

Anti-Soviet War Buildup Is Killing Auto Workers

Sit-Ins Not Soup Lines!

When U.S. capitalism was a rising power early in this century, the founding father of American business unionism, Samuel Gompers, was asked what was the goal of organized labor. "More," he responded. Today, as American capitalism visibly decays all around us, Gompers' descendants have a new answer: "Less!"

In 1982 organized labor is in full-scale retreat, meekly accepting a wave of givebacks that is unheard of in modern American history. Why? And what can labor militants do to fight this plague that threatens the future of the union movement and the working class?

United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser's \$1 billion giveaway to Ford Motor is the most spectacular of a number of recent givebacks in the trucking, rubber, airline and auto industries. Hard-won union gains going back decades—the principle of equal pay for equal work, the uniform industry-wide contract, the cost-of-living adjustment—have all been scrapped.

Thousands of auto workers voted against the Fraser sellout knowing they had nothing to lose by refusing to crawl before Henry Ford. But neither do the ranks see what they have to gain today from labor reformism. The demand for "more" appears hopeless when there does not seem to be any more. Business unionism as usual just can't operate when capitalism is in economic crisis. The old snake oil won't sell and the sellout artists don't even bother to try. For years they pushed the Democratic Party, but who is now offering COPE as the way to stop the givebacks?!

The hureauerats say nothing can be done. And if you accept the demands of the capitalist system they are right. The fight against givebacks requires a program to mobilize labor against the boom-bust system of production for profit which has subjected workers to alternating speedup and layoffs until they are thrown on the scrapheap, and



WV Photo

which now is gutting whole sectors of basic industry in this country. Workers must use their ultimate economic power in the capitalist order: the power to withhold their labor. In the growing industrial ghost towns of the Midwest the appropriate tactics are the ones that built the unions—like the sit-down strike. This could spark the kind of class struggle that could turn things around in America.

"Cooperative Economy": Workers Give, Bosses Take

Needless to say, capitalist spokesmen are celebrating the end of union power. In the *New York Times* (14 February) anti-labor columnist A.H. Raskin announces the emergence of "The Cooperative Economy" and crows that "confrontation has gone out of fashion." He reports that AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland and Exxon chairman Clifton

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WV Photo

Detroit auto workers demonstrate outside Cobo Hall, February 20, against Fraser's billion-dollar betrayal as city is hit with depression-level unemployment.

Rouge Militants Say: Ford Workers Must Fight!

DETROIT, February 27—The hard sell began a week ago. The UAW International ripped off the strike fund to send 1,000 Ford union officials to Cobo Hall to hear the company line on Doug

Fraser's billion-dollar betrayal. The bureaucrats were particularly concerned with the rank and file at Ford's strategic River Rouge Local 600 plant here. Voting was scheduled at the end of

the week, with the hope that a significant "yes" vote at outlying regions would be piled up. International reps were rounded up to attend the "informational" meetings at the Rouge. In the end, Fraser's Solidarity House gang succeeded in ramming through its historic betrayal. Even so the vote at the Rouge, 5,800 to 3,400, reflected significant opposition.

At Local 600 only the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) organized for a class-struggle fight against this Reagan contract. The RMC distributed a leaflet and resolution at plant gates, unit meetings and the polls entitled, "Dump Ford/Fraser's Billion Dollar Ripoff! Organize a Two-Day Sitdown!" The leaflet stressed that for younger and older workers alike Fraser's promise of job security was a big lie: "For laid off workers, four weeks of SUB pay won't

save your homes, or keep you off Reagan's soup lines or minimum wage jobs." Higher seniority workers would never even get the humiliating provisions of Fraser's "guaranteed income stream" (GIS). "Because when Ford starts laying off 15-year workers, they'll spit in our faces, tear up the agreement and demand more concessions.... This deal is designed to starve us into submission, carve up our union and set us up so Ford can finish the job."

Emphasizing that only hold class struggle can halt the devastation of workers and blacks in Detroit, the RMC stated:

"Crawling to the company and waiting for Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party won't save us. Every worker has the right to a job, but this right has to be fought for. We have the power: use it before they throw more of us out into

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Fremont Auto Militants Say:

Keep the Plant Open—Sit Down!

FREMONT, California, February 28—Today was the last meeting of UAW Local 1364 before the General Motors assembly plant closes its doors on March 5. Opened in 1963, the sprawling Fremont GMAD facility used to be the largest auto plant on the West Coast. In attendance at the meeting were mostly older workers with seniority ranging from 14 to over 30 years. They are the last ones left in the plant after successive layoffs in the last three years cut the local from 6,800 workers to 2,500. These members, facing the loss of their jobs and their homes, listened as regional representatives of the UAW International repeated the insulting insinuation of the Fraser bureaucrats that auto workers are to blame for their own layoffs.

Region 6 director Jerry Whipple said the majority of American workers voted for Reagan (and presumably deserve the consequences). If the workers had gone along with concessions to GM, he added, then "perhaps" that would have stopped these plants from closing. (GM also announced it will close the South Gate plant in Los Angeles and a half dozen others because the company can make more money by consolidating production at fewer, more central locations.) Whipple and Earlie Mays, former local leader of the Brotherhood Caucus and now International rep, advocated "fighting all the way to Sacramento" for chauvinist anti-import legislation.

The International reps did not go unanswered. After dozens of anguished questions from the floor (for example, "If I have 19 years seniority and I'm under 40, will I get any pension?"), Karen Allen of the UAW Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition with a ten-year history in the local, took the floor:

"How can Earlie Mays expect us to believe that he's going to fight this when Whipple has already said he's sorry he couldn't get the concessions and he's planning on going back into negotiations with GM. It's criminal for you to stand here and tell us about our benefits when inside you're laughing, you're glad this plant is closing, because you'll use it as a hammer against the rest of the union members to get them to accept concessions."

"Before the union was built it used to be

Fremont GM:
Once the
largest plant
on the
West Coast,
now on the
capitalist
scrap heap.



WV Photo

that the companies spent millions of dollars to prevent us from bettering our standard of living. But now they don't have to because our dues money pays Fraser and Whipple to do it for them. You're not interested in using the power of the union to increase our benefits or save our jobs. But I say our members are. The unions will fight. There will be strikes. And you guys will be swept aside. Therefore Mr. Chairman, given that GM made \$333 million last year and doesn't have to close this plant, I move that this local immediately organize a sit-down strike to begin Monday morning."

The UAW Militant Caucus has worked consistently and repeatedly to fight the layoffs and keep the plant open (see the recent Caucus leaflet reprinted on page 11). The fight has got to start somewhere: with fully half of all GM workers laid off nationwide and a quarter-million UAW members thrown out on the street, a sitdown at any one plant could be a turning point and spark a fight for jobs in auto.

WV asked Karen how the members responded at the meeting and she explained, "Well, there was scattered applause. The local bureaucrats and of course the International has been working pretty hard to beat these guys down, and they are feeling demoralized. But there's still a lot of anger there, and I was expressing something they've been feeling for years that no one else was saying. The local president Willie Mays ruled my motion out of order right away and got on to the speeches trying to steer the members' anger against Japanese auto workers."

The Local 1364 bureaucrats' first instinct when their own jobs were

threatened was to run to the Fremont city council to request the formation of a "Task Force" that would lobby GM to keep the plant open longer. The March 1 *San Jose Mercury* reports that a Task Force subcommittee including the mayor of Fremont (a Volkswagen dealer) and John Scrempo, local union vice president, has been delegated to meet with GM officials in Detroit to "try to persuade GM to keep the Fremont plant open until it can work out with GM what incentives may be necessary for the company to continue to build cars in California." The key word is "incentives" and it means separate local concessions agreements. Since Scrempo would hardly undertake such a venture without the International's OK, it may well signal the International's new strategy to force Ford-style concessions on GM workers.

Concessions and putting the blame on foreign auto workers are two sides of the same coin. The International's program is to keep U.S. auto companies "competitive," as Whipple said, i.e., increase their profits at the expense of the workers. So on the one hand, Fraser & Co. directly negotiate for union concessions to the companies (under the terms of the new Ford contract not one of the current wave of plant shutdowns would be prohibited). Secondly, they push dangerous protectionist legislation, including H.R. 5133, the proposed "Fair Practices in Automotive Products Act" requiring that a certain percentage of parts and labor going into vehicles be produced in the U.S. Both strategies are completely opposed to any fight against

the auto workers' real enemy: their own bosses and the bosses' government.

Karen Allen was applauded when she addressed the meeting a second time:

"I want to answer the anti-Japanese statements.... What [a committeeman] was calling for was a return to World War II. Every union member should understand that historically trade wars have blown up into shooting wars. These anti-Japanese statements are racist shit, and they are also the program of Metzger of the KKK, who's running for office in California. What this program means is jobs for white Americans only, not for blacks or Chicanos. If plants are closing in California to go to Mexico because wages are lower there, then the UAW should be organizing in Mexico for full wages and there won't be any more runaways. Our union should have no part of this anti-Japanese policy, it is the opposite of everything we stand for."

"I'd also like to say something about this call to bring back the Democratic Party. I think we remember all too well the last Democratic president we had. In fact, guys twice my age will tell you that year after year no matter what president we had, Democratic or Republican, the facts of life were the same. What we need is a labor party to fight for our interests."

The protectionist chauvinism of the bureaucrats is being used to ideologically line up the working class to be marched off in another imperialist war. The Maoist and Stalinoid junior bureaucrats like Liz Stanley and Charlotte Casey of the pro-Peking CPML and supporters of the LRS (*Unity*) strongly backed this racist campaign for protectionist legislation at today's meeting. Communist Workers Party supporters in the plant sat silent through all the anti-Japanese diatribes, then issued a leaflet the next day complaining about Ford's and GM's imports from Japan! The "buy American" jingoism has also been echoed by the Stalinist *People's World*. In every previous layoff the Casey/St Stanley bunch opposed a sit-down (and now push concessions "task forces" and "stress counseling" for unemployed auto workers). Those who sabotaged class struggle at home now aid the drive to get U.S. workers shooting at their class brothers abroad.

The UAW Militant Caucus has fought to expose and replace the bankrupt union bureaucrats and their reformist junior partners whose politics got the union in this condition. The Fremont shutdown captures in microcosm the historical crisis of revolutionary leadership faced by the working class. A sitdown is objectively needed, and yet as Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program:

"'Realizability' or 'unrealizability' is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle."

The militants at Fremont, however insufficient their forces, have fought to get a section of the class moving and change that relationship of forces. This is still the task that remains to be done. ■

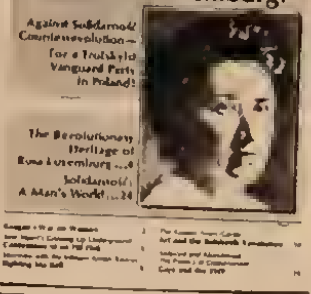
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Hail Rosa Luxemburg!



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Reagan's Junta Holds "Elections by Death"

While Reagan and Haig thunder about doing "whatever is necessary" (blockade? invasion? Marines?) to defeat the leftist rebels in El Salvador, American liberals are worried about getting involved in another losing war to prop up a corrupt and murderous client dictatorship. And Reagan's junta is losing. In mid-February junta president Duarte himself admitted, "We are losing the fight with the guerrillas in the countryside." Now the *New York Times* (1 March) reports that:

"President Reagan's senior advisers say they are not optimistic about the chances of a successful election next month in El Salvador, or about the Salvadoran Government's ability to achieve a military victory over the rebels."

The phony March 28 elections had been intended as a propaganda gimmick to prove that El Salvador's junta is a legitimate part of the "free world." Thus they could be used to pry more military aid out of the U.S. Congress, despite annoying "human rights" restrictions. Instead the "vote" may demonstrate the junta's isolation, thus encouraging the Democrats to make El Salvador an election issue.

In particular, liberals fear that the U.S. is sinking into "another Vietnam quagmire." And if the body counts, "domino theory" rhetoric and bit-by-bit U.S. intervention evoke memories of Indochina, so too do the crude ploys being used to "win the hearts and minds" of U.S. public opinion. The March "elections" recall nothing so much as the days when Ngo Dinh Diem or Marshal Ky were staging "free elections" South Vietnam-style. With a gun to their heads, the Salvadoran people are being forced to choose between one or another gang of right wingers... or else. Reagan's "elections" are a threat to the life and limb of every Salvadoran worker and peasant.

Elections by Death?

As we have said before, El Salvador is a country where "electoral" is a word used only as an adjective describing fraud. In fact, the head of the Salvadoran Election Commission admits that he hasn't bothered to vote since 1972. "Why vote in fake elections?" he asked. The last (and only) time anything faintly resembling a free election took place in El Salvador was 1931. The election of a liberal reform president prompted a military takeover and, when the Indian

"Voter registration" Salvador-style.



L'Express

peasants under the leadership of Communist Farabundo Martí rebelled, resulted in *la matanza*, the massacre of 30,000 peasants and leftists. Once again today, "elections" could lead to a monstrous bloodbath if the extreme ultrarightist front-runner "wins." This time around the oligarchic exiles in Miami and their military butchers in El Salvador are talking of a "peace of 200,000 dead."

If last year's "land reform" was properly known as the "reform by death," this month's balloting may well become known as "elections by death." The only real opposition—the leftist Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), a popular-front alliance of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas and bourgeois/petty-bourgeois politicians—is effectively prohibited from running by the simple fact that government-linked death squads would kill any candidate who attempted it. Even U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton admitted this by recommending that the FDR campaign via videotape from exile! There will be no voter registration, as the election commission recognizes that Salvadorans are loath to provide the rightist hit squads with a ready-made death list. So anyone who presents an ID card will be allowed to vote.

Only two parties, junta member José Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats and extreme rightist Roberto D'Aubuisson's Nationalist Republican Alliance, are on the ballot in every district. Yet D'Aubuisson's armed thugs prevent Duarte's supporters from campaigning in much of the country. D'Aubuisson was the head of the secret police under former dictator Humberto Romero and was thrown out of the army in 1979 when Carter's "human rights" junta took power. The leader of a well-known death squad, he is termed a "colorful and controversial figure" by the U.S. embassy. The previous ambassador, Robert White, termed him a "pathological killer." D'Aubuisson is responsible for the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero last year, at least twice attempted to overthrow the current junta and was even deported from the U.S. for threatening the lives of U.S. diplomats.

Should D'Aubuisson and his gang achieve power "democratically," their first goal will be to "exterminate" the left "within three months." "Napalm is essential," his press aide explained (*New York Times*, 19 February). Even the Christian Democratic front men for the junta are on his hit list. Duarte associate Julio Prendes predicts that should D'Aubuisson take control, "more than 5,000 Christian Democrats will be killed like rats" (*New York Times*, 16 February). Meanwhile, the "honesty" of the electoral farce is to be certified by observers from Uruguay and other right-wing Latin American dictatorships! Alone among NATO "allies," Britain will also send observers. Maybe Maggie Thatcher is looking for a few tips on how to stay in office come the next British election.

Elections and the "Political Solution"

The only way the will of the masses of oppressed Salvadoran working people will be expressed is if the junta, its officer corps and the landlords that back them are swept away in workers revolution. The military victory of the leftist forces is an absolute necessity on the road to workers power in El Salvador and the extension of the revolution throughout the region. Programs for elections in the present

context of bloody civil war are either disgusting imperialist hypocrisy or, in the case of the reformist leaders of the FDR and FMLN, a preparation for a sellout. FDR leader Guillermo Ungo says that the junta's March 28 exercise is a fraud, and the FMLN is stepping up the fighting. Yet last October the FDR/FMLN presented their latest minimum program to the United Nations, calling for a so-called "political solution" consisting of "restructuring the armed forces" and elections!

To talk of any kind of elections while the junta's army is intact, not to mention the economic underpinnings of landlord-capitalist rule, is preparing a gigantic *defeat* for the Salvadoran masses. The heroic worker and peasant fighters are not shedding their blood to get more electoral farces but to break the chains of oppression that bind them. Imperialism in its death throes erodes and destroys what limited democratic gains have been achieved in the past, which in a backward capitalist statelet like El Salvador are practically nil. Pleading for a "political solution" and pushing illusions in "free elections" won't stop Reagan and his killer junta. Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Workers revolution will establish genuine democracy for the exploited and oppressed. ■



Hoagland/Gamma-Liaison

FMLN guerrillas have the junta on the run.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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NYC Salvador Demo, February 20

"We Call for Rebel Victory, They Call the Cops!"

Chanting "Down with the junta, workers to power!" more than 100 anti-imperialist protesters marched to the assembly site of a February 20 New York City demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. But from the moment the red flags and banners reading "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" came into view, the reformist and liberal organizers of the protest tried frantically to keep revolutionary politics out of their carefully orchestrated rally for the Democratic Party liberals. The failed attempt by their goon squad to turn back the Spartacist League (SL)-led contingent brought in the cops, physically drawing the line between the politics of class struggle and class collaboration—by excluding the reds.

Despite their best efforts, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), aided and abetted by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), were unable to silence those who fight for a rebel victory on the battlefields in El Salvador. More than two dozen protesters, outraged at this anti-communist exclusion attempt, crossed police barricades to join the SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent. And as the march paraded through midtown Manhattan, the chants of "1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist rebels win the war; 5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing to negotiate" rang louder than the "No draft, no war" pacifism of the "official" demonstration. Where the pro-imperialist "doves" called for "no more Vietnams," SL signs said "Vietnam Was a Victory" over imperialism. And the Spartacist banner which they tried so hard to exclude proclaimed boldly, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

As we marched up, they sent out

groups of goons to try to stop us from reaching the assembly site, even throwing up a police barricade which was quickly swept away. Their actions were a deliberate provocation to get the cops to intervene, which they did. By that time the advocates of leftist military victory were firmly established in the midst of the crowd. The same scene was replayed as the rally moved into the streets for a march crosstown: the reformist goon squad tried vainly to keep the SL from marching and then as we were breaking through their lines, the police intervened again. During the march a police van separated the communists from the dispirited goons, who kept turning around to listen to our chants and to make sure the cops were still there.

The SWP has since published a disgusting apology for this anti-communist cop exclusion, "Spartacist League Tries Disruption" (*Militant*, 5 March). According to this piece of disinformation,

"... march organizers had decided to try to minimize the possibility of a confrontation by urging them [the SL] to participate at the end of the march. 'The Spartacists refused to negotiate, and when the march stepped off they surged through the marshals, punching several people and knocking others down.'"

In the first place, there were no negotiations, attempted or otherwise. This cock-and-bull story is intended to hide the fact that CISPES provoked the cops to set up barricades; later they got the police to prevent the SL from using bullhorns. This collaboration with the police was so blatant that one cop remarked to the CISPES spokesman during the march, "Look lady, stop hanging around us. Every time they [the SL] see you talking to us they get



WV Photo



Young Spartacus

NYC, February 20: Reformist goons call the cops, but can't silence communists.

madder."

Moreover, the CISPES/SWP/PAM goons attempted not merely to segregate the communists at "the back of the bus," but to prevent us from marching altogether. When the parade had begun and it was abundantly clear they were going to seal us off, we moved out. This incident took place in front of TV cameras and in full view of many of the 5,000 participants in the march. It was clear to everyone that the march organizers were the disrupters. And the purpose of such slimy articles is to harden up the reformists' ranks for further attempts at anti-communist exclusion in the future.

Even the bourgeois media could figure out that the communists were being excluded. On Channel 5 news that night you could hear the Anti-Imperialist Contingent chanting "We call for rebel victory, they call the cops!" The newscaster commented: "The main group of demonstrators did not want to have anything to do with the Trotskyites who had come along." Channel 7 reported that there was a group of "radicals and communists." They showed the militant Spartacist marchers, signs for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents" and red flags with the emblem of Trotsky's Fourth International, commenting: "The Salvadoran organizers didn't want the extremists in their parade and that led to a scuffle." The reformists' attempts to silence and isolate the revolutionaries failed miserably.

Why are the reformists so anxious to keep out the Spartacists? At the conclusion of the march, while the liberals were making pacifist speeches outside right-wing Senator Al D'Amato's office, an SL spokesman explained to a sidewalk

rally of military victory supporters:

"The point about all of this is they don't want communists in that demonstration, people with red flags. They didn't want people with signs that said 'Military victory' and above all they didn't want people who said 'Defend the USSR and Cuba!'... The main strategy of the reformists is to form an alliance with a sector of the Democratic Party. ... They want to keep their movement 'ready for Teddy' Kennedy."

More than two dozen joined us on February 20. A week later there were even more new faces at an NYC Spartacist forum on El Salvador. The best answer to the pro-imperialist "doves" who call the cops on reds and push a treacherous "political solution" with the bloodthirsty junta, is to build a powerful Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington, D.C. March 27! ■

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Who Called Cops on Reds?

The Guardian's Stuart Ozer tries to pin the blame for calling the cops on the CP primarily, along with "Latin American groups" and the Marcyites. But Ozer's whole letter is an attempt to justify anti-communist exclusion; now he wishes they could have avoided the embarrassment of using the police to do their dirty work. The Guardian letter is also useful because it unabashedly states what the reformists really fear about the SL: the revolutionary content of our banners and slogans.

Military Victory...

Military cargo to right-wing juntas in Central America must be stopped by labor boycotts. But this will never be done by the Cold War giveback bureaucrats, linked to the Democrats. When half a million workers marched on Washington September 19 it showed that labor has the power. Class-struggle militants fight against the anti-Soviet war drive, against Reagan racism, for workers action to bring Reagan down.

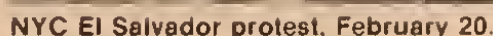
Last May 3, the SL/SYL organized a 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. The reformist Workers World Party/People's Anti-War Mobilization (WWP/PAM) tried to seal us off with a line of goons; a month later in New York they attacked a Spartacist protest outside a PAM meeting with

We are dismayed to hear that you have dropped out of the Sustainer program, particularly on the basis of wholly inaccurate information. We're disappointed that, as a Sustainer, you

The line is drawn in El Salvador. Those who fight for a victory of the Salvadoran masses over their oppressors, who oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, will march in Washington on March 27 with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. In El Salvador the choice is revolution or death! Which side are you on? Join us! ■

When the Spartacist League [sic] first showed up, they had a separate sound system. We asked that, if they wished to join the march, they march under the official sound system directed by the march organizers. In addition, their main banner, far larger than any other banner at the march, carried a slogan calling for more military aid from the USSR to El Salvador. Now, everyone marching would probably have welcomed military aid from any source to revolutionary movements in Latin America. But the purpose of the demo, the main political point that was to be made—as developed by the coalition which organized the march, was to *protest US intervention.*

Sincerely,
Stuart Ozer



Get on the Bus!



CAMBRIDGE

Our comrade Toni Randell died February 12 of cancer. A cadre of the Spartacist League for over ten years, she was a founder of the Partisan Defense Committee, a member of the Central Control Commission and had been a candidate member of the SL Central Committee.

On February 27 memorial meetings in honor of comrade Toni were held in New York and San Francisco. We publish below abridged and edited transcripts of speeches made at these meetings. The New York speakers included Rachel Wolkenstein, staff counsel for the PDC and chief counsel for the Spartacist League; Nancy Rossi, SL national treasurer; Reuben Shiffman, co-chairman of the PDC; and Jim Robertson, SL national chairman. In San Francisco the speakers included Toni's husband, Jack Heyman; Valerie West, PDC co-counsel; Dr. Steve Becker, the comrade who attended Toni during her illness; and George Foster, deputy national chairman of the SL.

The meetings were highly emotional, reflecting the tragedy of comrade Toni's death at the age of 38. In New York, comrade Reuben understandably broke down in the middle and was unable to complete his remarks. In so doing, he shared more than most the deep loss that was felt throughout the room—our Toni Randell is no more.

In the California meeting, the observation that comrade Toni had nothing but contempt for quitters actually triggered a walkout by some of the ex-members present. Those ex-members who did not join this unseemly display were Pat, who worked with comrade Toni on the *WV* production staff; Dave, an ex-member of the Australian section presently living in Oregon; and Barbara, who worked with Toni in the apparatus in New York and later in the Bay Area. In New York numerous ex-members were present and understood and accepted the truth and justice of Toni's observation as she lay dying.

Contributions in comrade Toni's honor may be sent to the Partisan Defense Committee.

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Rachel Wolkenstein (NYC)

We are here to remember our comrade and friend, Toni Randell, who died 12 February. She was 38 years old, a member of our movement since 1971, wife and mother of an 11-year-old daughter, Jessica.

Toni was born 8 November 1943 in a small town in Wisconsin and moved to

another small town in Illinois, Galesburg, when an infant. Her father was for 25 years a railroad worker and a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen. He died in 1970 from a

wound he received during World War II. Her mother, Viola Randell, lives today in Minneapolis. Toni was the oldest of five children. The family was very poor until she was about 12 years old. She attended college on a scholarship from the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen—Knox College in Galesburg—for one and a half years. She moved to New York at the age of 21 in 1963 and worked at NBC in the public relations department.

In 1967 she attended courses at Columbia and engaged in the sit-ins and protests. She met Jack during this time. In 1969 Jack and Toni started living together. In 1970 she attended Revolutionary Women meetings. Jessica was born 17 November 1970.

I've been told that she had her political waverings and softness, but the lawyers never saw it. To us, she was a party rock.

She was administrative assistant on two international Control Commission proceedings. She brought to these tasks the same qualities of thoughtful, meticulous and consistent work. I worked with her on the Logan Commission and we cried together reviewing the tapes of that proceeding. When we hit a roadblock over how to summarize the evidence, it was Toni

who went to the Central Committee library to check the model of the Dewey Commission.

When she transferred to the West Coast, she was frightened about doing local work for the first time. But she brought with her a wealth of skills and knowledge and applied it to her work there. I was very pleased to learn that just before her illness she had served as acting organizer during the absence of the organizer in Oakland.

She made hard choices about her last days. To the extent of her physical capacity, she was politically active until her death. In the midst of the painful process of determining the severity of her illness, she synthesized the fund-raising letter for the Deukmejian case.

I want to read a portion of a statement James Cannon made at the memorial for comrade Goldie Geldman. There are numerous parallels in their lives. Although their ethnic backgrounds were different, they both came from small towns in the Midwest, both served as secretaries for defense organizations:

"She did not waste her life in the vain pursuit of trifles. She concerned herself with the large affairs and great goals which are in themselves ennobling. That is the significance of her beautiful and heroic life. Her life, thus inspired by ennobling ideals, was full and satisfying because she knew that she was contributing to a movement that would survive her and carry on her work.

"If we memorialize her in this sense, I think we will do her the most justice. We mourn for her, for we loved her deeply, but we celebrate her too. Her life, her associations with us, her contributions to our cause, were one of our victories, and not a small victory either. The movement which can attract the Goldie Geldmans, and call out their full devotion, already has the pledge of its future victory, for such people as she really represent the future."

Jack Heyman (S.F.)

Comrades and friends, most of us in this room knew Toni as a communist, a Spartacist. Becoming a communist is a conscious act. So I want to delve a little into Toni's background, which may help to explain why she chose this revolutionary path, why she rejected traditional bourgeois values, why she transcended her social background and committed her life to the struggle for socialism.

Toni was an honor student in high school. She was a cheerleader. She was a homecoming queen in high school. She even taught Sunday school and was awarded a DAR medal. As a matter of fact, Toni and I, about a year ago, were going through *Fortune* magazine and her boyfriend from high school had an entire article on him—the new breed of millionaire. He's this grain speculator, who one day makes three million, and the next day loses a million, and so on.

So she had the options. She could have lived a very comfortable life with the country club set. But she rejected the American dream. Because, I think, she had a sharp and inquisitive mind. And she saw the American dream as shallow, empty and meaningless.

I'd like to sketch just a little bit earlier in Toni's life, what those years were like. She was raised in a town called Galesburg, Illinois. Which if you know anything about the Midwest, the northern fringe around the Great Lakes is an industrial belt. The southern fringe along the Ohio is basically Klan territory, and in between is very rural.

And Galesburg was sort of in between—it just happened to be in a central location in terms of the United States, geographically, so that it was a



Toni Randell



1943-1982





Memorial meetings: New York City (left), San Francisco (right).

railroad center. And her father was a railroad man. She was a product of the Midwest working-class family, filled with its contradictions, conservative values on the one hand, yet proletarian. And her father, like many other workers, had aspirations for his family. Namely, to build them a house. He started out well-intentioned, with some money to build that house. Except that they only got the foundation built and then ran out of money. And they just put the floor over that foundation, that's what's called a basement house, and they lived in that house for several years. And Toni assumed a role sort of as a second mother, helping to raise the rest of the family.

And I think that during that period she developed a real sense of class consciousness. Because several years later when they had the money, they moved literally across the tracks to a better neighborhood. And she always felt out of place. But her father being the union man that he was left a very strong impression in Toni's mind. She mentioned to me on several occasions that he had said, "Never, never cross a picket line."

I just want to read a brief quote here, once again from Cannon, which will explain a little bit about Toni: "Her first revolt against the environment of provincial prejudice and ignorance, as with so many rebels in history, took the form of flight." And that's exactly what happened with Toni. Because she left Galesburg and went to New York City.

And she came in contact with the Spartacist League. And she took up work in the women's arena, did battle very fiercely against our opponents. I think there are some in this room that can vouch for that, some of them that at a later point in history came over to the Spartacist League.



She later did work on the *Workers Vanguard* comp crew. She was very meticulous and dedicated. And she moved on to do work with the Partisan Defense Committee. She worked tirelessly to free the Chilean militants that were trapped [in Argentina], and did defense work around black militants that were being victimized. She did work in defending Jane Margolis in the case against the Secret Service. And up until her last days she did work defending the Spartacist League against Attorney General Deukmejian.

Toni didn't live to see the coming American revolution. But she dedicated her life to building the party that will lead that revolution. It would do her honor for us to continue that work.

Nancy Rossi (NYC)

Toni was my comrade and closest friend for more than ten years. We worked together, lived together, raised our kids together.

I first met Toni in 1970, but didn't get to know her until a year later when I moved to New York. That's when we started publishing *Workers Vanguard*. Getting the paper out back then was hard—we didn't have the experience and our typesetting equipment consisted of one IBM executive typewriter. Toni and I were the comp crew. The paper came out once a month and production went on for three weeks out of four. The other week we spent recovering. The whole paper had to be hand-justified. One or the other of us would always go out to the printer with it and spend hours doing the photo work—invariably in the middle of the night—and then drive back out to pick it up.

I remember the time *WV* came back with some blank spaces because some of the copy had fallen off the flats. We tried to blame it on the printer but he merely picked up one of the flats, shook it a little and pieces went flying. That's when we learned about taping things down.

All of us who worked on the paper felt a great deal of satisfaction every time we got the finished product back. The real problem with comp was that we had a comp chief who didn't know how to use her people—there was a lot of friction, tension, not much sense of doing it together. Toni had more talent and patience than I did—she was the model, I was the troublemaker.

We both wanted out. I was first—Toni was somewhat resentful and upset. But her turn came soon afterward when she got the PDC assignment. She was ecstatic at the prospect of running a section of party work in collaboration with her comrades. We both knew, though, that even after we'd been transferred to other party assignments, if there were ever any kind of crisis in comp we'd be right back putting out the paper because we were the ones who knew how. The

party counted on that.

The other struggle I remember going through with Toni in the early days was learning how to be a communist and a mother. The party was small and young, and hadn't had much experience with babies either. I like to say that the first *WV* comp crew wasn't just me and Toni, it was me and Toni and Karl and Jessica. We had a playpen in the middle of the comp room and brought the kids to work with us every day. Karl would spend the day teasing Jess—picking up her

a long time to pick up the phone and I only managed to do so after I learned that she hadn't called me because she was afraid of upsetting me. Her courage and strength throughout the illness were remarkable. She was angry as hell at being cheated out of a lot of years and she was scared. She cried her eyes out at not being able to see her daughter grow up. But she spent so much energy trying to ease the pain of the people who were close to her.

Toni was the first one of us to die a communist. But I'm convinced that she would have remained a hard communist if she had lived to old age. One thing she had no patience at all for was quitters—people who gave up on their work, their commitments, or who gave up on just trying to enjoy life.

Valerie West (S.F.)

I first met Toni on a visit to New York in 1973. I met her again in 1974 when I had just moved to New York. And we had a meeting to discuss the founding of the Partisan Defense Committee. The mandate from the party was for a defense organization in the tradition of the International Labor Defense, particularly in the years 1925-27, when it was headed by James P. Cannon.



With daughter Jessica, Hawaii 1981

toys and throwing them outside the pen. She'd scream, we'd retrieve the toys, he'd throw them out again, grinning the whole time. I remember Toni sitting at the typewriter for hours with Jessica on her lap.

The situation of course became intolerable, especially as they got a little older, and we had to deal with it. There was a whole discussion, complete with documents, on whether or not the party should hold any responsibility for childcare for members who were parents. Positions ranged from those who wanted to turn the party into a petty-bourgeois service organization to those who would just as soon exclude parents from membership. Well, we got the kids out of the office, learned to transfer the burden of childcare outside the organization as much as possible, and learned to substitute money for time when necessary. Along with the just writers we got a hired babysitter who took Karl and Jessica from Friday night to Monday morning of production weekend and the party paid for it. I like to think that parents have it a little easier now because of the experiences Toni and myself and some others went through, which included proving that parents despite all the problems could still be valuable cadres.

I'm grateful that I got to spend a lot of time with Toni during the last few months and hope that I gave her some of the comfort she once gave me. When I was first told of the cancer it took me

The translation and implementation of this mandate from the party was in large measure due to the efforts of comrade Toni Randell. She had a remarkable ability to research, verify, absorb and synthesize the history of communist defense work. She understood the importance of relearning and recapturing those traditions for the Spartacist League and for the working class as a whole. She researched the *International Labor Defender*, *International Red Aid*, resolutions on Tom Mooney from early labor conferences. She carefully, meticulously and thoughtfully gathered these materials and most importantly made the essential available and accessible to comrades.

She did the consistent work to implement and teach these traditions and learn to apply them in a very different period from that of the ILD. The integrity, accountability and reliability that Toni consistently brought to the work of the PDC will always be a credit to our movement. On a day-to-day basis, she was the stable element that made the PDC run.

She was frequently harried by the new, very young and aggressive lawyers who knew little about the party program and were often agitating for this or that wrong policy or procedure. While she was not the one who spearheaded the fights to try to mold the lawyers, she was the one who held the party line on a day-to-day basis.

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She was patient, she listened and responded thoughtfully. And she didn't budge.

Toni kept up the regular correspondence with those outside the party we appealed to for funds and other assistance. We relied on her with confidence. She embodied personally the political and financial integrity and accountability of our work.

The campaign to free Mario Muñoz from Argentina was perhaps the high point of the PDC's public campaigns. We broke the issue of Argentine repression in the press. The apparatus constructed by Toni made this international campaign possible. She put together the pieces, the connections and people that made possible visits to the National Council of Churches, the UN Commission on Human Rights, a letter in the *New York Review of Books* and many other things.

Perhaps the most significant example of her capacity to extract the essence from meticulous reading of voluminous materials was the abstract she did of some 20 volumes of the files that the FBI kept on the Spartacist League. And it's notable that she insisted on finishing this work, and worked on it practically until the day she left New York to come to the Bay Area.

In retrospect, I must say that much of the work that she did I don't think I appreciated at the time so much as in recent years. I remember that she got us ready to go to the National Lawyers Guild convention and I didn't really understand what was involved. But when we arrived there we had the papers, the resolutions, the reprints, all the things that were essential.

Reuben Shiffman (NYC)

I knew Toni for over a decade, since she joined the Spartacist League in New York and before. And for five years in the mid-'70s she was my closest political collaborator, particularly but not exclusively in initiating and building the Partisan Defense Committee. It was her organizational and administrative talent that turned the Partisan Defense Committee into something more than a paper organization and a file drawer of unfinished PDC brochure drafts. Without that, with the modest resources that we had at our disposal at the time, we could have never launched the campaign that freed anti-popular-frontist Chilean miners from the Argentine junta.

She brought the same thoroughness to other crucial areas of party and defense work which have been referred to: the indexing of *Workers Vanguard*, the indexing and annotating of the massive FBI files, and international commissions. She brought to these a character that was indispensable for political leadership—the ability to organize a mass of material into a usable whole and to pick out what was essential and, equally important, what needed to be acted upon. This characteristic was indispensable to our public defense work as well, especially during the Nixon years, which generated many cases of political persecution which were in the interests of the labor movement to fight. Dozens of appeals for support came in the mail every day, most of them deserving. And she had the unenviable job of sorting through and selecting the ones that we had to support. She was a rare person who combined coequally the strengths of great compassion and acute judgment.

When we launched the PDC, the sacred labor tradition of non-sectarian class-struggle defense—like the picket line to which it is akin—had been poisoned and corrupted by especially



the Stalinists, but also the social democrats and New Left guilty liberal born-again Stalinoids. Rachel referred to Toni's appreciation of the ILD, an appreciation which she internalized and assimilated personally, and imparted as if she herself had served beside James Cannon on the ILD. She was able to make this accessible, not only through the documents, but by weaving the lessons of the ILD and that experience into almost everything she wrote and the many reports that she gave and the speeches that she gave.

Politics is engendered in people, and crucial to the success of the PDC was Toni's embodiment of integrity and of rigorous intelligence and compassion. In particular, I saw her—especially in periods like the Muñoz campaign, where we had to deal with a very wide spectrum of people, many of them



pretty hardened, cynical operators—completely disarm them and convince them of the PDC, its goals and its integrity. We could approach people, many of whom had been burned in the past by left-wing sponsored defense cases, many of whom we could approach many times over, who trusted in the integrity of the PDC in large measure because their intersection with the PDC was knowing Toni personally, in their dealings with her.

This was particularly true with

Philip Allen's mother, whose defense case was taken up, the defense case of Philip Allen, by many organizations of a left and liberal nature on the West Coast. But Toni was able to make her feel, when she came to Boston and New York, that she was genuinely part of an international movement that championed the freedom of her son.

To give you a sense of Toni's grace and acute political intelligence, I'd like to just read a brief passage from a memo she wrote in November 1974. She wrote, and this was regarding the question that was much disputed at the time, which was the relationship and division of labor between the party and its defense arm:

"The SL and SYL are pushy and turn up with banners and slogans. The PDC is not combative and comes on invitation. The SL/SYL makes propaganda, the PDC funds. (As Cde. Robertson says: 'Yes, the PDC is a charity, but remember that charity begins at home!')

And the importance of this has of course been escalated....

Steve Becker (S.F.)

I want to share with you some of what I remember of Toni. I came to know her well only during her illness.

When she died, Toni was proud of herself. She had worked hard throughout the years to become a Bolshevik. She had made it, and she was proud. And she had every right to be. Toni's concern throughout her illness was not herself, but rather politics, her comrades and her family. She would often joke with me and kept her sense of humor. She wanted to know when I would be through with the medical questions, so that we could get on to more important business. She talked with me at length about the progress and resolution of our case against Attorney General Deukmejian, the victory and the protection it affords us.

The day before her death, Toni asked me to read to her the recent *Young Spartacus* article, "Strange Things Under Harvard's Rocks." She enjoyed it immensely, laughing in particular at the role estate gardeners have had in improving Harvard's gene pool.

Toni asked repeatedly about her comrades and family. Her concern for Jessica, her daughter, was foremost. And her sense of loss in not being able to watch Jessica grow into adulthood was great.

Toni died at home, as she wished. She died a Bolshevik, and has left an affectionate and inspiring memory to all of us who knew her.

Jim Robertson (NYC)

As should be completely clear, the death of comrade Toni Randell has hit us where we all live.

Lizzie and I had a chance to have an hour or so with Toni just before she died, and I guess the main thing I came away with was: "My god, she died a hard commie."

She died without pain, because the origin of the cancer was very close to her liver. She didn't want to live any longer once it was clear. And she did not try, with radioactive needles or hideous chemotherapy that would have done no good and merely rendered her more of a physical wreck. She died conscious and knowing, and she starved to death. But she retained her intelligence and her integrity in a perfect fashion. And to the very end, she was deeply interested in the affairs of the party. I gave her a general international report, and she was not interested in the partial situations, she was interested in victory and defeat.

She was interested in what would happen to her daughter, who's about 11. I said it's a bad time for a girl to lose her mother. And she said, "Yes, but I think her character is shaped."

She did increasingly important work. She was one of the two founders of our composition department of our regular newspaper. She served a long tour in legal defense work. She was the secretary of the Logan trial commission. Because she was interested in protecting the clarity and purity of our organization. Insofar as I can recall, she was very quiet in our various internal disputes, but was a hard, knowing supporter in defense of programmatic questions.

I want to come back again to the point that she died such a hard communist. And something that should properly make the ex-members in the room uneasy: she so despised you. She did. As Trotsky spoke of the difference between the communists of the East and the communists of the West: the communists of the West, they come, they go—the easy affirmations of youth are diluted and modified and drift away. Unlike the communists of the East—the 500 people who founded the Chinese Communist Party, for example, every one of whom died in service as they understood it. And Toni was one of those kind.

Other comrades have spoken of the work that she did. To put it in more general terms, she was the epitome of an apparatchik. What needed to be done, and what she could do, she would do. And at the same time she was a mother, and a good mother, without a trace of "momism."

A number of us on the West Coast saw her remains placed in the ground. I think it was done fittingly, on a hillside with the fog coming right down into the redwood trees, a volley of rifle fire, the rain. That's the way it should be done, because she died a serving officer in a communist party.

Her history has stopped, abruptly. But her memory goes on as long as those, any of those, who knew and cared about her continue to themselves have consciousness. That's a contradiction. And it's not until the last of those who have known her have died that some flickering continuation of her own consciousness ceases to exist within us. And since she died tragically young, she leaves behind a mass of real mourners.

And if there is any message regard-



A display of comrade Toni's work at the New York memorial meeting.

ing her memory, it is this: that she was, while personally very sweet, an intolerant communist to those who would destroy the line between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the class struggle, however subtly. She was a communist. And she died despising those who withheld their personalities from the necessary direct participation in the class struggle. And if she leaves therefore to us a legacy, it is this: that if we individually or collectively deflect or betray, we betray everything that Toni lived for and that Toni died for.

George Foster (S.F.)

We meet here to honor our comrade Toni Randell, a good communist. Her untimely death two weeks ago at age 38 of cancer has sent a shock of grief through our party. Toni was a party person, a cadre. She joined the Spartacist League on 7 November 1971, and until her last days unselfishly and cheerfully worked hard for the program of revolutionary Marxism—Trotskyism.

We are a Leninist organization. And consequently our cadre are precious to us. Bolsheviks are not born. They are created, forged, through a process of apprenticeship and political struggle as members of a party. Marxism is carried by living human beings working together as a collective. Toni's friendship, her years of political, organizational and technical experience are and will be deeply missed by the party.

I first met Toni on International Women's Day in 1971, when she came to Washington, D.C. to march in our contingent. I also recall meeting her again on International Women's Day a year later in Boston. She had returned from an intervention against the Socialist Workers Party's reformist, feminist front-group WONAAC, filled with contempt for the SWP's anti-democratic attempts to silence our revolutionary criticism of their class-treason policy of allying with Bella Abzug. Our leaflet aimed at the intervention called the SWP trained seals clapping for the bourgeoisie. Toni liked that image a lot.

Toni joined the Spartacist League at the point where we set for ourselves a series of tasks to transform our organization from an unstable sub-propaganda group into the nucleus of the vanguard party. Her life over the past decade is very much a part of our history in meeting those tasks. She helped set type for the first issue of *Workers Vanguard* and worked on the comp crew for four years during the time when, as comrades have stated, conditions were very difficult. In 1975 she left comp to help establish the Partisan Defense Committee.

Toni had a very keen sense of social

justice, and a fierce hatred of racism and racial oppression. She worked at modeling the PDC on the traditions of the International Labor Defense of James Cannon. It was therefore fitting that she was recently elected to our Central Control Commission.

We grieve, but we have a right to be proud. Toni was a hard communist. I'll say the truth: she especially despised quitters. With the onset of the Reagan years and the threat of war we have had our share of defectors, many of whom have left the party for so-called personal reasons. Toni was proud of the name Spartacist. Our organization takes its name from the Spartacist League of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches, the organization which was the heroic forebear of the German Communist Party. Today imperialist chief Ronald Reagan, bent on preparing for war against the Soviet Union, smashes PATCO and embraces the counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność. Solidarność in turn embraces Reagan, the Catholic church, anti-Semitism and the pre-World War II fascist dictator Pilsudski. To be a Spartacist is to stand with Rosa Luxemburg, the pre-eminent Polish Marxist, revolutionary communist and workers' leader, against Reagan and the CIA company union Solidarność. It is a stand against U.S. imperialism and for a proletarian revolutionary solution to the crisis of Polish Stalinism.

Toni's political life as a Marxist spans just over a decade, a short time. But as revolutionists, we know of no better life than that dedicated to building the party that aims to lead the proletariat to victory.

I'd like to read a passage from the Transitional Program:

"Opportunist organizations by their very nature concentrate their chief attention on the top layers of the working class and therefore ignore both the youth and the woman worker. The decay of capitalism, however, deals its heaviest blows to the woman as a wage earner and a housewife. The sections of the Fourth International should seek bases of support among the most exploited layers of the working class, consequently among the women workers. Here they will find inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness, and readiness to sacrifice.

"Down with the bureaucracy and careerism! Open the road to the youth! Turn to the woman worker! These slogans are emblazoned on the banner of the Fourth International."

The task remains before us: to reach out to the youth, to the proletariat, to recruit comrades such as Toni, by the tens, hundreds, thousands and tens and tens of thousands. To construct the Leninist vanguard party to fight for the communist future of mankind to which she dedicated her life.

Sit-Ins...

(continued from page 1)

Garvin have recently set up a Labor Management Group based on the principles of "free enterprise." According to Raskin, "In a troubled economy, unions and companies are finding that each must give a little." In reality, of course, the unions have been giving all and getting nothing. A typical example of the new "cooperative economy" is the rubber industry. Uniroyal just agreed to let the Rubber Workers speak to the board of directors once a year. In return for this dubious privilege the union is giving up \$55 million in wages and benefits! And now the powerful Teamsters have agreed to a two-year wage freeze.

The anti-Soviet war drive commanded by the White House is also and necessarily a war against the American working class and poor. Especially with the economy collapsing, givebacks and savage budget cuts are demanded as "necessary sacrifices" for the "national defense" against the USSR. When Reagan smashed the air controllers union (PATCO), he sent a message (if any was needed) to the Fortune 500 executives that henceforth unionized workers should be treated like black welfare mothers or Central American peasants.

And the union bureaucrats are willing to accept that treatment! But unlike welfare mothers, the unions have tremendous social power if they would only use it. Not for years has the labor movement attempted to stand and flex even some of its social and economic muscle. Why? Because the bureaucrats are deathly afraid of the anger and organization of their own ranks, as was shown last September 19 when 500,000 workers marched on Washington.

It is not so much fear of the union buster in the White House in the context of a deepening economic crisis that motivates the AFL-CIO tops. Instead it is their fundamental agreement with the Republicans' and Democrats' main economic and political aim: to gear up the U.S. for war against the Soviet Union. No union leadership can be for the massive anti-Soviet war drive and at the same time fight for the workers' interests, even in the most minimal economic sense. The AFL-CIO leadership opposes sit-downs in Detroit for the same reason it is for sit-downs in Gdansk. The Lane Kirklands and Doug Frasers support capitalism, whether it means "rolling back Communism" in Poland or rolling back union gains at home.

In fact, over Poland Kirkland is now denouncing Reagan for being soft on Russia. A recent article by the AFL-CIO chief on Poland was entitled, "Why Not Economic War?" against the Soviet Union. There is nothing new here. The Cold War has long been a policy of the trade-union tops, many of whom came to their posts in the anti-Communist witchhunts of the late '40s. It has always been their program to sacrifice the interests of the workers on the capitalist altar of anti-Communism. But now with the very future of the union movement at stake, this contradiction has become clear and acute. A fight can be made and can be won, but not by the Cold Warriors in the union offices vs. the Cold Warriors in the White House and corporate board rooms. The anti-Soviet war drive has come home to American factories, and a political fight must be waged to throw out the pro-capitalist fakers running the unions, to get the unions off their knees and fighting again.

For a Class-Struggle Counterattack in Auto!

The front line of Reagan's war on labor is now in auto. If Ford workers grudgingly voted to accept Fraser's

billion-dollar giveaway, it is only because they were afraid of being thrown onto the streets if they didn't. They know that after the concessions negotiations with GM broke off, the company retaliated by closing down three plants indefinitely. But Fraser's line that the wage givebacks will buy job security is a lie. None of Ford's promises are worth a plug nickel if the economy keeps going down the tubes. *Business Week* (1 March) told its management readers: "Ford is not prohibited from shutting plants when business slumps."

Remember Chrysler! There too workers were fed the line that wage concessions would save jobs. And what happened? When Chrysler started to close down its Dodge Main plant in 1979, there were already about 20,000 layoffs. Today there are over 43,000 indefinite layoffs from Chrysler, with no end in sight. And once a worker is out the door, he loses his power to fight. Back in 1979 we warned that the government bailout of Chrysler would be used to gut the union, setting a pattern for GM and Ford. We said if Chrysler's broke, the workers should *seize it* and sell it off rather than take wage cuts. "Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers!" That was our slogan. The seizure of Chrysler could have sparked a class-struggle response to capitalist austerity, layoffs and plant closures.

Instead, things got worse for auto workers. Now there are a quarter million auto production workers on indefinite layoff, 600,000 if the suppliers are included. Unemployment in Michigan is over 15 percent and now plant closings are spreading from Cleveland to California. The sorry state of auto today is not just a case of management and stockholders bleeding the company dry, as in Chrysler, but a general crisis of the capitalist economy. When Ford and GM executives say they don't have the money to re-employ hundreds of thousands of auto workers at existing wage levels, they're not lying. They don't have the money. But that money is there in Washington—that is, in Reagan's hands.

There can be no successful fight against the auto givebacks without radically breaking the bounds of traditional bread-and-butter unionism, including its more militant variety. It means a labor struggle to bring down Reagan, to wrest the billions from the Dr. Strangeloves of the Pentagon. The UAW with its large black membership can lead the working class and ghetto poor against the right-wing, racist onslaught. That is the perspective raised by the Ford Rouge Militant Caucus, which called for a two-day sit-down strike against the givebacks:

"If Henry Ford claims he can't pay us, then let him get help from his friend in the White House....

"Screw Reagan, Ford and Fraser. It's the working class in industrial areas like this that creates the wealth in this country. Without us, the economy doesn't run. If Rouge workers take the lead, we can trigger similar sitdown strikes throughout the auto towns of southern Michigan, from Detroit to Pontiac to Flint. We can make the bosses pay and take a big step in packing the racist, union-busting Reagan back to his ranch, for good."

AFL-CIO Tops: For Guns and Taxes

It's become cheap and easy for liberal and not-so-liberal Democrats and labor bureaucrats to denounce Reagan for starving the poor to provide tax giveaways to the rich. "Jonestown economics... economic Kool Aid to the poor," Kirkland called White House policies. Very true. In Reagan's latest budget proposal the hardest hit will be food stamps, Medicaid and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (welfare). *Every*

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Sit-Ins...

(continued from page 9)

social program that helps low-income families, such as subsidized housing, job training and education, will come under the budget ax. A Congressional study shows that Reagan's budget and tax cuts will cost poor families several hundred dollars each, while those with incomes over \$80,000 will get a windfall averaging \$15,000 apiece! So much for the "trickle-down" effects of the "supply-side" "voodoo economics." What this racist austerity means can be seen today in Detroit, which has become a veritable hellhole. Unemployment and SUB benefits have run out, and who can live on welfare? Young blacks who worked in auto plants a year or so ago are now forced onto Salvation Army soup lines.

Yet despite all the ritualistic attacks on Reaganomics, the Democrats have nothing better to offer working people. Congressional opposition to Reagan's latest budget is *not* directed at defending social programs for the poor, but rather at reducing the massive deficit. And while there is some grousing about Pentagon extravagance and wastefulness, Democrats are not proposing more than a slight trimming of the military budget. The "liberal" alternative to Reaganomics can be summed up in two words: raise taxes.

As for Lane Kirkland and his fellow AFL-CIO bureaucrats, they're right up there with Reagan doling out the Kool Aid. The heart of Reaganomics is not "supply-side" fiscal quackery. It is the massive military buildup intended to secure first-strike nuclear capability against the USSR as well as to fight conventional wars, from the mass graves in El Salvador to the shores of Tripoli. Kirkland's only quarrel with

sands of socialist pamphlets.

Capitalism, as Marx wrote, "comes to a standstill at a point determined by the production and realization of profit, not by the satisfaction of social needs." The U.S. is now in its second recession in less than a year and by all accounts its worst since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Official unemployment figures are expected to soar over 9 percent this year. Even the Reagan administration is backing off from its idiot optimistic prediction of an upturn this spring.

A growing number of respected capitalist spokesmen are projecting a total economic collapse. For example, the chief economist for E.F. Hutton, Edward Yardenis, warns, "We think there are increasing risks that the depression in the auto and housing industry will intensify and spill over into the rest of the economy" (*New York Times*, 19 January). These fears are seconded by right-wing economist and Reagan adviser Alan Greenspan, who argues that record-high interest rates could lead to "a crack in long-term confidence and a decline into what would be generally described, even by today's jargon, as a depression" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 February).

But the decay of American capitalism runs deeper than the current recession/possible depression and the effects of Reaganomics. America's rulers have driven basic industry in this country into the ground. The average age of U.S. industrial plant is *twice* that of Japan's. Small wonder GM and U.S. Steel cannot compete in the marketplace with Toyota and Nippon Steel. In the last year or so "the reindustrialization of America" has become a fashionable slogan in U.S. ruling circles. Liberal economists as well as big business spokesmen are lecturing American working people that they've been

They Say Shut Down—We Say Sit Down!

Charles DuBois, of the Rouge Militant Caucus, was quoted on Detroit TV Channel 4 on February 20.

"We're talking about sit-down strikes to show workers in Detroit and around the area what kind of power we actually have, flexing our muscles, saying that we're not going to leave this plant. When you say you're going to shut it down, we're going to *sit* down. So we say vote 'no,' and if they're going to close the plant, occupy it as a political strike and as a political message to workers around the country that this is the way you fight concessions."



nuclear warheads and the means to deliver them.

While some liberals and financiers express concern that a too rapid military buildup may be economically disruptive, all of them share Reagan's *purpose* in being able to counter and defeat the supposed "Soviet threat." All talk about long-term economic effects of the arms race misses the simple point that Reagan intends to *use* these weapons to start and win World War III.

U.S. Imperialism's Labor Hawks

And in this aim Reagan has no more loyal ally than the union bureaucracy. What the Trotskyists said of the utterly reactionary labor bureaucracy of the 1920s holds true today in spades:

"The distinctive features of these [American] labor leaders in comparison to the social-reformist leaders of Europe consists in the fact that they are outspoken defenders of the whole capitalist regime and all of its institutions, without 'socialistic' pretense or class-struggle phraseology. Their program is a program of stark reaction. They repudiate the class struggle in words as well as deeds. They oppose any kind of independent political action. They support the whole military program of American imperialism and will indubitably be a powerful ally of the capitalists in lining up the workers of the coming war and demoralizing the struggle against it."

—"Platform of the Communist Opposition" (1929)

Much of the plant-level CIO leadership that organized the sitdowns and picket lines of the 1930s consisted of self-described communists and socialists. However, with the onset of the Cold War that layer was either purged or corrupted, creating a union bureaucracy which was committed to U.S. imperialism and fanatically anti-Communist. It is no accident that the Meany/Reuther AFL-CIO never fought the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act. For this law tied the Cold War bureaucracy to the Cold War government, as it simultaneously outlawed class-struggle tactics (the secondary strike) and banned reds from holding union posts.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the past the union bureaucracy could sell the idea that a Democratic administration would somehow restore economic prosperity. John F. Kennedy got elected in 1960 by promising to "get this country moving again." But all remaining illusions in New Deal liberalism died an ignominious death under Carter. In fact, so fed up were workers with Carter's incredible economic mismanagement that about half the AFL-CIO membership voted for the right-wing Republican in 1980. And if these workers have turned angrily against union-buster Reagan, they have no enthusiasm for the Teddy Kennedys and the Fritz Mondales.

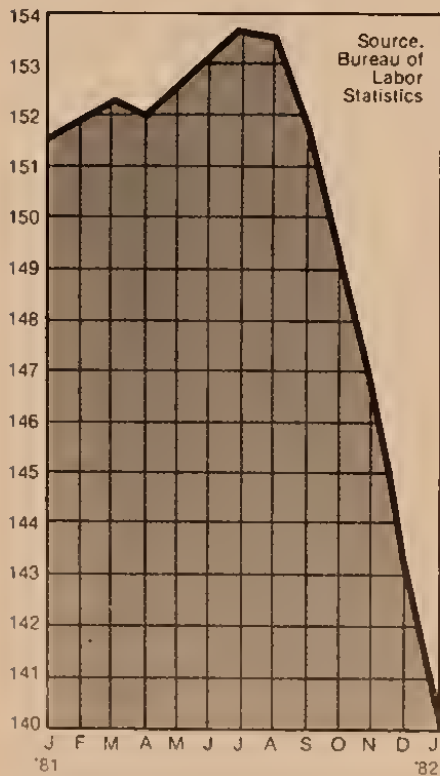
By their anger and their discipline the half million workers who marched on Washington last September 19th showed *they wanted to fight Reagan reaction*. But who will lead that fight? Lane Kirkland, who calls for all-out economic war against the Soviet Union, who demands more missiles and taxes?

Doug Fraser, who sits on the board of directors of the near-bankrupt Chrysler, who is spending every working hour trying to reduce his members to poverty, whose answer to the depression in auto is economic war against Japanese workers? The fight against Reagan reaction is a fight against the Kirklands and Frasers and for a revolutionary leadership.

What is needed to spark a fight against the giveback offensive and mass layoffs is sit-down strikes—raw labor power. The top labor bigwigs will never carry out such militant actions because they are a direct attack on the capitalists' property rights. Nor will the out-bureaucrats, the Sadlowskis (steel), Camaratas (Teamsters) or Gardners (auto), who want only to be slicker labor fakers *within the system*. A class-struggle opposition must be built in the unions, like the militants at Fremont and Ford's River Rouge, who call for sitdowns as powerful protest actions which could galvanize the entire labor movement.

But even such dramatic actions are not sufficient to win labor's fight. What about "runaway shops"? This requires an all-out drive to unionize the open-shop South, mobilizing black and white workers in a joint struggle to smash Jim Crow racism. A class-struggle leadership of the unions would mobilize tens of thousands to crush the Klan and Nazi race terrorists wherever these fascists come into the open. To promote labor solidarity internationally it would fight the nationalist poison of protectionism. To defend the gains of the workers movement and to fight the threat of thermonuclear imperialist war, it must smash the Reagan/Democrat war drive and fight any imperialist attempt to restore capitalism in Cuba, Poland or the Soviet Union.

All this requires a revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle for a workers government, to expropriate capitalism and end once and for all the irrational social system that turns the enormous wealth squeezed out of the working class into misery, poverty and the threat of nuclear holocaust. Organizing such an international party of socialist revolution, the key to victory for the workers and all the oppressed, is the task of the Trotskyists. ■



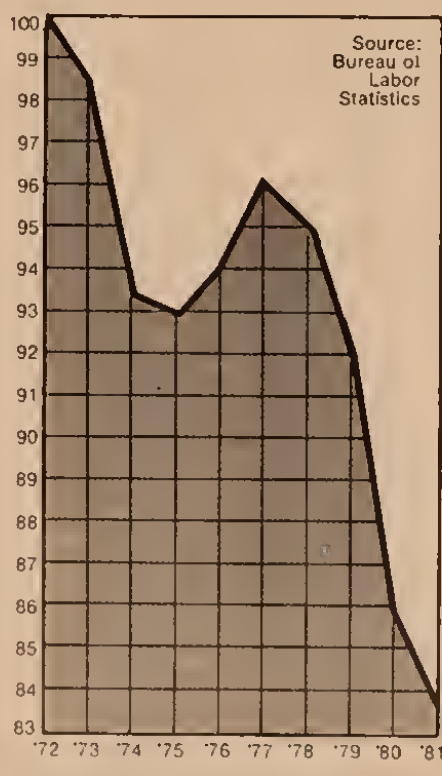
Industrial Production (1967=100)

Reagan on this score is that the MX missiles and B-1 bombers should be paid for through higher taxes rather than more government borrowing. Here again the AFL-CIO tops are in full agreement with Wall Street. The *Wall Street Journal* (19 February) notes approvingly:

"...the hawkish labor leaders weren't buying any of that talk about bombs vs. babies. Instead they bit the bullet cheerfully and proposed a hike in personal and corporate taxes to pay for the increased defense."

Karl Marx Was Right

For decades liberals and conservatives alike and union bureaucrats proclaimed that Marxism had no meaning for American workers, that "the American way of life" was the envy of the whole world. But today they're singing a very different tune. A walk through Detroit is a more powerful argument for Bolshevism than thou-



Real Spendable Weekly Earnings (1972=100)

consuming too much and must save more and invest more. And this while real take-home pay for the average worker has plummeted about 15 percent in the past decade!

American imperialism is seeking to reconquer its place in the sun not through superior economic competition but through militarism. The U.S. answer to Toyota is not to build better, cheaper cars but to build neutron bombs. And remember Hiroshima!

The Reagan/Carter/Kirkland Pentagon budget is not only a death certificate for black welfare mothers, for elderly couples trying to survive on Social Security, for laid-off auto workers. It is a death certificate for any genuine reindustrialization of America. *Business Week* estimates that this year *all*—100 percent—of net private savings will be absorbed by federal government borrowing. The only firms seeing any new capital will be those producing

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Fremont Militant Caucus Sit-Down Leaflet

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by the UAW Militant Caucus at the Fremont, California GM plant.

GM says it's going to close Fremont GMAD on March 5th, putting over 2,000 workers with 14 years and up seniority out on the street for good. If we allow them to do this it's the end of the line for all of us, including the thousands on layoff—lost homes, slums, ruined lives, minimum wages, welfare, or worse. The question is what are we going to do about it—fight it or become poverty statistics.

Five months ago in September the UAW Militant Caucus fought for a sit-down strike to stop the truck line from being shut down. We said, "If we let this happen it will be a disaster... we had better understand that without truck production Fremont becomes solely dependent on passenger car sales. That means *total plant closure* becomes a real possibility... we better fight now..." Predictably, the local union bureaucrats opposed a sitdown, did nothing, and in January 1,900 more workers were put out the door.

Mays, Nano, Scrempo [UAW Local 1364 bureaucrats] and the others are now pushing the stupid and treacherous line that the plant closure is just a "ploy" by GM to force through wage concessions. What they really want is for us to walk quietly out the door March 5th thinking it's only "temporary." **THIS IS NOT TRUE!** GM is dead serious about closing Fremont and Southgate in L.A. The production of both plants is to be shifted to the Midwest and East where laid off shifts are to be called back when we close. Plans have already been made to ship out the robots and other machinery. And don't count on the SUB [Supplemental Unemployment Benefits] fund to last a year, seniority or not.

It's the traitor Doug Fraser who wants to use these plant closures to blackmail other GM and Ford workers into giving up billions of dollars of hard-won wages and benefits to fatten the profits of GM and Ford. The concessions and plant closings are a Reagan contract and Fraser is the enforcer. Reagan and Fraser must be stopped by militant labor action. A sit-down strike to keep Fremont open could spark similar actions across the country, giving the lead to millions of desperate workers fed up with layoffs and giveaways. This same situation is hitting auto workers all across the country in plant after plant in GM, Ford and Chrysler.

GM doesn't *have* to close these plants. They just make *more money* by shifting production elsewhere and to hell with us. Fraser and the International openly uphold the "right" of GM to lay us off. We say it's not the business of working people and the union to worry about GM's millionaire shareholders. The most basic right a working person has is the right to a job. But that right has to be fought for.

In 1974 and 1975 the UAW Militant Caucus fought against the massive layoffs. We said, "Organize an effective sit-in demonstration which could inspire a wave of full-scale sit-down strikes into the heart of the industry, Detroit..."

In March 1977 when the local was on strike over the firings of Earle Mays and the whole shop committee, we fought for tactics to *win* the strike. We said, "Seal off the plant with solid mass picket lines" and "Extend the strike to other UAW locals and unions in Region 6."

In 1979 when Fraser was volunteering to enforce Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines (the UAW got

3 percent), we wrote, "We must answer [the auto companies] with an industry-wide strike combined with a rolling wave of plant sitdowns. When the bosses try to shut down a plant or lay off an entire shift like at Fremont we must stop them by occupying the plants."

Since we formed in 1973 we have fought to give leadership and mobilize the union economically and politically against our class enemies, the auto companies and their political parties, the Democrats and Republicans. The heart of our program against layoffs and unemployment has been jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We have fought against the pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy whose ties to the Democratic Party subordinates our interests to the interests of the bosses.

In Fremont the union "leadership" has been nothing but a series of opportunist cliques who when not stabbing each other in the back for union office have been stabbing the membership in the back. Their collective record is one of criminal sabotage, working with the International to ram through secretly negotiated sellouts by every sort of cheating and trickery, suppressing internal opposition, and squandering the membership's willingness to fight. In short, from the International to the local they act as cops for the companies inside the union.

But they've had some junior partners along the way in the form of a motley variety of Maoist fake-radical groups. When they weren't busy competing with each other to kiss the ass of one of the out cliques, hoping thereby to get into office themselves, they were busy giving a "left cover" to the sellout policies of the International and local bureaucrats, opposing sit-

downs and other labor action in favor of "pressure tactics." Education director Liz Stanley and E-Board member Charlotte Casey are the leftovers of one of these groups (CAM, the Call, etc., etc.). They started their careers with the Brotherhood Caucus in '73, then went on to be the originators of the 1974 seniority-busting, anti-union Women's Lawsuit (their answer to the layoffs). They eventually rode into office with Nano's "United Independents." Liz is currently in charge of retraining for laid-off auto workers. (We understand only 65 workers have found jobs so far.)

None of the union bureaucrats and their junior partners want us to fight GM. Letters to GM, to Congressmen, mayors' task forces, demonstrations, etc., are worthless and a con game. There is only one real answer to GM and that is to use the power of the union before that power is taken away by putting us out on the street. GM cares a lot more about their machinery than about us and our families. As long as we occupy the plant GM can't move it. And as long as we're inside the plant we make the decisions, not Mays or Nano. Holding the plant as hostage we can squeeze concessions for us: (1) Keep Fremont open; (2) Union-level wages through unconditional, unlimited unemployment compensation with full cost-of-living protection, paid for by the federal government to keep auto workers and the rest of the unemployed off welfare. GM's got the money. So does the government. It's just going into Reagan's trillion-dollar war drive against the Soviet Union. Millions for his butchers in El Salvador while he rolls back union gains and black rights at home. Labor must bring down the union buster Reagan and his labor lieutenants like Fraser. But labor has power only when it has a job. That means a fight now to keep this plant open. There are no jobs out there, especially for banged-up ex-auto workers. We need a sitdown!

UAW Militant Caucus
February 21, 1982

Rouge...

(continued from page 1)

the streets. We need to organize a two-day sitdown, beginning right here at the Rouge, the heart of Ford's operations. With a wave of such sit-down demonstrations, we can lead millions of workers, black and white, into action and smash concessions for good. Screw Reagan's anti-Soviet war budget: let's squeeze concessions out of them! The future of our union, working people and poor in this labor/black town is at stake. It's sitdowns or soup lines."

Militant workers stayed away from the bureaucracy's unit meetings in droves. Most were a third to a quarter the size of normal contract meetings. Those who did come found out that the contract is even worse than they had thought, that the SUB [Supplemental Unemployment Benefits] was to be financed by deducting up to \$100 from paychecks of workers who had previously received TRA [Trade Readjustment Allowance] benefits and that those already on layoff were ineligible for GIS. Officials bureaucratically ruled out of order the RMC's sit-down resolution and steamrollered anyone who protested their cozy relationship with the bosses. One 50-year-old black worker who had been put on four jobs in the body shop before the company found one he couldn't do was told by Dearborn Assembly Plant unit head Hank Wilson that he was lucky to have any work at all.

Many of the workers who voted for Fraser's rip-off undoubtedly had illusions that this deal would guarantee jobs. But others voted "yes" simply because they knew that no one in the

UAW leadership was prepared to fight for a real alternative. Rouge workers were particularly disgusted as they saw one bureaucrat after another who had postured against concessions knuckle under to Fraser.

Doug Thompson, head of Local 600 parts workers, and Hank Wilson changed their votes to back Fraser all the way. Wilson asserted at one meeting that UAW flying squads should be mobilized against opponents of the contract! Rick Martin, head of Coke, told *WV* reporters that he was against the contract, but there was no point in fighting it. Martin, who helped ram through the Rouge's first concession package in the steel division a year ago, didn't want any militants around this time, and excluded RMC supporters from Coke unit meetings.

Al Gardner of Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC) campaigned against the contract but opposed sit-down action for jobs. The International made hay of the fact that Gardner's overwhelmingly white tool and die unit was working seven days a week while 40 percent of the Rouge was on layoff. Coming from Fraser, who negotiates 60-hour workweeks, helps administer dozens of plant closings and is now handing over billions more, this was sheer hypocrisy. But he did have Gardner's number. Gardner's only advice to unemployed auto workers is to wait for Reagan's economy to improve!

Phony militants in Local 600 tailed after Gardner. The United Front Caucus (UFC), consisting of Jim Rothe's "Local 600 Organizer" and the so-called CMDUAW (a group backed by the Ann Arbor-based RWL sect which justifies

and practices *scabbing*), opposed sit-downs. Their answer to concessions was a one-day work stoppage—to be organized by the same UAW International that engineered the billion-dollar giveaway! Their con game is to convince auto workers that the pro-capitalist UAW bureaucrats will fight. A February 24 leaflet issued by CMDUAW blustered, "UAW members must...force the bureaucrats to fight for jobs." The leaflet had no criticisms of Gardner and whined that bureaucrats like Hank Wilson were sitting on the fence. So now Wilson got off the fence. He's backing Fraser. Meanwhile the "Local 600 Organizer" published a statement defending "Gardner's manhood" against Fraser's attacks. The UFC phonies paint up Gardner, Wilson & Co. because they share the no-fight program of these reformist bureaucrats.

The capitulation of the house opposition to the Fraser gang underscores the bankruptcy of trade-union reformism. You can't fight the concessions drive without going up against the capitalist system. The pay cuts, plant closings, mass layoffs and pauperization of large sections of Detroit's predominantly black proletariat are organically rooted in the decay of American imperialism and the desperate drive of U.S. bosses to recoup their flagging profits. Ultimately the ruling class answer to foreign competition is a new imperialist war. The money is there so workers and the unemployed can live decently, but it's going to Trident submarines. The Gardners and their hangers-on don't want to take over the plants because they are no more willing than Fraser to challenge capitalist

property relations and Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

Doug Fraser's gigantic rip-off is a blow to auto workers but not an irrevocable defeat. Illusions in Fraser's bogus job security won't last long. Auto workers will remember those who lied to them—from Fraser to his small-fry henchmen—who told them that they could win jobs without class struggle. The RMC must marshal a dedicated core of anti-capitalist militants who can go out and organize mass sitdowns to smash the concessions drive. Only such actions can keep labor/black Detroit from going down the tubes, and spark a workers offensive to bring down Reagan. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

The bloody civil war in El Salvador is raging at white heat. Leftist guerrilla fighters have got the butcher junta on the run. Reagan has proclaimed Central America the front line of his anti-Soviet Cold War. Frustrated by the blow to their "rollback" plans in Poland, the warhawks in Washington want to "teach the Russians a lesson" by drowning the Central American masses in a sea of blood. Which side are you on?

Daily, Reagan and Haig escalate their threats to use a Big Stick to stop Communism in "America's backyard." Helicopter gunships, Green Beret torture training for Salvadoran troops, CIA hit teams of Cuban gusanos and Nicaraguan exiles, now talk of a Caribbean blockade and sending in the Marines. Yet the reformist organizers of the "official" El Salvador protests, eager for an alliance with Democratic "doves," refuse to call for leftist rebels to win the war.

Last May 3 we marched on the Pentagon calling for the leftist rebels to win the war in El Salvador, protesting U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. Now more than ever! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are calling for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in Washington, D.C. for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" "Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Democrats—For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!"

A decade ago the New Left marched to chants of "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh. NLF is Going to Win!" Today the ex-radicals call for a "political solution" in El Salvador—a coalition with sections of the military/Christian Democratic junta. It is a dangerous illusion to think that the massacres can be stopped by talking with the blood-crazed military butchers. For the brutally oppressed working masses of El Salvador, the only just "political solution" is workers revolution.

A decade ago the New Left marched to chants of "Two, Three, Many



May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!

Break with the Democrats— Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Vietnams!" But as the Republicans talk of falling dominos in Central America, the Democratic Party "doves" are flapping their wings in fear of being drawn into "another Vietnam." Today the reformists call for "No More Vietnams," appealing to the liberals' fear of becoming mired in one more losing imperialist adventure. On March 27, only the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent will say "Vietnam was a Victory" over imperialism.

The reformists try to hide from the Cold War, and the class war. On El Salvador they are in cahoots with the Democrats (who brought us the "human rights" junta). Over Poland many of them join the obscene hypocrisy of Reagan, who crushes PATCO and proclaims "solidarity with Solidarność," the company union for the CIA and the bankers. The U.S. imperialists are taking aim at Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union. We say:

Defense of Cuba/USSR Begins in Central America!

Reagan has brought the Cold War home. Auto plants are closed while war production booms. Race terrorists in white sheets and blue uniforms are on the rise. Desperate Haitian refugees are put in concentration camps, while Polish anti-Communists are welcomed with open arms. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle here.

continued on page 5

Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! March with Us March 27 in Washington, D.C.!