

Bosses' Rules—A Losing Game

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

The head of the bus drivers union bargaining council remarked, "It was a game of hardball and they played harder ball than we did," announcing the sellout of the Greyhound strike last December. That's for sure, and not only at Greyhound. Reagan set the tone in 1981 by firing 15,000 air controllers, the entire PATCO union. The next year Iowa Beef Packers used National Guard bayonets to shove a four-year wage freeze down the workers' throats. In 1983 came the Phelps-Dodge copper strike in Arizona—this time hundreds of Guardsmen, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, shootings, evictions, as the full power of the state was mobilized against the miners. After knocking off some peripheral sectors, the union-busters are now aiming at the heart of organized labor: the key national industrial and transport unions. At Greyhound they demanded a 25 percent pay cut. At the beginning the union tops soft-soaped the ranks, claiming they couldn't lose their jobs because the walkout was "legal." But the scab buses rolled anyway, cops busted picketers' heads coast-to-coast, hundreds were fired, and when the "negotiations" were over, those who went back had to eat monstrous concessions. What did the AFL-CIO bureaucrats do about this? Nothing—they sat on their hands and called a few token rallies so angry unionists could blow off steam.

In Reagan's America it's open season on the unions, on blacks, the poor, the illegal aliens, the radicals—we're all targets of the drive to roll things back to the way they were when the robber barons rode high in the saddle, when the only business of America, said Calvin Coolidge, was business. The biggest growth industry in the U.S. today isn't



Cops attack striking shipbuilders in 1979 at Newport News, Virginia.

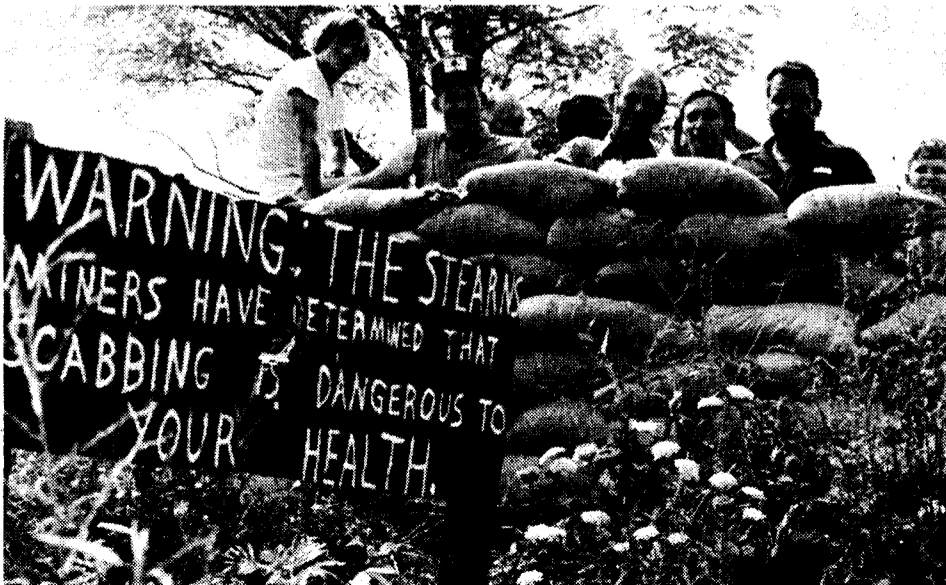
high tech or armaments—it's strike-breaking. The Pinkertons and Wackenhuts are having a boom providing the bosses with armored cars, vans and guards to protect scabs. These are the scum of the earth. Remember Lt. Calley? His first public act was strike-

breaking on a railroad in Florida. From there to butchering Vietnamese women and children at My Lai was a natural progression. And if the death-squad killers get kicked out of El Salvador by the leftist guerrillas, pretty soon they'll be here as "freedom fighters" working for these scabherding outfits.

Unions aren't the only ones under the gun today—by no means. "Dividends are rising—black people are starving," we wrote recently. Every day there is new evidence. "Report Says U.S. Hunger Is Widespread and Rising," headlined the *New York Times* on February 7. Two weeks later the Census Bureau officially reported 34 million people living below the poverty line in 1982, an increase of almost 50 percent in the last three years. As the economy climbs up from the depth of the worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s some white workers are finding work again, but black unemployment is still officially above 15 percent. In fact, almost half of all black men do not have a full-time job! U.S. capitalism maintains a huge army of black and "illegal" Latin workers to provide low-wage labor; now they are using this club to

beat the unions. During the Greyhound strike the company's appeal for scabs was directed explicitly at minorities and women. All across America, thousands of unemployed lined up to act as strikebreakers. And worst of all, they

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Striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky.

WV Photo

The
"External Tendency"

From
Cream Puffs
to Food
Poisoning

See Page 8

Letter from Lanka

20.01.84

The slogan that SL/L and *WV* so far used against the use of armed force by the Lankan government to suppress the Tamil people in the North and East of Lanka was "Withdraw all forces!"

In the fusion of the Bolshevik Group and the iSt [international Spartacist tendency] the following was included: "We demand the immediate withdrawal of the Sri Lankan government police and armed forces." *WV* 282-283 published slogans with the same meaning:

"Free the victims of anti-Tamil state terror! Cops and troops out of Jaffna!" (*WV* 282, page 03)

"Slogans raised at the New York demonstration called for the freeing of victims of the anti-Tamil terror, for the withdrawal of cops and troops from the

Tamil areas, and for the right of self-determination for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka." (*WV* 283, page 02)

However, instead of this, *WV* [No. 336, 12 August 1983] published "Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas." This is a slogan that the NSSP [New Sama Samaja Party] used at one time. The TULF [Tamil United Liberation Front] at that time demanded that the forces deployed in the North should have a majority of Tamil-speaking personnel. NSSP's call for the withdrawal of Sinhala forces was in conjunction with the TULF call. In *Lanka Spartacist* Nos. 1-2 we criticized the NSSP slogan:

"Falling in line with the demands of the TULF, the slogan of 'withdraw Sinhala forces' of the NSSP... (i.e. the NSSP accepts that there exist a Tamil-

speaking bourgeois army)." (*Lanka Spartacist* Nos. 1-2, page 15)

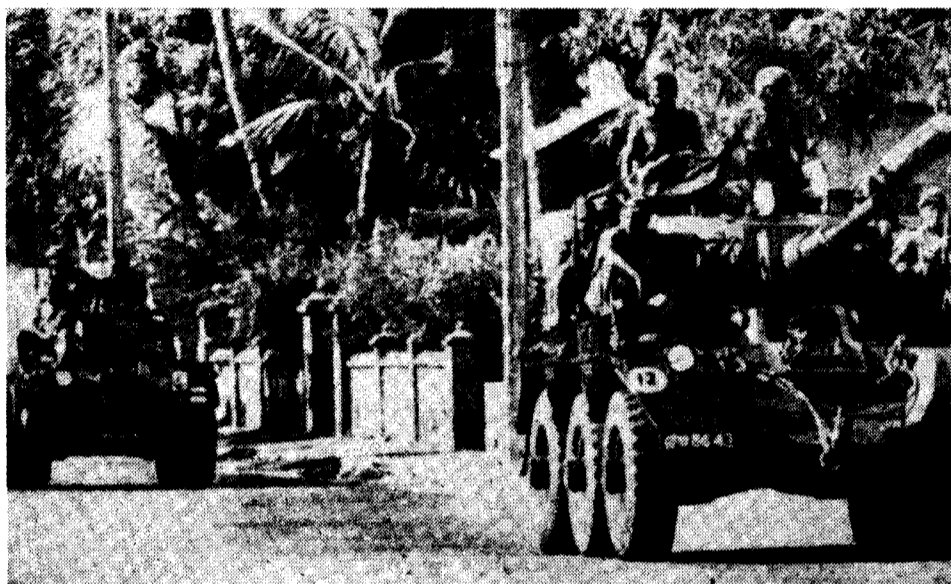
"Immediate withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas" will create the wrong impression that it is agreed for a Tamil-speaking army to stay on. Though it is correct that the army sent to the North by the Lankan government is almost all Sinhala, the slogan "Withdraw all forces" would have been a more correctly formed slogan than the slogan in *WV* No. 336, and would not have created wrong impressions.

Not to demand "withdrawal of Sinhala army units from all Tamil areas!" is not capitulating to Sinhala racists. Such a demand equals the demand of Tamil nationalists and also

forms a wrong impression. The slogan "Withdraw all forces from North and East" could be presented not allowing the working class to have wrong impressions about the bourgeois army.

Spartacist League/Lanka

WV replies: We thank the comrades for bringing to our attention the fact that the call for "withdrawal of Sinhala army units" from Tamil areas could, given the history of this slogan in Sri Lanka, be interpreted as advocating the replacement of Sinhalese with Tamil-speaking troops. Clearly, then, the earlier slogan "withdrawal of cops and troops from Tamil areas" is the correct one. ■



Tanks of Lankan army of occupation patrol street in northern Tamil city of Jaffna, 1981.



TROTSKY

The Pathology of Renegacy

With the Hitler-Stalin pact and the approach of World War II, the pressure and prejudices of "democratic" imperialism generated among petty-bourgeois elements mass desertions from Marxism. In April 1940 the Burnham-Shachtman-Abern opposition split from the Socialist Workers Party rejecting defense of the Soviet Union. SWP leader James P. Cannon, America's founding Trotskyist leader, wrote of these deserters.



LENIN

They are all isolated individuals, yet each one of them considers his disillusionment with the proletarian revolution an important public event and continually makes all kinds of elaborate explanations of how it came to pass. On the eve of the real beginning of capitalism's second world war, which will crush out the lives of millions and tens of millions of human beings, they write about themselves, their disappointments and reactions, as though these were the most interesting and important subjects in the world. Well aware of their own shabbiness, they feel the need of self-justification and public approval. They are uneasy of conscience and seek to stifle it by shouting imprecations at those who have remained faithful to the banner they have deserted. They give every explanation of their motivation but the real one—the fact that they have no confidence in the socialist future of humanity and no stomach for the struggle to achieve it.

—James P. Cannon, "The Pathology of Renegacy," *Fourth International* (June 1940)

DSA Protests Too Much

Somerville, Mass.

To the Editor:

You should get your facts straight before you distort them. Contrary to the assertions in your article on the Boston elections (*WV*, Nov. 4), at no time did Boston DSA endorse Ray Flynn for mayor—nor was an endorsement ever proposed. During the preliminary DSA was indeed divided, as was the larger progressive coalition of which we are a part. Some of us wanted a statement supporting both Flynn and King as by far the two best candidates (out of nine), though reflecting different constituencies—others sought an outright endorsement of King. No official position was taken. In the final DSA did endorse Mel King by an overwhelming margin.

Mike Pattberg

WV replies: As we wrote in our article, "Populism and Racism in Boston Elections" (*WV* No. 341, 4 November 1983), the choice between black liberal Mel King and the racist "born-again-populist" Ray Flynn posed a dilemma for the city's assorted liberals, fake-leftists and "progressives." No less so for the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). As DSA head Michael Harrington declared during the 1976 presidential race, if the Democrats nominated Mickey Mouse for president, he would vote for him.

The Boston elections, though, were "nonpartisan." So what's a good social democrat to do when two "liberals" are pitted against each other? While Mike Pattberg is correct in saying that his organization did not "endorse" Flynn in the preliminary, in Boston DSA honchos actively threw their support behind him. Thus DSA National Executive Committee member Peter Drei-

er asserted that "... our first choice for change is Flynn" (*In These Times*, 5-11 October 1983).

We've seen nothing in print to document Pattberg's contention that the DSA endorsed King in the final election. We'll take your word for it, but we have to observe that the DSA's "endorsement" evidently didn't mean anything. The DSA is an organization with even less discipline than the Democratic Party; its members support whomever they feel like. Did Peter Dreier, for instance, shift his allegiance from Flynn after DSA allegedly endorsed King? We have to doubt it, since Flynn appointed Dreier as one of the people to head up his Housing Task Force.

The DSA is very "democratic" about its honchos saying whatever they want in pursuit of perceived personal interests. But there are limits. If any DSAers were to have denounced both capitalist candidates in Boston and come out for building a workers party against the Democrats and Republicans, we have no doubt they'd get about the same treatment as Harrington (then of the Socialist Party) gave the fledgling SDS in 1962. In the famous "Port Huron Statement," the young SDS New Leftists had come out against the anti-Communism which is Harrington's stock in trade. So he locked them out of their office. ■

"Herr Doktor"

Edmonton, Alberta
31-I-84

Editors, *WV*

It's best not to use the German language as itself an emblem of fascism in your otherwise justified polemics, e.g. re "Herr Doktor" Graham p. 13 of 20-I-84 *WV* [No. 346]. It recalls the New Left 'Amerika' and has, per se, no political content—hence feeds into the intellectual laziness that looks at relatively obvious traits like race or nationality to the detriment of more important class dynamics. A small point, but I know you like to be precise in your characterizations.

Fraternally,
D. Justice

WV replies: Yes.

ETs: No Home?

[West Virginia]

This is to inform you of an address change.... Congratulations on the circulation figures on you vs. *Militant* [see "*Workers Vanguard* KO's *Militant*," *WV* No. 342, 18 November 1983]. Here's another straw in the wind. Even the political philistines of the SLP's *People* recognize you as the "principal Trotskyist organization in the U.S. today." But watch out. The would-be-big-frogs-small-ponds ET-types [the self-styled "External Tendency"—see article on SL National Conference, "Black and Red in Reagan's America," *WV* No. 342] won't go away now because with the SWP going under, there won't be anywhere to go. They'll provide a chorus for backward elements inside the SL.

Good Luck!
S.J.

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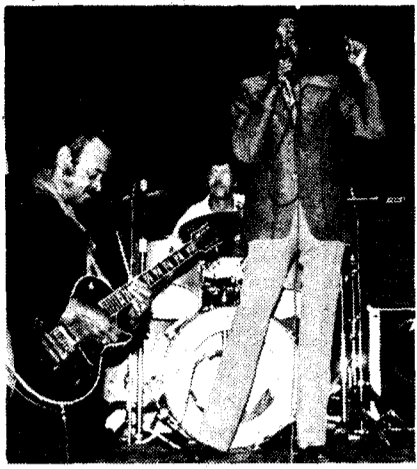
OAKLAND

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

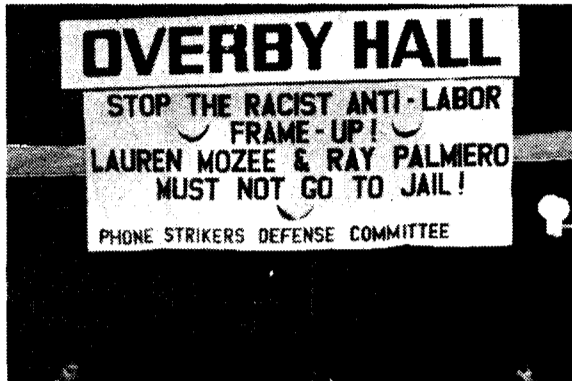
L.A. Blues Benefit Brings Down the House

LOS ANGELES, February 19—They were dancing in the aisles and clapping and stomping in time this evening as an enthusiastic crowd of over 250 people jammed the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) Branch 24 hall to hear the finest blues benefit this side of Chicago. Featuring blues greats Big Joe Turner, Peewee Crayton and Percy Mayfield, the benefit organized by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (PSDC) was a smashing success, raising \$3,105 for victimized Bay Area phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. Ray and Lauren, a former member of the Black Panther Party, were fired from their jobs and face four years in prison for defending themselves and their union against a racist assault while on picket duty during last summer's national phone strike. The benefit also launched the Los Angeles Labor Black League for Social Defense (see below). Symbolically, behind the podium was a portrait of Patrick Mason, the five-year-old black child murdered in his own bedroom by a racist Orange County cop; flanking the stage were large photos of martyred strikers Greg Goobic of the Oil Workers and Greyhound driver Ray Phillips, both killed by scabs running through picket lines in the last two months.

The struggle to beat back the racist anti-labor frame-up of Mozee and Palmiero has generated wide support in the Los Angeles labor movement. The defense effort has been endorsed by a number of labor union locals and black organizations, as well as dozens of individual union officials and prominent black leaders in the area, including Los Angeles city councilman Robert Farrell who wrote a fundraising letter. Striking Greyhound workers in December passed the bucket, raising \$459, while hard-pressed Continental strikers



Peewee Crayton (above left) and Percy Mayfield



Big Joe Turner (above)



pitched in \$73. In January, Los Angeles Communications Workers (CWA) Local 11502 donated \$200 directly to Lauren and Ray; the cement workers union collected \$162 from delegates at their regional conference, then matched this from their general fund.

Four hundred fifty tickets to the benefit were sold in advance, 200 alone to CWA members who walked picket lines in L.A. last summer. The Los Angeles local of the NALC not only endorsed but donated the use of their hall, complete with lounge and union bartenders, purchased 20 buttons and took a block of tickets to sell to their members, gave the PSDC a contribution of \$100 and even part of the proceeds from the bar. Several union locals and officials bought blocks of tickets including NALC Branch 2200 in Pasadena, International Association of Machinists Local 597 (representing the Continental Airlines strikers) and AFSCME Local 3234 at UCLA. Announcements of the benefit for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee appeared on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* "Calendar" section and in the *Long Beach Press Telegram*; in addition there was a 40-minute live interview with Don Andrews of the Spartacist League and Steve Bull, a member of CWA Local 11502, on Pacifica radio KPFK's "Public Affairs"

program and a feature spot on the major black radio station, Stevie Wonder's KJLH.

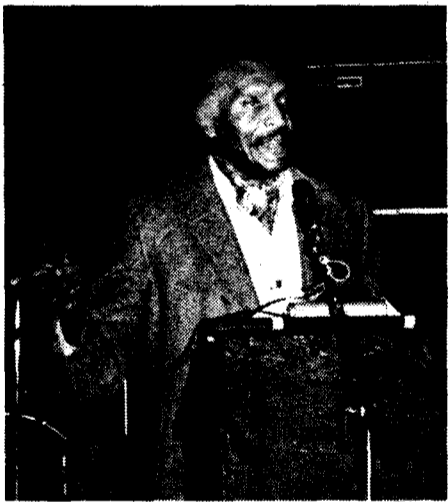
The crowd was more than two-thirds black with strong representation from local unions. IATSE technicians provided the sound, and the guest book shows unionists from OCAW, Teamsters, Laborers, ORTT, ITU, APWU, AFSCME and SEIU. Lauren and Ray were there, coming down specially from the Bay Area accompanied by two carloads of friends and supporters. Matty Billinger, a National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) member and black community activist who faces racist frame-up charges in Compton was introduced to the audience. A black woman who drove with friends all the way from Fontana (where a black phone worker was paralyzed for life when he was shot off a telephone pole by a KKK sniper a few years back) told *WV*: "I'm really impressed to see such an integrated crowd fighting together for a very important case."

And the music was hot! The benefit brought together performers from all over L.A. It was an electric combination: musicians came down from the stage and played while mingling with the crowd on the dance floor. The audience was brought to its feet when the great Percy Mayfield joined premier L.A.

blues guitarist Peewee Crayton for a joint set. When blues great Big Joe Turner wound up the show, he brought down the house. Big Joe, famous throughout the U.S. and well-loved among blacks in South Africa, had people dancing from the stage in front to the literature tables in the back. A real bond developed between the audience and the performers who gave generously of their time and talent, joining together in the fight for freedom and jobs for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

Earlier in the program the audience was treated to a special appearance by Emmy award-winning black actor William Marshall. CWA member and emcee Manuel Delgado introduced Marshall as "a fighter for human rights and the oppressed who's here today performing as the great black abolitionist Frederick Douglass on behalf of two courageous unionists." Marshall sketched Douglass' early career after escaping from slavery and pointed to the important debates in the 1850s over what strategy would end slavery. He shared with the audience a paraphrase of Douglass' response: "Some believed in the ballot, some believed in the bullet. The Garrisonian abolitionists headed by William Lloyd Garrison believed in wielding the 'sword of the spirit.' Increasingly as the crisis neared that

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William Marshall

WV Photo

Labor Black League Launched in L.A.

The highly successful L.A. blues benefit held on February 19 to defend victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero was also the springboard to launch the Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles. Don Smith, a black executive board member of the National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, made a moving appeal to the audience to get involved in the LBL:

"I'm not a speaker but I would like to say a few things. I remember in the early '40s when my parents had a restaurant, that the police in pretense of looking for somebody else broke in there and beat my father, knocked all his teeth out, and all they could say was that it was a mistaken identity. He never got anything out of it. Never got a recognition or apology. So what I'm really up here about is to hope that you would join

with me in the Labor Black League for Social Defense."

Brother Smith introduced the audience to Richard Fraser "who has made an important contribution to the black struggle." Comrade Fraser, a veteran Trotskyist, is the author of "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question." That evening ten people, including a number who worked with the Phone Strikers Defense Committee to build the benefit, joined the Labor Black League. We reprint below the Labor Black League statement.

Join the Labor Black League for Social Defense!

It's time that we come together in defense of our interests and survival by

forming a Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles. For far too long, Los Angeles has been an open-shop, low wage, anti-union, racist city. The bosses have taken advantage of that, and their hired assassins in blue are killing us off like flies. Remember Patrick Mason? Founding members of the LBL demonstrated in downtown L.A. to show our outrage at the murder of this 5 year old black child, gunned down by Anthony Sperl, who was rewarded with an obscene \$35,000 bounty and a lifetime "pension." Likewise we came out into the streets in opposition to the cop vendetta against Delois Young and her family to protest the release of Robert Armstrong, murderer of her unborn child. We are also demanding freedom and jobs back

for fired phone workers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, who are facing time in state prison for defending themselves against a racist, company assault on their picket line.

The Labor Black League for Social Defense stands for mobilizing the masses of working people and oppressed for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America, where the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive abroad means a fierce increase in cop/Klan terror and union busting at home. Initiated by and fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

When the Klan planned to march in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, '82 the

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Reagan's 1984 "Human Rights" Report

We are as sick and tired of "1984" Orwell stories as the next guy. But the Reagan government keeps them coming. The State Department recently announced that the word "killing" in their "human rights" reports would be flushed down the memory hole. From now on, U.S.-backed butchers all over the world will no longer "kill" their political opponents. What will it be called now? According to the well-polished assistant secretary for human rights, Elliott Abrams, as reported in the early edition of the *New York Times* (11 February), before they pulled the story: "We found the term 'killing' too broad and have substituted the more precise, if more verbose, 'unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life'."

Along with this "semantic" change in the government's human rights scorecards, the State Department announced that henceforth the word "torture" would be "combined" in the category of "degrading treatment." And while they were at it, the "human rights" gang excised the phrase "invasion of the home" in favor of "arbitrary interference of privacy." "Torture," say the legal beagles at Foggy Bottom, is too "confusing." "Killing" is "too broad." "Invasion of the home" is "too literally interpreted." What's going on here is all too obvious.

From its inception under Democrat Carter, the imperialist "human rights" crusade has been a propaganda ploy in the anti-Soviet war drive. The U.S. screams bloody murder over the fate of

Anatoly Shcharansky or Solzhenitsyn, who want to return to capitalism or even bring back the tsar. The problem for Washington is that it supports genocidal regimes which pile up dead bodies of the "disappeared" along the highways by the hundreds and thousands. It makes the Soviet "evil empire" look pretty damn good. So sure enough, using the new definitions the U.S. hails "a series of victories for democracy in Central and South America," while denouncing "a continuing deterioration in all ways" in the USSR!

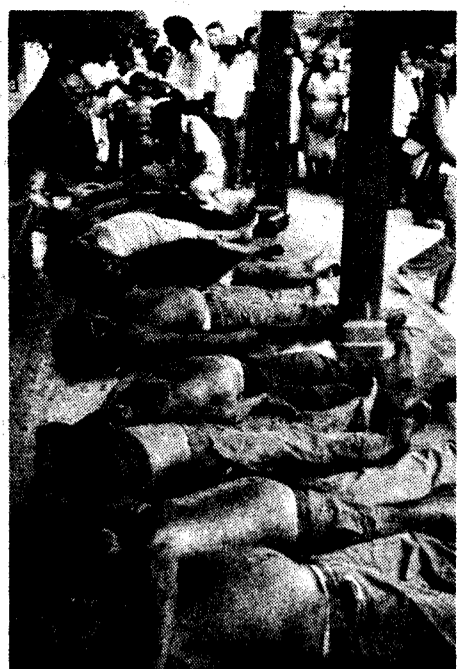
It is no wonder the State Department has adopted a new set of accounting practices for "human rights" violations. When one of its favorite butchers pulls off a night-and-fog operation, breaking into the homes of suspected oppositionists and carting them off without trial, Elliott Abrams can list this as "an invasion of privacy." Or when American-trained sadists use their electric cattle prods and rubber hoses to torture their victims, it can be equated with "degrading treatment," in the USSR. And if the murder is done directly by junta armies in "anti-subversive operations," it doesn't count because it's "legal."

This anti-Soviet "human rights" Newspeak is nothing new. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the sinister Madame Nhu of the Reagan administration, got her job as UN ambassador by apologizing for "authoritarian" governments (which only torture and kill off their population) in contrast to Soviet-style "totali-

tarian" regimes where "freedom" has been abolished. This, of course, refers to "free enterprise"—the right to break unions, lay off hundreds of thousands, starve millions. Similarly, over in Maggie Thatcher's Britain the Tory press a few years ago figured out a way to avoid mentioning the embarrassing fact of elderly and poor people freezing to death because they didn't have a shilling to turn on the heat—they invented "hypothermia."

Another useful distinction in the government's lexicon is that between "economic" and "political" refugees. According to the immigration cops every right-wing "freedom fighter," like Vietnam's gold-hoarding, Hitler-loving mass-murdering ex-president, Marshal Ky, or the anti-Castro *gusano* terrorists, is welcomed as a political refugee. Those fleeing the death squads of El Salvador or Guatemala for "El Norte," however, are economic refugees to be hunted down and sent back. The day after killing the story about the State Department killing the word "killing," the *Times* reported that the U.S. was offering citizenship opportunities to more than 100,000 Cubans. No such luck for the thousands of Haitians who escaped from "Baby Doc's" hellhole—for these black "economic refugees," there are only concentration camps and deportation.

For several years now, the U.S. has rounded up and sent back thousands of Salvadoran refugees. The reign of death in this "free world" "democracy" is so



Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

Victims of death squads in El Salvador.

chilling that scores, perhaps hundreds, of American churches are now consciously breaking the law to offer asylum to the hundreds of thousands seeking refuge from D'Aubuisson and his pathological killers. The U.S. claims the refugees have no "well-founded fear." But now a preliminary report of findings by the ACLU and religious groups lists the names of 50 deportees who were killed upon return; the number of nameless victims is far higher. Perhaps, as liberal commentator Bill Moyers remarked on CBS-TV, the State Department will respond by renaming the death squads the "Pro-Deprivation Defense League." But dead is dead. ■

L.A. Benefit...

(continued from page 3)

sounded to me like nonsense. If speech alone could have abolished slavery this work would have been done long ago. What we need, as I said in my paper, the *North Star*, is an anti-slavery government. For that the ballot is needed. And if the slaveholders refuse to heed the ballot, then it will come to bullets."

Marshall talked about the famous meeting between Douglass and the revolutionary anti-slavery insurrectionist John Brown, and how difficult it was for Douglass to turn down the invitation to go with Brown to Harpers Ferry. He had his own mission to carry out and his decision not to accompany Brown on the raid on the federal arsenal in Virginia was certainly *not* out of any illusion in reforms. Marshall quoted Douglass addressing a group of friends gathered to celebrate the anniversary of slave emancipation in the West Indies:

"The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle... Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress. In the light of these ideas, Negroes will be hunted at the North, and held and flogged at the South so long as they submit to those devilish outrages, and make no resistance, either moral or physical."

William Marshall's riveting performance received a standing ovation.

Lauren and Ray spoke briefly and got a rousing reception from the crowd. Thanking everybody present for coming out and the Letter Carriers for their hospitality and backing, Lauren extended a special thanks to the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League, the Partisan Defense Committee, the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, the Labor Black League and the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA for their hard work and unfailing support. Addressing the

growing labor support in Los Angeles for the case Lauren said, "You guys here are the core of the militant unionists, like those in the Bay Area who have supported us and given us courage to fight for victory. And I know you will be with us in spirit on March 1st when we go into court again." Ray added, "Here in L.A. I know the phone workers experienced the arrest of an entire picket line during that strike and I want to applaud the determination of those picketers. We know that many of those people who were arrested and thrown into jail are in the forefront of our defense efforts down here in L.A."

While the bands were setting up for Big Joe, Don Andrews of the Spartacist League briefly addressed the crowd: "You all here have heard tonight a lot of mention about the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. That was us, and you all have to join in that. Because we're an integrated group of black, white and Latin socialists. And we hail the establishment of the Labor Black League for Social Defense in Los Angeles, which is your organization. It's your organization that you have to make into a fighting organization so we can get our equality and justice. But it's going to come through the fight for a workers revolution." ■

Labor Black League...

(continued from page 3)

Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization to Stop the KKK which led 5,000 blacks and trade unionists to stop them—and did! This was a victory that showed the power of blacks and labor—the kind of victory we need more of.

In solidarity with the Spartacist League, the LBL will initiate and join in future actions that struggle for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers, in protests against the deportation of Salvadorans, and in marches to stop the racist roundups of foreign-born workers—in Los Angeles aimed espe-

cially against Mexicans and other Spanish-speaking workers. The LBL fights the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive by supporting the revolutionary struggles of working people and the oppressed abroad against U.S. imperialism. At the moment, our heroic class brothers and sisters in El Salvador have a chance to go for victory against the U.S. backed butchers. We are for the military victory of Salvadoran rebels. Against the reactionary *contra* invasion of Nicaragua, we say: Kill the Invaders! Complete and Extend the Revolution! And we support the fight in the unions for boycotting military goods to the Central American reactionary regimes and their allies. We call for labor strikes against U.S. intervention in Central America! The LBL fights for international working class solidarity, and for the defeat of the murderous U.S. rulers at home and abroad!

IF YOU STAND FOR—

1. Labor/black mobilizations to stop racist terror!
2. No to gun control!
3. Down with the death penalty!
4. Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism!
5. Full union and citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Stop deportations! Down with La Migra!
6. Jobs for All! For a shorter work week with no loss in pay! For a massive

program of public works under union control!

7. A fighting labor movement—Picket lines mean don't cross! Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Stop union busting! Organize the unorganized!

8. Fight for women's rights! Free abortion on demand, free quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work!

9. Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!

10. For busing against segregated schools—Extend it to the suburbs! Free, quality higher education for all—Open admissions and free tuition with stipend!

11. Institute a massive social security program—health, pensions, full unemployment compensation at union wages!

12. Smash the anti-Soviet war drive! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad!

13. Break labor and blacks from the Democrats and Republicans! Finish the Civil War! For an integrated class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government! Take industry away from its incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

—THEN JOIN THE LABOR BLACK LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE!

Los Angeles
19 February 1984

Spartacist League Forums

Black History and the Class Struggle

Speaker: **Don Andrews**,
Founding member
of Labor/Black
League in Detroit,
SL Central Committee

Sunday, March 4, 4:00 p.m.
Lewis Charles Recreation Center
4863 W. Adams Boulevard

For more information: (213) 663-1216

LOS ANGELES

Speaker: **Bernard Vance**,
SL Central Committee

Saturday, March 17, 7:30 p.m.
Hyde Park Hilton
Cambridge Room
4900 South Lake Shore Drive

For more information: (312) 427-0003

CHICAGO

Congratulations on Victory Against Moonies' Deadly Libel

With the statement, "We no longer charge that the Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day," the Washington Times, a newspaper operated by the sinister, anti-communist cult of Sun Myung Moon, was forced to eat its vicious libel against the SL/SYL and the Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C. (see "Moonies Forced to Retract Deadly Libel," WV No. 345, 6 January).

We print below a number of the messages of congratulations received by the SL/SYL in the weeks since this victory—a victory for all the participants of the powerful mass mobilization of 5,000 which put a stop to the KKK's plans to parade its racist terror in the nation's capital.

Proud and Pleased

As a person who is greatly opposed to the Ku Klux Klan and their beliefs I was proud to be among the Spartacist members in their demonstration against the Klan. For this reason I am more than pleased that the libel suit has been dropped.

Georgia Roberts
Former Executive Secretary,
NAACP Norfolk Branch

Victory for All Intended Victims of KKK

The victory of the Spartacist League in its suit against the Moonies is a victory for all working class people, minorities and all the other intended victims of the KKK and Nazis in this country. The dangerous lie made by the Moonies to set up the SL for government repression on the scale suffered by the Black Panther Party in the late 60's has failed this time.

Ed Kartsen
Chairman, November 27
Labor/Black Mobilization
to Stop the KKK; opposition
candidate for president,
Transport Workers Union
Local 100, New York City

We Defeated the Power of a Poison Pen

Too many times organizations, parties and trade unions have been torn apart and sometimes destroyed by an untrue statement broadcast or printed and distributed to the public. I was down November the 27th, 1982 with all the trade-union sisters and brothers and not one of them was guilty of the charges made by the Moonies' reporter.

This is a very great victory for the Spartacist League, second only to the results of the event on November the 27th '82 when the Klan did not parade down the streets of Washington, D.C.

There were a whole lot of people, like reactionaries and Klan sympathizers, pro-Klan people, mad in Washington and around the country about what happened on November 27th. The Moonies tried to get back at the Spartacist League and the union sisters and brothers with the power of a poison pen. The Moonies did not write one thing against the Klan coming to good old Washington, D.C. and trying to spread false propaganda. But they did attack an anti-Klan group. Figure this out for yourself.

So I am proud I was at the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration, and I'm proud of the victory over the Moonies.

Black trade unionist,
steward in the IBEW,
Tidewater area

The Spartacist League Went After Justice and Won

If we lived under Sun Myung Moon's theocracy, I can assure you that you readers and the rest of the world would never have the successful libel suit

particularly concerning the Soviet Union and the characterization of the Moonies at this point as "fascist." But no one knows better than he just how sinister the Moon cult is, and we greatly appreciate his aid and assistance in this hard-won victory.

A Victory for Truth Over Lies

One thing I've not yet had an opportunity to fill in, is that according to the dogma, the religio-politico-social dogma of Sun Myung Moon, the ultimate manifestation on earth of

is the statement, in a judicial context, that once again the Unification Church got busted for lying and hurting somebody.

The thing to me that has the significance, and the beauty and the strength, the grandeur and the power, is that victims are only voluntary. And that if you're made a victim and you don't want to be one, you can be the victor rather than the victim. And to me, that's the beauty of the settlement and the letter of retraction of phony lies and bullshit. That's what it means to me.

Ford Greene

Letters

The Labor-Black Mobilization march story

Editor's note: On Nov. 30, 1982, the Washington Times retracted its story on the Nov. 27, 1982, demonstration in Washington, D.C. The Spartacist League-Spartacus Youth League provoked the violence on that day.

The Washington Times

Neither the SL, the SYL nor any other component of our mass Labor-Black Mobilization demonstration sought, participated in, or condoned any violence against police.

JAMES M. ROBERTSON
National Chairman
The Spartacist League
EMILY TURNBULL
National Secretary
Spartacus Youth League
Washington



WV Photo

Moonie press retracts "libel that kills" (26 December 1983) and publishes statement by SL on successful Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 which stopped the Ku Klux Klan on November 27, 1982.

brought by you against Moon's propaganda sheet, the *Washington Times*. Congratulations for a job well done and only done because you believed in what real freedoms afforded to us by our First Amendment.

I am one of these parents to whom you have referred in *Young Spartacus*. I also am a capitalist. If you include those two and add an active Christian, it would seem unlikely that we could get along so well. I am a richer person for having had a long day of talk with two of your West Coast members. We ended with mutual respect and understanding. Mr. Moon turns you to Satan if you slightly disagree with him or disagree with his orders. Moon libelled the Spartacist League and the League went after justice and won. We can now only hope that the journalists who contribute to the *Washington Times* will wake up. I would like to think that their affiliation is all "heavenly deceit." However, I am afraid the heavenly dollar is too tempting for all of them.

Daphne Greene
Anti-Moonie activist

ACLU Official Applauds

"Thank goodness that the truth comes out."

E.H. Duncan Donovan
Vice President ACLU,
Southern California

The following is an excerpt from a longer interview with Ford Greene, attorney and ex-Unification Church member, an anti-Moon activist who endorsed the SL/SYL suit against the Moonie libel (see *Young Spartacus* No. 115, February 1984). We do not agree with everything Greene says here,

Satan is communism. And that's why I love "Moonie God Apologizes to Marxist 'Satan'" [headline of SL press release of 26 December 1983]. You don't know how satisfying it was for me to read that! It almost makes me join.

I had extreme reservations [about endorsing the suit against the *Washington Times*]—I don't like communism because it's collectivist, and I don't like collectivism. I like individualism. But the principle is right. The principle is right. And so, upon "mature reflection" I did! And I'm glad. I'm proud, I honestly am. I xeroxed your material so I could give it to all my friends. Because the thing is freedom of speech, and is fascism. And I mean, really, what do I know about the Spartacist League? What. I've got some Ayn Rand image? And just because of people that Ayn Rand didn't like in Russia and that she so very convincingly portrayed as being so horribly fascist doesn't mean that the Spartacist League is the same way.

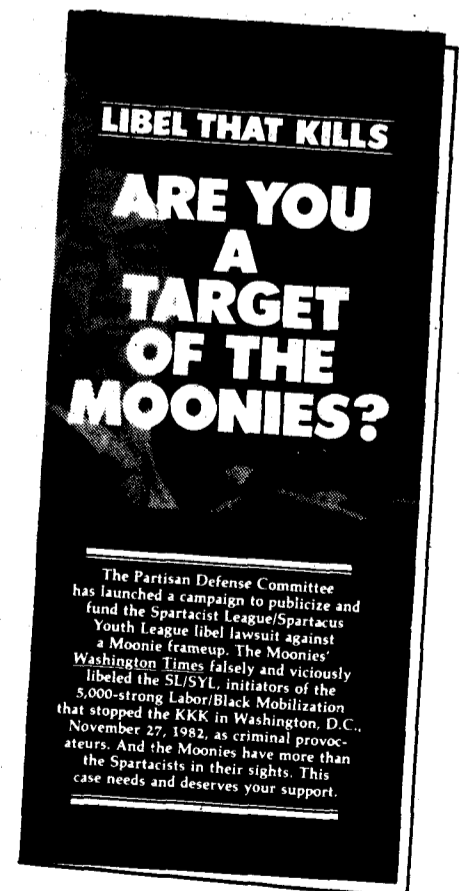
The Spartacist League is a small but incredibly powerful group as you know much better than I. But what they [the Moonies] were trying to do is dirty. It's sleazy dirt. So I'm glad and I'm proud. It's a victory for truth over lies. Because the Moonie newspaper lied their asses off and fabricated all kinds of intellectually heinous garbage, and the Spartacist League fought back and kicked ass and got a nice, full retraction. And I see that as being a victory for, first, the intelligence of human beings; second, for the free flow of information; and last but not least, for the victory of truth over lies, or life over death. Morality over corruption, if you want to really get nitty-gritty about it. Because that's what it is.

And what kind of ripples will flow therefrom I don't know. I would hope that it's not a ripple but a tidal wave, but I suspect it's a lot closer to a ripple. But it

Over 70 Union Locals and Officials Supported

I think it was a big victory to force the Moonies to retract their libel. This was a victory for all of us who were involved in stopping the Klan from marching in Washington and I think the Spartacist League did a fantastic job in winning it.

continued on page 15



Victories cost money. We need to cover costs of publicity, legal and investigative fees. Celebrate the defeat of the Moonie libel with a check to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Workers to Power: For Workers' Militias and Soviets!

End of the Road for Bolivian Popular Front

LA PAZ, February 26—Bolivia today is a classic case of the bankruptcy of popular frontism. The government of Hernán Siles Zuazo's Unidad Democrática y Popular (UDP) flounders from crisis to crisis, satisfying no one and infuriating everyone. After numerous reshufflings, Siles' cabinet is made up of representatives of his own bourgeois Revolutionary Nationalist Movement-Left (MNRI), the pro-Moscow Communist Party (PCB), Christian Democrats and military officers. Faced with urgent social and economic problems deriving from Bolivia's backwardness, 18 years of plunder by military despots and the capitalist world economic crisis, during its year and a half in office the UDP's incapacity has been total. In this, the poorest country in Latin America, social contradictions are posed with razor sharpness, and cannot be assuaged by sermons of class peace, nor by the MNRI's stenciled wall slogans: "Strikes and Work Stoppages—No! Democracy and Productivity—Yes!" "A Democracy Without Order Perishes in Disorder" and "Down With Ultra-Left Demagogy!"

The social contradictions are not merely explosive—they are exploding everywhere. Public employees strikes paralyzed many government functions; unions prevented even some ministers from entering the ministries. Telephone workers and employees of the Central Bank of Bolivia are out. The country's doctors, employed by the government or social security agencies, went on strike for higher salaries; their average monthly pay is less than US\$40! For a week all ground transport to and from the capital city of La Paz was cut off by a road blockade of peasants protesting rising transport costs, low prices for their produce, and the government's peasant affairs minister. In the south, angry peasants held a train with 2,000 passengers hostage. Inside La Paz, slum-dwellers associations—which hold large outdoor meetings of women dressed in the traditional garb of bowler hats, multicolored shawls and multiple skirts—have organized marches through the streets and blocked traffic to protest transport costs. In Potosí miners' cooperatives blocked highways and roads with stone barricades and trucks. Meanwhile, factory workers' organizations in La Paz and the industrial center of Cochabamba officially declared Siles an enemy of the working class. All this follows the miners' seizure of the state mining trust COMIBOL last spring, "resolved" by a decree establishing "majority workers co-management" of the mines.

The Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), the powerful labor federation, centered

on the militant tin miners, threatened a 48-hour general strike to force Siles to live up to the January 29 COB-government agreement that ended a seven-day hunger strike by 1,000 union leaders. The COB bureaucrats, led by class traitor *máximo* Juan Lechín, repeatedly "postponed" the general strike, making a mockery of their "final" ultimatum to the government. After dumping his minister of industry and

gime and calling for "proletarian revolution and dictatorship" in its press and in slogans painted on walls all over La Paz, the POR sows suicidal illusions with its demand for "Bolivianization of the armed forces," and "an army at the service of the working class," and the "formation of a revolutionary tendency" in the officer corps.

The stridently *anti-internationalist* POR has twice helped destroy enor-

streets one hears the lament that at least under the military there was order and bread. Chaos is Bolivia's other name today. As in Weimar Germany, the repeatedly devalued currency is virtually worthless; people must carry huge bundles of bills around to purchase necessities. And necessities are often unavailable. "No hay pan"—there is no bread—is a common sign in restaurants and shops. (The U.S. government has cut off wheat donations until the UDP government lifts subsidies on bread and other products.) Housewives get up at dawn to stand in huge lines for cooking oil and other commodities. The black market flourishes and dollars sell for four times the official rate.

Large sections of the heterogeneous urban petty bourgeoisie could be won to the side of the proletariat by a resolute struggle for workers state power, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard. But today, in the absence of that leadership, enraged by a social crisis without apparent solution and a government drowning in its own impotence and perfidy, much of the petty bourgeoisie is being driven to the right, and yearns for the return of a "caudillo" strongman like the blood-soaked Banzer. In addition to the never-ending coup conspiracies within the officer caste, talk abounds of a "constitutional coup" by Banzer and his ally, "historic" MNR leader Victor Paz Estenssoro, head of the nationalist government formed in 1952, and participant in Banzer's 1971 coup. This "constitutional coup" would consist of the ejection of Siles by the parliamentary majority and the formation of a right-wing bonapartist regime to crack down on social unrest, without relying solely on the narrow base of an officer corps apparently somewhat hesitant to retake government power alone right away.

Thus the popular front not only steals the masses' miserable crusts of bread to serve the International Monetary Fund and the Bolivian bourgeoisie; it imperils the very existence of the workers movement and the difficult survival of thousands of militant proletarians. For the vast majority of the population of this landlocked Andean country, liberation from a life of incredible poverty (and prevention of another bloody "cocaine coup") requires the forging of an *internationalist* revolutionary vanguard party, part of the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, to lead the workers to power. ■



Workers protest in the streets of La Paz, November 1982, one month after popular front comes to power.

commerce, Siles finally pulled the decrees out of his pocket and granted a miserable 57 percent raise in the minimum wage (to 47,000 Bolivian pesos, or US\$23.50 a month). In a country where inflation is over 300 percent and is expected to reach 1,000 percent this year (*Presencia*, La Paz, 26 February), Siles' decrees represent a huge *wage cut*. The UDP well deserves the sobriquet "starvation democracy."

With the PCB acting as hatchetmen for Siles, with the Lechín union bureaucracy dissipating militancy through repeated marches and demagogically playing with the general strike, the crying lack of coordination among the struggles of different sectors poses the danger of demoralization of the combative Bolivian proletariat. The urgent need is for a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership to smash the popular front of starvation through a revolutionary mobilization of the exploited for a workers and peasants government. A principal obstacle to the construction of such a genuine Trotskyist party is the centrist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR) of veteran revisionist Guillermo Lora. While denouncing the Siles re-

vous revolutionary opportunities: in the 1952 "National Revolution" with its support to the "left wing" of the MNR government, and in 1971 with its capitulation to left-nationalist president General Juan José Torres. In the period before Siles came to office, the POR blocked with his bourgeois MNRI in the unions and sought an "anti-imperialist front" with parties of the UDP. In contrast, genuine Trotskyists would emphasize that the *arming of the proletariat* (workers' militias) and the formation of *soviets* (organs of workers power centralizing the struggle against the bourgeois government) are the only defense against Siles' attacks and the ever-present threat of a new military dictatorship. Proletarian revolution is today posed pointblank as the *only* conceivable way out for Bolivia's exploited masses!

And the danger of a right-wing takeover looms larger each day. The petty bourgeoisie is at wits' end. On the

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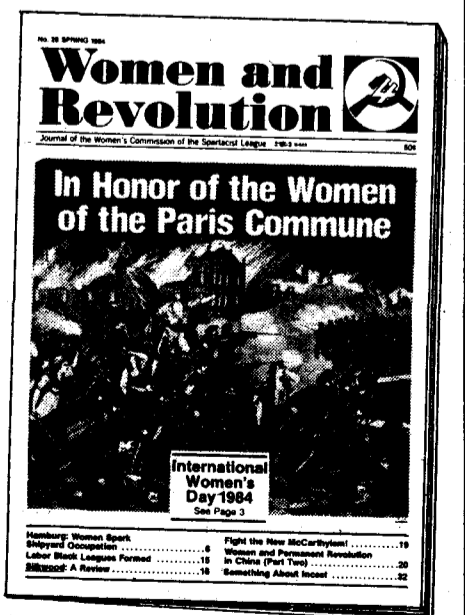
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Issue No. 28

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Toronto Rally to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists Demands:

Stop the Frame-Up by KKK/Nazi Union-Busters!

TORONTO—"Labor must show the way, stop the Nazis and the KKK!" chanted nearly 100 unionists, leftists and other opponents of fascism who packed the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) Toronto local hall on February 11. They had come to protest the frame-up of two postal unionists, Paul Schneider and Mike Mares, by self-declared KKK "intelligence director" William Lau Richardson and his Nazi sidekick, George Graham. Schneider and Mares, members of Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Toronto Local 1, face a possible ten years in jail on charges of "assault causing bodily harm" for defending themselves and others against Richardson and Graham's provocative harassment and intimidation of a Toronto demonstration in defense of abortion rights last October.

Behind Richardson and Graham's outrageous frame-up charges stands the capitalist state whose attorney (known as the "Crown" in this country where Queen Victoria's birthday is still celebrated as a solemn national holiday) is prosecuting on behalf of these fascist scum. To paraphrase the motto of the RCMP (the "Mounties"), the government always defends their man—and Richardson has a long career as a professional agent provocateur and terrorist for the capitalist state. Born in the United States, this Ku Klux Klan "chief of intelligence" has also worked for the CIA and U.S. Army intelligence as well as the RCMP. In mid-1983, Richardson was congratulated in the *KKK Action* newsletter for becoming a "Great Titan."

After he moved to Canada, Richardson, an explosives expert, was hired by the notorious union-busting outfit Centurion Investigation, Ltd. Richardson had admitted under oath that while employed with Centurion he made bombs that were planted in the cars of union officials, militants and foreign workers, in order to break strikes (e.g., the 1974 Douglas Aircraft strike) and disrupt union organizing drives. He also brags about collecting information on Chilean refugees in Toronto for ITT. Now this convicted criminal terrorist is trying to throw Schneider and Mares behind bars.

Speaking at the rally Paul Schneider explained why he and Mike Mares were being targeted on these frame-up

charges:

"We're supporters of the Trotskyist League [Canadian sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency], a socialist organization that stands against capitalism and the filth it breeds like the KKK and Nazis... Richardson and Graham are coming after us because we went out to a demonstration to defend Dr. Morgentaler, a man who is a victim of racist slander, a concentration camp survivor, a guy who's had his [abortion] clinics raided by Gestapo methods. When these creeps turned up we defended that demonstration and ourselves against them. That's why we're being framed

denied any involvement with fascist organizations, only to testify in the next breath that he and Richardson spent their time at the KKK headquarters in Toronto. He went on to admit that he personally knew every major Klansman in Canada including the head of the Canadian KKK, Alexander McQuirter. Finally he was confronted in court with an "Official Supporter of the National Socialist White People's Party" card bearing his name.

At the center of the campaign to defeat the KKK/Nazi frame-up of



Spartacist Canada photos

Postal union militants Mike Mares (left) and Paul Schneider. At right: Rally to defend anti-fascist unionists in Toronto, February 11.



up. It's because we're opponents of the Klan and fighters for socialism."

This case has generated widespread support across Canada. From the Maritimes to British Columbia, more than 300 organizations and individuals, including five union locals and over 75 union officials, have endorsed the demand of the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists: "Drop the Charges Against Paul Schneider and Mike Mares!" To build the rally, some 7,000 leaflets and 1,000 posters were distributed, and the Committee has raised over \$5,000, of which more than \$1,200 was raised by its February 11 Toronto rally.

As a demonstration of the widespread backing for Paul and Mike, on February 1 more than two dozen supporters came out for their preliminary hearing. With counsel provided by well-known Canadian civil liberties lawyers Paul Copeland and Clayton Ruby, Schneider and Mares intend to pursue a vigorous legal defense while placing no confidence in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. That day in court gave a taste of the forces lined up behind Richardson and Graham. Ostentatiously trying to intimidate LCUC members from demonstrating their solidarity with Schneider and Mares were two postal supervisors in uniform. In the corridors of the courthouse Richardson, Graham and a cop were overheard discussing issuing arrest warrants for supporters of the two postal unionists. And according to a local reporter there were at least five "intelligence" agents in the courtroom that day.

Playing his part, the "Crown" attorney attempted to stop the defense from cross-examining their first witness, Graham, about his Nazi and Klan connections. But his objections were overruled by the judge. Graham at first

Schneider and Mares is the mobilization of mass protest by the labor movement and minorities for whom Richardson's name is synonymous with union-busting and racist terror. Speakers at the rally represented a wide spectrum of political opinion and organizational affiliation, including Judy Rebick of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics; Andre Kolompar, vice president of the CUPW Toronto local; veteran Canadian socialist Ross Dowson; Charles DuBois, a Detroit auto worker and organizer of the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C.; and a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee.

Statements of support were also presented by the Canadian groups representing the two wings of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat": the Revolutionary Workers League (followers of Jack Barnes' American SWP) and the pro-Mandel Socialist Workers Collective. Ironically, two evenings earlier the RWL politically excluded Paul Schneider from a public forum as a supporter of the Trotskyist League, thereby preventing him from presenting his case. Meanwhile, Judy Rebick and the SWC were peddling the anti-communist calumny about TLC "sectarianism" as they spoke from the rally platform representing a broad spectrum of political opinion.

Another speaker at the rally, Ontario Federation of Labour vice president and Iron Workers Local 721 president John Donaldson, pledged: "I'm going to use this platform today to tell the labor movement, and I speak specifically of the OFL, that the OFL should rally all groups, no matter what their political philosophy is, all groups to get behind these two brothers. And in so doing, we can attack racism."

A few LCUC officials with their own sinister connections to the fascists want to sabotage this defense. In their local Schneider and Mares have had to combat open defenders of William Lau Richardson and other fascist causes like the Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee (CASAC, which encompasses the old Canadian fascist Western Guard, the Nazis and Klan). While sabotaging any effort to stop the state in conjunction with proven union-busting fascist terrorists from jailing militant members and defenders of the union, the Local 1 executive (unsuccessfully) attempted to get the membership to readmit a scab who attempted to run over a shop steward in a recent strike!

Further, LCUC national president Robert McGarry has conducted his own witchhunt of Schneider and Mares to sabotage LCUC support for this case of vital interest to the whole labor movement, one involving their own members. For example, in a letter to the Vancouver LCUC local McGarry wrote: "From the information we have these members should be treated the same as any two members who belong to other rival organizations outside of the LCUC and who have gone out, taken part in a fight

and have been charged with assault." The Vancouver local told McGarry to shove it and endorsed the Schneider/Mares case. As Schneider and Mares pointed out in a January 17 leaflet co-signed by five other Local 1 members, McGarry's witchhunt may not be unrelated to the fact that his two brothers, Daniel and John, owned Centurion Investigation, Ltd. and were convicted for its terrorist activities. And it was Centurion which employed Richardson to conduct his murderous, union-busting bombing!

The witchhunt against Paul Schneider and Mike Mares is part of a broader attack on labor and minorities. Inside LCUC Local 1, supporters of the fascist CASAC have put forward motions to expel 32 members from the union. Audrey Minton, a spokesman for the Committee to Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists, commented to the *Toronto Clarion*, "Fascists crawl out of the woodwork in the current atmosphere of anti-Soviet hysteria." What is posed by the fight against this fascist frame-up was laid out at the February 11 rally in a warmly received statement by Oliver Stephens, speaking for the TLC:

"Stopping this frame-up of Paul and Mike is going to take a lot more than some arguments in the courts. What Richardson and Graham have started with their charges, they and their ilk intend to finish in the streets, with their lynch ropes, their gas ovens and their death camps. The Trotskyist League of Canada is struggling to build a fighting, multiracial working-class party, to sweep the fascists from the streets. We need a workers government to avenge all our martyrs because there have been too many. And we will not let Paul and Mike be added to that list. What we need is North American socialist revolution to put an end to this system that lets the Richardsons and lets the Grahams walk the streets with impunity!" ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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The "External Tendency"

From Cream Puffs to Food Poisoning

On 17-18 December 1983 the Spartacist League/U.S. held a well attended plenum of our Central Committee. Although the plenum was convoked to deal with other subjects and problems, an exotic issue was an agenda point on the self-styled "External Tendency" (ET) of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The plenum directed that we prepare an article for publication in *Workers Vanguard*.

The ET claims to be a political tendency wrongly excluded from the iSt. This is their genteel way of saying that they quit. As we have remarked before, in the political climate of the "Reagan years," with U.S. imperialism making ready for war against the Soviet Union, a slice of our party membership has cut and run. Most of these quits grow out of fear of this period and distaste for the SL's response to it: our work among the black masses to galvanize militant resistance to fascist provocation and racist terror; our political confrontations with the pro-imperialist union bureaucracy; and above all our Trotskyist defense of the USSR against imperialism.

The ETs are composed of several interlinked clots united by their anti-Spartacist hostility. They mainly take their coloration from a couple of small-time aspirants to union-bureaucratic influence on the U.S. West Coast. These characters logically would fit right in with the Weinsteinites, late of the Socialist Workers Party, behind whom stands the lure of America's "mainstream" social-democrats, the Democratic Socialists. There are also some Canadians, former Mensheviks and cliquists in the Canadian section, and some Germans whose leader, long a rightist critic, quit after having opposed our Iran slogan, "Down with the shah, down with the mullahs!" The Germans quickly pronounced the iSt beyond reform; the North Americans still profess a desire for readmission to fight the iSt's purported degeneration.

Though linked by the rightist character of quits in this period, the ET is a partly accidental and wholly unprincipled association. Never a tendency inside the party, these dropouts coalesced in October 1982 into a grouping with the posture—widely differing applied—of being a loyal opposition professing general support

to our program and hostility to our "bureaucratic" leadership. The ETs pay unacknowledged tribute to their political heterogeneity by their choice of name. They define themselves purely in organizational terms, "external" to the iSt—an open appeal for rotten blocs.

The ET's central thesis was that:

"...while the SL's program remains revolutionary, its leadership collective

record reveals about these victims of SL "bureaucratism."

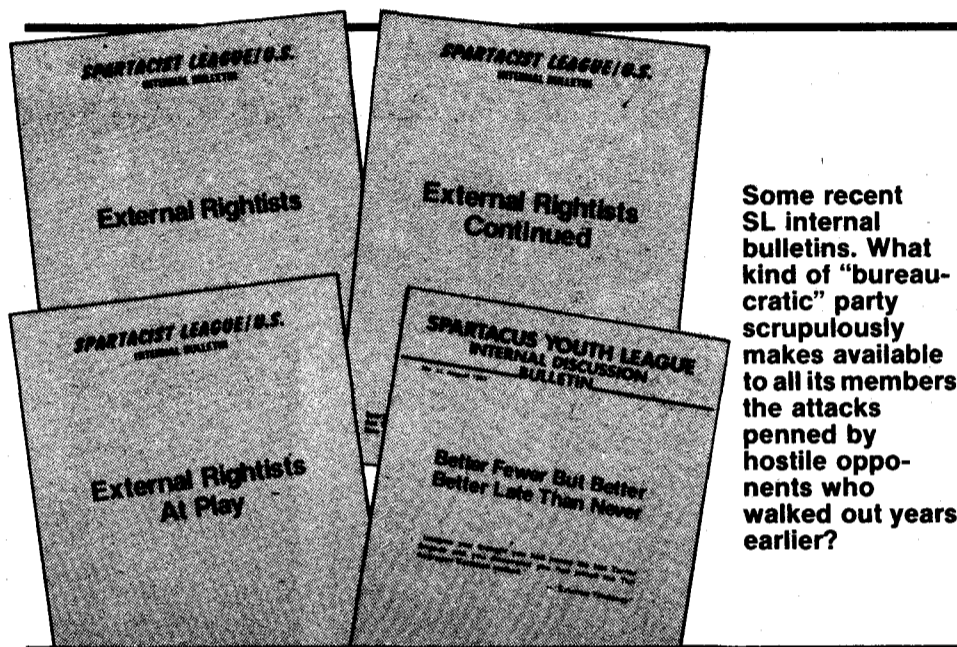
We will begin with Bob Mandel, a petty-bourgeois New Left princeling who howls the loudest about the SL "regime." Mandel quit at the 1980 SL National Conference, in the face of overwhelming sentiment by the conference delegates to seek his expulsion. The delegates were furious when they

slightly biased reports of union meetings, based on what I thought he wanted to hear rather than what I thought or what had actually transpired."

Mandel, self-styled defender of workers democracy against the bureaucrats of the SL regime, was also in hot water with the conference delegates for disrupting a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) public forum two months earlier. This was the only breach of workers democracy in the history of the iSt, and was acknowledged as such in *Workers Vanguard* (see *WV* No. 259, 27 June 1980). The event took place in the Bay Area at a moment when the SWP had already been for some time excluding SLers from SWP "public" forums falsely claiming we were "disrupters." At this forum, unaccountably, a sizable SL intervention team was permitted inside, and found itself in effective control. This fortuitous occurrence was a golden opportunity to make the SWP have, for a change, a public "public" meeting with an orderly democratic discussion. But, finding themselves with the upper hand, our comrades were unruly and gave the SWP an excuse to dissolve the forum. We made public self-criticism in *WV*, and internally fought for a full accounting. Bob Mandel was the main architect of the incident, as he admitted after a struggle and acknowledged in his written statement.

Co-leader of the West Coast ETs is Harlan, who resigned from the SL in September 1981 complaining of "...an internal life characterized by a defensive, hierarchical regime combined with a personalistic, Jesuitical method of internal argument and discussion. This process has advanced to the point where the S.L./S.Y.L. membership is increasingly composed of 'true believers' and cynics." Harlan's god-that-failed language bespeaks his renegacy.

Harlan's quit came just six days after a Bay Area district membership meeting declared him "...unfit for membership in the organized Marxist movement." Why? Because the now so anti-bureaucratic Harlan had grossly abused his position as a member of the Control Commission for his own factional purposes. Harlan had gone into opposi-



Some recent SL internal bulletins. What kind of "bureaucratic" party scrupulously makes available to all its members the attacks penned by hostile opponents who walked out years earlier?

increasingly exhibits hyper-centralist, paranoid and personalist characteristics. These tendencies on the part of the leadership have reached a point where they call into question both the possibility of significantly enlarging the organization and of reproducing Trotskyist cadres within it."

—"Declaration of an external tendency of the iSt,"
15 October 1982

These sentences are themselves a declaration of bankruptcy. The ETs quit, found one another, and declared themselves to be a "tendency"—having already separated themselves from and spurned the one organization they recognize to be the embodiment of revolutionary Marxism on this planet.

Darkness at Noon?

To alibi their absence of political spine the ETs want to lay the separation at our door. They refer to their cowardly departures as "purges," and describe themselves as having been "driven out" and even "expelled." Let us see what the

learned that just prior to the conference, Mandel had taken a job circumventing union hiring hall procedures. A hypocrite to boot, Mandel had publicly objected to striking union brothers being put at the top of the list for dispatching from the hiring hall, ahead of Mandel, although he had argued in the union just two nights earlier for "solidarity" with the very same strikers. Mandel's signed statement dated 17 August 1980 acknowledged this and admitted "lying to the party for years."

Today Mandel claims the written statement was obtained from him while he was in a state of "collapse." (Since he did not attempt to repudiate it until June 1982 we can only marvel at the length of this "collapse.") His repudiation itself speaks volumes. "I did not 'lie to the party for years,'" he protests. He explains he merely "...gave Nelson



ET fled from risks and responsibilities confronting revolutionists in the Reagan years. Left: At behest of revisionist left, cops seal off SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingent, 27 March 1982. Right: SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 stops the KKK in Washington, D.C. 27 November 1982.

tion over the SL's line on the PATCO (air controllers) strike. He argued a version of the reformist Communist Party's (CP) consumer-boycott line—"flying is scabbing." This posture of "solidarity" via consumer was simply an alibi for the labor bureaucrats' refusal to take effective action to defend PATCO: to shut down the airports by real solidarity action by pilots, Machinists, Teamsters—the unions that continued to service the airports.

Harlan's one co-thinker on PATCO was a recent recruit from the CP to the Spartacus Youth League, Lisa. Following a youth meeting where Lisa found herself a minority of one, Harlan encouraged her to bring organizational charges against the Bay Area youth leadership; he aided her in writing them, and then proceeded to launch a unilateral "Control Commission investigation" into the charges brought by himself.

Harlan had every right to make common cause factionally with the SYL comrade, and no right to do so under Control Commission cover. Harlan quit when his manipulation of the youth discussion was exposed. He left his youthful co-factionalist behind to continue the struggle. No organizational measures were taken against Lisa for her cover-up of Harlan's machinations. Lisa wrote up her views on the PATCO discussion in a document which was printed in the SYL internal bulletin. She argued for these views in her branch. And, although she was still a minority of one at the time of the SYL national meeting, she was given equal time there to present her case. Lisa resigned on 13 December 1981, still lamenting the iSt's lack of "the spirit of democratic centralism."

Life in the Spartacist gulag is rough. And we even have our own Siberia, the Trotskyist League of Canada. Canadian ET leaders Nason and Riley claim to be victims of a "major purge." Actually, they both quit. Riley's resignation said: "In my 6-1/2 years in the organization I never really assimilated any Cannonism—instead on the org. question I have always tended to New Leftism." Nason wrote: "I am a Menshevik now and have been throughout my membership in the organization." When the ET was formed, two years later, Nason and Riley's quits had become transformed into the following:

"The success of the SL/US leadership in conducting the purge in Canada was aided by the extreme organizational loyalty and consequent disorientation of their victims. Knowing the charges to be false, yet continuing to support the leadership and, most importantly, the program of the tendency, the targets of the attack responded passively in a futile attempt to remain in the organization."

Sounds a lot like the Moscow Trials. Only we wonder what we used to approximate the cellars of Lubianka, not being possessed of the instruments of state power. Did the Canadian section of a couple of dozen members shine bright lights in your eyes while keeping you up all night with your feet in pails of ice water? Did Mandel "collapse" after being given the third degree in a dark warehouse full of old hot tubs in San Francisco?

Big parts of the ET founding declaration read like *Darkness at Noon*. At the same time, the document is replete with quotes from the Left Opposition's struggle against the rise of Stalinism. Some people have no sense of proportion!

Trotsky in 1940 observed in a letter to a Shachtman supporter: "You state in your letter that the main issue is not the Russian question but the 'internal regime.' I have heard this accusation often since almost the very beginning of the existence of our movement in the United States." Indeed, Trotsky's observation indicates the depth of the ideological pressures of the fantastically wealthy American imperialist bourgeois-

sie on the workers movement, expressed as virulent and philistine anti-Leninism. In this country, with its economically combative but racially divided and politically backward working class, and its powerful and arrogant ruling class, it has never been easy to be a communist. A whiff of repression, a hint of war and a little class struggle can easily produce hysterical anti-Leninists of the ET stripe (yellow).

The Russian Question Comes Home

Politically the ET is animated by trade-union economist appetite and a deep-lying from Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union, which particularly in the context of today's wretched rightist "left" puts us way out in front, with our programmatic positions from Afghanistan and Poland to Central America. Although they seek support based on the "regime" question, and hence they



SL protest against the seating of genocidal Pol Pot at the UN last September triggered more ET accusations of Stalinophilia.

acquired a couple of West Coast elements whose differences with the iSt program always went in the opposite direction, the ET's political profile is manifestly Shachtmanite. The ET says that since their departure, the iSt has gone Stalinist. We knew we would hear from them when we semi-seriously christened an SL-led contingent "the Yuri Andropov Brigade" (see last issue of *WV*). They similarly objected at some length to our demonstration last fall against the UN seating of former Cambodian mass murderer, and present U.S. imperialist puppet against Vietnam, Pol Pot. If the ET were more honest, they would admit that they hated it when we hailed the Soviet Red Army's military intervention in Afghanistan. Our unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states is not new.

What is new is the heated up anti-Soviet climate. In every iSt section, particularly outside the more strongly led SL/U.S., it was our stance on Poland that brought U.S. imperialism's new Cold War home to our weakest elements. Polish Solidarność, company union for the CIA and Western bankers, evolved into the stalking horse for bloody capitalist restoration. Our line to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" put us right up against the European social democrats and the American "AFL-CIA," who were leading the "free trade unionism" chorus on behalf of the U.S. State Department and NATO.

As evidence of the iSt's newfound "Stalinophilia" over Poland, the German ET in its major opus ("Where is the iSt Going?" dated February 1983) points to the September 1981 conference of our German section as the pinnacle of Spartacist degeneration and cover-up. The resolution adopted at that conference, the ET says, contained a hideous formulation so openly pro-Stalinist that it "could be used for purges in the organization, but it couldn't be used in public." Here's the sentence, regarding the possibility of a

Soviet intervention into Poland, which the ET quotes:

"We take responsibility in advance for whatever idiocies and atrocities they (the Stalinists) will commit."

To show how shamefully we covered up this position, the ET document then quotes from *WV* No. 289 the supposedly "official version":

"If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for this: whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution."

The ET document triumphantly urges its readers to "think twice" about "the subtle difference between the internal and the public position." We thought three times, and either we're really very stupid, because the distinction between these two statements of ours escapes us, or the demagoguery of the "Gruppe IV.

Internationale" aka German ET is best summarized by the old Yiddish word *chutzpah*.

The *Wall Street Journal* took the trouble to threaten us after our anti-Solidarność New York demonstration. The ETs are among those who found this a good time to leave. Then the further selection took place. Comrades get conservatized, demoralized, scared, tired. Some quit. But only some of those choose to make a program of their weaknesses. The ET has also had some success picking up characters whose manner of departure from the iSt was so shameful that the ET prefers not to acknowledge them as recruits. With other ex-members the ET has had less success.

The ET likes to posture as having an

ET enthused over U.S. Marine dead in Beirut. The further the ET is from the scene the more bloodthirsty they are; when they get close to the needs of the U.S. labor bureaucracy, they go tame, as over the sellout of PATCO.



orientation to members of the iSt—you know, the serious, hard-working, devoted socialists still inexplicably to be found in our ranks. In fact their orientation is not to our members, but to the actively hostile elements among our ex-membership. Case in point. There was a prominent senior iSt comrade expelled in 1982. It's not that easy to get expelled from the iSt, so the ETs were sure they were on to something big. They found out the comrade's new whereabouts, which shouldn't have been easy, and phoned him up. They said: we know you were expelled, we know it was a frame-up, we'd love to send you our documents. The comrade replied: I'd love to get your documents, but I have to tell you, there was nothing unjust about my expulsion. He never heard from the ET again, and he never got the documents.

The ET in Action

If the ETs had wanted to look like a loyal opposition, it wouldn't be hard to do. In the period since the ET quit, the SL has been made the target of physical exclusionism and the vile slanders that seek to justify the exclusionism, on the part of the reformist U.S. "left." By standing out in front on the Russian question, particularly with our slogans on Central America, where our call for military victory to the leftist insurgents cuts squarely against the pro-imperialist popular front with the Democratic Party which our reformist opponents see as their way to get rich in the Reagan years, we have come to be seen by the "left" as in the way. At El Salvador demonstrations (and in other kinds of tense situations when the size and discipline of our contingents becomes a particularly significant factor), we have been glad of the disciplined support of numerous ex-SL members. And many SL ex-members are proud that they stood with us when, more times than we like to remember in the last four years, we have put our organization on the line as the hard defenders of the black people and others against racist terror backed up by the state. The key to understanding the ET is to know that while they are fond of telling us we should have marched with them in this or that pro-Democratic parade, and may in fact turn up with very revolutionary slogans for some large tame liberal event, when it counts they are nowhere. When the SL is called upon to demonstrate against racist cop brutality, when we spearhead mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—issues tending to bring out the worst in cops—the ETs can be counted upon to disappear.

Where were the ETs on 27 November
continued on page 10

"External Tendency"...

(continued from page 9)

1982 when the SL-led Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 stopped the Klan? Where were the West Coast ETs, normally such a peripatetic lot, when 400 people, mainly union militants and black activists, marched in Oakland on 29 October 1983 to defend SL supporters Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against a racist anti-labor frame-up?

The ETs have other fish to fry. They carry out union "work." And their work is what you would expect from a couple of small-time opportunists who found our party—which through collective internal struggle seeks to arm fallible individuals politically against alien class pressures represented by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy—a hindrance to their egos and aspirations.

The main document (dated 23 June 1983) distributed by the ET to our last national conference discerned in our work, and in our black-centered proletarian perspectives, a retreat from "the working class." The document claimed our policy that phone union stewards should be elected by the ranks to represent them, not appointed by the sellout bureaucrats, was a flight from union work. And they cried out in shocked disbelief at the SL's likening UAW president Douglas Fraser's joining the Chrysler Board of Directors to the German Social Democrats' voting for war credits on 4 August 1914. This was the point at which the Social Democrats acted not as just sellouts but as direct agents of the Kaiser. Likewise Fraser became an open company cop in the pay of the auto bosses. But to the ET, calling Fraser a company cop is tantamount to saying the UAW has become a company union.

The ET implores the SL to "return to its Trotskyist analysis of the contradictory nature of the union bureaucracy." Elsewhere they talk about the "dual nature" of that bureaucracy, without ever revealing what this "dual nature" is. In his last words on this question Trotsky made his position crystal clear: "It [monopoly capitalism] demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class" ("Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"). And this was not some new trend espied by Trotsky only in 1940. In a 1935 article ("Advice on Canadian Farmers") he observed: "The passing over from fraction work in revolutionary trade unions to illegal work under war conditions is imperceptible. The trade union bureaucracy becomes the police spy system—that is all."

The union bureaucracy is not "contradictory" per se but it reflects the class contradiction between the capitalist state and the unions as defensive organizations of the working class. The central task of revolutionists in the unions is therefore the struggle for the complete and unconditional independence of the unions in relation to the capitalist state. This means a struggle to oust the social-imperialist labor traitors,



WV Photos



Even if the ET is not interested in defending the SL's union supporters, why didn't they come out just to meet the 400 militants at this 29 October 1983 defense demonstration?

so that the unions can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class, rather than secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism to discipline the workers and obstruct revolution.

Serving the Bureaucrats

The ET's whining that we called Fraser by his right name only shows that the ET shares his standpoint—criticizing the leadership is an attack on the union, i.e., the bureaucracy is the union. When the ET accuses the SL of abandoning the workers, they mean the labor bureaucracy. They have no stomach for the Leninist regime of the revolutionary party, but lots of sympathy for poor old maligned Doug Fraser. In practice, it quickly comes down to acting as the bureaucracy's agent to drive revolutionists out of the unions.

The ET's real program is demonstrated concretely in the actions of its one trade-union supporter of local note, Howard Keylor in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10. When Keylor broke politically with the SL his first act in the union was to red-bait his fellow unionist, SL supporter and Militant Caucus spokesman Stan Gow. When Gow was witchhunted by the local leadership, Keylor stood aside and offered alibis for the witchhunters.

Keylor opposed the Militant Caucus'

campaign for a port shutdown against the war in El Salvador. When the bureaucrats put Gow on trial for picketing a ship bound for El Salvador, Keylor launched an "independent investigation"; during the trial Keylor sat silent when caucus supporters were hauled from the room and the city cops were called in. Keylor's line was that the SL deliberately set Gow up for expulsion as part of its supposed turn away from the unions. Gow, however, galvanized enough support among his union brothers to defeat the expulsion attempt. Key to this victory was a picket of a South Africa-bound ship, protesting the execution of African National Congress fighters. Keylor mocked the action but it found a ready response in the union local, which is two-thirds black.

In the 29 January 1982 issue of Keylor's longshore newsletter, he red-baited Stan Gow in no uncertain terms. Keylor is a former CP supporter who lived through the McCarthy period. He knew exactly what he was doing when he penned these lines:

"Some Brothers commented that the famous January 6 MILITANT CAUCUS attack on Keylor sounded unbelievable and at times incomprehensible. That's right—the leaflet was not written for longshoremen! The leaflet was written for a wider audience than Local 10; it was to be reprinted and quoted from in publications addressed to the left in Chicago, Toronto, Melbourne, Hamburg, Paris and London. The lies and distortions contained therein could be used to discredit Keylor outside the union." (emphasis in original)

Beware the outside agitator! This is the ETs' real face, the implementation of their stance against the SL "regime."

Worse than Debsian

The same ET opus distributed at our national conference explicitly links the SL's supposed turn away from the unions to our strategic orientation to the black proletariat, and especially our efforts to build labor/black defense

leagues. For the ETs this is merely a latter-day "community organizing" diversion from class struggle in the unions. This view is worse than Debsian, as it sees "the working class" as separate from and counterposed to the black plebeian masses. The ETs see black struggle through the eyes of a petty union bureaucrat whose idea of the "working class" is his own dues base.

Indeed, the West Coast ET's immediate response to our campaign around stopping the Klan in Washington on 27 November 1982 (an action brought off by our small communist forces by mass agitation among black unionists and their unions) was to urge us in a letter dated 3 December to make an urgent turn toward the Canadian Chrysler strike. Scarcely able to conceal their disdain for our anti-fascist work, the ET letter mentions the D.C. action as evidence that the SL is still capable of waging a campaign when it wants to. They urged us to get back to real business by publishing a mass-distribution WV supplement on Chrysler solidarity.

Sounds very proletarian. In fact the short-lived Canadian Chrysler strike, deliberately called only after the U.S. locals had been cooled down, involved a few thousand workers; the plant accessible to us, in Windsor, was notable for a workforce containing a high proportion of recent East European anti-communist immigrants. Meanwhile up in Sudbury, the nickel/copper miners were locked in a bitter, months-long struggle against massive cuts in the workforce, placing at stake the survival of a key and historically militant sector of the Canadian proletariat. Our Canadian comrades, instead of making empty agitation around Chrysler (to impress U.S. UAW officials, presumably), were making trips to Sudbury to sell their front-page article directed to the Sudbury miners. And they were actively campaigning with the rest of us to spread the word about and collect some money for the Labor/Black Mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the Klan in Washington. Our WV supplement was "We Stopped the Klan!" highlighting our slogan, "Finish the Civil War!", and we distributed in excess of half a million copies. Evidently the Canadian ETers did not share the West Coasters' contempt for the D.C. action, as on December 13 three Toronto members of the ET sent a small contribution, sincerely appreciated, along with their first protest regarding the "Yuri Andropov Brigade."

In ILWU Local 10, all Keylor saw fit to say about this demonstration under communist leadership, the most massive anti-fascist action in decades backed by key sections of labor, was that the Militant Caucus and the SL "are increasingly directing their organizing activity away from the unions" toward ghetto unemployed. And Keylor has yet to make any mention of the union-centered Mozee/Palmiero defense case, despite his own union having endorsed the defense rally held in Oakland. The ET knows what it doesn't like: militant black-centered labor action, evidently. If you touch the black question in America you touch social tinder, you touch revolution. And the ETs have no stomach for struggle.

ET Goes Bloodthirsty

The ETs aren't above pretending to a left-oppositional face upon occasion. Of course, their leftism is in direct proportion to the distance involved from the social-imperialist labor skates. Thus they proclaimed, "Imperialists Out of Lebanon—By Any Means Necessary!" following the bombing of the U.S. Marine compound in Beirut. The ETs solidarize with whoever blew up the Marines, as an act of "anti-imperialism." But no side in Lebanon is fighting imperialism! The ETs tell us their line is "U.S. Marines: Live Like



Trotskyist positions the ET loves to hate: defense of the USSR, class-struggle opposition to sellout labor tops.

Pigs, Die Like Pigs." Of course, this is a very attenuated and vicarious bloodthirstiness—we don't see Mandel strapping himself to a load of dynamite and hitting Bay Area army bases. Or the Canadian ET shooting up Canadian army barracks.

In the wake of the Beirut bombing, with Reagan launching an invasion of Grenada to divert attention from the debacle, *WV* headlined: "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" We were deluged with ET documents taking us to task for this allegedly social-patriotic stance. In "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" (*WV* No. 345, 6 January) we explained the elementary proposition that Marxists are not in favor of killing for its own sake. We stand for the victory of just causes. Thus we have a stake in the victory of the Salvadoran insurgents against the bloody junta and its U.S. imperialist backers. In Grenada we had a side—in defense of the self-determination of that small black island against the U.S. invasion. We are not bloodthirsty and we are not pacifists, as the violence of the capitalists does not allow the oppressed to renounce the use of force necessary to accomplish the victory of just causes. But even when we have a side, as at that moment over Grenada, where we said "U.S. Out Dead or Alive," we don't share the ETs' vicarious bloodlust which glories in the killing of young men for the crimes of their rulers.

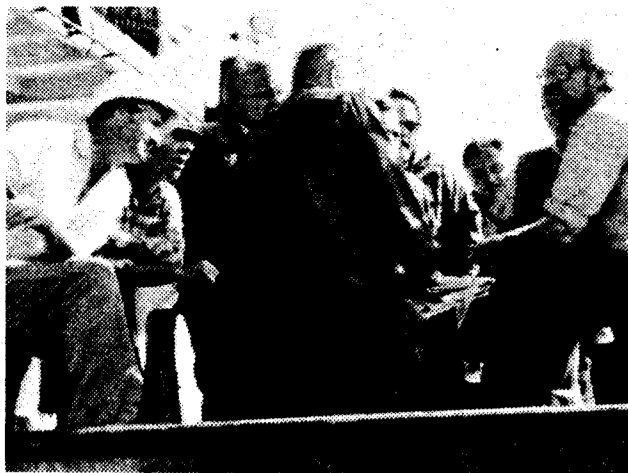
The ETs want to find a contradiction between our stand on the Beirut bombing and our remark during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon that in Israel "opposition to the war right now depends, above all, on how many soldiers come home in coffins" (*WV* No. 309, 9 July 1982). We observed correctly that, particularly given the small size of Israel, casualties have an enormously exaggerated impact and therefore a political effect. It is the political effect that we are after, it is not dead young Israelis for the hell of it. In any case the ET's new posture, the ET red in tooth and claw, is just window-dressing. At the time of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the ET omitted any mention of defense of the Palestinians. Mandel says this was because of "tendency considerations." We think the tendency consideration was Mandel himself—throughout the summer of 1982 Mandel was quietly attending meetings of the rad-lib New Jewish Agenda.

A postscript on the Lebanon debate comes from the West Coast ET's Ursula, who opined to several comrades last November that the SL would not have had the "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive" slogan before our "turn" away from the unions to the ghettos. Asked to explain the connection, she replied that "there are a lot of blacks in the military." Well we didn't derive our line from the existence of black Marines in Lebanon. But we take the accusation as a compliment. The bourgeoisie has the opposite attitude—its troops are expendable and its black troops are most so.

A Modest Proposal

The discussion on the ET at the SL Central Committee plenum centered on the disjunction of the ET posture: on the one hand, they claimed to be our loyal opposition, seeking to reverse unjust exclusion from a deformed revolutionary party; at the same time, whenever our party is out front, its meager forces and resources committed to urgent undertakings, and the target of the combined hostility of the capitalist state and the reformist "left," then does the ET show at best indifference to our survival and often an active appetite to see us go down.

The plenum discussion acknowledged again a point from our last national conference: that the ET's polemics, both their rightist critiques of us and their occasional forays into leftism, serve a



ET Bulletin



WV Photo



WV Photo

ET's own photo (top left) shows Howard Keylor and his hoped-for white constituency at longshoremen's mass picket in Richmond, 27 June 1982. Bottom left: SL supporter Stan Gow with black union brothers at the same demonstration; at right, larger crowd shot of demo shows it was 95 percent black.

pedagogical function for our members. The ET has been useful as a crystallization of everything that is backward and wrong in the SL; particularly during a time when the risks of communist membership are palpably great, comrades with differences tend to just drop out rather than fight inside for their views. We use the ET to keep us on our toes. Having been, through our internal bulletin, a presence in our national conference, as sophisticated proponents of a kind of Debsian disdain for our efforts to sink real roots among the black working people, the ET's arguments on Lebanon were a foil which vastly enriched our "Marxism and Bloodthirstiness" article and associated propaganda.

The motion coming out of the plenum was to publish in *Workers Vanguard* an article proposing to the ET an offer of readmission to the iSt, necessarily excluding of course those few individuals expelled from the iSt for gross crimes against the workers movement. The ET would have full membership rights based on democratic-centralist democracy and discipline. That is, on the basis of our norms, which are well known to these people: party activity, financial support and discipline toward opponents; the right to responsible work and appropriate party posts, and the responsibility to do such work and accept such posts; the right to factions, which

includes the right to private factional deliberation.

In taking the decision to offer the ET a second chance to fight for their views inside the iSt, the SL plenum took as a negative yardstick the bureaucratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP has lately finished a massive political purge as, having failed to achieve any niche as reformists, Jack Barnes has shifted his party toward becoming would-be Stalinist hangers-on. The bureaucratization of the SWP was the organizational handmaiden of its transit through centrism to left-reformism: in 1963-66 the Farrell Dobbs regime got rid of about a third of the party membership, beginning with the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT, forerunner of the SL) simply for its views. The ex post facto justification of the political purge of the RT was the explicit rationale for the SWP's 1965 Organizational Resolution effectively banning factional rights in the party.

Now again the SWP's attempt to shift its place on the political landscape has had organizational expression. Today's reformist and bureaucratic SWP exploded in factional ferment when Barnes started seeking to shift his party in a quite Stalinoid direction. Over about the last three years, perhaps a third of the SWP membership has been dispatched, now to go in their various directions. Barnes' party canceled its

last national convention so as to finish booting its dissidents out in piecemeal waves of purge, because the aforementioned 1965 Organizational Resolution and subsequent case law had left only one partial loophole in the abolition of party democracy: the pre-convention discussion period.

Having the SWP horrible example before our eyes helped the SL plenum arrive at the decision to offer to engage in an act of even excessive democracy toward the ET, who by their own choice made themselves "external" to our democratic-centralist party and internal life. Yes, comrades of the ET, sooner or later and if we do not take state power first, a revolutionary Marxist organization outlives the effective political lifetime of its founding cadre; the defense of the party's original purpose and intent characteristically involves organizational discontinuity (i.e., split on behalf of the new revolutionary generation). But not yet for us, ETs, and in any case you stand in no relationship to that process.

ET Petition: Worthy of COINTELPRO

The plenum discussion was reported to the SL membership, and we began work on the present article to publicly present our offer. And then we found that the ET was circulating a petition lyingly charging us with physically assaulting Bob Mandel at a demonstration. Can the timing be an accident? Well maybe, but nobody can blame us for believing that somebody got wind of the plenum discussion and rushed to foreclose the reintegration option.

The petition is a classic provocation. Its core is this statement:

"Further, I understand that Bob Mandel was physically assaulted by an SL supporter, and a Militant Caucus member in the course of a political dispute. While I did not witness the assault, I want to make clear to the SL/U.S. and to the Militant Caucus that I condemn this and any use of physical violence within the workers movement."

This is a device straight out of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign to frame up and destroy the left. Mandel alleges an assault to have taken place at a San Francisco demonstration on 3 December 1983. Well, what happened there was—nothing. Mandel showed his face at a labor demo and was loudly

continued on page 12

PROTEST DECLARATION

Bob Mandel, Ursula and Howard Keylor are obviously not Nazi lovers, anti-Semites, racists or finks. I believe any honest person who has known or worked with them can testify to that. I therefore protest the slanderous and provocative public accusations that they are, made by members of the Spartacist League/U.S. and by members of the Militant Caucus.

Such slanders are dangerous. If believed they could lead to physical attacks. I demand that the SL/U.S. and the Militant Caucus repudiate these slanderous accusations against Bob, Ursula and Howard.

Further, I understand that Bob Mandel was physically assaulted by a SL supporter, and a Militant Caucus member in the course of a political dispute. While I did not witness the assault, I want to make clear to the SL/U.S. and to the Militant Caucus that I condemn this and any such use of physical violence within the workers movement.

By signing this statement I am not necessarily indicating political agreement with Bob, Ursula or Howard. However, I do not choose to sit back and let them be subject to slander and assault.

Name _____ Organization _____

ET's COINTELPRO-style petition fits right in with reformist left's lying portrait of SL as disrupters, goons, crazies and police agents.

ET vs. the Test of Truth

It's always hard to judge a political dispute from a distance. Those who have some familiarity with the SL, some involvement in radical social struggle in this country, some direct knowledge of the concrete political events so hotly disputed by the contending parties should be able, by examining the actions and written materials of ourselves and the ET, to make a determination of rights and wrongs. Those at a great distance, however, would properly hesitate before making definitive judgments. But there are decisive tests which can be applied at a distance. The matter of simple truthfulness is a decisive test: the liar is one with something to hide.

The German ET's long opus, "Where is the iSt Going?" of February 1983, is the only attempt of any wing of the ETs thus far to deal comprehensively and "theoretically" with our party. The core of its analysis is that the iSt has basically come to terms politically with the Kremlin Stalinists. The document cites WV's article "Reagan, Begin & Hitler" (WV No. 308, 25 June 1982) in the effort to show that we have abandoned the Trotskyist

program of political revolution in the deformed workers states. Look, says the ET's Wolfgang, pointing to this article, the filthy Robertsonite iSt is reduced to pathetically offering advice to the Brezhnevites! Here is what the ET document says:

"In the place of a political fight against Stalinism there are radical phrases and advice to the Kremlin starting with the idea 'if we are in power'. In the article 'Reagan, Begin, Hitler' (*Workers Vanguard* 308) there is a whole catalogue of hints for Brezhnev: to 'clean up Afghanistan', to threaten Reagan with the bombing of the centres of the American bourgeoisie, and to reduce differences with China. The pretended hard stance of Brezhnev against U.S. imperialism meets the approval of the iSt combined with a lip-service position that the bureaucracy is an obstacle to any effective defense."

This is an egregious political fabrication. Our whole article is nothing but an inductive development of the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. The article presents some of the immediate and obvious measures which must be taken to defend the USSR against imperialism's global anti-Soviet war

drive, precisely in order to show that—while the bureaucracy could perhaps selectively institute one or another of them—these measures taken together require political revolution!

A few quotations from our article should suffice to make this crystal clear:

"What is the necessary response to the insane American provocations? In the first place, reach an understanding with the Chinese.... That's what sensible defenders of Soviet interests, not to mention proletarian internationalists, would do. But every single one of these Stalinist bureaucracies is nationalist to the core and refuses to give up one sacred inch of the motherland.

"Next, clean up Afghanistan.... Instead of capitulating to the mullah reaction, by limiting land reform and literacy campaigns, the Soviets should be pouring the money in there on a massive scale: land to the tiller and cheap credit, health programs, etc. But that means *social revolution*.... And that does not square with the Kremlin's policies of détente and 'two-stage' revolution. Reformism abroad, by conciliating the forces of reaction, undermines defense of the Soviet Union.

"And the true facts of the situation

must be communicated to the Russian people....

"But all this requires a high degree of workers democracy, combining toughness and generosity in defense of the fundamental conquests of the October Revolution. And this cannot be accomplished without a workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who only dream of an accommodation with the imperialist West....

"What's needed to defend the land of the Soviets against rapacious imperialism hell-bent on a nuclear show-down requires above all a *rebirth of Leninism*. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the 'Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution' (May 1940): '... Only the world revolution can save the USSR for socialism. But the world revolution carries with it the inescapable blotting out of the Kremlin oligarchy.'"

The quote from Trotsky is the article's conclusion; the whole article is nothing but an argument for political revolution derived from the concrete imperialist threats confronting the USSR today and the means for combating them.

Of course this does not prove that the iSt is right, about Stalinism or anything else. But it proves that the ETs are *wrong*, in the most fundamental sense, because they are liars. And this you can tell, from anywhere at all on the planet.

"External Tendency"...

(continued from page 11)

politically confronted by indignant and vocal SL supporters who called him a scab. They never laid a finger on him. If Ritchie and Wooly had wanted to get physical with wimpy Bob Mandel, he would have been on the ground and then in an emergency ward.

Mandel is using a device often employed to great effect by the FBI's poison-pen experts. If there had been a fist-fight with Mandel, we would have a defense. We would have eyewitnesses to say that our friends engaged in an act of self-defense, or, conversely, that a couple of hotheaded supporters impermissibly took a swing at the worm Mandel. But nobody believes eyewitnesses who say: nothing happened.

So there we were, not knowing what to do about our eyewitnesses to the fact that nothing happened, and realizing that we weren't about to offer to take back into the party the instigators and signers of a petition that might as well have been written by the FBI.

But then Bob Mandel, after a month of promising to surface his own eyewitness, finally brought forth a buddy with an account which itself shows that no



WV Photo

ILWU Militant Caucus campaign for boycott of South African ship last June helped mobilize support for Stan Gow against bureaucratic purge attempt.

assault took place! Mandel's witness observed vehement shouting, and it looked to him like Bob Mandel looked scared. Mandel's witness, one Joseph Blum, wrote up his 9 January account at Mandel's request. Even so, the best he can do to back up Mandel's lying story is to say that there was an argument between Mandel and two men: the man facing Mandel was "yelling very loudly" in Mandel's face, while the man standing "slightly behind" Mandel was giving the first man "verbal if not physical support." In other words, Blum thinks that maybe Mandel might have been hit in the back. But now the Canadian ET has been saying that Mandel was elbowed in the stomach. How, by a man standing behind him? This would of course be a crucial discrepancy in court, but of course the whole matter is a fabrication.

Meanwhile, it seems that to know Mandel is to disbelieve him. The petition provocation is a spectacular failure: after intensive work in three countries (total population: about 350 million), the ETs have secured 15 signatures. We don't doubt that other variously motivated individuals will present themselves to the ET now that WV has formally introduced them. But apparently the number of ex-socialists so swept up in guilty personalism and outright anti-communist venomousness as to take the word of Bob "I lied to the party for years" Mandel seems to be quite small.

Of course the ETers themselves have

shown that they know nobody strong-armed Mandel at a Bay Area demonstration. Midwest-based ETers have had no hesitation in mounting interventions in our public class series at Oberlin. Nor was the Toronto ET crew afraid to turn up one afternoon at our New York public office for a session of our public class. Obviously they had no fear that by sitting down amongst 20 or so New York SL members and contacts they were risking a stomping by frenzied Stalinist goons.

Keeping this in mind, let us return to the ET petition. The COINTELPRO flavor is not restricted to the invention of a physical incident to slander us as goons, in the context of attempted bourgeois repression against our party and the corresponding reformist campaign to portray us as violence-crazed. The petition begins with a declaration that Bob Mandel, Ursula and Howard Keylor "are obviously not Nazi lovers, anti-Semites, racists or finks." This Hooverite device is sometimes called "when did you stop beating your wife?" Whereas the ETs have been very forward in their characterizations of us as selling out to everything from Yuri Andropov to black Marines, we have been reserved and empirical in our characterizations of them. We do point out how the ET's union work consists of applauding a redbaiter who backhandedly supports bureaucratic efforts to purge our friends from the labor movement. As for the rest of it, we have not called the ETers "Nazi lovers" or

"anti-Semites" or "racists"—that's their choice of words. We have however been aggressive in scandalizing the components of the ET rotten bloc over a series of their positions and statements.

First there was their championship of one Uli Sandler in Germany. Expelled from the iSt's German section in August 1982, Sandler's whole political profile was that of an early Nazi Brownshirt. There were fights with Sandler over particulars, but the whole picture—his disdain for colored immigrant workers, his gross male chauvinism, his fondness for skin-head punk rock and Nazi memorabilia—wasn't put together until later when he was exposed for his declaration that one German was worth fifty Tamils. He was expelled; we called him a proto-fascist. If the ETs were smart, they would take us to task for taking so long to get Sandler's number. Well, indeed, our German section, drawn from a postwar generation which mainly didn't want to know what their daddies did, was slow to see what they had in Uli Sandler. A resurgent German bourgeois nationalism is the mood in the "new Germany"; it shades over to the social-democrats' "left" tails. Our section was a bit slow to catch the drift (unlike the German ET, which seems to be going with the flow wherever else they may be headed).

Our German comrades expelled Uli Sandler and then kept him out of a forum. Thus we gave the ET its first cause célèbre. They howled: "The slander hurled at Uli Sandler is the most egregious departure from workers democracy by any section of the iSt to date." The German ET ran a petition campaign protesting the violated human rights of a proto-Nazi kept out of a

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Spartacist League Forum

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BERKELEY

Spartacist forum. But somehow the ET hasn't lifted a finger to protest hundreds of exclusions of us from fake-left meetings in the U.S. and elsewhere. The SL has been slandered as violent crazies and sinister Soviet surrogates by reactionary bourgeois forces; we've been treated repetitively to the "left" reflections of this bourgeois witchhunt. The ET doesn't bother with crocodile tears when the reformists call us FBI agents and violent disrupters to justify excluding us from "public" meetings and radlib demonstrations; the ET is too busy bleeding for a proto-fascist.

We didn't call the ET "Nazi lovers"—we just made them eat the consequences of embracing every expellee as one of nature's noblemen. We quoted back at them their pathetic defenses of Sandler (it's just a fireman's helmet he wears, and anyway he never wore it in public; he only sings "Deutschland Über Alles" in the shower). If it's a fireman's helmet, we said, why not wear it on the streets? Could it be because it's illegal in Germany to sport the swastika in public? (Sandler's steel helmet, complete with swastika and eagle, is most probably a World War II Wehrmacht flak helmet.) Of late the ET seems to have become rather reticent on the Uli question. Have they finally recognized what he is and decided they don't really like it that much? What about it, comrades of the ET? Tell us: are you still defending Uli Sandler? If so we want to hear your defense. And if not, we want to see a groveling apology.

And we know what Ursula's upset about too. An SL comrade wrote up an account of this conversation with Ursula:

"[Ursula] said that she thought people made too big a thing of what had happened to the Jews during WW II. I was stunned. I asked [her] what she meant by that. She said that many Social Democrats, trade unionists and even Catholics were put in concentration camps, but all people seemed to have heard of were the fate of the Jews."

Indeed the German social-democrats were persecuted by Hitler if they made themselves obnoxious. They remained part of the German nation and their sons went into the Wehrmacht. Those who persisted in oppositional activities were sometimes locked up; nothing happened to the rest. The Jews were exterminated. Systematically. Genocide.

We have not attributed motives to Ursula in making those remarks. We doubt she meant to mimic apologists for genocide; we imagine merely that she was seeing fascism through the eyes of a German social-democrat. (Whereas we are America's hard communists, and, like the black people in this country, we think we'd get what Hitler gave the Jews.) We aren't calling the ETs "racists" either—no, comrades, we just think that you don't give a shit about the black people, because you have other fish to fry.

And let's be clear about this COINTELPRO-style petition. You don't have to be an FBI agent to serve the Big Lie campaign that serves the witchhunters. An FBI agent couldn't have written the petition any better, as we have shown. But yours is doubtless another purpose—to seek to destroy us in sheer subjective malice, of course, and behind that, shaped by the climate of bourgeois society in this pre-war period, to ingratiate yourselves with those who shade over into the Democratic Party, to show yourselves the sort of people with whom the bureaucrats can do business, as opposed to the "violent" and "crazy" Spartacist League.

As we go to press, we have received from the Canadian ETs, who seem not to have signed their bloc partners' petition, a letter stating their intention to seek reintegration into the iSt as a tendency. For those who will agree to struggle against the leadership of the iSt on the basis of Leninist democracy and discipline, eschewing collaboration with those who have shown their appetite to destroy us by any means, our door is still open. ■

Labor...

(continued from page 1)

felt no fear.

The killing of strikers is becoming routine practice. Today no company feels like they've gotten satisfaction with a mere 15 percent wage cut—they've got to have a dead striker as a scalp to wave around. Ray Phillips, a Greyhound driver in Ohio run down by a scab "trainee" in December. A few weeks later, Greg Goobic, a young Union Oil striker killed by a scab driving an 18-wheeler through a picket line at a Rodeo, California refinery. This is murder as company policy. And it must be stopped! It won't be stopped by the cops and courts—they're on the other side, the guardians of the capitalists' "law and order." Potential strikebreakers should be educated to understand that you can't cross a picket line on two broken legs, and county hospitals are rotten places. The next time a scab even thinks about, or is coaxed by his bosses to run down a striker, he should go pale with fear. Then we can talk about winning some battles for a change.

The misleaders of American labor are literally letting the bosses get away with murder. Why? Charles Craypo, a professor of industrial relations at Cornell, put his finger on it. As the Greyhound strike was going under he remarked that union leaders "are careful to stay within legal boundaries, and if you stay within legal boundaries, there is not a whole lot you can do" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1983). Damn right, there isn't! The Greyhound union leaders even voluntarily limited the number of pickets, guaranteeing that the scab buses would roll, so they couldn't be accused of "breaking the law." And when the Auto Workers scabbed on Greyhound strikers in Detroit, the excuse was that they were "upholding the contract." Solidarity is not sending \$500 and a valentine. Solidarity is respecting picket lines, it is secondary boycotts, hot-cargoing struck products. "But that's illegal," the bureaucrats whine. So maybe some labor leaders go to jail six months after they surround the terminals with thousands of pickets and call a solidarity strike and the battle is won. Throughout most of the history of this country there have always been numerous labor men in prison, as a necessary cost of maintaining some kind of social equilibrium on behalf of the workers. But today the union leaders are taking casualties lying down, for nothing.

The future of the unions is on the line. And while the capitalists are grabbing

every gun in their closet, the union bureaucracy is handcuffing the workers with the bosses' laws. They're blunting our weapons. The bureaucrats invented the "informational picket line." We say, along with every miner and self-respecting trade unionist, "Picket lines mean you better not try to cross!" When PATCO strikers were in chains, the AFL-CIO's response was to call an



WV Photo

Militant black auto workers walk out against Fraser's sellout contract at Detroit's Jefferson Avenue plant, 16 September 1982.

impotent consumer boycott. The Spartacist League said: "Shut Down the Airports!" Machinists and Teamsters had the power to bring the country to a halt—they just had to say the word, the ranks were ready. Over Greyhound we said: "Stop the Buses! For a National Transport Strike!" Again the labor traitors called for a consumer boycott to hide their refusal to fight.

The bureaucrats are allowing the bosses and their state to hack up the unions not only by their cowardly legalism but also and no-less importantly by their racism. It was not just the militant and "illegal" tactics like the sit-down strike and mass picketing which built the industrial unions in the 1930s.

The great CIO organizing drives in auto, steel, meat packing, maritime and other industries broke down the traditional Jim Crow system as black workers took their place as rock-solid union militants. In the 1930s-1940s the black ghetto masses identified with the labor movement. But today what black man does not see in a Lane Kirkland or a Doug Fraser a defender of the racist status quo? To organize the open-shop South, for example, will mean pitched battles with the Ku Klux Klan and cracker sheriffs. Can anyone imagine the AFL-CIO tops involved in, much less leading, this kind of fight? In white racist America the fate of organized labor and the oppressed black masses is closely bound together. The bureaucracy's accommodation to the racist status quo set the stage for the union-busting offensive of the Reagan years. And there will be no effective defense against this union-busting unless the labor movement becomes a powerful champion of black rights. Reagan's shock troops for his war on unions, blacks and other minorities are the fascist KKK and Nazis. The SL strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists—powerfully displayed in action when the Klan was stopped in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982 by 5,000 black and other working people under our leadership—heralds the kind of fighting, class-struggle labor movement and revolutionary workers party this country needs.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear. So how do you fight to win? After the recent string of unmitigated disasters, thousands of union militants must be asking themselves this question. We do not advocate the practice of the McNamara brothers, the early Iron Workers organizers who until they were sent away for dynamiting the *Los Angeles Times* building in 1910 (thanks to Clarence Darrow pleading them "guilty") were some of

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WV Photo

Cops assault Greyhound strikers (top right). At left: memorial march by California oil workers for labor martyr Gregory Goobic run down by scab truck. Goobic's body lies beside police car (lower right).



AP

Hardy/SF Examiner



Labor...

(continued from page 13)

the most successful labor organizers the country had ever seen. The key is mobilizing militant mass action in a thought-out way, one which minimizes the damage in terms of jail sentences and other casualties.

Take the Union Oil strikers in Rodeo, California where Gregory Goobic was killed. Refineries are generally located out in the boondocks and the companies are tight with the highway patrol, so take a look at how the miners take care of business in similar situations. Back in 1977 striking coal miners in Stearns, Kentucky were faced with a squad of gun thugs who began throwing lead from their steel-reinforced bunker. The strikers put up a sign—"Warning: The Stearns Miners Have Determined That Scabbing Is Dangerous to Your Health"—and responded in kind. Some cowardly company guards complained that one night they were disarmed by miners, given a tour of the county and dropped off minus their pants. Later when state police attempted to herd scabs into the struck mines, the entire force of strikers showed up to face them down. Even though scores of United Mine Workers (UMWA) men were arrested and the Stearns strike defeated—because it was criminally isolated by the UMWA leaders—their militancy set the stage for the historic 110-day coal strike in 1978.

Phone installations, unlike oil refineries or coal mines, are generally located in urban centers. Highly technologically advanced, the system can be run for weeks, perhaps months, with only supervisory personnel. And there has never been a successful telephone strike in this country. The Communications Workers (CWA) started out as a company union and then hooked up with the CIA (via its AIFLD "labor" front). How do you win in phone? In February 1981 the telephone union in British Columbia, Canada showed how: instead of marching out they occupied every major BC Tel installation around the clock. They held the property hostage while the company ran to the courts. During last summer's nationwide telephone strike we put forward a strategy to bring the arrogant, parasitic and widely hated monopoly to its knees: hundreds of thousands of phone workers occupying the buildings, rallying unionists throughout the country, and "with a flick of the switch, phone workers could win millions of allies among working people by providing free phone service...."

Or in New York City transit, which has been run downhill for a couple of decades. In 1966 the newly elected liberal mayor John Lindsay arrogantly tried to humiliate the Transit Workers and got his head handed to him instead. When TWU leader Mike Quill was arrested for defying a back-to-work injunction, he replied:

"It is about time that someone, somewhere along the road, ceases to be respectable. Many generations of great Americans before us have taken this road, and if they didn't take this road, half of you would be on home relief.... The judge can drop dead in his black robes, and we would not call off the strike."

Quill went to jail and died shortly thereafter of a heart attack. But they couldn't arrest 40,000 transit workers. As the strike wore on, the bosses were reminded that they couldn't run the center of American world finance capital without the subways and buses. Transit workers got their best settlement in years, and for a few years afterward transit was the best job in town.

For American labor today, a damn good slogan is: It's better to fight on your feet than die on your knees. To be sure, many strikes will be lost, even if they are hard fought, as at Stearns or the 1937 Little Steel strike. But when an important strike is won, it dramatically alters the entire situation, as in the

Minneapolis, Toledo and San Francisco general strikes of 1934—all led by reds, which set the stage for the rise of the CIO—and the 1937 Flint sit-down strike.

Smash Taft Hartley—For Secondary Boycotts!

Labor's weapons are inherent in its collective organization: the picket line, solidarity strike, secondary boycott. The capitalists' arsenal is their state: courts, cops and ultimately the army. The unions must be independent of the bosses' state! But the "lieutenants of the capitalist class" inside the labor move-



Class war on the streets of Minneapolis as Trotskyists lead victorious general strike in 1934.

ment weaken the capacity for union struggle by supporting corporatist laws to undermine that independence.

Take the matter of elementary labor solidarity, for instance. Every decent unionist has the reflex to refuse to handle struck goods, to "hot cargo." There is a long tradition of use of this basic trade-union tactic during the militant period of the rise of the CIO and industrial unionism. In the battle that smashed the open shop at Ford in 1941, the car haulers refused to transport scab autos. One of the reasons for the Kennedys' vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa was his use of the "hot cargo" technique—a tactic Hoffa said he learned from the Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis Teamsters strike.

But "secondary boycotts" are "illegal," say the union tops from coast to coast. Unions themselves were once branded as "illegal criminal conspiracies." The entire history of the American labor movement is one long string of laws broken and court injunctions defied. Otherwise there would be no labor movement. And how did "hot cargoing" become illegal? The "secondary boycott" was banned by the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. This was linked to a ban on Communists holding union office, a key part of the Cold War witchhunt. Communist-led unions were barred from going to the NLRB, supposedly more sympathetic to labor than the regular courts, and could not have Labor Department-supervised union elections.

These corporatist laws and institutions were supported by the bureaucrats and reformists in the labor movement. Today the labor reformists continue to look to the state claiming it can be "reformed" in the workers' interest. At the same time they use the state as an excuse to refuse to struggle in the interests of the unions. At bottom, they do not want to struggle and see in the bosses' state a willing "partner."

These corporatist laws integrating the unions into the state are also closely linked to the question of the dues checkoff. If you are going to wage a militant strike, then a system whereby the company acts as banker for the union by collecting the dues money is a

liability. In the middle of the strike, when you need it most you will see your funds cut off. (The NYC transit workers union had its dues checkoff removed for over a year as punishment for their 1980 strike.)

The cowardice of the labor tops has certainly emboldened the anti-labor offensive to pass even more reactionary laws. Kirkland & Co. squeal like stuck pigs over legislation such as the recent ruling allowing companies to rip up union contracts when they become "burdensome."

But there is an explosive potential here as every union weapon becomes

"illegal" and the bureaucrats rely even more heavily on the state. It means that nearly any hard fought struggle will throw the ranks of labor up against the state as well as the labor bureaucracy. Consider the elementary tactic of the secondary boycott in this context. Under Reagan, a solidarity strike in support of PATCO would certainly have been a confrontation with the state. If the Machinists had refused to cross air controllers' picket lines and the airports had been shut down, Reagan might even have had to bring in the armed forces. Militant labor struggle could bring down Reagan the way the Vietnamese Tet offensive sealed the fate of Lyndon Johnson.

The bureaucrats understand that such militant action would not only put the working class on the offensive against Taft-Hartley, it would spell the end of their reactionary game in the labor movement. Thus the desperate necessity for labor to fight means a political struggle against the union tops, for a revolutionary leadership that will take labor and its allies into a confrontation with the state and win it, on the road to winning a workers state.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in a document that was found on his desk after he was assassinated in Mexico in August 1940:

"In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

—L.D. Trotsky, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940)

It is no accident that the same Taft-Hartley "slave labor" Act which outlawed the secondary boycott also

banned Communists from holding union office. The present wretched, legalistic and racist labor leadership is very much the product of the anti-red purge of the McCarthy era. Under Meany/Reuther the AFL-CIO became an instrument of Cold War fanaticism. Indeed, George Meany and his errand boy Lane Kirkland supported the Vietnam War to the bitter end, even after Nixon and Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause. Today, whether it comes to financing Solidarność, Polish company union for the CIA and bankers, or lobbying Congress for funds for the MX first-strike missile or Salvadoran death squads, Ronald Reagan has no more fervent allies than the AFL-CIO tops.

The present union-busting offensive, the attacks on blacks, the poor, the aged are directly linked to the anti-Soviet war drive. This government with bipartisan support is literally taking food out of the mouths of ghetto school children to build nuclear missiles. Defense of the Soviet Union—the social gains of the Bolshevik Revolution despite subsequent Stalinist degeneration—is integral to defense against union-busting and racist attacks on black people.

As this capitalist government becomes more and more directly involved in union-busting as it mobilizes for war against the Soviet Union, every major workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Labor militants must therefore link the fight to oust the die-on-your-knees union bureaucrats to building a revolutionary workers party. Such a workers party would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism to end once and for all the hideous social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the life blood of the working class into misery, poverty and the spectre of nuclear holocaust. ■

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

of these militant unionists. Numerous prominent individuals and over 20 local unions are also supporting the defense of Lauren and Ray. All out March! Down with South Africa-style "justice"! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!

Alameda Central Labor Council Resolution

WHEREAS:

During the CWA legally authorized strike against the Bell System, that commenced August 6, 1983, criminal charges were filed in Alameda County, in the City of San Leandro, against Daniel Nadeu, local 9495; Douglas E. Snider, local 9496; Ray Palmiero, local 9410; James Welsh, local 9415; and Lauren Mozee, local 9415, and

WHEREAS:

Three employees lost their jobs as a result of the criminal charges, and two employees received a written warning in their personnel files, and

WHEREAS:

These charges include both misdemeanor and felony charges, and

WHEREAS:

This is another example of the police department siding with the business interests at the expense of workers rights, also known as union busting,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Alameda County go on record asking the Alameda County District Attorney's Office to drop the criminal charges against DANIEL V. NADEU, RAY PALMIERO, JAMES WELSH, DOUGLAS E. SNIDER and LAUREN MOZEE.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED:

That a copy of this resolution be sent to the District Attorney's Office.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Kathy Ikegami...

(continued from page 16)

means is I have refused to be a rubberstamp for Imerzel's policies. This union uses Roberts Rules of Order to provide an orderly procedure to discuss, debate and come to decisions. But *nowhere* do any of these rules demand decisions to be unanimous. And I'll be damned if I'll bend to his concept of democracy and debate. His notions of democracy have more in common with the Salvadoran junta.

One of the charges alleges the existence of an AP dispatch in which I am supposed to have told the truth about Imerzel, thereby bringing the union into disrepute. Where is it? It was never produced here by Imerzel because it never existed.

Then there's the famous MAC leaflet from April of 1982 which triggered these charges. First I want to say that we stand by every word in that leaflet. Our leaflet warned the members about layoffs, exposed the leadership's collaboration with the company, and called for strike action to stop layoffs, forced transfers and downgrades while we still have jobs. And Imerzel's response? Like Nero who fiddled while Rome burned, Imerzel has been conducting this purge trial while the company has been busy smashing our union.

But the real reason I'm on trial is because of my politics. Imerzel "charges" me with being a supporter of the Spartacist League. That's right and everyone knows it. It's no slander, Imerzel, it's a badge of honor! What do I stand for? I'm for building anti-fascist demonstrations like November 27th in Washington, D.C. where I helped a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization organize 5,000 blacks and trade unionists. We stopped the Klan from marching. I stand for the independence of labor from the capitalist Democrat and Republican parties. Neither offer any solutions for working people and minorities. It's the capitalists and their government that have brought this country to the brink of economic ruin and war. I stand for building a workers party based on the unions, throwing out the capitalists and setting up a workers government which will end racial oppression, poverty, unemployment and war. Then we can organize a socialist planned economy based on human need, not profit.

I have the right and responsibility to say and organize for what I believe in. In fact, I urge all members to interest themselves in these questions and also become supporters of the Spartacist League. It is their right and my right as U.S. citizens to hold these political positions.

Imerzel, on the other hand, has a different view of how I and all members must think and act. What does Imerzel stand for? This trial has shown that he stands for purging from the union anyone who wants to fight the phone company. He's for sucking up to the company and turning our membership over bound, gagged and powerless. He's for every company class-collabora-

tionist scheme, from QWL to factfinding, that binds us to the bosses. He accepts the company's "right" to harass, fire and lay us off. He's for funneling our money and votes into the racist strike-breaking Democratic Party. One of the few good things that came out of this trial is that *everyone knows* that Imerzel coddles racist Klan lovers like Joe McKenna. Imerzel wants to force unanimity to his world view. I'm certain most members including yourselves would find this to be a horrifying prospect!

Testimony in this trial has brought out that Imerzel will lie, squander thousands of dollars and years of our union's time, and indulge in his childish Perry Mason fantasies in order to smash any political opposition. Testimony has shown that Imerzel has fingered me and other MAC members to the company, to the S.F. Red Squad, to the Secret Service and to the FBI. And when this didn't work, Imerzel and his bully boys—Knipe, McKenna and Anderson—physically assaulted one lone woman, MAC member Kat Burnham—during the strike. Even some members of Imerzel's own Executive Board couldn't stomach that cowardly act.

All that Imerzel has proved during his "case" is that there are no limits to how far he will go to suppress opposition. This would-be McCarthy reaches out and endorses the infamous Moscow purge trials of Josef Stalin, and then accuses me of "totalitarianism." Imerzel applauds the thugs of the International Workers Party who launched a murderous hammer attack on an L.A. phone worker. This is a group whose leader Nahuel Moreno is infamous on the left for his history of lying and swindling. No doubt the National Union wondered what sort of lunatic they'd unleashed as Imerzel cited his rogues' gallery list of "leftist experts" against me.

Many of Imerzel's witnesses provided some amusing entertainment as they fast-shuffled to keep from tripping over their own lies, and then tripped over the lies of others. The last session ended with Linda Zupan trying to decide which of her conflicting answers about handing out the racist scab sheet Malignant Action was the best one. To give credit where it's due, I must thank Miss Zupan for testifying that her boyfriend McKenna was in fact arrested on the same trip where McKenna admitted attending a Ku Klux Klan meeting. During the trial, this racist compared going to Klan meetings with going to church. McKenna also denied saying that the black splicer, Dovard Howard, crippled by a Klan terrorist was shot by "an irate father." But Imerzel confirmed the remark, calling it a "joke." No joke, brothers and sisters, it's racist filth pure and simple.

But Imerzel's testimony crowns the lot. After months of local pronouncements of no danger from layoffs, followed by claims he told the members everything from the beginning, Imerzel admitted here that his taped message to the members was "not accurate." Translated from Imerzel's language this means he lied to the membership. But we told the truth. That's why I have been on trial here for a year and a half.

It should be crystal clear that Imerzel is the source of the friction. Over the last six months, I have worked closely with Marie Malliett, Frank Tanner, Barbara Andrews, Margie Marks and Harold Jackson—from the International Union—on the Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee defense case. We certainly don't see eye to eye on many political questions, but we've been able to work together to defend this brother and sister against the company.

The other good thing that came out of this trial is that we helped ax Imerzel's chance to be District 9 Vice President. While we have our differences with Brother Ibsen, at least we can sit down and deal with him reasonably. He's not a megalomaniac. Why is it that only Imerzel is different? The only conclusion I can come to is that Imerzel is a man with no honor. He is a weak, cowardly and sick man who needs help. And I pity the poor International. What will they do with this basket case? I think our union ought to give Imerzel all the medical care he needs.

This trial body has been put in an impossible position. If you vote for Imerzel what you are doing is banning free speech and outlawing any criticism that Imerzel doesn't like. This would set a dangerous precedent of no opposition in the union. Such a decision could very well come back to be used against you and this union in circumstances more serious. The company is emboldened by Imerzel's lying and sniveling policies. He is disarming the union at a time when we must fight. This trial body will have to live politically with its decision long after Imerzel is gone.

Purging fighters from the union cripples the union and encourages less union-conscious members to become anti-union. It's a policy of making enemies of those who want to make our union strong. It's the militants who build unions and win strikes. Imerzel is playing right into the hands of Ma Bell and her union-busting propaganda.

To continue this trial would be a farce, subjecting me, the trial body and the membership to further egotistical abuse. We have to get on with what should be the real business of this union—defending our members against the company, throwing out all the scabs that slithered across our picket lines last August, and defending the victims of those scabs—like Ray and Lauren.

We were intending to call various more witnesses to ask them brief questions. But it is clear from Imerzel's projected eight more trial sessions that he is bent on making sure this trial never ends. During the prosecution's case, which took over a year, we had ample time to raise our points. We for one will not be responsible for squandering any more of the local's time and money. Therefore, we intend to call no more witnesses and rest our case.

1-18-84

Victory Against Moonies...

(continued from page 5)

I've put up the materials on the victory in the union hall and spread the word around our union.

What happened on November 27 was very important, especially since it was made possible by the endorsement and support of more than 70 union locals and union officials.

A local union official in the Washington, D.C. area

A Model of Intelligent Self-Defense

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League are to be congratulated on their important victory in forcing the *Washington Times* to retract its vicious libel alleging that SL members and supporters fomented violence at the November 27 anti-Klan demonstration in Washington, D.C. There is no doubt that this libel was part of an effort by the Moonie Cult and others to set up the SL for future investigation and prosecution as a "violence-prone" or "terrorist" organization. The vigorous response of the SL threw a monkey wrench into these plans. It should serve all those committed to radical change in the interests of the working class as a model of intelligent self-defense. As a lawyer and law professor, I am particularly impressed by the SL's understanding of when to use the courts (against slanderers like Deukmejian and the Moonies, and against the F.B.I.) and when *not* to (the SL refuses to drag the judiciary into internal disputes within the labor movement). Keep up the good work, which serves the interests of all working people!

Richard E. Rubenstein
Professor of Law,
Antioch School of Law, D.C.

Keep Up the Good Work

Alfonso Wells, President of West Eight Mile Road Citizens District Council, congratulates the SL on their victory over the Moonies. We all should praise such groups like yours who will stand up and fight for the rights of those who are not able to defend themselves, both black and white. Again, I congratulate you. Keep up the good work.

Alfonso Wells
Endorser, Labor/Black
Mobilization to Stop the KKK
in Washington, D.C.,
November 27

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!

Alameda Labor Council Backs Phone Strikers

On February 27 the Alameda Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO added its backing to the defense efforts on behalf of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, the two Bay Area phone workers facing four years in state prison for defending themselves and their picket line from a racist scab assault. This welcome albeit belated support comes just three days before the March 1 preliminary hearing on the frame-up charges against the couple.

The Central Labor Council motion

demands that the Alameda County D.A. drop the charges against Lauren and Ray, and against three other phone workers who face misdemeanor charges stemming from last summer's national phone strike. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee, which is organizing the defense campaign for "freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray," has demanded that the labor movement use its collective strength to defend all phone workers victimized as a result of the strike.

The PSDC has called for a demon-

stration March 1 at 8 a.m. at the Hayward Municipal Court prior to the preliminary hearing. Committee spokesmen expect a large turnout of supporters to fill the courtroom afterwards to show their determined opposition to the conspiracy between the vindictive phone company, cops and D.A. to railroad the labor militants.

While on picket duty last August in the racist suburb of San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a racist-

scab manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself; her companion and fellow unionist Ray came to her assistance. Now Lauren and Ray are fired, denied unemployment compensation and are singled out for the only felony charges the PSDC is aware of stemming from the strike. The racist scab, of course, still has her job.

The Central Labor Council joins the more than 200 labor officials who are demanding an end to the persecution

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Throw Out the Witchhunt Verdict!

Phone Workers: Defend Kathy Ikegami!

SAN FRANCISCO—On February 10, the longest-running witchhunt trial in the history of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) reached a climax as the kangaroo court returned its "verdict." The target of this purge attempt is Kathy Ikegami, a former executive board member of CWA Local 9410, steward and nine-year member of the union, and a leading spokesman of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), the class-struggle opposition in the telephone union. After a year and a half of phony deliberations the trial court, hand-picked by Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel, declared Ikegami guilty of all charges, sentencing her to a six-month suspension from the union and a \$300 fine. Imerzel and his co-conspirators on the local executive board lost no time in suspending Ikegami, in direct violation of CWA rules that specify that a member is entitled to an appeal before their local within 30 days before any sentence is carried out.

Ikegami told *WV*: "Since the executive board is not complying with the trial procedures by failing to call a membership meeting, I am compelled to call a special membership meeting, as mandated by our local bylaws in order to give the members of Local 9410 the right to hear my appeal and cast their vote against this outrageous and unjust conviction. It is also my right to be heard and judged by my peers, the members. To forbid the membership to exercise this right places the union in a position of jeopardy." A MAC-initiated petition for a special meeting gathered over 500 signatures, more than twice the required number, in just one week.

As we reported at the outset (see *WV* No. 313, 17 September 1982), this purge trial was triggered by MAC's exposure of the CWA bureaucrats' collusion with the company in agreeing to mass layoffs, forced transfers and downgrading and a war of attrition against the membership. Since that time the company has cut 18,000 jobs throughout California.

MAC members in East Bay Local 9415 told *WV* that phone workers are under a virtual reign of terror there with grueling forced overtime and stepped-up management harassment, spying and victimizations. The suspension of Ikegami is an open invitation for the company to fire her and an attempt to intimidate and silence any opposition to the bureaucrats' no-fight agreement with the company. The central charge on which Ikegami was convicted, she told *WV*, was "divid[ing] the leadership of this Union and its Rank-and-File members"! But it's the Imerzel gang's unity with the company that divides them from the membership.

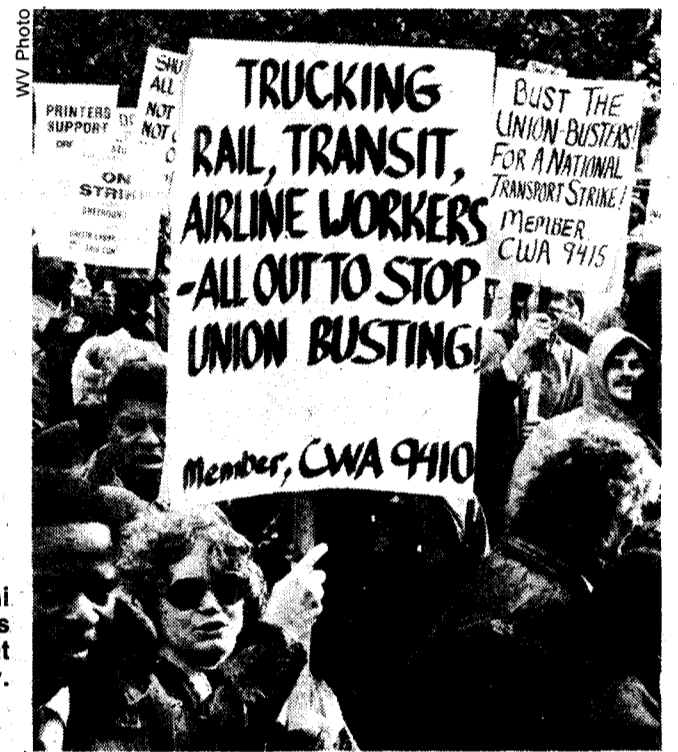
As the MAC's bulletin "Militant Action" (15 February 1984) underlines:

"We all know they're going after Kathy because of her political views. Kathy is a proud supporter of the labor/socialist Spartacist League. She stands for the independence of labor from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. She's for building a workers party based on the unions, to throw out the capitalists and form a workers government. She's for ending the union's notorious ties to the CIA-AIFLD. She's for building anti-fascist demonstrations like November 27th [1982] in Washington, D.C. where a Spartacist League-initiated mobilization organized 5,000 blacks and trade unionists who stopped the Klan from marching. She's for building a class-struggle union leadership that doesn't kneel before the company."

This is the kind of leadership and program the CWA membership desperately needs. And when CWA national president Glenn Watts put out the word at the 1982 convention to "Stop MAC," it's because he is opposed to everything Kathy Ikegami stands for! As the "Militant Action" bulletin pointed out, referring to the pro-Watts Imerzel gang: "These people should go to work for the CIA-AIFLD, but then again, maybe they already have."

Ikegami told *WV* that in illegally suspending her from the union Imerzel and the local executive board charged Kathy with having "utter and complete

Kathy Ikegami (lower left) supports Greyhound strikers at San Francisco rally.



contempt for, and disregard of the union membership and the policies and procedures established by them." This from the very same people who are trampling on the members' rights and the CWA's own rules by suspending Ikegami before her appeal to the local! In total disregard for the will of the membership Imerzel had earlier gerrymandered Ikegami off the executive board, simply dropping her on the basis that since divestiture her job is in a different company than the one she was elected from! Ikegami then ran for reelection to the executive board on the MAC slate. Now to keep Ikegami off the executive board and to deny the membership even the democratic right to elect its own leadership, the Imerzel clique has demanded that the ballots be destroyed *uncounted*. The bureaucrats are trying to simply declare Ikegami ineligible to run based on their own illegal suspension of her (which took place after the ballots were already out). They have declared their own candidate

the winner by acclamation!

This rule-or-ruin policy of the Imerzel gang is not new. Last year over 1,000 local members demanded the recall of local officers Imerzel, Malliett, McKenna and Anderson for their harboring of McKenna, who admitted attending a KKK meeting, and for their disruption of the local in their attempt to purge Ikegami. The bureaucrats, elected by only half the number of votes as the signatures on the recall, simply threw the petitions in the trash. Local 9410 members can and must squash the verdict against Kathy Ikegami. As the MAC wrote: "The trial court's decision bans free speech and outlaws any criticism that Imerzel and his cronies don't like. If this conviction is carried out it will set a dangerous precedent—no dissent, no opposition will be allowed in our union."

We print below Kathy Ikegami's closing statement to the trial court, taken from the January 18 "Militant Action" bulletin.

"Militant Action" Bulletin Ikegami to Imerzel: Take Your Trial and Shove It!

From the beginning it's been clear that this is a political purge trial. Imerzel brought these charges because I'm in the Militant Action Caucus which is an effective, organized, political opposition to the policies of the National and local leadership. Imerzel has proven that he is the disrupter. He has brought

the union into disrepute. This trial has been an exercise in self indulgence for one man's sick ego.

Let me quickly answer each charge. The first charge says I willfully violated the by-laws by voting against steward and committee appointments. What this

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