

This One's Not Going Down

Smash Carter's Wage Limits!

Jimmy Carter's recently announced "voluntary" Phase II wage-price guidelines are a broadside attack on the American working people. While the U.S. economy goes to hell and the dollar is falling through the floor, the parties of big business want to make the working people pay the costs of the capitalist economic crisis.

Labor must throw these wage controls right back in Carter's face, breaking through the "guidelines" to restore past losses and achieve full protection against the ravages of inflation. What is more, with contracts covering several million workers coming up in the next year, with even the conservative Meany wing of the bureaucracy ranking at the anti-labor policies of the Carter administration, with the militant example of the 1977-78 coal strike to spur them on and no recent major defeats to demoralize them, U.S. workers have an excellent opportunity ahead to do just that.

Masquerading as a program to "fight inflation," the heart of Carter's plan is a 7 percent annual limit on pay and benefit hikes. It is an open invitation to the bosses to hard-line it in upcoming contract negotiations with major industrial unions, cutting wage increases to

the bone and slashing hard-won gains such as cost-of-living protection. With inflation already spiraling to double figures, Carter is demanding that the unions swallow further substantial cutbacks in real income.

The "wage insurance" gimmick inserted to woo labor's support is a total

fraud. Workers who accept the 7 percent limit will supposedly be able to get a tax rebate later if inflation exceeds that rate. But this requires approval from a Congress that has spat in the face of labor time and again; and it also reportedly contains an as yet undetermined "reasonable" limit, which is

expected to be below the rate of inflation.

The "price guidelines" are even more of a joke. While thousands of businesses will rush forward to do their patriotic duty to hold wage and fringe benefit increases to the 7 percent limit, the

continued on page 2



WV Photo

While Castro's Guest

Trotsky's Assassin Dies in Havana

Late last month Ramón Mercader del Rio, the man who on 20 August 1940 murdered Leon Trotsky, died of bone cancer in Havana, Cuba. Thus ended the life of a despicable being who would have been happily ignored by history had he not 38 years ago struck the crowning blow in the greatest political crime of this century: Stalin's systematic assassination of the entire remaining

Bolshevik general staff which made the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Mercader's counterrevolutionary blow with a mountaineer's ice-ax struck down the man who together with Lenin led the October Revolution; the founder of the heroic Red Army, which prevailed in a terrible Civil War against tsarist armies and the expeditionary forces of 18 imperialist countries; the Marxist leader who carried forward the flame of Bolshevism in the darkest days of fascist barbarism and Stalinist betrayal. We neither forgive nor forget Mercader's infamous crime, and we bitterly regret that like his master, Stalin-Cain, this vile assassin died in bed instead of facing the revolutionary justice of a victorious proletariat.

There was no official announcement of Mercader's death, a fitting end for the cynical instrument that carried out Stalin's monstrous order, then to be put out into the cold by his patrons. Although his name was known throughout the world, after 20 years imprisonment in Mexican jails, Mercader spent the last 18 years in obscurity in dachas in Prague, Moscow and finally Fidel Castro's Havana. Why? In tsarist Russia



Ramón Mercader.

the Narodniki and Social Revolutionaries used to trumpet their terrorist exploits far and wide as a revolutionary blow against the autocracy.

But Stalin's terror was in blatant contradiction to the Communist aims his regime professed—so it had to be

excused with frame-up trials and Big Lie propaganda, or else hidden and denied. Ramón Mercader's single notable act in life was so odious that he could not show his face even in the countries dominated by the Kremlin, whose parasitic rulers he had served. His very presence was a living reminder that Stalinism did not vanish with the death of J.V. Stalin, the Great Organizer of Defeats and Butcher of the Peoples.

Ramón Mercader was the epitome of the mindless, utterly corrupt and cynical hit-man of Stalin's secret police, whose initials—GPU (later NKVD)—became the hated symbol of counterrevolutionary bureaucratic terror. From the day of his arrest until his release in 1960 he repeatedly denied his true political-criminal affiliations, maintaining the patently false story that he was "Jacques Mornard" (alias Frank Jackson), a disillusioned Belgian follower of Trotsky. Under this guise he had befriended an American Trotskyist, Sylvia Ageloff, and used her to worm his way into the Trotsky residence in Coyoacán, just outside Mexico City. At the time of the assassination he carried on his person a

continued on page 8

How the Stalinists Planned Trotsky's Murder...6

Homosexual Teachers Targeted in California

Vote Down the Briggs Initiative!

On November 7 the latest effort of reactionary bigots to terrorize homosexuals comes before California voters. Proposition 6, sponsored by right-wing state senator John V. Briggs, is a particularly vicious piece of legislation which would empower local school boards to fire teachers, school aides, counselors and administrators for "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting private or public homosexual activity directed at or likely to come to the attention of school children and/or other employees."

Prop 6 is part of Briggs' scheme to ride the wave of anti-homosexual reaction from obscurity to the governor's mansion. In the aftermath of successful anti-homosexual referenda in Dade County, Wichita, St. Paul and Eugene, Oregon, the issue of democratic rights for homosexuals has been losing ground to the same right-wing offensive which has stalled the Equal Rights Amendment, has virtually put a halt to busing to achieve racial integration in the schools, and even justifies the murderous fire-bombing of abortion clinics in the name of the "right to life."

Almost unnoticed in the furor raised by Briggs' Proposition 6 is Briggs' equally atrocious Proposition 7, which mandates capital punishment for an increased number of crimes. Briggs complains that he is having trouble raising money for the initiative because it is considered sure to win.

But Prop 6 is not assured of victory. Where initially polls found the measure supported by a 2 to 1 majority, they now indicate that it may be defeated.



WV Photo

Spartacist League/SYL contingent in Los Angeles march against the Briggs amendment in July.

primarily because of the opposition of bourgeois politicians, many of whom are more anti-Briggs than anti-Proposition 6. Even Ronald Reagan has come out against it. Nevertheless, the support which Proposition 6 has been able to elicit in liberal California should make it abundantly clear that the anti-homosexual campaign initiated by

Anita Bryant was not merely an outburst of backwater fundamentalism.

The labor movement and all those concerned with the defense of democratic rights must mobilize to smash the reactionary Briggs initiatives and similar efforts to victimize and terrorize minorities and "deviants." Yet while the California Federation of Teachers,

Teamsters, UAW and California Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, all issued resolutions condemning the measure, none of these unions has been willing to take its paper resolutions into the streets by initiating or supporting mass demonstrations to stop the witchhunt.

The response of numerous gay liberation groups to the current wave of anti-homosexual referenda has been to intensify their participation in Democratic Party electoral politics, trying to stiffen the liberals' backbones by getting more "clout" at the ballot box. But even if Prop 6 is defeated on November 7, the tide of reaction is still running strong and the liberal Democrats may abandon their gay "constituency" just as they have already turned their backs on busing.

Moreover, as Marxists we point out that the persecution of homosexuals is closely bound up with capitalism's defense of the nuclear family as a profoundly conservatizing social force. (It is no accident that Anita Bryant peddles her bigotry under the slogan of "Save Our Children.") The oppression of homosexuals will not be eliminated until the family is replaced by higher forms of social organization in a socialist society. Full democratic rights for homosexuals will be won neither in the voting booths nor in the conclaves of the Democratic Party, but in the workers' soviets.

Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Down with the death penalty! California labor must mobilize to smash the Briggs initiatives! ■

Wage Limits...

(continued from page 1)

single standard for price hikes that had been widely discussed in Administration circles. 5.75 percent was dropped at the final moment. This was replaced with the much looser request that businesses keep their price increases .5 percent below their 1976-77 average, giving plenty of flexibility to firms who jacked their prices up steeply during that period. The upper limit is supposed to be 9.5 percent annually, and there are exceptions even to that.

Little more than five years ago the Nixon administration imposed mandatory government wage controls on the American working class. Pay boosts were held to 5.5 percent a year. The pro-capitalist trade-union officials acquiesced to this vicious program, sat on Nixon's Pay Board and urged the working class to put the Democratic Party in power. Meanwhile inflation surged to rates of 9 percent, and corporate profits shot up at an annual rate of 40 percent. In 1976, claiming that the Democrats were "friends of labor," the bureaucrats worked mightily for and bailed the election of Carter, claiming that he would create jobs and halt the runaway flight of prices, rents and profit. In return workers are now saddled with "voluntary" wage limits.

The working masses have continued to be ravaged by both unemployment and inflation. With the jobless rate still well over 6 percent and double or triple that for blacks and Latinos, inflation has spiraled to over 10 percent. The Labor Department's Consumer Price Index for Urban Areas, rose at an 11.4 percent rate in the second quarter of the year, with food costs climbing even faster in the same period, up a staggering 20.4 percent. Workers are simply living more poorly, while the unemployed and those on fixed incomes barely live at all. That Carter is now resorting to the same schemes as Nixon

and Ford only demonstrates starkly the fundamental identity of the program expounded by all the political spokesmen for declining American imperialism. Democrats and Republicans alike make the working masses pay!

The Carter government has attacked coal miners, rail and postal workers with vicious strikebreaking measures. And virtually every one of labor officialdom's "must" legislative bids has been shot down, from common situs picketing to labor law reform. Union presidents and lobbyists begged for more spending on jobs and got "sorry, too inflationary" for an answer, while the Pentagon's budget rose to a record \$126 billion. Carter chopped 100,000 federally funded CETA jobs, then threw labor the sop of a toothless Humphrey-Hawkins bill which will not provide one new job and which even the AFL-CIO Verity called "more symbol than substance."

In the face of Carter's naked austerity program, however, the labor fakery is yet attempting to shore up their rotten alliance with the Democratic Party. Of the officials of major unions whose contracts expire next year, Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters conditionally endorsed the program, while vaguely suggesting some "adjustment" in the wage cap. Rubber Workers president Pete Bommarito said he "could live with" the president's guidelines if prices stabilized. United Auto Workers president Doug Fraser commented: "The UAW is hopeful that the plan can be administered in an equitable manner that achieves the goal of reducing inflation." And AFL-CIO head George Meany reiterated his earlier "alternative": mandatory wage-price controls (so that the heat is taken off the bureaucracy)!

But American workers are fed up. 1978 was considered a relatively light bargaining year. Yet it saw the dramatic 110-day coal miners strike, the long wrangle over the postal negotiations, a

"War is Peace"

When the Washington press corps heard the statement of Secretary of State Vance congratulating Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin as the joint recipients of the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize, they just laughed. It was the obviously appropriate response to what Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko accurately termed a "certain sort of joke." Indeed, it was the most ironically laughable decision since the Nobel Committee awarded the prize to "peacemaker" Henry Kissinger in 1973 after he advised the Christmas 1971 bombing raid on Hanoi.

What more appropriate winners of this prize established by munitions profiteer Alfred Nobel than an Israeli terrorist known as the "Butcher of Deir Yassin," and an Egyptian militarist who is viewed as the "hero" of the October 1973 war? Nor could the Nobel Committee

forget to praise the guiding spirit of Camp David, Jimmy Carter. But even the world's most dangerous imperialist is reportedly hopping mad at Begin whose decision to expand the Zionist settlements in the West Bank exposes the hoax of Camp David.

So there is much cruelty in this joke for the Palestinians, and for the Arab and Hebrew workers who are thrown into deadly battle against their class brothers by these nationalist warmongers. The phony "peace" of Camp David is meant to be built over the bodies of Palestinians as surely as the Munich "peace" was built on the bodies of the Czechs. In fact, one wonders how the Nobel Committee overlooked those other historic "peacemakers" in 1938 Hitler and Chamberlain for their role in establishing a "framework for a lasting peace."

four-day tie-up of the nation's railroads and a rash of public employee and teachers' strikes this fall. Most significantly, in every one of the major nationwide contracts the Carter government was forced to resort to open strikebreaking measures. Clearly dubious of the labor bureaucracy's ability to discipline its membership, Carter's "voluntary" guidelines are a thinly veiled threat that if the trade union tops do not whip the ranks back in line, then he will resort to mandatory wage controls.

The decisive test of Carter's program will not be long in coming, as powerful sections of the organized working class come face to face with the bosses early next year. Some 70,000 oil and chemical workers will be first, when their agreements expire in January. Then come the Teamsters, whose master freight agree-

ment covering nearly 500,000 drivers expires in March. In quick succession follow contracts covering the rubber workers, 400,000 construction workers, the Clothing Workers, electrical unions, meat packers and in September nearly a million Big 3 auto and agricultural implement workers.

Carter's pay guidelines and threat of wage controls must be dealt a smashing blow on the picket lines. Teamsters, auto workers, rubber workers and other trade unionists must prepare now for strike action. The heroic miners demonstrated that the bosses and their government can be defied by militant labor solidarity. Dump the pro-capitalist trade union bureaucracy! Smash Carter's pay guidelines! End all support to the Democrats and Republicans. For a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

Mullah Lovers Go Berserk at SYL Forums

As the anti-shah protests which have rocked Iran for the past year and a half continue, the entire left has been put to the test. What attitude do Marxists take toward a protest movement under the leadership of reactionary religious fundamentalists? Without exception—so far, at least—our opponents have opted for the holy men of Islam, claiming that the Muslim mullahs are "progressive" and even "revolutionary." Some of them, moreover, have been driven to a state of absolute frenzy by our slogan "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs!" and together with Muslim Iranian students have embarked on a campaign of disrupting forums of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

From the outset the Spartacist League (SL) has uniquely insisted that the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini do not constitute a progressive or democratic opposition to the shah. Instead of calling on the three-million-strong Iranian proletariat to mesh its demands with those of anti-Western Muslim puritanism, we have stood for the absolute political independence of the working class, fighting under its own banners for socialist revolution. So during last month's series of SYL forums in the Midwest and on the East Coast, at every meeting Maoist and Muslim Iranian groups were found locked together in a clearly orchestrated campaign of disruption and slander to defend the "honor" of the mullahs.

Ironically our analysis of the religious opposition to the shah was vividly confirmed during the forums by the Muslim student activists who attended. At a meeting held at Harvard, for example, one Muslim student noticed the speaker, *Spartacist* editor Charles O'Brien, pour himself a drink, prompting the student to leap to his feet, howling, "How dare you insult us by drinking whiskey in front of us!" At the end of the meeting another Iranian student came forward to explain that the veil (symbol of the segregation of women from public life) was simply a matter of "fashion" much like the maxi-skirt here!

At an October 12 talk given by O'Brien at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus, Muslim student

speakers repeatedly contradicted the picture of "revolutionary mullahs" served up by various Maoist spokesmen. When a representative of the Revolutionary Community Party-aligned wing of the Iranian Student Association (ISA) attacked the speaker for stating that followers of Khomeini in Tahriz had raised the slogan, "Death or

tiate themselves with the Muslim students, the wretched "Marxist-Leninists" appeared at the SYL forum the following evening hearing a huge icon of Khomeini and chanting, "Long live the revolutionary mullahs!"

If the Muslims and Maoists diverged over their depiction of Khomeini's role, they were as one in trying to silence any

everywhere: threats and disruption, cop-baiting and cops. In standard Stalinist style they slanderously accused us of being SAVAK and CIA agents, just as in the 1930's Trotsky was accused of being in the pay of (successively) British imperialism, the French intelligence service, the Mikado, Hitler, Wall Street and then Hitler again. But it was Stalin who signed the Hitler-Stalin pact, and it is his political offspring who today are praising the reactionary Muslim leaders.

This is no academic matter. The Islamic student militants and their Maoist brethren tie the working class to a political program which, if implemented, could well lead to a bloodletting comparable to the 1965 slaughter by Muslim fundamentalists and army officers (backed by the CIA) of half a million Indonesian leftists. Failing the popularity of the mullah-led movement not only means abandoning any struggle for socialism in Iran; it also means forsaking the most elementary democratic demands. A movement which holds that women who shun the veil should be stoned, overturns Coca-Cola trucks and denounces Western movies as "pornography" will not look kindly on anyone who prefers Mao's Red Book to the Koran of Muhammad.

As the Iranian proletariat enters into action against the hated U.S.-backed monarchy the question of revolutionary leadership is posed sharply. The SL/SYL stand for the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, combining revolutionary democratic demands (smashing the shah's autocracy and his SAVAK secret police, a sovereign secular constituent assembly, land to the tiller, the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities, equality for women) with transitional demands such as expropriation of the capitalists and arming the workers to achieve a workers and peasants government. Above all what is needed is an authentic Trotskyist vanguard party in Iran to lead the masses to victory over the jet-setting despot now in power and the apostles of the seventh century seeking to oust him. Not the SAVAK's white terror nor the reactionary rule of Islam, but workers revolution to smash the shah! ■



Anti-shah demonstrators in Washington, D.C.

Young Spartacus

the veil," a spokesman for the Muslim student association on campus rose to defend the veil, acknowledging matter-of-factly that of course Khomeini and his followers raised the slogan, "Death or *hejab*" ("modesty," i.e., the veil).

When another Maoist speaker tried to denounce us for suggesting that Khomeini would suppress communists in Iran were his followers to topple the shah, a Muslim student rose to remind the audience that Khomeini has repeatedly stated that he was irreconcilably opposed to communism and would not collaborate with Marxists even against the Peacock Throne. To further ingra-

criticism of their beloved leader, Forums in Chicago (Roosevelt University), at the University of Wisconsin, Michigan and Michigan State were all disrupted by a bawling Maoist/Muslim hloc which did not stop at calling the cops on the SYL. This provided a pretext for the cops to intervene against the Iranians themselves, potentially putting these student militants in danger of being deported back to the shah's dungeons!

Unable to answer our revolutionary opposition to both the butcher shah and the mullahs, the mullah lovers resorted to the techniques of political cowards

Spartacist Candidate Denounces Grand Jury Whitewash

Arthur Miller Was Strangled by the Cops!

The following statement was issued by Marjorie Stamberg, Spartacist Party candidate for New York State Assembly in the 64th district, following the release on October 25 of a Brooklyn grand jury report clearing the police of any responsibility for the death of black community leader Arthur Miller in Crown Heights:

The grand jury report on the murder of Arthur Miller is a whitewash, pure and simple. Fifteen cops beat and strangled the Crown Heights leader in front of dozens of witnesses last June, and now District Attorney Gold and his grand jury have the gall to tell us that it was just "a tragic, unforeseeable accident which occurred during a lawful arrest." So how did Miller die? No doubt we are to believe that he "shipped" on the billy club while being choked to death.

The report is an outrage—every labor, left and black community organization should join in a united protest against this racist atrocity. No one should be surprised by the grand jury's findings. The D.A. and the grand jury who covered up for the killer cops were only doing their job—just as Arthur Miller's murderers were doing theirs. They just used "recommended procedure," stated the grand jury report—and

no doubt they did. Black people in every ghetto in this city can testify to the cops' and courts' "recommended procedures" for racist oppression.

Arthur Miller was hardly the first victim of legal murder in Brooklyn, and so long as capitalism's hired guns blaze in the ghetto, he won't be the last. Only 11 months ago an all-white Brooklyn jury put Robert Torsney, the cop murderer of 15-year-old Randy Evans, on the streets a free man, using the phony excuse that Torsney was "temporarily insane" when he gunned down the black youth pointblank for no reason on Thanksgiving Day 1976.

The grand jury's whitewash in the Miller case was so blatant that in order to head off anticipated protest from the black community, Mayor Koch issued a statement calling on the federal government to intervene (while simultaneously approving of Gold's "investigation" and report). So now the Justice Department has decided to step in to determine whether or not the cops violated Arthur Miller's civil rights by strangling him to death! The NAACP and some community spokesmen have hailed this federal intervention into the case. But no one should have any confidence whatever that the same Justice Department which set up the police/FBI assassination of

Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and paid informers like Gary Rowe to provoke Ku Klux Klan terror against the civil rights movement, is going to bring the killers of Arthur Miller to justice.

The answer to police violence in the black community will not be found by running to the more powerful racists in Washington, D.C. The Justice Department "investigation" is likely to be a further cover-up for the Brooklyn cops. Yet it is not only the capitalist state which has acted to protect the police, but black community misleaders as well. Claiming to act in the interests of Crown Heights blacks, aspiring Democratic Party ward heelers like Rev. Herbert Daughtry have cynically played upon racial tensions inflamed by the brutal beating of black youth Victor Rhodes by a Hassidic Jewish vigilante squad and have attempted to take the heat off the cops and put it on the Hassidic community as a whole. On July 16 Daughtry led an anti-Semitic provocation in the form of a march on a Hassidic synagogue, and today his Black United Front continues to exploit the issue of police brutality in the interests of its own brand of Democratic Party pork-barrel politics.

The Spartacist Party calls for the end

of the cycle of ethnic violence. Not black against Jew, but class against class! We call upon the NYC labor movement to take the lead in a struggle of the workers and all the oppressed of this city in a united fight against cop terror. Jail the police murderers of Arthur Miller! No guns for cops! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Darlene Kamiura

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Beech

EDITORIAL BOARD: Jon Brule, Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

Published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone 968-6841 (Editorial), 925-5365 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 218 3 November 1978

Spartacist Candidate Debates CP, SWP on Crown Heights

Class Struggle or Race War?

October 19 was "candidates night" at the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) in New York. Spokesmen for the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had been invited to address the MEC's crew of homeless leftists to explain why all "progressives" should cast a protest vote for the CP and SWP reformists. It was supposed to be a dull evening. But the presence of Spartacist Party state assembly candidate Marjorie Stamberg and her supporters shattered the non-aggression pact and turned the meeting into a real political debate between reformists and revolutionists.

On the podium were Jay Shaffner, Organizational Secretary of the Young Workers Liberation League, representing Jarvis Tyner, CP candidate for governor of New York, and Ken Milner, SWP candidate for Congress, representing Diane Feeley, the SWP's gubernatorial candidate. The "non-sectarian" MEC had at first refused to allow the Spartacist candidate to make a presentation, hiding behind the absurd rationale that the CP and SWP were running for a more important office! But after some wrangling, the MEC agreed to give Stamberg extended speaking time from the floor ten minutes to the CP's and SWP's twenty, with no right of reply to comments and questions.

The "official" presentations were lackluster. CP spokesman Shaffner read a standard CP pitch about rallying "all



WV Photo

SL's Stamberg: "There's nothing in any kind of communist program that calls for marching on a synagogue."

resolve all of the problems of the steel workers" but because of his posture of trade-union "democracy."

Needless to say, Milner, while scolding the CP for "miseducating" the workers about the role of the capitalist parties, had nothing to say about Sadlowski's support to the Democrats. Reproaching the CP for passing for being insufficiently black nationalist in its propaganda against the Bakke decision, he went on to uncritically laud the so-called "mass movement" of the "black community" in Crown Heights, which apparently exemplifies the SWP's idea of "independent political action." It makes no difference to the SWP that this "movement" is an extraparlimentary mobilization for black Democrats who, seeking a bigger slice of political patronage, are trying to turn the anger of oppressed blacks against the Hassidic Jews of Crown Heights in a dangerous fratricidal confrontation.

Finally Stamberg took the floor and the fun really began:

"You guys might be running for governor but we're running this campaign the way the Bolsheviks ran, that is as a platform to raise our revolutionary program to the masses. And because of that, there's a way that we're running not only for governor but for mayor and for congressman and for every post, because you see, you're running for governor but we're running for state power."

"So let's talk about your campaign and ours... Look at this: the CP runs on a program that says 'People Before Profits,' and the SWP has a program that says 'Human Needs Before Profits!' And they both have their what we call 'sewer socialist' penny-ante municipal legislative schemes, like this one for taxes, right? So the CP has this: what's it called?—People's Tax Program and it says that every family that makes under \$25,000 ought to be exempt from taxes. And the SWP has its Tax the Rich program and that means that people under \$30,000 shouldn't be taxed. All we have to say is, you know George Wallace once said about the Democrats and Republicans that there's not a dime's worth of difference. Well, nobody can say that about you guys because there's \$5,000 worth of difference [laughter]."

The basic similarity in these two things comes down of course to this 'People Before Profits,' 'Human Needs Before Profits.' It's the old social-democratic formulation of 'we want better before guns,' we think that capitalism can reshuffle its priorities. And that's our difference with you: we don't think that they can be shifted. We think that the capitalist system puts nothing before its profits. And that's why we call for the fight for socialist revolution....

"We call here for a mobilization of the working class in New York City to lead behind it all the oppressed in a political fight against the Democrats, against the capitalists. And that hasn't happened here because of the bureaucrats and their [ties] to the Democrats. And also because of you reformists who want to prop up the bureaucracy. And because we haven't had that, we have something very different in New York City and it looks like Crown Heights last summer."

"What do communists do in that situation in Crown Heights? When you have a situation that the Jewish population is pitted against the blacks? When you have a situation where the blacks look at the Hassidic Jews as the KKK and the Hassidic Jews see the blacks as the Black Hundreds mobilizing for a pogrom? What do communists do to unhook that situation? It's simple: not blacks against Jews but class against class. And we said 'no' to ethnic vigilantism. We said there's nothing in any kind of communist program that calls for marching on a synagogue. But that's what you [SWP and CP] did and that's what you supported. And you were out there behind those Democratic Party politicians: oh no, there's no-

realism the basic ABCs of Marxism. And also the ABCs of trade unionism if you will. We stand on a program of 'picket lines mean don't cross.' And it's something the miners understand but it's something you guys don't."

"We stand for other basic principles of Marxism, such things as the government is not neutral.... Not for you guys with your affirmative action and bringing the government into the unions and calling on the army to come into Boston to 'protect' the black children. We call for other things: the basic independence of the workers parties from the bourgeoisie."

"That's what we stand for. What does the CP stand for? Everybody knows their secret support to the Democrats, their popular fronts since the period of the thirties. The SWP gives lip service, yes, but their 'labor party' is going to be formed by the Millers and Sadlowskis and the guys that are integrally tied with those Democrats...."

"We stand for another basic principle of Marxism-Leninism and that's why we're against Carter's anti-Soviet human rights crusade, which is not just a question of hypocrisy, but... the moral and military rearmament of U.S. imperialism. So we say 'the main enemy is at home'."

"In closing I have one question to ask the SWP, a final question: if Cuba is such a healthy revolutionary workers state, how come the assassin of Trotsky, Ramón Mercader, died there today a free man and in his bed?"

And the politics of the Spartacist League continued to dominate the discussion period. Certainly it was not because of equal access to the floor. Stamberg was given an occasional minute while the speakers from the podium responded at length to virtually every intervention from the floor. And though the SL, unlike the CP and SWP, had brought dozens of supporters to the meeting, only three SL members and a trade-union supporter were called on. In addition to their candidates' extensive interventions, the CP and SWP each got two speakers from the floor.

Nevertheless a striking counterposition emerged between the SL's revolutionary Trotskyism and the reformism of the CP and SWP. The latter differed mainly in style: Shaffner, the standard Stalinist cynic seeking to portray revolutionaries as unwilling to fight for reforms, calmly slid the sharp questions under a mound of "unity and struggle" rhetoric; Milner completely lost his cool under pressure, sometimes sounding more like a black nationalist demagogue howling about the "privi-



WV Photo

SWP's Milner: "We'll help break those picket lines again!"

objective anti-monopoly forces to compel a change of government policy." After some ritual genuflections to "the world strength of the socialist countries," he moved on to detail the CP's "people's program": such items as reducing the "swollen military budget," raising the minimum wage to \$3.50/hour, "outlawing racism" and dismantling the Emergency Financial Control Board "set up to thwart the democratic process and the elected representatives of the people."

The SWP's Ken Milner gently if repetitively chided the CP for its open electoral support to "progressive" Democrats like Ron Dellums or John Conyers. In deference to the leftist crowd at the MEC, he even attacked the union bureaucracy for "class collaborationism" (of course, the SWP election brochure eschews such language, merely hinting obliquely at the need for a "revitalized" trade-union movement). As usual, though, "democratic" outbursts were exempted, as Milner explained that the SWP supported Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers "not because he had the best program to



WV Photo

CP's Shaffner: "We have to break our crystal balls."

thing in their program that was anti-Semitic read that in the *Milner*. That's what you did."

"Now it ought to be pretty easy in Crown Heights for a communist to be able to find the class line. You can't find it, though, and it indicates something. You know, Trotsky said that the crisis of humanity is the crisis of revolutionary leadership. And, comrades and friends, we've seen a little bit of that crisis on the platform tonight...."

"We're running in this election to

leged" white workers than an ostensible Trotskyist

Sadlowski's Running Dogs

On trade-union policy, the CP and SWP spokesmen displayed their basic agreement. Throughout the debate, the SWP speaker made a big deal out of his party's refusal to support the Democratic Party at the polls, even raising the call for a "labor party based on the unions." But in the unions, there is no real difference between the CP and the SWP.

The SWP's hackhanded support to the Democrats was illuminated by a speaker from a National Maritime Union oppositional caucus which is supporting Stamberg. Criticizing CP trade unionists for their open support to capitalist politicians, he explained that the "slicker" SWP refuses to demand that the unions break from the Democrats and hack socialist candidates (even their own candidates), which would embarrass the pro-Democratic union hacks the SWP tails.

The CP's Shaffner replied with the usual stagist arguments against presumably dogmatic Leninists. "I think we have to break our crystal balls," he told the audience:

"There is no revolutionary situation today. I'll say that. And I think we should all be frank in recognizing that. So how are we going to affect the lives of people today? I'm not embarrassed to say that I will support [Detroit Democrat] John Conyers for reelection. Until we have trade unionists in there, workers in there, I'd rather have John Conyers in there than representatives of GM and Ford."

"... when it comes down in voting for McBride or Sadlowski, I'll put my vote down for Sadlowski. And if you're not going to do that, you're supporting McBride and you're supporting the steel companies."

The SWP's Milner hastened to solidarize with the CP.

"I don't think it's accurate to say that if you're not doing that, you're supporting the steel companies, in terms of McBride. But I agree with the general approach [general uproar in the audi-

ence]. To the trade-union movement you actually just have to look for opportunities to advance the struggles forward."

A Spartacist speaker underlined the reformists' kinship:

"The future of Ed Sadlowski can be seen in Arnold Miller and what happened to him. And that is that if you don't break with class collaborationism, if you don't break with the Democratic Party which Ed Sadlowski has not done, he backed Jimmy Carter and just backed [Steelworker bureaucrat Jim] Balabanoff's wife in an election as Democratic Party candidate in Chicago then you're going to end up like Arnold Miller, betraying the interests of the workers."

When the New York teachers were pressed to the wall by an unholy alliance of Republican Party legislators who had lined up disillusioned blacks. That's right, they got lined up by Lindsay, by McGeorge Bundy, by the Ford Foundation, behind "community control" and were aimed against the teachers unions in New York City. So who was transferred out by the local board in Ocean Hill-Brownsville? The UFT stalwarts, chapter chairmen and shop stewards. And at that time both the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party destroyed for a whole decade the possibility of a real fighting alliance between teachers and the black and oppressed communities, by strikebreaking and scabbing on that strike."

Whenever the race question was raised, the SWP spokesman outdid the CPer in putting forth unreconstructed black nationalism. Though the CP and SWP pursued identical strikebreaking policies in the 1968 teachers' strike, the CP speaker sensibly shied away from any mention of it. But not the SWP:

"The 1968 teachers' strike by the UFT was a racist strike against the demands of the black community to control [drowned out by applause and tumult in the audience]. The Socialist Workers Party helped organize teachers to cross those picket lines and go back into those schools! For us it is not an abstract question of every time some section of the working-class social democracy goes out on strike, we support that movement. If it's directed against another section of the working class, as the '68 strike was, then we will oppose that. We broke those picket lines! And if

they carried out another strike against the black and Puerto Rican community, we'll help break those picket lines again. We support the right of the black community to control its community. We support the right of the black community to get racist teachers out of their schools. And yes, it's no accident that the first teachers to go at those damn schools were the shop stewards and the higher-ups in the UFT bureaucracy, those most allied with the reactionary politics of Shankerism..."

The aspiring sellout artists of the SWP have a lot to learn. The CP knows from long experience that today's "smart" opportunism is tomorrow's skeleton in the closet. Case in point: the 1968 teachers' strike. Case in point: Arnold Miller, who as an out-hireocrat running on hypocritical promises of "democracy" was the darling of all the reformists and centrists. They heat the drums for Miller and applauded when, in concert with liberal Democrats, he put the Mineworkers in receivership to the Labor Department.

The CP and SWP are united in pushing pro-Democratic Party "lesser evil" politics in the union movement. But their "lesser evils" are in no programmatic sense "lesser." We have a different program. We would be delighted to find a trade-union leader who stands, even in a contradictory or partial way, for a real break from pro-capitalist business unionism on even one key issue of the class struggle. As the revolutionary Trotskyists of the 1930's blocked with elements of the union bureaucracy willing to break from narrow craft unionism in favor of industrial organization, so today we would be happy to consider critical support (with criticism!) to a union leader whose words about a "labor party" are not between-elections hot air or hackhanded support to the Republicans. But Sadlowski? Sadlowski, who has pledged to abide by the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" in steel, who actively supports the Democrats, who seeks to use the capitalist courts against the unions? No thanks! In the words of

Engene Debs, it's better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it. In Miller, the CP and SWP have got the leadership they deserve. But the working class deserves better.

Race War vs. Class War

The SWP's and CP's efforts to provide a "left" cover for black Democrats in last summer's bitter race-hate confrontation in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn emerged as the key question polarizing the debate. CP spokesman Shaffner sought to evade the question as long as he could, retreating to appeals for less vehemence in a discussion "among leftists" (and all this time we thought we were still "counter-revolutionary Trotskyites"). Though he could not conceal his party's capitulation to black "community" demagogues, he was artful enough to separate the CP from the black-nationalist Jew-hating which the *Daily World* has carefully covered up in its Crown Heights coverage.

But not the SWP. While Shaffner grudgingly admitted that "demonstrating in front of a synagogue is not what the Communist Party would do," lamenting "we didn't think it correct that the demonstration end up in front of a synagogue," the SWP's Milner could find nothing to criticize except some "formulations that we don't totally agree with" and could offer no counterproposals save the SWP's line for all seasons, "We think they should build bigger demonstrations." The debate revealed that the Spartacist League's account of the Crown Heights events was factually correct and that both the CP and SWP had covered up the aspiring black Democrats' campaign to make Jews the scapegoats for capitalism's war on the ghetto masses.

We will let the protagonists speak for themselves:

Milner (SWP): "... I want to take up this question of anti-Semitism in Crown Heights..."

continued on page 11

Marjorie Stamberg on NYC Radio

"Consistent Feminism Leads to...Strikebreaking"

On Tuesday, October 24, Marjorie Stamberg, the Spartacist Party candidate for New York state assemblyman in the 64th A.D., was interviewed, and talked with listeners for approximately two hours on the 'Round Midnight radio show broadcast by WBAI. In response to a question on the Spartacist attitude toward feminism, from a listener who identified himself as a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party, Stamberg answered:

We believe that the sex line is not the fundamental division in society—the class line is. We have forged our work in the women's movement by fighting against the strategy of feminism and to link the fight against the oppression of women to the workers movement. Let me give you some examples of this. You see I spent many years in the women's movement myself and I considered myself a feminist for many years, and part of my being won to a Trotskyist program had to do with my experiences trying to organize working-class women to a feminist strategy....

My experiences are similar to those of a number of people of my generation who went through various kinds of struggles in the New Left and the women's movement. I joined SDS in 1965 and was active in the New Left until approximately 1969. At that point I moved to Oakland, California where I began to work with a group of women there that was interested in doing working-class organizing. We looked at the women's movement and found that it was pretty petty-bourgeois... and we



New York City, 4:00 a.m.: 10 phone lines of radio station WBAI are jammed.

said, well, what's wrong with the women's movement is that it has a middle-class program, and if you want to change that what you ought to do is go out and get yourself some working women to join it.

At that time we had a kind of Maoist strategy that "the correct politics flows through the blood of true proletarians." So we went into the phone company to organize the operators, which is where most New Left feminist types went when they wanted to try out their strategies in the working class. We also at that time had a position similar to that of the Socialist Workers Party, which says that consistent feminism leads to socialism. We did not have that formulation, but we had a similar one: "If you organize women around their oppres-

sion they'll come to a full understanding of the social struggle." It's been around that strategy that the SWP has cynically organized in the women's area.

So we went into the phone arena. And in the telephone workers union, the CWA, in Oakland there existed, at the same time as our feminist group, a caucus called the Militant Action Caucus which was politically supported by the Spartacist League. For about three years we fought out our feminist strategy and our nationalist strategy.... We fought these political questions out with the Militant Action Caucus and we really came to no decision for quite a while until the class struggle heated up in 1971. Then there were a series of strikes against the phone company and we were able to test our strategy out in

action against the revolutionary strategy of the Spartacist League and the class-struggle politics of the Militant Action Caucus.

So here's a couple of things that happened. The key thing that won me in that struggle away from feminism was that shortly before the CWA strike in the summer of 1971 the IBEW, which was composed mainly of male workers in the phone company, went out on strike and we were faced with a strange phenomenon. We saw that many of the women that my friends and I had recruited to women's consciousness-raising groups in fact crossed the picket line of the male workers, of the IBEW, using all the feminist arguments that we had recruited them to. They said, "Well, there's not very many women in the IBEW, and therefore it's all right to cross the picket lines." And they said, "Well, we really are the most oppressed, so it's all right if we cross the picket lines."

This really shocked us because we had been organizing women on a feminist strategy around their own oppression and it did not lead them to understand the need to forge real links with the rest of the class, but it led them to become strikebreakers. So that situation, combined with a few other experiences at that time, forced us to break empirically from our feminist politics in order to hold onto the class line. And it was through that strike that we gradually were won over to the class-struggle perspective of the MAC and the Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League. ■

Wereprint below a chapter from the recently published memoirs of Mexican Communist Party leader Valentin Campa. Mi testimonio, memorias de un comunista mexicano (Mexico, 1968). The translation is by Workers Vanguard from the French version published in L'Humanité of 26 and 27 July 1978

by Valentin Campa

We intensified the struggle against Trotsky, which immediately placed the Communist Party in opposition to President Cárdenas.¹ The CPM (Confederation of Mexican Workers), led by Lombardo Toledano,² struggled vigorously against Trotsky, without going to the point of breaking with President Cárdenas. Things being as they were, we increasingly denounced Trotsky's betrayals. It was only later that we realized the harassment directed against him, which drove him in desperation to reprehensible excesses. At the end of 1936 the Dies Committee was created in the House of Representatives in Washington. It was named for the congressman who chaired it, who proved to be the McCarthy of that period—a vicious anti-Communist who propagated the worst calumnies against the Communists and the Soviet Union. Along with the well-known aviator Charles Lindbergh and numerous other American reactionaries, he organized an intense propaganda campaign in favor of United States participation in World War II on the side of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese Empire against the Soviet Union. This Dies Committee organized a whole series of public hearings and invited Trotsky and Diego Rivera to appear before the House of Representatives in Washington.

A leader of Trotsky's Fourth International, Diego Rivera³ participated in this arch-reactionary, anti-Communist campaign of the Dies Committee, clearly playing into the fascists' hands and obviously serving the interests of imperialism. Trotsky was also personally invited to appear before the Dies Committee, but, being more intelligent, refused to do so. On the other hand, he lent his cooperation through his statements, writings and other means. The neo-Trotskyites denied that Trotsky had collaborated with the Dies Committee, but there is the testimony of Trotsky himself to confirm it; he stated that he had accepted the invitation "in order to help the workers understand the reactionary historical role of Stalinism and to turn them away from it" (Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana, Mexico: Juan Pablos Editorial). Trotsky's explanation is even more far-fetched given that the fascist character of the Dies Committee was quite well known.

In his capacity as a leader of the Fourth International, Diego Rivera

We Do Not Forgive or Forget!

HOW THE STALINISTS PLANNED TROTSKY'S MURDER

amply cooperated with all the Dies Committee's activity against the USSR, against the Mexican Communist Party and most especially against Comrade Hernán Lahorde.

A Ruinous Directive

In the course of the campaign against Trotsky, a meeting called by the Communist Party took place at the Arena México on Friday, 26 September 1938. Speakers included Carlos Rivera, a Colombian leader; Margarita Nelken, a Communist deputy from Republican Spain; Jacques Gresa, a French Communist deputy; and Hernán Lahorde, secretary-general of the Mexican Communist Party.

At this meeting where the international situation was analyzed (we were on the eve of the Second World War), Trotsky was politically unmasked, exposed by his reactionary excesses which played into the hands of Hitler and Mussolini against the Soviet Union.

Around that time, Comrade Lahorde sent for Rafael Carrillo and me, both members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, to discuss with us an extremely delicate confidential question. It concerned a matter which had been communicated to him by a comrade who introduced himself as an accredited delegate of the Communist

Third International. The latter had announced the decision to eliminate Trotsky, and requested his personal cooperation as secretary-general of the Party, as well as a squad adequate to ensure this elimination. Comrade Lahorde replied that this involved an extremely delicate question, that the Communist Party considered Trotsky to be a defeated political figure, and that he needed several days to resolve this. The envoy of the Third International

emphasized to him that no one should hear anything about this whole business, that it was strictly confidential.

Lahorde decided nevertheless to consider the matter with the two of us. We were all in complete agreement that this was an extremely serious and strictly secret matter. We examined it very calmly and carefully. After the rigorous analysis which the question deserved, we concluded, as we had already done on several occasions, that



Stalin Did It!

Trotsky denounces May 25 machine gun attack on him. A week after the attempt he wrote: "The interrogation... of Siqueiros, would help very much to shed light on everything concerning the attempt on my life.... And who could have given them the order? Obviously, the master of the Kremlin: Joseph Stalin."

WV Commentary

Ramón Mercader sought to take his secrets to the grave. But not all his accomplices were so tight-lipped and over the years a mass of evidence has accumulated showing how the Kremlin plotted the murder of Leon Trotsky. Much of this has come from the statements of defecting Stalinist intelligence agents and second-hand sources—which in no way reduces their value as proof, for the accounts are remarkably consistent. But now we have the testimony of a leading public political figure, Valentin Campa's *Memoirs of a Mexican Communist*, detailing the assassination conspiracy. *Workers Vanguard* now presents this revealing document for the first time to the English-language public.

Who is Valentin Campa? In 1939 he was a member of the secretariat of the central committee of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM), then led by Hernán Lahorde. Both Campa and Lahorde were violent Trotsky-haters, but in December of that year the two were expelled from their leadership positions (and subsequently from the party itself) as "Trotskyites." Yet—strange circumstance—the specifics of their sin were never publicly spelled out. The PCM body which heard the report of the special purge commission

(appointed by whom?) was not the party congress or even the CC, but a hand-picked committee meeting in secret session.

What was this crime too sensitive to tell even the party membership? Now, 39 years later, Campa has decided that the "opportune moment" has arrived to tell all... or almost all.

We should begin by noting the signal merit of Campa's disclosures: Once and for all it does away with the Stalinist slander that Trotsky was killed by "one of his own." The 25 May 1940 machine-gun assault on Trotsky's residence in the Mexico City suburb of Coyoacán was originally portrayed by the GPU-controlled press as an "autogolpe" ("self-assault"), even though it was soon established that the famous Stalinist painter David A. Siqueiros led the gunmen. Then the PCM tried to float the ludicrous claim that Siqueiros was actually a former Trotskyist, even though he was quoted as a party luminary in the Communist press up until a few weeks before the attack. And when, three months later, Mercader carried out Stalin's grisly order he tried to pass himself off as a disillusioned follower of the Fourth International. The Campa memoirs (together with the Siqueiros interview, cited in the above text) demolish this lie.

Campa confirms that the orders to "eliminate"

Trotsky came directly from Moscow, and reveals that the Communist Party leadership even sat around debating the assassination. His account of how he and Lahorde were summarily removed as PCM leaders is a graphic demonstration of the cynical modus operandi of the Stalinized Comintern. And it verifies in every respect Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the "Lahorde affair":

"Today it is absolutely self-evident that the overturn in the [Mexican] Communist Party was intimately connected with the order for the attempt [on Trotsky's life] issued in Moscow. What happened most probably is that the GPU encountered some opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party who had become accustomed to a peaceful existence and might have feared very unpleasant political and police consequences from the attempt. Perhaps this is the source of the charge of 'Trotskyism' against them. Whoever objects to an attempt against Trotsky is, obviously, a—Trotskyist."

"The Comintern and the GPU," 17 August 1940

The question of the Dies Committee (HUAC) plays what at first glance seems a disproportionate role in Campa's account. Part of the standard Stalinist slander lexicon is the charge that the leader of the Fourth International revealed his ties to reaction by agreeing to



Trotsky had been politically defeated, that his influence was practically nil, and that moreover we had already made this point sufficiently throughout the world. On the other hand, his elimination would result in great harm to the Mexican Communist Party, to the revolutionary movement in Mexico and in the Soviet Union, and to the international Communist movement as a whole. We thus concluded that to propose the elimination of Trotsky was a grave error. Once this viewpoint was agreed upon, Laborde informed the delegate of the Third International about it. The latter threatened him, telling him he would pay the consequences for his attitude, and that a breach of discipline with respect to the Third International carried a high price. Laborde told him that we were acting according to our principles, and that we considered the idea of eliminating Trotsky to be inadmissible.

In the face of the threats against Laborde on the part of this delegate of the Third International, we considered the problem in the Secretariat, and decided to go to New York to discuss with Earl Browder, a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International. At the first opportunity we left by car for New York. All three of us spoke with Browder, laying out to him the whole problem in detail.

testily before this witchhunting committee, and Campa uses this to justify his continued hostility to Trotskyism. What he doesn't say is that this canard was the propaganda theme used by the GPU to prepare the climate for Trotsky's assassination: Campa wants to wash his hands of the blood while still supporting the "justification" for the crime, hoping thereby to excuse his own complicity.

But why the Dies Committee? Because up until that time, and notably in the Moscow Trials, Trotsky was consistently portrayed by the Kremlin as being an agent of the Third Reich. However, with preparations for the Hitler-Stalin pact underway already since mid-1938 ("What Lies Behind Stalin Bid for Agreement with Hitler?" was the title of an article by Trotsky in March 1939), this fabrication fell apart and had to be replaced with a new invention. The Dies Committee story was offered as "proof" that Trotsky had switched over to Wall Street.

And an invention it certainly was. Trotsky agreed to the committee's request for testimony on the history of Stalinism in response to charges against him by American CP leaders who appeared before it. ("Your name has been mentioned frequently by such witnesses as Browder and Foster," said the committee telegram, offering Trotsky the "opportunity to answer their charges.") Moreover, Trotsky never did testify before the committee, which withdrew its request, possibly because of his insistence on open sessions. In contrast,

Without reflecting at length, he stated categorically that he agreed with us; he decided we were right, asked us immediately not to see the delegate again and told us he would go to Moscow and explain things.

The Intrigue is Orchestrated

Several weeks later, some rather suspicious comings and goings occurred. Vittorio Codovilla, an Argentine, arrived in Mexico; then Martínez, a Venezuelan, and other comrades sent by the Third International, supposedly to cooperate with the Mexican Communist Party which was in a critical situation. What followed was the direct intervention of these delegates in all the business of the PCM. They began to place Laborde and me in the defendant's box, according to them, we had been following a sectarian and opportunist line. This opportunism took the form of the policy of "unity at any price"; it was in fact opportunist, but they pretended they had known nothing about it and that they did not know that it had been imposed on us in June 1937 by the Communist International, despite our reservations. This was even more grotesque since although our orientation had been decided in Mexico at the suggestion of and under the discipline of the International, and on Browder's direct intervention, we were now accused of being opportunists for having carried it out! It was thus that a highly dishonest activity based on intrigues was then carried out against Laborde and myself in particular. Laborde was suspended from his post as secretary-general; I was suspended from the Political Bureau. A so-called committee to purge the Party leadership was set up under the direction of Andrés García Salgado, who some years later became a pro-government trade unionist.

In this atmosphere, I continued trying to attend meetings of the leadership. I edited reports and explained with supporting statistics and arguments how General Cárdenas had made a turn to the right in 1939. I quoted the Bureau of Agricultural Smallholdings, which permitted the curbing of the land redistribution. The statistics confirmed the sharp decrease in land redistribution proceedings in 1939 and 1940. Cárdenas had signed the unconstitutional decree forbidding bank employees from unionizing, this clearly tended to restrain mass struggle in the country and was aimed particularly at preventing workers' strikes.

I demonstrated with supporting facts and figures that a bureaucratic neo-bourgeoisie was being created within the Cárdenas government, with far greater resources than those available to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie of the supporters of Calles. This bureaucratic bourgeoisie included Máximo Avila Cam-

acho, Dámaso Cárdenas, the president's brother, and the ex-"callistas" who went over to "cardenismo"; Abelardo Rodríguez, Aaron Sáenz and others. This bourgeoisie predominated within the government, and decided on the course of supporting Manuel Avila Camacho for the presidency of the Republic, whereas the normal process in Mexico would have made General Mújica the democratic candidate, albeit with the serious handicap of having supported Trotsky's right to asylum in Mexico.

Codovilla became interested in my exposé and asked me to draw up a



Stalin the Assassin

"He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull."

—Trotsky

document on the economic, political and social processes of the last year of the Cárdenas government. I prepared this material. In this connection, however, an incident occurred: in complete good faith, I had always held that the category of Marxism-Leninism ought not to be extended to Stalin, but it was already customary internationally to speak of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. I refused to do this, while at the same time expressing my admiration for Stalin and for the value of his work, adding that I opposed elevating him to the level of Marx and Lenin because in the last analysis he was still alive and this estimation could only be made with a definitive balance-sheet of the work of those who were dead. I thus wrote my report using the expression "Marxism-

Leninism" with regard to an unrelated subject; but the comrade who transcribed it added "Stalinism." When I protested, she replied that everyone said "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism." "I've gone, perhaps, but not me," I told her, and I crossed out "Stalinism." The crossed-out original was to be presented as proof that I was a Trotskyite.

Impressed, he said, by my contribution on the turn of the Cárdenas government, Codovilla had a private conversation with me. Speaking of the crisis of the Mexican Communist Party, he gave me to understand, in no uncertain terms, that I was slated to become secretary-general in place of Laborde. I refused. I told him that he and others knew of my differences of opinion with Laborde, which were of a secondary and tactical nature, and that I would not lend myself to these underhanded maneuvers; that I was thinking of returning to my job as a railwayman; that that was my position consistent with the rules of revolutionary honesty to which I adhered. Codovilla became angry, and from then on he adopted the formula "the sectarian opportunist Laborde and Campa."

"Stalin is a Cuckold"

Thus we come to the Extraordinary Congress at which we were expelled. I made an appearance and denied the charges against me. Laborde did not come, because to him it was obviously a farce. He was already convinced that Stalin had participated fully in the problem of eliminating Trotsky and in using the Communist International against us for the position we had taken. He had always held a high opinion of Stalin, but at this point he rectified it, as the matter was extremely serious. Angered by the maneuvers, he reached the point of saying "Stalin es un cabrón" (Stalin is a cuckold).

We set out to examine the situation we had been put into. After our expulsion, we were chased after by the international [press] agencies, especially the Americans. They wanted a statement from us on Trotsky, since he had written an article saying that our expulsion was in connection with Stalin's intentions to eliminate him. Trotsky wrote: "What has happened, most likely, is that the GPU has encountered a certain opposition among the leaders of the Communist Party... and whoever opposes an attempt on Trotsky's life is obviously a Trotskyite" ("The Communists and the Cárdenas Regime," quoted by Lyle C. Brown, in the *University of Mexico Review*, 8 May 1971).

Certain comrades have wondered if, in this phase of intensifying crisis in the PCM, it would not have been preferable to go to the heart of the problem in order

continued on page 8

the CPUSA leaders appeared voluntarily before the Dies Committee (they were not subpoenaed), tendering over 350 pages of testimony. Diego Rivera, incidentally, had left the Fourth International by the time he testified before the committee.

What Campa fundamentally leaves out is *why* Stalin wanted—in fact, urgently required—Trotsky's murder. While Campa and his type (Eurocommunists, Khrushchevites) portray the plot as the work of a madman, and a certain genre of pseudo-Trotskyists (the followers of Gerry Healy) "explain" it in terms more appropriate to a paranoid police detective, Trotsky all along offered a trenchant political analysis of what moved the Stalinist regime to such criminal acts. When Stalin exiled Trotsky from the USSR in 1929, he thought that without an apparatus Lenin's former comrade-in-arms would simply disappear into obscurity. However, wrote Trotsky in a January 1932 letter to the Politburo of the CPSU (accusing the Kremlin of complicity in attempts on his life), "Contrary to expectations it turned out that ideas have a power of their own.... It is Stalin's conception that the mistake needs rectification." And he adds, in a postscript at the time of the first Moscow Trial, "I am sure, not by any ideological measures: Stalin conducts a struggle on a totally different plane. He seeks to strike not at the ideas of his opponent, but at his skull" (original emphasis).

Though Stalin was the very opposite of a

theoretician, his experience in the Bolshevik movement had taught him that the question of leadership was central. And ever since Hitler's accession to power (fundamentally due to the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders' refusal to unite in struggle against the fascist menace), he understood instinctively that a new European war was being prepared and the Soviet Union was its principal target. He knew also that war would bring about revolutionary conditions, and this would threaten his bonapartist position which was based on accommodating imperialism (and hence drowning revolution, as in Spain). Trotsky wrote following the Siqueiros raid on his house:

"The Moscow trials of 1936-37 were staged in order to obtain my deportation from Norway, i.e., actually to hand me over into the hands of the GPU. But this did not succeed. I am informed that Stalin has several times admitted that my exile abroad was a major mistake. No other way remained of rectifying the mistake except through a terrorist act...."

"...In the capacity of a former revolutionist Stalin remembers that the Third International was incomparably weaker at the beginning of the last war than the Fourth International is today. The course of the war may provide a mighty impulsion to the development of the Fourth International, also within the USSR itself. That is why Stalin could not have failed to issue orders to his agents—to finish me as quickly as possible."

"The accidental failure of the [Siqueiros] assault, so carefully and so ably prepared, is a serious blow to

continued on page 8

Campa's Memoirs...

(continued from page 7)

to avert this crisis. In 1940 we didn't even envisage this possibility. The general tendency within the international Communist movement was that of unconditional obedience to the Third International led by the CPSU. To reveal disagreements meant exclusion from the Communist movement and consequently being turned into bogeymen ["satamizatsion"].

To build a movement against arbitrary dogmatism, we would have had to begin by explaining the truth about the asphyxiating pressure of the policy of "unity at any price" [with Cárdenas] and the brutal interference demanding that we eliminate Trotsky. Laborde and I refused to do this, since the Second World War had just broken out (August 1939).

Laborde and I decided then not to fall into the errors committed by Trotsky when he found himself harassed by Stalin. The Trotsky affair would be used internationally against the Soviet Union and the Mexican Communist Party. Our situation was very difficult, but we had to remain discreet. We were particularly indignant to see Rafael Carrillo act as a perfect scoundrel towards us, covering us with slander, when he knew the whole truth of the matter. Some time later, moreover, this same Rafael Carrillo boasted of being a renegade from Communism.

Not yet expelled from the PCM, Laborde and I were informed that David Allaro Siqueiros was in the process of organizing a squad of comrades to storm Trotsky's house and that it was being done very sloppily. The Dominican weekly *Ahora* later published an interview with Siqueiros titled, "Siqueiros Recounts the Attack Against Trotsky." He states: "Stalin was worried that Trotsky, during his exile in Mexico, could become the center of another chauvinist movement which would attempt to replace him in Soviet power. Therefore he ordered a high functionary of the NKVD, Leonid Fittington, to organize the physical elimination of Trotsky, and granted him unlimited resources to carry this out. But the leader of the Mexican Communist Party, Laborde, opposed this act of violence and in fact refused to assist with it. Finally Laborde and his collaborators were expelled and the Party remained under our control" (*Cárdenas y la izquierda mexicana*).

In a very offhand manner Siqueiros relates the facts concerning what was a political crisis for our Party and for the international Communist movement.

The attempt of Siqueiros and his group to take Trotsky's house by storm

having failed, a third alternative was put into action. On the evening of 20 August 1940, Ramón Mercader, who went under the pseudonym of Jacques Mornard, assassinated Trotsky.

As Laborde and I had anticipated, and as we had told Browder in New York, the elimination of Trotsky unleashed a large-scale campaign against the Mexican Communist Party, the international Communist movement and the Soviet Union.

The Demands of Autonomy and Independence

Our Party recognizes the precious aid it has received from the Communist International and the important role



Siqueiros Arrested

which the Soviet Union plays in fighting the temerity of Yankee imperialism to unleash a Third World War which would be catastrophic for all of humanity. Very conscious of all of this, Mexican Communists—faced with the imbroglio caused by the interference of foreign comrades, above all in the course of a process crowned by the erroneous policy of "unity at any price" and then by the elimination of Trotsky—forcefully maintain, along with their internationalism, an insistence on the autonomy and independence of their Party.

Comrades of other countries, unaware of these serious facts, do not understand our unchangeable position with respect to the independence and autonomy of parties within the framework of proletarian internationalism.

For decades Laborde and I firmly resisted the lies and slanders hurled at us by people like Rafael Carrillo and others. We could not defend ourselves without creating a very tense political

situation in the context of the Second World War then taking place. To defend ourselves would have caused grave injury to the international Communist movement and to the Mexican Communist Party in particular.

Laborde and I spoke of the need to let the truth be known. New generations of Communists and other revolutionaries need to know it in order to understand these experiences and act in a more consistent and effective manner in the struggles of our country.

Since I left prison in 1970, I have insisted along with the leadership of the Communist Party on the need to clearly lay out these historical truths. We have been in agreement on this, while considering that it was necessary to await an opportune moment to do it.

Laborde is dead and I am carrying out my duty in recounting this drama, convinced that I am thus contributing to the steeling and steadfastness of Communists in my homeland and in other countries.

FOOTNOTES

¹General Lázaro Cárdenas was president of Mexico between 1934 and 1940. A bourgeois nationalist, he carried out a substantial agrarian reform and nationalized railroads and oil. In view of the general's popularity among the masses, the Communist Party's initial policy was "unity at any cost" with the government. However, due to the PCM's total submission to the Kremlin, Cárdenas' granting of asylum to Trotsky in 1937 made this "unity" henceforth rather less than total. Vicente Lombardo Toledano was a prominent fellow-traveling union leader, whose "independent" labor federation and "Popular Socialist Party" were tolerated by the government as an escape valve to let off discontent. They also served as a link between the tiny, isolated PCM and a sector of the working class. Toledano had close ties to Moscow and was virulent in his calls for the expulsion of Trotsky from Mexico.

²The famous Mexican muralist Diego Rivera was instrumental in obtaining asylum for Trotsky from the Cárdenas regime. He was active in the Fourth International until early 1939 when he broke with the Trotskyist movement after a series of personal disputes. He later rejoined the PCM.

³Browder, then head of the CPUSA, rode herd on the CPs of the Caribbean basin for the Kremlin. No major shift in PCM policy was decided without consultation with New York, and when Browder was dumped in 1944 on charges of "liquidationism" it led to leadership shakeups in the Latin American satellite parties.

⁴Codovilla, long-time head of the Argentine CP, played a sinister role in the Spanish Civil War as watchdog over and actual operational leader of the Spanish CP. Although officially only Communist delegate, together with the GPU he engineered the kidnapping and assassination of Andrés Nin and the bloody suppression of the Barcelona May Days of 1937.

⁵Plutarco Elías Calles was president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928 and remained the strongman behind the succeeding three puppet presidents.

Trotsky's Assassin...

(continued from page 1)

typed "confession" in the typical GPU style, claiming to be a member of the Fourth International (which he never was) who had become enraged because Trotsky supposedly treated the working class like "a dirty sock." With this crude



Caridad Mercader

"Yes, for the assassin of Trotsky is my son, Ramón, whom I in the name of the sacred interests of the Revolution and of socialism, drove to this crime; and I am... a thing to inspire horror."

quoted by
Enrique Castro Delgado
16 June 1959

fabrication the assassin's Kremlin bosses sought to divert the blame from Stalin onto the victim himself.

Trotsky had already warned after the May 25 assault on his house led by David Siqueiros that a new attempt on his life would soon come and the "assassins may use 'Trotskyist' label" (title of a statement to the Mexican press). But although Mercader's claim to be the son of a Belgian diplomat immediately fell apart (no Mornard was ever employed by the foreign ministry, the address he gave for his father's house was a store in the center of Brussels, the military school he claimed to have attended did not exist, the Belgian

WV Commentary...

(continued from page 7)

Stalin. The GPU must rehabilitate itself with Stalin. Stalin must demonstrate his power. A repetition of the attempt is inevitable."

"Stalin Seeks My Death," 8 June 1940

The "jackal of the Kremlin" was not alone in perceiving the danger represented by the tiny forces of the Fourth International. The French ambassador to Germany, M. Coulondre, had a dramatic interview with Hitler in August 1939, just before the break of diplomatic relations between the two countries, in which he remarked, "If I really think that we will be victorious, I also have the fear that at the end of the war there will be only one real victor, Mr. Trotsky." But while the imperialist "democracies" feared Trotsky and refused to grant him asylum, Stalin had a special need to "liquidate" any potential revolutionary leadership. Trotsky wrote three days before his death:

"...there has developed on the foundation of the October Revolution a new privileged caste.... This caste finds itself in a profoundly contradictory position. In words it comes forward in the name of communism; in deeds it fights for its own unlimited power and colossal material privileges. Surrounded by the mistrust and hatred of the deceived masses, the new aristocracy cannot afford the tiniest breach in its system."

"Stalin's absolutism does not rest on the traditional authority of 'divine grace,' nor on 'sacred' and

"invulnerable" private property, but on the idea of Communist equality. This deprives the oligarchy of a possibility of justifying its dictatorship with any kind of rational and persuasive arguments.... The ruling caste is compelled systematically to lie, to paint itself up, don a mask, and ascribe to critics and opponents motives diametrically opposite to those impelling them....

"The Comintern and the GPU"

Writing three years earlier about the Moscow Trial of the Old Bolsheviks, Max Shachtman, then a leader of the American Trotskyist movement, vividly explained the political meaning of Stalin's terror:

"The dramatic indictment of Zinoviev, Kamenev and the others, their ruthless execution, the indictment of Trotsky—that is, the assault upon those figures that symbolize the dread words 'World Revolution' to the international bourgeoisie, is Stalin's way of taking the blood-oath to the latter that the international proletarian revolution, so long as the Kremlin is concerned, has long been interred. That is just it: Stalin has dug the grave of the Third International, its founders, its traditions, and literally filled it with corpses. In their place, he erected an institution which resembles the dead one only in name. In fact, it is a border police patrol of the Soviet bureaucracy and the police guardian of law and order throughout the bourgeois world."

Behind the Moscow Trial, The Greatest Frame-Up in History (1936)

.....

Naturally, Campa portrays himself as innocent—

wasn't he chucked out of the PCM for opposing the assassination? Of course, they all were, just like Khrushchev was too busy building the Moscow subway to notice the Moscow Trials and the shootings of tens of thousands of long-time party militants and leaders! But Campa doesn't have the luxury of using the standard argument "I didn't know. Campa knew. Furthermore he systematically helped prepare the terrain with the Mexican Stalinists' foam-flecked anti-Trotsky propaganda war. Even after he was expelled for "Trotskyism" he remained silent—to prove his servile loyalty to the Kremlin—when his revelations could have blown apart the whole conspiracy. In fact, he even knew in advance of the Siqueiros raid, and said nothing. And he kept his mouth shut for another 39 years afterward. *This man is an accomplice to murder*, and he should be thankful for bourgeois legality, for if the proletariat held sway he would certainly be called to account for his crime.

Why is he talking at all? Campa's memoirs were carefully considered as a political act and published with the agreement of the PCM leadership. Now the Mexican Communist Party is part of the current loosely known as Eurocommunism, and in recent years has been going out of its way to prove to the bourgeoisie its democratic credentials. Given its own history, this requires a certain settling of accounts over

(continued on page 10)

ambassador to Mexico swore he could not possibly be Belgian), and he quickly "forgot" his original prepared "confession." Moscow's agents brazenly continued then Big Lie campaign. Thus U.S. Communist Party chief Earl Browder wrote in the *Sunday Worker* (8 September 1940) that Trotsky had been killed "at the hands of one of his own intimates"; when Mexican president Cárdenas blamed the assault on Moscow, Browder termed this a "cheap Trotskyite slander."

Despite Mornard-Mercader's sealed lips, the murder of Trotsky was not forgotten and over the years a series of revelations from every quarter have confirmed his true identity. First to discover it was Julian Gorkin, a former leader of the Spanish POUm (a centrist party wrongly labeled Trotskyist by the Stalinist and bourgeois press alike), who following the assassination worked closely with the Mexican secret police colonel in charge of the investigation, Leandro Sánchez Salazar, as well as conducting his own inquiries. Gorkin learned from Catalan Communist refugees that the murderer was the son of Caridad Mercader, who was a Stalinist women's leader and leading GPU agent in Barcelona in the Civil War. He was able to confirm this by detecting a scar on Mornard-Mercader's forearm, received in fighting on the Aragon front (Sánchez Salazar and Gorkin, *Murder in Mexico* [1950]).

The identification of "Jacques Mornard" as Ramón Mercader was further substantiated by a court-appointed psychiatrist, Alfonso Quiroz, who had been frustrated in his attempts to elicit clues—or the slightest signs of remorse—from the prisoner. In 1950 Quiroz traveled to Spain where he sought fingerprints from the political police files to match those of Trotsky's assassin. An identical set was soon found—those of Jaime Ramón Mercader del Río, dating from a 1935 arrest. A police photo of Ramón from that time compared with a 1940 Mexican prison photo further established his identity, and a comparison with a photo of Caridad Mercader as a young woman shows an extremely close resemblance between mother and son.

Further proofs and the direct link to the GPU were provided by former Spanish Communists. One of them, Enrique Castro Delgado, a top commander of the famed GPU-controlled Fifth Regiment of the Spanish Republican army, was a close friend of Caridad Mercader during the World War II years in Moscow. After Castro Delgado had fallen into disgrace Caridad continued to confide in him, and in one emotional visit told him the story of how she and her lover, Leonid Ettingon (known in Spain as General Kotos), had planned Ramón's murderous mission. When her son was taken by the Mexican police from the Trotsky residence, she and Ettingon were waiting in parked cars only a block away, ready to help him escape had he been able to carry out the crime undetected. For this heinous exploit Caridad had received from Stalin the Order of Lenin and for her son a Hero of the Soviet Union medal, the two highest awards bestowed by the Kremlin, which she showed to Castro (Julian Gorkin, *L'assassinat de Trotsky* [1970]).

Though hard-bitten Stalinists to this day maintain the fiction that Trotsky was killed by one of his disciples, a mountain of evidence shows in some detail just how the assassination was organized: ordered by Stalin, executed by the GPU with its special apparatus of professional murderers (for the most part trained in the Spanish Civil War), facilitated by the Spanish and Mexican Communist parties, in the witchhunt frenzy sparked by the Moscow Trials and whipped up by the Kremlin-subsidized press which throughout the world echoed a single bloodthirsty cry, "Death to Trotsky!" For years the Stalinist terror apparatus was running



at full tilt with the sole aim of wiping out any vestige of revolutionary opposition to the usurpers in the Kremlin, anywhere on the globe. The Moscow Trials liquidated the Bolshevik Old Guard and passed the death sentence on Trotsky. Ramón Mercader, a despicable worm with less than the morals of a Mafia triggerman, was the executioner.

The Mexican Communist Party and various of its shedfellows also on the GPU payroll constantly proclaimed that the masses of the working people fervently desired Trotsky's expulsion from the country. However, the funeral procession through the streets of Mexico City on August 22 demonstrated the emptiness of this lie. Huge crowds swelled the procession route—100,000 in all—gathering to pay their last respects to the great revolutionary, slain by the hand of Stalin. The PCM's refusal to acknowledge its own direct participation in the assassination until today, almost four decades later (see accompanying article), demonstrates that the "Kill Trotsky" campaign was a hateful deed, universally despised, which they had to hide instead of crow about.

Once again in death Trotsky disproved the cynical Stalinist accusations that he was an agent of Wall Street. Alive he was hounded from country to country, finally unable to obtain asylum except in the Republic of Mexico. But when American Trotskyists made plans for a second funeral procession in New York City, the U.S. government barred even the corpse of Trotsky from entering the country. The Socialist Workers Party newspaper, *Socialist Appeal* (31 August 1940) wrote: "The spectacle of the streets of New York filled with mourners for the man who symbolized world revolution was one which the capitalist class would permit under no circumstances."

Ramón Mercader, assassin of Trotsky, when he was released from jail in Mexico City in May 1960 declared to the press: "I killed a man for ideological motives. . . . it was a just act in its time." In October 1978 Ramón Mercader, assassin of Trotsky, unrepentant to the end, died in bed in Havana, a guest of

Assassin's Lie Exposed

Left: Fingerprints and photos establish Mornard-Mercader's true identity. Below: Confronted with Trotsky's murderer (seated, right), Sylvia Ageloff (left) screamed "Don't lie, traitor! Tell the truth even if you pay with your life!"



the government of Fidel Castro.

Here was a man who had become the symbol of Stalinist perfidy, a reminder that Stalinism was/is far more than a "cult of the personality," far more even than a series of crimes to be swept under the rug with a single secret speech by Khrushchev. No one would have hated an eyelash if he had died in Moscow or in Prague where the Kremlin's tanks hold sway. But in Cuba? This must be a shock to a generation of young would-be Trotskyists who have been educated in the belief that Castro is an "unconscious Marxist," that Che Guevara was a closet Trotskyist and Cuba was indeed "the first free territory of America."

The anti-Trotskyist revisionists who have been singing hosannas to the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy for the last 17 years—the self-styled United Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Ernest Mandel and Joseph Hansen—will have some difficulty dealing with this unpleasant fact. Their French comrades have already taken the bit between the teeth, so to speak, in an article entitled "Mercader was useless" (*Rouge*, 21-22 October). Useless? The assassination of Trotsky was a tremendous blow to the fledgling Fourth International. It was part of a mammoth campaign to everywhere hehead the Trotskyist movement. Before Trotsky, Stalin's gangsters had murdered Leon Sedov, his son and head of the FI's International Secretariat; as well as his secretaries Erwin Wolf (in Spain) and Rudolf Klement (in Paris). After the infamous night of 20 August 1940 the GPU terror machine rolled on, joining the Gestapo in shooting down scores of Trotskyist leaders across Europe. They very nearly accomplished their counterrevolutionary aim and did in fact succeed in decimating the Fourth International so severely that the Trotskyists did not stand at the head of the masses when revolutionary situations broke out in Europe upon the collapse of the Third Reich.

But perhaps this is just an infelicitous headline? No, the *Rouge* article begins: "It is not in the honor of the present Cuban leadership, headed by Fidel Castro who was an intransigent revolutionary, to have allowed Ramón Mercader to finish his sorry existence on Cuban soil; to have decided that, in the political balance sheet, a small service

rendered to the Kremlin masters weighs heavier than the memory and morals of history. This is one of the little acts of cowardice which history does not forgive."

With a demonstrative slap on the hand, these pseudo-Trotskyists think they have at least absolved themselves of responsibility for "the present Cuban leadership." It is not the first time they have had to make such shamefaced apologies: we recall in particular Castro's support for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. But Mandel & Co. are at least consistent. For those who remained silent at the arrest of the Cuban Trotskyists in 1963—in some cases even apologizing for "Che" and "Lidel"—Mercader's death in Havana can only be another blemish, perhaps a mere pimple, on the healthy face of a revolutionary regime which simply "lacks the forms of workers democracy."

However, for those who genuinely seek to continue the revolutionary struggle of Leon Trotsky, it is not a question of "forms" or "little acts of cowardice." We do not counsel Castro and Brezhnev how to polish up their "honor." There is no honor among Stalinists, as the whole saga of Ramón Mercader graphically demonstrates. Nor do we call on the Eurocommunists of today—Stalin's gangsters of yesterday—to "rehabilitate" Trotsky as part of their efforts to prove their "democratic" credentials to the imperialist bourgeoisie. The assassination of Leon Trotsky will be avenged and revolutionary communist morals restored in the only way possible: through social revolution in the capitalist countries and workers political revolution to root out the Stalinist bureaucracies of the degenerated/deformed workers states, establishing throughout the globe class democracy of soviet rule.

Trotsky's dying words were those of untransigent combat: "I am close to death from the blow of a political assassin. Please say to our friends—I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International! Go forward!" This is our task today as we struggle toward an International Trotskyist League and the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■



Trotsky's Grave

"Whatever may be the circumstances of my death I shall die with unshaken faith in the communist future."

Labor Liberals Whine at Detroit Gabfest

DETROIT—Ever since United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser walked off the presidential Labor-Management advisory group last summer denouncing the "one-sided class war" of American capital against labor, the reformist left has been slobbering over his every word. Fraser's criticism of Jimmy Carter, his often quoted anticipation of labor's "collision course with the Democratic party" and his call for a resurrection of the FDR liberal/labor/black coalition of the 1930's set many a fake-left tail to wagging. The Communist Party (CP) ballyhooed a "new day" for "labor independence"; the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) reprinted Fraser's "class war" speech in its entirety in the *Militant* and urged Fraser to take the "realistic" step of breaking with the Democrats to form a labor party.

When Fraser's much heralded liberal/labor summit meeting convened in Detroit's Cobo Arena on October 17, however, these reformist dreamers got a cold bath. Gnashing their teeth, the faithful hawled the rightward plunge of the Carter administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress. But while none of the delegates had any solutions for the ever more evident bankruptcy of American liberalism, they had no desire to leave the altar of the Democratic Party. They adjourned the conference without having agreed on perspectives, plans or program, agreeing to confer again on their confusion at the Democrats' midterm convention in December.

Representatives of over a hundred

unions, civil rights groups, women's organizations, environmentalist clubs and Democratic Party reform groups showed up. Though only three union presidents besides Fraser stuck their necks out to attend (the Rubber Workers' Pete Bommarito, Cesar Chavez and Plumbers chief Martin Ward), most of the liberal luminaries were there: Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Eleanor Smeal from NOW, Americans for Democratic Action honcho Joseph Rauh, Bella Abzug and her hat, and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, a co-thinker of Fraser and erstwhile anti-poverty advisor of JFK. Congressman and rad-lib darling Ron Dellums gave the morning keynote address, appealing for a light to stop the rise of the "new right" how, he could not say.

One speaker after another whined about the slaughter of every piece of liberal legislation that came before the just-adjourned 95th Congress, the spreading right-wing tax revolt and the abandonment by Carter of the Democratic Party's 1976 platform. But unable to agree on a unifying strategy on how to eke out even the most meager reforms from the capitalist system, the delegates took to jealously pleading their special interests and jockeying for position. Naderites stressed tax reform while pacifists said cutting the military budget was the main priority. Farm workers, women and Chicano speakers each wondered if the "new coalition" was really committed to solving their oppression, while Russell Means lectured the delegates for 15 minutes on the

primacy of the American Indian struggle.

By the end of the day, the only thing the delegates could agree on was to empower Fraser to set up committees to figure out what they had been unable to arrive at: what to do next. The only concrete motion passed beseeched Carter to veto the pro-rich tax bill, an admonition the president promptly snubbed, signing the bill.

There are those on the left so beguiled by their own illusions that they deny reality when their nose is rubbed in it. Thus, even after Fraser's display of flabby liberalism, the CP's *Daily World* (26 October) hailed the conference as an "extraordinary trade union initiative," "a bold lead" and a "clear-cut effort to change the nation's political direction."

Unlike the timid reformists in the CP, SWP and assorted social democratic groups, who pin their hopes on some section of the labor bureaucracy, revolutionary Marxists know that the struggle for a workers party must be waged against the pro-capitalist labor fakers. The concern of the labor liberals, exemplified by Doug Fraser, is simply to redirect the growing discontent of the union ranks back into the dead end of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Proof needed? Fraser told a press conference just before the Detroit meeting what he has said many times before: "We're not in favor of a labor party. We don't think it's feasible. We don't think it's a viable idea ... it just simply cannot work." And that, despite the reformists' wishful thinking, is that. ■

of them is up to his elbows in the blood of valiant militants cut down by Stalin's counterrevolutionary terror. Campa's responsibility has been mentioned. Carrillo was an active member of the political bureau of the Spanish CP which ordered the detention of Andrés Nin (later assassinated in an NKVD prison in Spain). Even the author of the introduction to Campa's memoirs in *L'Humanité*, Georges Fournial, was one of the GPU agents, trained in the Spanish Civil War, who were sent to Mexico to participate in the assassination of Trotsky.

Healy Rehabilitates Stalinist Slander

On the other hand there are the likes of Healy, who in the flamboyant style of the London gutter press publishes "exposé" after "exposé" accusing Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders together with Mandel of the United Secretariat, of being "accomplices of the GPU" in the murder of Trotsky. Their latest despicable installment in this utterly discredited slander campaign has Hansen no longer merely complicit in "covering up" alleged GPU infiltration in the Trotsky household, but being a former "collaborator" of Ramón Mercader ("Is Trotsky's Assassin Really Dead?" [!] *Bulletin*, 24 October). (Interestingly, there was a GPU cell in the SWP in 1941, the Sobel-Soblen group; how come Hansen missed brainwashing them?) This vile character assassination not only shows that Healy & Co. will stop at nothing in their vile GPU-baiting, but it aids the real assassins in reviving the long-dead slander that "his own people" killed Trotsky.

A year ago, when Santiago Carrillo visited the United States in the hopes of gaining the blessing of the State Department—for which he was willing, even eager, to cross a picket line of striking Yale University workers—*Workers Vanguard* confronted this class traitor at a press conference at Harvard University. Challenging Carrillo for his responsibility in the murders of Nin and Trotsky (Mercader was a member of the Catalan Communist Party, the PSUC), *WV* demanded to know if Carrillo continued to deny his complicity. He responded:

"Ramón Mercader was a member of the Communist Party in Catalonia until 1936. In 1936 he disappeared and has not returned since to the party ranks. If, as is known, he participated in and was the protagonist of the assassination of Trotsky, the Communist Party bears no responsibility for this."

"I would like to remind you that in London, I believe it is, there exists a committee which accuses the Fourth International [shout by *WV* journalist: "That's a lie!"] Well, you can believe what you want, but there's a committee that says Trotsky's bodyguards were agents of the KGB... The Communist Party of Spain is not responsible."

On 28 August 1940 some 1,500 people attended a Trotsky memorial meeting in New York where they heard James P. Cannon say farewell to their comrade, teacher and martyr:

"We do not deny the grief that constricts all our hearts. But ours is not the grief of prostration, the grief that saps the will. It is tempered by rage and hatred and determination. We shall transmute it into fighting energy to carry on the Old Man's fight. Let us say farewell to him in a manner worthy of his disciples, like good soldiers of Trotsky's army. Not crouching in weakness and despair, but standing upright with dry eyes and clenched fists. With the song of struggle and victory on our lips. With the song of confidence in Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Party that shall be the human race!"

WV Commentary...

(continued from page 8)

the Trotsky assassination. It is noteworthy, for instance, that Campa's complaint is not that such an assassination was an abomination (in fact, he and Lahorde calmly and carefully analyzed the proposal and concluded "it was unnecessary"), rather he criticizes the damage caused by "the interference of foreign comrades" and promises that the PCM will maintain its "autonomy and independence." It is not to the international workers movement that Campa is appealing here but to the Mexican bourgeoisie, which is naturally mistrustful of a party which simply does the bidding of the Kremlin.

This self-serving partial confession is not an isolated phenomenon but part of the broader Eurocommunist phenomenon. It is significant, for example, that the newspaper of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanité*, prominently pub-

lished this chapter of Campa's memoirs. And it comes after the publication of *Eurocommunism and the State* by Santiago Carrillo, in which the leader of the Spanish CP says Trotsky represented a tendency within the workers movement and it was wrong to treat him simply as a Hitler agent. What are Trotskyists to make of such statements?

Ernest Mandel, perhaps the best known figure claiming to represent the traditions of Trotskyism today, treats them as the "positive aspect" of what he sees as the "contradictions" of Eurocommunism and crow's that Carrillo's book "represents a formidable historic vindication of Trotsky and Trotskyism" (*Imprecor*, 12 May 1977). And in a public meeting in London against Healy's slanders over the murder of Trotsky, Mandel called on the Eurocommunists to "immediately, openly and publicly rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow trials," and to call on the Spanish Communist Party to expel Trotsky's assassin.

This seemingly innocent appeal is wrong in every way. In the first place

pressuring Moscow to "rehabilitate" Trotsky et al implies a perspective of bureaucratic self-reform. Genuine Trotskyists know there can be no vengeance per se for the assassination of the founder of the Fourth International. Trotsky's historic vindication depends centrally upon a Leninist workers party leading a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Kremlin and the deformed workers states and replacing them by authentic soviet democracy of the working people. Secondly, it fails to recognize that reformists—whether Eurocommunist or unregenerate Stalinist—cannot restore Trotsky to his rightful place in revolutionary history. Unlike Zinoviev or Bukharin, Trotsky represented a revolutionary program and mortal threat both to the Stalinist regimes and the bourgeoisie. That is why Moscow to this day refuses to rehabilitate him, and that is why when Carrillo or Campa feel obliged to distance themselves from Stalin's assassination of Trotsky they nevertheless continue to justify their own violent opposition to him 40 years ago. The historian Pierre Broué, a leader of the French OCI, nicely captured the quality of the Eurocommunists' "rehabilitation" of Trotsky in a review of the Campa memoirs published in *Informations Ouvrières* (9-23 and 23-30 August 1978): "And so all the half-lies become half-truths."

But above all, we do not appeal to the Stalinists and Eurocommunists because we do not call on the assassins to rehabilitate their victims. And every one

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

24 issues—\$3. Introductory offer (6 issues): \$1. International rates 24 issues—\$12 airmail/\$3 seamail

—includes *Spartacist*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10001

218

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Friday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph
3rd Floor
(near 17th Street)
Oakland California
Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tuesday 5:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court
3rd Floor
Chicago Illinois
Phone (312) 427-0003

New York

Monday through
Friday 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York New York
Phone (212) 925-5665

Debate...

(continued from page 5)

Heights: That charge allies you with the most reactionary elements in New York City. It is not true as the Spartacist League claims that there was a march against a synagogue that took place in Crown Heights [general uproar].

Shaffner (CP): "The question is not directed to me, it's an internal debate between two people that are arguing amongst themselves and not trying to affect the needs of working people."

Milner: "The question of Crown Heights. We see it as a movement of black people to defend themselves. We say cops out of the black community. We say independent organization of self-defense in the black community to organize itself and to defend itself."

Milner: "Now just a factual thing about the demonstration in Crown Heights. It started at one police station and ended at another police station. That's just the fact of the situation [Spartacist heckler: "And what was in between?"] They had two rally sites. The first rally site was on Eastern Parkway near the Hassidic synagogue. See, that was a tactical mistake [uproar in the audience]. We don't judge a movement also by its leadership. We judge a movement of the masses by what they are trying to accomplish. The Spartacist League has not come to one meeting of the Black United Front and sold their newspaper. We spoke against the remarks that were made by a number of the leaders. But we don't go there and try to straighten out any reformist leadership in any movement that we run into. We think it's a question of figuring out tactically how to approach those struggles."

Shaffner: "The question of Crown Heights. I think we should tackle the question seriously. That there is no division between the black and Jewish community in Crown Heights. At the same time, the question of demonstrating in front of a synagogue is not what the Communist Party would do. But that doesn't mean we would attack a movement of the people."

Slor: "I'm a member of the Spartacist League and I want to speak a little on Crown Heights. I was there and I saw what happened. You are lying and you are lying [pointing to Milner and another SWPer] to say I wasn't there because I saw [inaudible]. Besides the anti-Semitic remarks that went on there I also saw the presence of black cops. And none of you from the SWP raised the demand 'get the cops out of the community' at that time."

"Okay. And as far as it not being an attack against Jews, Daughtry explicitly said he wanted to call for counter-vigilante force against the Hassidic patrols. He said, 'when the people of the black long coats meet with our men, let them see what will happen.' Okay. And that is not an attack against Jews, that is not pitting blacks against Jews, that is not pitting blacks against Jews? You of the SWP or the Communist Party don't understand what will happen in a fight like that. It's going to be a genocidal defeat."

"You called for federal troops to Boston to protect black people at that time and then today you get up and say, we all know that the cops are the enemies of the working class... You don't understand the difference between black vigilantism and black defense..."

"Daughtry was calling for black vigilantes against the Hassidic vigilantes. He was calling for a race war of blacks against Jews. And we of the Spartacist League have a different alternative. We don't put blacks against Jews but class against class and that's why Marjorie's running this campaign, to fight for that. We want a socialist fight. We do not support the Democratic Party as Daughtry did and as the Socialist Workers Party did at that time by allying with him."

"And you, Ken Milner, and [another black SWPer supplies his name] were signing a paper signing up for the patrols and don't say you didn't because I saw you. You wanted to look like you want to support the black community so this is what you do. You do not want to lead. In a race war blacks are going to lose and with the support of you people, you're no help to the black community."

Milner: "... When Daughtry used formulations that we don't totally agree with, that doesn't change the nature of the movement that is taking place in Crown Heights. Yes, you were at that meeting. You never went to a meeting before that and you never went to a meeting after that [shouts of "liar" from the audience]. You talk about

leading but all your criticisms are an excuse to *absolve from struggle*. You said that the only force you need is the working class. But when you're saying that I mean, in general what Marxist could disagree with that? But when you're saying that, you're saying it in the context of subordinating the national struggles that are taking place in this country to the abstract class conception."

Shaffner: "I would agree the question is not one of blacks vs. Jews. In order to forge the unity of blacks and Jews the influence of the Hassidic community and of Zionism in general has to be curbed. That doesn't mean that one is for a black vs. Jewish struggle. I would also agree with the sister that if there is any race vs. race struggle and anyone who advocates such a struggle or a go-it-alone posture, they're also advocating genocide. I would also like to ask people to be considerate of people."

Slor: "The problem here is that these two candidates never present anything different than the ethnic pork-barrelling politics of the Democratic Party."

"We stand accused tonight of not participating in a struggle. What's going on in Crown Heights is ethnic communal warfare. We plead guilty. We don't want to be a part of that 'struggle'. Sometimes the masses move and they move in the wrong direction. And what's key then is leadership. And *communal bloodletting is not half a step toward class struggle*. It's in fact counterposed to that. And when we look at that movement, yes, we judge it by its program, we judge it by its goals. And what we find in Crown Heights was that they were not marching against police brutality. Because if you will read the text of that leaflet for that demonstration and if you would have opened your ears at the synagogue, you would have seen that what they were fighting for was not the cops out of the community but an end to Hassidic control of the cops. That's what they're talking about - 'Jew power'. It's a big myth in this country that the Jews are the ones that run it, from Koch on down to the cops. And that's what Daughtry stood for, that's what that mobilization was about out there. So what's brewing out there is race war, not class war..."

"That could have been a situation that went against the cops, that was a mobilization against the cops, against the city government, against the capitalist politicians. So why did Daughtry link the murder of Miller and Rhodes? Because he had a message - the Jews are the enemy... And why did he do it? Because he was competing for the poverty program and the spots on the community boards... So he led the blacks against the Jews instead of against capitalism that created that ghetto. And it was you guys that marched in tandem, right with him... "Now I think it's real interesting that all of a sudden when we have a situation of an ethnic tinderbox, on the verge of race war, all of a sudden you're champions for self-defense. I want to know where you guys were in Boston where it was racist terror squads in the streets against the blacks. You were howling in the pages of your newspaper for the federal government the racist federal government to come in and 'protect' the black people [cheers, hoots, applause]. There is a message there. I'd just like to complete my sentence. It's that both of you are saying that this government is the friend of black people and that the labor movement is racist and will never defend black people. And it's the same thing from affirmative action to the teachers strikes. You're saying that the racist government and the corporations are the friends of blacks. We're saying no. There has to be a fight to throw out the racist labor bureaucracy and make the workers movement, *make the working class take up the fight for black rights*."

Milner: "... I know it's hard for you to understand, but we do not classify a movement on the basis of the leadership, or even necessarily by itself the program of that movement... Yes it's true that a lot of black people in Crown Heights made a link between the murder of Arthur Miller and the beating of Victor Rhodes... We think it's a very understandable thing that when black people link racist violence against one black person with racist violence against another black person. We say they *should* be linked..."

"And you criticize us for our Boston position and you counterpose to that a phony conception of black and trade-union defense because you know that at this time that means *no* defense... We thought when federal troops went into Mississippi, we thought that was good. We thought when federal troops went into Little Rock we supported that. You would have opposed that. And only an

idiot who can't see beyond his nose would compare federal troops in Little Rock protecting black children, or Mississippi protecting black children, to troops in Vietnam."

Stamberg (SL): "... The CP calls for a popular front with the bourgeoisie, the *halbit boy* and the *SBP* for a *na na* the streets of Boston. Now let's clear up the record here on federal troops because in U.S. history the only time that they've ever come in to black communities is after the black community has organized. And that's the classic example of Birmingham."

"There are some movements that we do not participate in... So we do not march on synagogues even if the masses are marching on them..."

Reformism vs. Revolution

The CP and SWP reformists attack the SL for an "abstract class conception." But there is nothing "abstract" about it. Concretely, the CP and SWP are an *obstacle* to the development of revolutionary consciousness among the masses. Leninists are the only effective fighters for reforms, for they build the only sort of "movement" that can actually win them mobilizing the oppressed under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard. Fighting for reforms does not impede revolutionary struggle, but *reformism* does. For reformism pits the sections of the oppressed against each other in competition for partial or even retrograde interests. And reformism teaches the masses to rely on their class enemies to "protect" blacks and "democratize" the unions—spreading illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist state and the "progressive" capacity of the liberal bourgeoisie. This false consciousness hampers every struggle of the working masses, from reform struggles to the fight to protect and extend the workers' conquests the only way possible—socialist revolution.

These sellout artists are constantly propounding old recipes for defeat as "new," "flexible," "practical" "strategies." At the debate, the CP spokesman exemplified this method:

"Our election platform is geared to New York in 1978. Some of you may think when an election platform is developed for a left alternative, a socialist alternative, a revolutionary alternative, that it's going to be a catch-all of every slogan that has applied to one part of the world or another at various times since 1917 and before... Just because something wasn't tried in the Soviet Union doesn't mean that our grappling with the problem to build a meaningful people's coalition united against monopoly capital..."

Of course, that "something" was indeed tried in the Soviet Union in 1917—by the Mensheviks! The CP's formula of a "meaningful people's coalition" of subordination to the "progressive" bourgeoisie was precisely the Menshevik recipe for class betrayal.

Of course neither the CP nor the SWP will admit to Menshevism. Revisionism means claiming to be Leninist while fighting tooth and nail against the Leninist strategy of class against class. The CP has plenty of experience in this practice and plenty of experience at the "strategies" that the SWP has only lately discovered, from seeking posi-

tions of influence as the pro-Democratic business unionists' lackeys in the labor movement to covering for anti-communist bourgeois liberals in organizations like the NAACP and NOW.

So when at the debate a former SLer now in the MIC orbit explained he would support Stamberg because she made no bones about the impossibility of achieving "practical solutions" under capitalism, the CP spokesman adeptly talked out of both sides of his mouth:

"Well maybe you'll vote for us. Because I would say that the problem of unemployment is not going to be solved under capitalism. Well I said it. I hope you'll consider voting for our candidate [laughter]."

But the SWP speaker could only quibble:

"What I said was put forward practical proposals for action. That's what I said. Not practical solutions. I never said that I said practical proposals for action. That people could organize themselves."

If the SWP can best-build enough "independent" reformist marches and left-cover enough union hacks to acquire some real base to sell out, it too will learn the wisdom of breaking strikes without boasting about seahbing, of paying lip-service to unity while dividing the working people, of tiding black Democratic hustlers without striking up the band for race war. The CP has made these cynical tricks its stock-in-trade for fifty years, and the SWP has amply shown its appetite to learn to do the same.

But the working class will learn nothing from these people. Only the proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist program of Trotskyism offers the way forward for the working class and put an end to exploitation and oppression once and for all. ■

Corrections

In H'1 No. 216 (6 October), the article entitled "Activists vs. Stodgy Cold Warriors in SPUSA" states that the California Peace and Freedom Party fused with the SPUSA. We have been informed, both by the SP and the Peace and Freedom Party, that this is incorrect. However, there are reportedly a significant number of dual members. In the same article, we wrote that the SWP and SP had endorsed each other's electoral campaigns in Milwaukee this year. However, while the SWP has endorsed the SP campaign, the reverse is not the case.

In our last issue the report on the successful conclusion of the 1978 *Workers Vanguard* sub drive contained an arithmetical error in the figures for New York. Rather than 106 percent, the New York local's final total was 140 percent of their quota; this changes the overall total from 135 percent to 141 percent nationally.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

Ann Arbor
c/o SYL, Room 4102
Michigan Union
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109
(313) 663-9012
Berkeley/Oakland
Box 23372
Oakland, California 94623
(415) 835-1535
Boston
Box 188
MIT Station
Cambridge, Mass 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, Illinois 60680
(312) 427-0003
Cleveland
Box 6765
Cleveland, Ohio 44101
(216) 621-5138
Detroit
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, Michigan 48232
(313) 868-9095
Houston
Box 26474
Houston, Texas 77207

Los Angeles
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, California 90026
(213) 662-1564
New York
Box 444 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013
(212) 925-2426
San Diego
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, California 92012
San Francisco
Box 5712
San Francisco, California 94101
(415) 863-6963

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto
Box 7198 Station A
Toronto, Ontario
(416) 366-4107

Vancouver
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.
(604) 733-8848

Winnipeg
Box 3952 Station B
Winnipeg, Manitoba
(204) 589-7214

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mounties Raid Union Offices, Leaders Arrested

Trudeau Tramples Canadian Postal Strike

TORONTO—For nine days this month, 23,000 striking members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) kept Canada's postal system shut down from coast to coast in the most dramatic labor showdown with the capitalist government since the Quebec general strike of 1972.

The combative postal workers maintained militant picket lines in defiance of strikebreaking back-to-work legislation rushed through Parliament and threats of heavy fines, jail sentences and mass firings. On October 25 Canadian Mounties staged gestapo-like raids on CUPW offices, seizing files, records and union minutes; the courts issued arrest warrants for a score of CUPW leaders, and strikers were served with dismissal notices as Postmaster Gilles Lamontagne threatened to reopen the post offices with scabs. It was at this point, when outraged support for the postal workers was sweeping the Canadian labor movement, that left-talking CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot called off the strike.

The following day Parrot was arrested and ordered by the Ontario Supreme Court to recant his earlier defiance of the government's back-to-work law. Parrot complied, declaring the union's strike "invalid." But even that was not enough for the vengeful administration of Prime Minister Elliot Trudeau, who is proceeding with criminal charges against Parrot, four other members of the CUPW national executive board, lower-ranking union officials and rank-and-file militants, including 31 members of the Vancouver local.

The postal strike hit a raw nerve of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Trudeau's vicious strike-breaking measures, designed to insure continuance of the mail, are reminiscent of similar shows of force undertaken by capitalist governments threatened by crippling of crucial centers of commerce, transport and communication—such as the British miners strikes of 1926 and 1974 or the American rail strike led by Eugene Debs in 1894. Thus, from its inception, the success of the CUPW strike necessitated its being spread to other decisive sections of the workforce, most importantly

workers in the transport and communications sectors. The firing notices and Canadian Mountie raids clearly placed a general strike on the agenda. The failure of the entire trade-union bureaucracy to implement these crucial measures of solidarity insured the defeat of this important battle.

The furious assault on the CUPW strike is the spearhead of the Liberal Party's stepped-up attack on all of Canadian labor. A growing wave of strikes has swept Canada as workers have attempted to recover the losses they suffered under three years of Trudeau's wage controls, which expired last summer. The government is pushing Parliament to pass Bill C-28, which would reimpose wage controls on federal workers, and the use of overt strike-breaking measures is on the rise. Brief strikes by Toronto transit workers and Marine Engineers (which tied up shipping on the Great Lakes) were ended with emergency legislation, and 13,000 Ontario hospital workers face the possibility of court orders forbidding even a strike vote.

But the postal workers, the most militant and best organized of Canada's public workers, were the big target. Last month postal management avoided the possibility of a joint strike by CUPW and the other major postal union, the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC). Kneeling under to the mere threat of no-strike legislation, LCUC leaders called off their rotating strikes after only four days and signed a contract well within the proposed Bill C-28 wage limits.

The CUPW ranks had been kept working without a contract for 16 months by the Parrot leadership. During that time mechanization, speedup, harassment and the growing use of non-union labor provoked wildcats at postal centers across Canada. Parrot finally called the national strike under the pressure of "premature" walkouts in his home base, Montreal, and other cities.

The postal workers' courageous stand against the government's strikebreaking measures evoked widespread sympathy in the rest of Canadian labor. Solidarity statements poured in from unions and labor federations. Canada's largest



CUPW pickets outside Toronto post office.

Spartacist Canada

union, the 231,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), offered financial assistance and the use of its offices. Even the national director of the traditionally conservative Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) called for backing up CUPW with a general strike if necessary.

The majority of LCUC members respected the picket lines, and the strategic Toronto LCUC local passed a motion calling on the Ontario Federation of Labor and Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), which was maintaining a discreet silence, for solidarity strike action with CUPW. Militants in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 303 at GM's plant in Scarborough circulated a petition calling for contingents of mass pickets to strengthen the CUPW lines and demanding that the CLC call a general strike if the government fined, fired or jailed CUPW strikers. These motions were passed at a local executive meeting on October 24. In Sudbury 100 striking International Nickel miners left their own picket lines to help beef up CUPW's.

The police raids and arrest warrants for CUPW leaders further electrified this broad-based labor support. Even the most conservative piecemeal could see their own necks on the chopping block in the not-too-distant future. "I'm getting a little scared," said CUPE national president Grace Hartman, speaking for many union leaders. "I can almost hear the thunder of jackboots."

Word that the strike had been ended provoked an uproar in CUPW locals across the country. In Toronto a mass meeting of the CUPW local erupted in a

thunderous roar of outrage and disgust when local president Arnold Gould announced Parrot's back-to-work order. Denied even the right to vote on whether to end their strike, angry postal workers stormed out of the meeting screaming "sell-out" and "our National Executive knifed us in the back."

Parrot's initial defiance of Trudeau's strikebreaking measures distinguished him from other trade-union leaders who quickly folded up their strikes under pressure from the government, and initially he was enormously popular on CUPW's mass picket lines. In the end, however, the militant business unionist Parrot proved just as incapable as the rest of the labor bureaucracy of providing a strategy to undercut CUPW's isolation and to defeat the government's assault.

A winning strategy for the postal strike was uniquely championed by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. The TLC aggressively intervened in the postal crisis, mass-distributing two leaflets on the picket lines, at mass meetings and at key industrial work locations. The first stressed the necessity of bringing the other public-sector unions out on strike with CUPW in order to bury Bill C-28. On the day the Mounties kicked in the doors of CUPW union halls, the TLC immediately issued a second flyer, calling for a general strike against government union-busting. It was this kind of militant solidarity that could have prevented the serious defeat inflicted on the militant but misled postal workers. ■



Spartacist Candidate Debates CP, SWP on Crown Heights...4