rally at a unit meeting just prior to the rally. Two dozen River Rouge workers attended and Rudy Nelson spoke on behalf of the DAP unit of the Auto Workers. Several carloads of students drove up from Ann Arbor to join the rally. Earlier in the week 150 had rallied at a University of Michigan demonstration called by the SYL.

Across the street from the Kennedy Square rally, six goose-stepping Hitler crazies, decked out in mock SS regalia, attempted to stage a provocation. The Communist Workers Party and a small Ann Arbor group, the RWG, fell into the trap, baiting the demonstrators to "charge" the police lines around the Nazis. This show of bravado was short-lived; after a seconds-long run-in with the cops, the CWP and RWG gave up the idea. Absurdly carrying signs saying "Down with sectarianism" while yelling "chicken shit" at the podium, the RWG was obviously more interested in getting Spartacists injured in a bash with the cops than they were in fighting fascism. In response the rally chairman, Charles Dubois of the Local 600 Rouge Militant Caucus, explained: "It's labor and blacks that have the power. We're not talking about adventurist substitutionism. When we want to do a job, we want to do it thoroughly."

Both at Berkeley and at UCLA, spokesmen for the CWP addressed SYL-initiated rallies. Their presence contrasts sharply with CWP actions a year ago, when in a fit of sectarian stupidity they threatened physical violence against those (such as the Spartacist League) who protested against the Greensboro massacre. But a few months later, when the Spartacist-initiated ANCAN called for labor/black action to stop the Nazis in SF on April 19, the CWP ran to Mayor Feinstein to appeal for a ban on the fascists.

The biggest protest in the country was a Greensboro rally of 1,000, largely black North Carolina A&T students, on November 20. Outside the South, the SL/SYL-initiated protests were notably larger than those called by various opportunist left groups, including the

CWP itself, which responded in an uneven and almost half-hearted way to the acquittal of the murderers who gunned down their comrades. We emphasized the need for united-front action, and in several places student unions and student government officers were among the endorsers. (In Madison, the University of Wisconsin student government called a Greensboro protest which drew 250.) In some cases, reformist groups which normally turn a cold shoulder to any form of cooperation with Trotskyists felt constrained to associate themselves with SYL protests. Thus at SF State Communist Party leader Angela Davis endorsed; PL/CAR participated and spoke in Chicago; at Berkeley, the YSA (youth group of the Socialist Workers Party) endorsed, despite their scandalous line defending a "right to free speech" for fascists.

The absence of groups such as the CP from these protests reflected the liberals' "plague on both your houses" line. In the absence of preachers and "progressive" Democrats to tail after, these reformists (for whom "anti-fascism" is usually the all-purpose excuse for everything) are nowhere to be seen. The Spartacist League, however, responded to the Greensboro verdict aggressively and with the same strategy which allowed us to successfully initiate the only mass, militant, labor/black-centered mobilization against the Klan immediately following the Greensboro massacre. To rely on the liberals is a strategy for impotence and betrayal; only the power of organized labor, pulling behind its class banner a broad mobilization of all those targeted by the fascists, can stop the race-killers in their tracks. ■

Greensboro Was Murder...

(continued from page 1)

Crow justice were not surprised. In various major cities across the country, on college campuses, even in a few union halls there were angry protests, though not the massive outcry that met other examples of racist injustice in the late 1960s or even as recently as Miami. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League took the lead in building these protests, calling for labor/black defense against fascist terror and no reliance on the racist capitalist state which systematically protected the Greensboro killers.

The Greensboro massacre and the judicial whitewash carry an ominous message: now that Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign has prepared the way for Republican reactionary Reagan and a new Cold War, blacks, labor militants and communists will be targeted at home. With the cross hairs of the Klan's M-16s trained on the communists, standing behind the white-sheeted killers trained at the Bay of Pigs and in Vietnam are the black-robed judges and the powerful apparatus of the U.S. government.

Sham Trial, Rigged Verdict

How could it happen, asked the *Washington Post* on 20 November:

"The facts seem so simple. The Communists were shot to death; the Klan and Nazis fired at them; and almost everyone saw the terrible incident on television news. How could a jury, except one infuriated with the political views of the victims and infatuated with those of the defendants, return a verdict of not guilty?"

How indeed? Through the deliberate cooperation, conspiracy if you will, between all the principals. Months ago we documented that "prosecutor" Michael Schlosser is the cousin of Steve Schlosser, one of the KKK/Nazis' defense attorneys, whose brother Jim Schlosser, as local reporter for the *Greensboro Record*, was one of the first to label the massacre a "shootout." We have written of the mockery of the jury selection, in which the defense accepted only "people who do not have any preconceived prejudices against the Klan," i.e., no blacks. The jury was finally made up of wives of phone company managers, wives of deputy sheriffs, Vietnam vets and city employees. Jury foreman Octavio Mandulay was a Cuban exile active in the counter-revolutionary gusano "20th of May" organization.

But the state had a problem. Everybody knew what happened—they had seen deliberate murder on TV. Defense attorney Robert Cahoon remarked to a newscaster, "If the only evidence had been the motion pictures, the videotapes, that would have been probably the impression that the jury had." But the jury was given another "impression." Because the FBI came to testify that ballistics tests showed shots fired out of range of the TV videotape cameras, that could have been fired by the communists. So the handpicked, politically screened, carefully prepared jury could claim there was a "reasonable doubt" about the motives of the fascists (who drove 100 miles into town for the attack).

It was the "prosecution" which had ordered the ballistics tests from the FBI. The defense subpoenaed them and presented this as "evidence" that the communists could have had guns, could have shot them, and therefore the Klansmen/Nazis could have murdered in "self-defense." The ballistics tests merely show that there were some shots not seen on the videotape. But the prosecution refused to raise a single question, since to do so would cut the ground out from under its next case... against the CWP!

Then there was the role of government agents. Edward Dawson, "former" paid FBI informer, was in the lead vehicle that November 3; he had recruited the Klan participants and as a local police "contact" he had obtained the location of the rally staging area. Bernard Butkovich of the ATF had infiltrated the Nazi chapter and advised them on bringing guns to the CWP rally. As the *New York Times* reporter noted laconically, "Neither Mr. Dawson nor Mr. Butkovich was called by the defense or the prosecution." Who said cover-up?

And both "sides" in this phony trial worked hard to build up the flag-waving fervor of the jury. The Klan/Nazi murderers were portrayed not as racists, overzealous perhaps, but as extremists in a good cause, "fighting communism." The "prosecution" asked every juror what he thought about communists, who "stand for the opposition of everything you believe in." And the DA's incredible summary asked for a conviction only because "the communists" had predicted that the fascist killers would go free. The jury got the message. Now Schlosser says he may not prosecute another ten KKKers, and the U.S. attorney wonders if there is enough evidence for federal civil rights charges.

Cold War, Cold-Blooded Racism

The Greensboro verdict came wrapped in the American flag. Nazi leader Covington, who got 56,000 votes running for North Carolina attorney general (as a Republican) last April, hasn't missed the political significance of recent events:

"Reagan, of course, has a lot of differences with us, but he is certainly much closer to our point of view than the past few people who've held the office of the president. So obviously the tide is moving in our direction."

Indeed, the courts let the fascist killers loose at a time of increasing racism. Busing is politically dead; Congress is now passing laws to *prevent* integration; even the 1965 Voting Rights Act, supreme achievement of the civil rights movement, is under attack. And the KKK grows bolder—from their secret terrorist training camp in the Alabama hills they threatened "race war" should the Greensboro murderers be convicted.

From the liberals who painted the attack as a "shootout" now come protestations of inability to judge. The *New York Times* (20 November) editorialized, "We cannot know whether the all-white jury that acquitted six Klansmen of the murder of five radicals ignored the available evidence." The *Washington Post* wrote it couldn't tell if the verdict was proper, the prosecution vigorous, "self-defense" a legitimate defense, "and we doubt that anyone other than those who sat through all of the trial is in a position to provide an authoritative opinion." They know, just

like everyone else, but the bourgeoisie's line is "no waves" about the verdict.

Where is the liberal hand-wringing about Jim Crow justice which accompanied such racist atrocities in the '60s? This time there are not even hypocritical references to "checks and balances," the "slow but deliberate workings of the judicial system" or the possibility of appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Why? Because the victims were avowed communists and in the new Cold War climate the liberals *support* the Greensboro verdict. Perhaps the clearest expression of this disgusting liberal apology for racist murder was the following:

"Both sides got what they wanted in the end, says Charles Wittenstein, Atlanta-based southern counsel of the Anti-Defamation League. Klansmen and Nazis can now trot out their new 'heroes' who gunned down five 'dirty commies' and went free to brag about it. The Communists, well-educated radicals who continued their college protest ways, can be expected to tout their five dead 'martyrs' as proof that there is no such thing as justice under capitalism, a recruiting aid to enlist fellow revolutionaries."

—*Washington Post*,
20 November

Greensboro has become not only a milestone in the alarming rise of race terror, but also a sort of show trial for the "human rights" Cold War. From the beginning we pointed out that Carter's crusade was an attempt to morally rearm U.S. imperialism following its defeat in Vietnam. Now it has proceeded to military rearmament, a \$1 trillion arms budget over the next five years, a presidential directive targeting Soviet leaders and missiles for a U.S. nuclear first strike.

And the Russians just sit there in Madrid and take all the imperialist crap about "poor little Afghanistan." Why don't the Soviet delegates put the U.S. on trial? Five leftists, union organizers, advocates of black equality are gunned down in broad daylight and the fascist murderers go free. *Nothing* the U.S. has alleged in treatment of pro-Western Soviet dissidents can compare with this "violation of human rights."

Amid uncontrollable inflation and massive layoffs, liberal Cold Warriors whipped up the "new patriotism." The failed "War on Poverty" was abandoned for a war on the public's "Vietnam syndrome" which stood in the way of new CIA/Pentagon adventures. Thus Carter and the liberals paved the way for Reagan, the obvious beneficiary of the reactionary political climate they fueled. And blacks are the obvious target of Reagan's talk about "welfare bums" and government cutbacks. From the Oval Office, the halls of Congress and the Supreme Court came a unanimous message: blacks are expendable. The message was not lost on the KKKers and Nazis, who loaded their guns and went hunting. They shot up black women in Chattanooga to "celebrate" their murders in Greensboro. Their crosses flamed from Connecticut to California.

The campaign to make the Klan "respectable" is particularly ominous for blacks, labor and leftists. The KKK went after the CWP marchers not because their tactics were adventurist and provocative but because they were black, red and active. "Don't organize or you may be murdered in 'self-defense'" is the courts' message to blacks and nonunionized workers facing Klan terror.

The media responded that the

Greensboro victims deserved to be killed. "A snake and a mongoose" is how it came out in court. It was just commies who got it, said the pols and the pundits, so relax. The black misleaders were anxious to take up this theme, and the ministers of the SCLC held conclaves to discuss "ways of responding to Communist organizing efforts." But ultimately all the sophisticated attempts to win the masses of black people to the Cold War won't wash. They have palpable reason to believe that the main enemy is at home, that racism is closely tied to anti-communism. Muhammad Ali's famous Vietnam War comment, that "No Vietcong ever called me nigger," summed up a mood among black Americans that continues today.

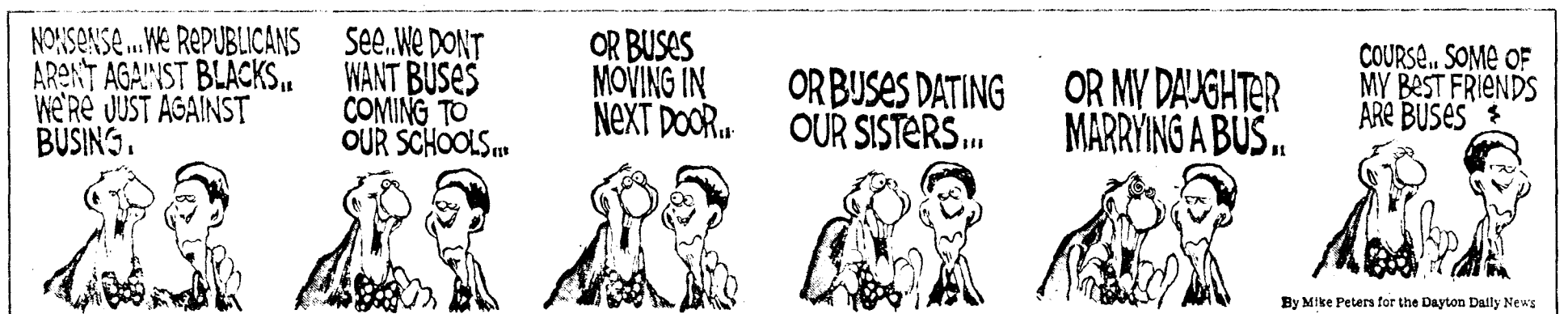
Continuum of Racist Reaction

American blacks see the Greensboro massacre as part of a larger picture of growing racist violence. In New Orleans rampaging cops terrorized the black Algiers section and Fischer Housing Project this month, smashing in doors and gunning down four black people in their homes, hunting "suspects" in an earlier cop shooting. In addition to the day-to-day brutality of cops in the ghettos and the alarming wave of so-called "random" killings of blacks from coast to coast. In Atlanta 15 black children have disappeared since last year. Every day now, just after dawn, hundreds gather with shovels and dogs, searching for their bodies. And the killings continue like clockwork at three-and-a-half-week intervals. In Buffalo six black men have been murdered, including two cabbies whose hearts were ripped out of their chests. An ex-KKKer and Nazi, Joseph Franklin, is under arrest in Salt Lake City in connection with a series of ten sniper killings of blacks and interracial couples; he is suspected of shooting Urban League leader Vernon Jordan in Indiana last May.

The press has deliberately played down the connections between these grisly race murders, dismissing without investigation the possibility of conspiracy, and even treated seriously the ravings of a "psychic" who claims to know the Atlanta child killer is black—all in order to cool black outrage. Greensboro and the climate of rising racism will be an inspiration to every twisted psychopath in America who can now see the evidence in the papers that the objects of his sick hatred are fair game.

As the number of victims of racist terror mounts, there is an apparent continuity of reaction running from the race-hate killers through the Moral Majority to the Senate and the president. As part of the fascists' bid for acceptance as a "respectable" political force, the KKK and Nazis enlisted in both capitalist parties for the 1980 elections. Klan leader Tom Metzger won the Democratic primary and ran for Congress in Southern California, getting 35,000 votes. His biggest campaign contribution came from J.B. Stoner, head of the National States Rights Party facists, who just drew a ten-year sentence for his role in the 1958 Birmingham black church bombing. Stoner's prior electoral experience includes working for Strom Thurmond's 1948 Dixiecrat presidential campaign.

Less well publicized nationally but no
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Greensboro Was Murder...

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less ominous was fascist Gerald R. Carlson's bid for Congress in Michigan. Carlson got a third of the votes on the Republican ticket in a white working-class Detroit-area district. He campaigned to "make it illegal for Negroes to live and shop in Dearborn and Dearborn Heights." This, he says, would produce "wonderful white cities where white people are allowed to thrive without the threat of Negro crime and violence" (*Washington Post*, 15 November). In the district where Ford's giant River Rouge employs thousands of black auto workers, Carlson said that he wants to "instill more respect in Negroes [and] regulate unions."

For the first time in memory the KKK had a major party candidate for U.S. president with a platform they could embrace. And Ronald Reagan has wasted no time in convincing black America that their fears about his presidency were well justified. In one of his first political pronouncements since the election, Reagan gave his blessing to the Senate vote barring the Justice Department from seeking court-ordered busing for school desegregation. In response SCLC leader Joseph Lowery said, "We must unite and engage in mass civil disobedience against efforts to turn back the clock." But the clock has been running backwards for some time—attacks on the few gains of the civil rights movement didn't begin with Reagan's election. The black Democrats are trying to cover up the fact that by the time the Republicans take office there will be precious little left to dismantle in the way of integration legislation. Faced with racist reaction in the streets, it was the liberal Democrats who killed busing.

Reagan backer Strom Thurmond is now talking about moving on to attack the Voting Rights Act and reviving calls of "states rights" not heard since the George Wallace "backlash" campaign. A Reagan urban affairs task force indicated the Republican policy of "malign neglect" for black inner cities by urging that all federal money be cut off to cities with rent control, and to "fight" unemployment by eliminating the CETA jobs program and giving tax breaks to business. They called on Reagan to dump the food stamp program and conservative senators have backed Reagan's view that "The minimum wage has caused more misery and unemployment than anything else since the Great Depression" (*New York Times*, 18 November). Their "solution" to youth unemployment: a "sub-minimum" wage for teenagers.

Back to the '60s?

Once again we hear the same old black "leaders" talk about employing the same old methods of the defeated civil rights movement, the same pattern of betrayal and capitulation. But the civil rights movement cannot, and should not, be repeated. It is no longer a "Southern problem" that can focus on eliminating a few legal props of Jim Crow capitalism. The integration of the

lunch counters having been accomplished (and not without bloodshed and struggle), the mass of blacks in Southern and Northern cities face the problem that the civil rights movement never addressed: the special oppression of blacks in the depressed urban ghettos which are the center of the "black question" in America today.

There was only one way the demand for black equality could have become a force driving toward victory, and that is if the labor movement had been galvanized, throwing its social power into the struggle. But that would have opened such a breach in U.S. capitalism's mechanisms of controlling the masses that it could have revolutionary implications. So even the most liberal labor bureaucrats did nothing more than nod to the black misleaders who preached reliance on the Democratic Party, the federal government and the courts. But if the liberal civil rights movement was impotent to deal with the oppression of a black population "integrated" into the capitalist economy at the bottom, communists take the black proletariat as the source of hope for real black emancipation—and a motor force for united class struggle. As we said when protesters returned to Greensboro in February, three months after the massacre, 20 years after the Woolworth's lunch counter sit-ins:

"But there was another road out of Greensboro, 1960. Not liberal integrationism nor black separatism but *revolutionary integrationism*—the fight for assimilation of black people into an egalitarian *socialist* society. That road is the road of the class struggle—the necessary fusion of the struggle for black freedom with the fight for proletarian revolution."

—*WV* No. 248, 25 January

Today the fascist groups exist as little terror gangs on the very fringes of the far right racist milieu. But this milieu is fertile ground for Klan and Nazi recruiting. In a deep crisis of capitalism the fascists can make their bid to grow into a mass movement to smash the organizations of the working class and oppressed minorities. In this process blacks are made the scapegoats for the failure of capitalism. Thus the *New York Times* editorial on the Greensboro verdict ends with the view of "responsible" capitalists who know they will need the fascists some day as the shock troops of terror against blacks and the unions:

"This [Greensboro] is not, then, a problem only for blacks. The resentments and conflicts that accompany the quest for equality are particularly intense in a period of economic retrenchment. All American communities need to be alert to the stirrings of agitators and the need for trustworthy justice."

Like the "good Americans" in the court at Greensboro?

For blacks, leftists and unionists the question is starkly posed: *the KKK and Nazis must be stopped*. Those who say it will be the cops and courts who will "ban the Klan," let them look to Greensboro. Those who say small bands of leftists must throw themselves before the KKK/Nazis when they are backed up by the armed might of the state, let them look to Greensboro. And for those most treacherous of fools who call for "free speech" for the fascist murderers—who, like the Socialist Workers Party, even debate the Klan—let them look to Greensboro. It must be clear that it will require the mass mobilization of the power of labor and blacks to smash the fascists. Only through the final victory of the proletariat over the capitalist class, by achieving a revolutionary workers government, can the fascist threat be swept away at last. ■

Turkey...

(continued from page 7)

prison. Now after several years of often heroic working-class struggles the Turkish proletariat remains disoriented and without revolutionary leadership. The fact that the coup was met with little resistance from the workers—and was even welcomed by many Turks—is a stinging condemnation of the Turkish left today.

Virtually without exception ostensibly revolutionary tendencies in Turkey capitulated to the illusions of "progressives" in the once-discredited Republican People's Party. From the Stalinist TKP right through to the fake-Trotskyist groupings (three of them!) affiliated to the United Secretariat, they have extended political support (unabashed or "critical") to this *bourgeois* party, even when an Ecevit government presided over the reactionary-chauvinist invasion of Cyprus and condoned the permanent military occupation of Kurdish regions. The pro-Moscow Communist Party went so far as to assist the RPP in purging other leftists from the DISK, only to be rewarded by a purge of its own supporters at the hands of the RPP.

On the other hand, not a few Turkish pseudo-leftists (particularly the shameless Maoists) have more or less openly supported the military putsch in Turkey, as imperialist spokesmen including the *Wall Street Journal* (15 September) gleefully reported. In West Germany the most scandalous example of this treachery was the line of the Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW), which recently lost several hundred members in a split, with both sides (accurately) accusing the other of "defense of the fatherland." After admitting that the coup "accommodates the interests of the Western imperialists," these bootlickers for the Turkish generals go on:

"In this respect their measures coincide with the interests of the Turkish nation on one point: in suppressing terrorist activities...coming both from the far right and partisans of the Soviet Union as well as left-opportunist forces, and in fending off attempts at aggression and infiltration by the Soviet Union."

—*Kommunistische Volkszeitung*, 13 October

Thus these "defenders of the fatherland," who are among the last remaining glorifiers of Pol Pot's reign of death in Cambodia, demonstrate that Maoism today means support for NATO-imperialist reaction down the line.

In fact, any supporters of theirs in Turkey could soon face execution by the same generals the KBW hails. As for the terrorism, we would point out that in addition to murderous fascist assaults on the left, leftist blows against the ultra-rightist assassins and communal terror, there is also *gangster violence endemic in the Turkish left*. And the Maoists are at least as guilty as their pro-Moscow fellow Stalinists in such criminal actions which prepared the way for the military coup, by preventing a united-front proletarian offensive to smash the bands of fascist killers. It was this same fatal sectarianism that Stalin himself ordered in Germany, the suicidal line of "social-fascism," which together with social-democratic refusal to break from the "moderate" bourgeoisie (including Hindenburg!), led to Hitler's unopposed march to power.

Leninism Today Means Trotskyism

The development of a "Leninist" wing of the TKP (effectively a separate party grouped around the newspaper *Iscenin Sesi* and the magazine *Turkey Today*, published in Britain) undoubtedly reflects indignation among a layer of Turkish leftists at such unremitting groveling before the phony "People's Party." But the TKP "Leninists" have yet to break with the class-collaborationist politics of Stalinism, as evidenced by their talk about "progressive" generals and adherence to a "two-stage" schema for Turkey (dubbed an

"advanced people's democratic revolution"). A post-coup statement by the "Coordinating Committee of the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey" projects an "anti-fascist" popular front embracing the "bourgeois liberal forces" as well as elements of the "command structure of the army" which has been "subordinated to the junta."

Sowing such illusions in resistance by capitalist forces and presumed left-wing officers is just as lethal as the capitulation by the TKP before Ecevit and the RPP "left wing" before the coup. The only road to sweep away the bonapartist junta and wipe out fascist terrorists is that of workers revolution. But the "Leninists" lack the political compass to lead them on this path: with treacherous popular-front terminology taken straight out of Dimitrov and guided by eclectic impressionism, they first claimed that the pre-coup situation in Turkey was "revolutionary," then described the junta as "fascist." And yet such a sharp turn was accomplished without a spark of resistance.

Nor have the TKP "Leninists" generalized their leftist impulses into a consistent international program. Where do they stand on Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" in Iran, for instance? They correctly recognize a Kurdish right to self-determination in Turkey—what about for Iranian Kurds? In Turkey the left is beset by fascist forces allied with Islamic clerical reaction, but in Iran they hail the mullahs as "anti-imperialist" because the ayatollah is currently aligned against the U.S. Recognizing that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was directed against imperialist-aided Islamic counterrevolution, the TKP "Leninists" speak only of "the uneasy situation in Iran" (*Turkey Today*, May-June 1980). How do they explain the Iranian pro-Moscow Tudeh Party's support for Khomeini? While the TKP "Leninists" have evidently begun to realize that they cannot avoid the question of the Kremlin's counterrevolutionary foreign policy from Stalin on, their eclectic criticisms have not touched the crux of the matter: the historic struggle between Stalin and Trotsky, between class collaboration justified by the anti-Leninist theory of "socialism in one country" and the Trotskyist program for the international extension of the proletarian revolution.

Serious Turkish would-be revolutionaries must study the lessons of Stalinist betrayal. While the Maoists hail the generals who would jail (and hang) them, while the bulk of the Turkish left tails after Ecevit's impotent bourgeois liberals, only the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*, of independent *proletarian* leadership, shows the road out of the Turkish impasse. Particularly given the immediate repressive situation in Turkey, international labor solidarity can play a vital role in defending the Turkish workers, leftists and Kurds now under the generals' guns. It can play a vital role in forging bonds of internationalist solidarity through the many thousands of militant leftist Turkish workers in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe. If they can be broken from Stalinism in all its varieties—whether pro-Moscow, pro-Peking or the more eclectic guerrillaist brands—they can play a crucial role in forging the nucleus of the revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in Turkey.

- Free all class-war victims of military repression! Down with martial law!
- Hot cargo all military goods to Turkey!
- Down with NATO! No NATO/U.S. bases in Turkey or Greece! Defend the Soviet Union!
- For the right of self-determination for the Kurdish nation!
- Down with the military dictatorship—For a workers and peasants government in Turkey!
- No more popular fronts! Forward to a Trotskyist party in Turkey, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■

NYC Spartacist League Forum

GREENSBORO WAS RACIST MURDER Court Turns Fascists Loose— Jail KKK/Nazi Killers!

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Spartacist League
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Labor Party...

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Carter's secretary of labor, were invited speakers at the IAM convention. Winpisinger assured everybody that "It is critical that we save our Democratic Congress," and as a non-threatening anti-Carter gesture, he came out for the irrelevant eco-freak Barry Commoner in the November presidential race. It was an all-too-familiar bureaucratic pressure tactic on the Democratic Party.

The Making of a Myth

But the fake "left" which hangs out in the bureaucrats' waiting rooms cannot sell Kennedy openly (except for unashamed Democratic "socialists" like Harrington). So they have invented Winpisinger's "labor party." To hear the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party tell it, Wimpy's mythical "labor party" is the hottest thing to hit the trade unions since the mass strikes and founding of the CIO in the thirties. In a two-page spread in the 24 October *Militant* the SWP wrote that the IAM's "refusal to carry water for Carter in 1980 represents a departure from the course set by the union bureaucracy over more than four decades."

The CP's Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), which publishes *Labor Today* (a fairly good barometer of the CP's real policies in the trade unions), ran both an interview with Winpisinger and a front-page editorial commenting on the IAM resolution:

"This was an historic moment, comparable to a certain day in 1935 when John L. Lewis heralded the birth of the CIO... history will surely record that 1980 was the year when a great political force—independent of the parties of big business and led by labor—began to get itself together."

The *Labor Today* editorial was proud to announce that it was keeping in step with Winpisinger and the IAM by not supporting any presidential candidate (so much for the CP's Hall/Davis campaign). And the *Militant* claimed that the IAM resolution "marks a big step forward for the labor party discussion that has been spreading in the union movement."

In reality, these pseudo-socialists have resorted to wholesale myth-making to replace their dried-up "mass movements." The IAM convention passes a "some day maybe" resolution to investigate interest in possibly forming some kind of vague "pro-labor" party, and the fake-left reformists fall all over themselves in the rush to proclaim a giant step forward! Funny no one else noticed it, though.

From Gompers to Wimpy "Socialism"

The IAM is an old craft union going back to the 19th century, with an overlay of industrial unionism picked up in the 1930s and later, particularly in the aircraft industry. It has never been a politically vital union, although its

980,000 members carry a lot of economic weight. So Winpisinger's "socialist" rhetoric has been rightly regarded as one man's harmless hobby in a conglomerate union, tolerated because fundamentally he pursues the same class collaboration as the rest of the labor fakers. In DSOC Winpisinger shares company with such Democratic Party stalwarts and pillars of American union bureaucracy as UAW president and Chrysler board member Douglas Fraser, and no-strike Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME. The parallel course of Fraser and Winpisinger—gross class collaboration combined with social-democratic rhetoric—has no doubt encouraged the recent talk of merging the UAW and the IAM.

Winpisinger has always been part of the AFL-CIO mainstream, with only a veneer of Sunday "socialism." The *Wall Street Journal* (28 November 1979) quotes him as calling himself a "seat-of-the-pants socialist" who advocates such things as nationalization of the oil companies. His tough-guy iconoclastic style has no doubt given him some appeal as well as gotten him into trouble. When asked by the *Village Voice* a while back what Carter could do to redeem himself, Winpisinger replied, "Die"; and he referred to John Connally as a "bigot—the wrong guy in that car in Dallas got killed." But as one company negotiator remarked to the *Journal*:

"If there ever came a day when Wimpy's actions matched his rhetoric we're in trouble. You sit through a Winpisinger speech and you think the revolution is at hand. Next day you sit down to bargain with the Machinists and they're as pragmatic as ever."

William Winpisinger rose through the ranks of the IAM to the top without making any known waves. He is no insurgent. Fred Gaboury, editor of *Labor Today*, writes glowingly about how democratic the IAM convention was—no goons, no gag rules, etc. (When Gaboury talks about workers democracy it's kind of touching, considering that he led a CP goon squad at TUAD's recent national conference to prohibit the distribution of leaflets calling for defending picket lines!) But Winpisinger gave a revealing interview to the *Guardian* (20 February) which shows him in a rather different light. When they asked the IAM chief about Ed Sadlowski, Winpisinger pounded his fist on the table and said he supported the incumbent USWA leadership, but not because of their politics—he just doesn't like troublemakers! About Teamsters for a Democratic Union, another reformist union opposition, he said, "They asked me to back them, but I ask myself: Hell, what's to stop a bunch like that from coming in here and doing the same thing?"

So "Wimpy" was "democratic" at the convention—there was no serious opposition! But he can crack the whip when he wants to, especially against the left. A couple of years ago the union expelled a supporter of Progressive Labor and went to the length of fighting the case to the Supreme Court. Winpisinger also vetoed a proposal passed by a San Francisco Bay Area local in 1978 which would have made stewards and members of the local bargaining committee elected rather than appointed posts. So much for workers democracy!

The SWP does the same whitewash job as the CP. The *Militant* makes Winpisinger out to be a big radical on civil rights and the woman question. That's kind of funny, because up until not too long ago the IAM was a real hardened craft union that excluded blacks and women. Now with all the federal laws on the books the union has a civil rights department, but Winpisinger isn't exactly the biggest battler against racism and sexism. When the *Guardian* asked him why the IAM Exec Board is all white and male, he defended it staunchly:

"We don't have a single woman who's worked her way up through the ranks the way those white males have... the Blacks and Hispanics have got to work their way up just like everybody else."

On a narrow trade-union level, Winpisinger's policies do not differ a whit from the mainline AFL-CIO bureaucracy. For instance, he thinks the coal miners "have too little respect for law and order." When one of the delegates at the IAM convention called for sitdowns against plant closings, the proposal quickly died. His position on plant closings is the same as Lane Kirkland's and Doug Fraser's—he's for impotent federal laws to "outlaw" plant closings. So much for independent working-class action!

The SWP's and CP's kowtowing before pro-Kennedy bureaucrats like Winpisinger say a lot more about their real position than occasional denunciations of the Democratic Party. The CP in fact regularly supports liberal Democrats like Ron Dellums and considers the labor party demand too radical—hence they're for a "people's party." The SWP calls for a labor party, to be sure, but one that would make Britain's reformist Labourites sometimes look like flaming reds in comparison. In practical terms, the SWP strategy boils down to supporting pro-Democratic bureaucrats like Arnold Miller or Winpisinger.

Toward a Workers Party

For communists, Trotskyists, the labor party slogan is intended as a tactic to break the workers from the bourgeois parties, as a step to working-class political independence. It is not a call for a second-class reformist party but a means to explain to the mass of the proletariat the need for a revolutionary struggle for power, for a workers government. Today the workers are tied to the Democrats and Republicans by their own misleaders like Kirkland/ Fraser/Winpisinger who also shackle the unions' economic struggles against the bourgeoisie. Such "labor lieutenants of capital" have no intention of forging a party of the working class; at most they may engage in a little verbal pressure when the "choice" offered by the capitalist parties is obviously no choice at all for labor. To call on such *labor traitors* to form a labor party is the worst electoral blindness.

In the 1978 coal strike, for instance, when the mine workers engaged in mass picketing to fight scabs, while union leader Arnold Miller openly sided with Democratic president Carter who invoked the Democratic-approved Taft-Hartley law to end the strike, many miners began to question the union's ties to the Democratic Party. The bureaucrats' control defeated that bitterly fought strike, and two years later it delivered the miners' votes to the same Jimmy Carter. The reformists—CP, SWP, DSOC, etc.—talk of a labor party led by people like Arnold Miller and Winpisinger, who think that the miners "have too little respect for law and order." Marxists call for a workers party that would lead the miners' struggles forward to victory.

In different circumstances a leftward-moving bureaucrat at the head of a powerful rank-and-file upsurge could break from the bourgeois parties. This possibility existed in the mid-1930s with John L. Lewis and the CIO, and the Trotskyists called for the formation of a labor party on the basis of the mushrooming industrial unions. But they also argued for a revolutionary program, warning that if a bureaucratic labor party were formed simply as an anti-communist ploy, it must be opposed. And as a new imperialist war approached, Trotsky realized that the pro-Roosevelt CIO leaders would be swept up in national chauvinism: "The support of the progressives is not stable. It is found at the top of the union rather than as a rank and file current. Now with the war we will have these progressives against us" ("Discussions with Trotsky," 12-15 June 1940).

It is entirely possible today that the Winpisingers with their anti-Sovietism and American chauvinism (such as over Iran) can become part of the executors of an attempted anti-red purge in the

labor movement. So while the SWP and CP blindly tail along, the Spartacist League reiterates the need for revolutionary program and struggle: Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 16)

International bureaucracy that has presided over the disastrous erosion of the union's power.

What Is the Rank and File Coalition?

Flotte was the BA whose policies were responsible for the defeat of the 137-day Pfizer strike last winter. While posturing as a fighter, it was he who enforced the court-imposed restrictions on the number of pickets, thus allowing scab production to go on unimpeded. Flotte refused to implement a motion by the union's own executive board for union-wide action to hot-cargo the struck Pfizer goods. Another Coalition leader, prominent *PW* supporter and former GEB member Franklin Alexander, helped to sell the 1979 Master Contract which paved the way for the present attack on working conditions and grievance procedure. Local 6 members are now paying the price for what he called "the best contract ever!"

While the Militant Caucus was fighting to organize mass pickets to save the Pfizer strike, "Trend" supporters in the Coalition were organizing a fund-raising disco dance as a substitute for strike support with muscle. Meanwhile *PW* supporters, including executive board member Victoria Mercado, were instrumental in sabotaging official support from Local 6 for the successful mobilization of the April 19 Committee Against Nazis that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco last April. Militant Caucus members campaigned heavily on their activities in building that demonstration and put it forward as the strategy for labor to defeat the Nazis and Klan. The increased electoral support for the Caucus reflects the appeal of this strategy to many ILWU members.

This election marks a nearly complete turnover (eight out of nine) in the West Bay GEB posts. Several members of the "Rank and File Coalition" have been elected to the GEB, and the membership will have the chance very soon to find out how rotten it is. The job of the Militant Caucus now is to consolidate their gains and extend their membership base. Key to this task is proving to the membership that halfway measures won't work, and it will take an uncompromising fight on the program of the Militant Caucus to defend the membership's interests. The Caucus must build an authoritative new leadership to replace the bureaucrats and the left-pressure groups that support them. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Much Ado About Wimpy

Social Democrats' Labor Party Hoax

Just as the New Deal liberal-labor-black coalition in the Democratic Party is crumbling, in rush the forgotten social democrats attempting to revive this mainstay of American capitalist politics. A conference of Second International leaders in Washington in early December will bring in such European stars as Brandt, Palme and Mitterrand to put a little wind in the sails of their U.S. colleague Michael Harrington, leader of the obscure Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)—and to shine up the images of some fading Democratic liberals like Senator Ted Kennedy and Congressman Ron Dellums.

The lead-off speaker in the confab will be one William "Wimpy" Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) and a vice-chairman of DSOC. There has been a lot of comment in the press lately about "Wimpy." The American social-democratic clearinghouse, *In These Times*, called his speech to the recent

IAM convention possibly "the most openly socialist address by a major union president to the members in over half a century." Last year the *Wall Street Journal* called him the "enfant terrible of American labor" and "labor's big lip." Now both the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have gone bananas over "third party" talk by Winpisinger and the Machinists. So what's the furor about? Is something big afoot in American labor?

Kennedy's Rump

ACT I: Madison Square Garden, August 14. When pro-Kennedy forces were defeated at last August's Democratic convention, discontent was rife among the liberals. Seizing on this mood, Winpisinger staged a dramatic walkout shortly before Jimmy Carter's acceptance speech, followed by 100-plus IAM delegates and supporters of Michael Harrington's Democratic Agenda. While some of the left press claimed he had "bolted" the party, the



Kennedy "socialist" William Winpisinger

Machinists chief was sporting a "Kennedy in '84" button, thus making it clear that he was walking out on Carter and not the Democratic Party.

ACT II: Next month at the IAM convention in Cincinnati. The CP's *Daily World* (5 September) headlines, "IAM Will Back Move for Labor Party." The SWP's *Militant* (19 September) publishes a two-page spread on "IAM Calls for Discussions on Forming Labor Party." A major American union was breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party? That would be news. But it just ain't so. Actually, Winpising-

er beat back one local's attempt to call for immediate creation of a labor party. Instead, the convention simply decided not to endorse any presidential candidate in November and passed a vaguely worded resolution threatening to:

"...join with other progressive and liberal groups in our society to determine the extent to which grass roots support might be developed for an independent pro-labor party dedicated to the principles of social democracy."

Kennedy could easily live with that, and in fact Kennedy and Ray Marshall, *continued on page 15*

ILWU Local Elects Militant

OAKLAND—Five Militant Caucus (MC) candidates in the November 13 elections in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 greatly increased their vote totals over past elections in the East Bay Division and made a big breakthrough in the West Bay in their first electoral campaign there.

Jackie Clark, a Militant Caucus member and house steward at Heublein, won a seat on the General Executive Board, placing sixth out of nine West Bay GEB slots with 484 votes. Mike Kasian, another first-time candidate in the West Bay Division, got 377 votes, placing 13th in a field of 18 candidates. As we go to press, the local Balloting Committee is refusing to certify the results and there may be new elections in the West Bay. Clark and Kasian intend to run again if new elections are called.

In the East Bay GEB elections, Militant Caucus candidate and hiring hall steward Pete Woolston got 350 votes, nearly doubling the total he got in the last election two years ago, and Jack Dow got 250 votes, an increase of over a third over his last electoral showing. It should be noted that these vote totals exceeded those of many winners on the GEB in past elections. The greater voter turnout in this election reflects rising dissatisfaction with the state of affairs under the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy.



ILWU class-struggle candidates Jack Dow, Mike Kasian, Jackie Clark

MC member and house grievance committee member Pete Farruggio got 187 votes for Business Agent (BA), a hotly contested full-time union post and key position for defense on the job. This is a most respectable showing for a class-struggle oppositionist and probably an

accurate index of the hard support in the East Bay for the class-struggle policies of the Caucus.

Workers are looking for answers for the current employer rampage flowing from recession conditions. Workers and stewards are being fired under new

"attendance rules" and speed-up orders. Tim Chapman, a Militant Caucus member and house steward at Kaiser, was set up and fired when ordered to run a two-man machine singlehandedly. The union sends these cases to outside "binding" arbitration. So far three companies have gone to court to overturn these "binding" decisions in those cases where the decision is to rehire the fired worker. The union's grievance procedure is being gutted by such practices. The ILWU must restore a real grievance procedure to fight these company attacks: the right to work stoppages to settle grievances on the spot with no reprisals!

A new electoral bloc has sprung up posing as an alternative to the do-nothing Herman/Eickman bureaucracy. The "Rank and File Coalition" is a mutually parasitic relationship between East Bay Business Agent Roberto Flotte and most of the fake-radicals in the local, including supporters of the *Peoples World* (the Communist Party's West Coast newspaper) and the Silberite/critical Maoist "Trend." The fake-radicals are riding the coattails of a popular vote-getter, and Flotte is getting the services of a crew that is lending credence to his "militant" veneer. *PW* supporters are also trying to disappear their long-time previous service to the officials of the Local/ *continued on page 15*