

"You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats!"

American Nightmare: 13 Million Jobless

It's official. One out of every seven Americans is jobless—the highest rate in 42 years, since before World War II. That's 11.3 million people unemployed... 13 million (over 14 percent of the workforce) if you count those who've given up looking. Seven

million have already run out of unemployment benefits. For black people it is the second Great Depression: black unemployment is twice that of whites, and over half the black teenagers eligible to work can't find a job. Reagan says, "Permanent recovery

cannot be achieved without some pain." As he chops unemployment benefits, food stamps, welfare and Medicaid, working people and minorities are feeling it. The big cities rot. Assembly lines stop and steel mills stand idle while the bosses scream for

more givebacks. Bloody fascist terror and cop brutality are on the rise. The Democrats plan to ride this tide of misery to electoral success in November.

The Democrats?! They're the reason Reagan got elected in the first place! After years of falling wages, pounding inflation and massive layoffs, working people wanted anybody but Carter. The Democrats paved the way for Reagan reaction. It was Jimmy Carter, not Ronald Reagan, who first told the cities to drop dead. Carter's last budget, anticipating Reagan, involved a massive increase in military spending combined with major reductions in health care, education, school lunch programs and welfare. Even the Democrats' own Congressional Black

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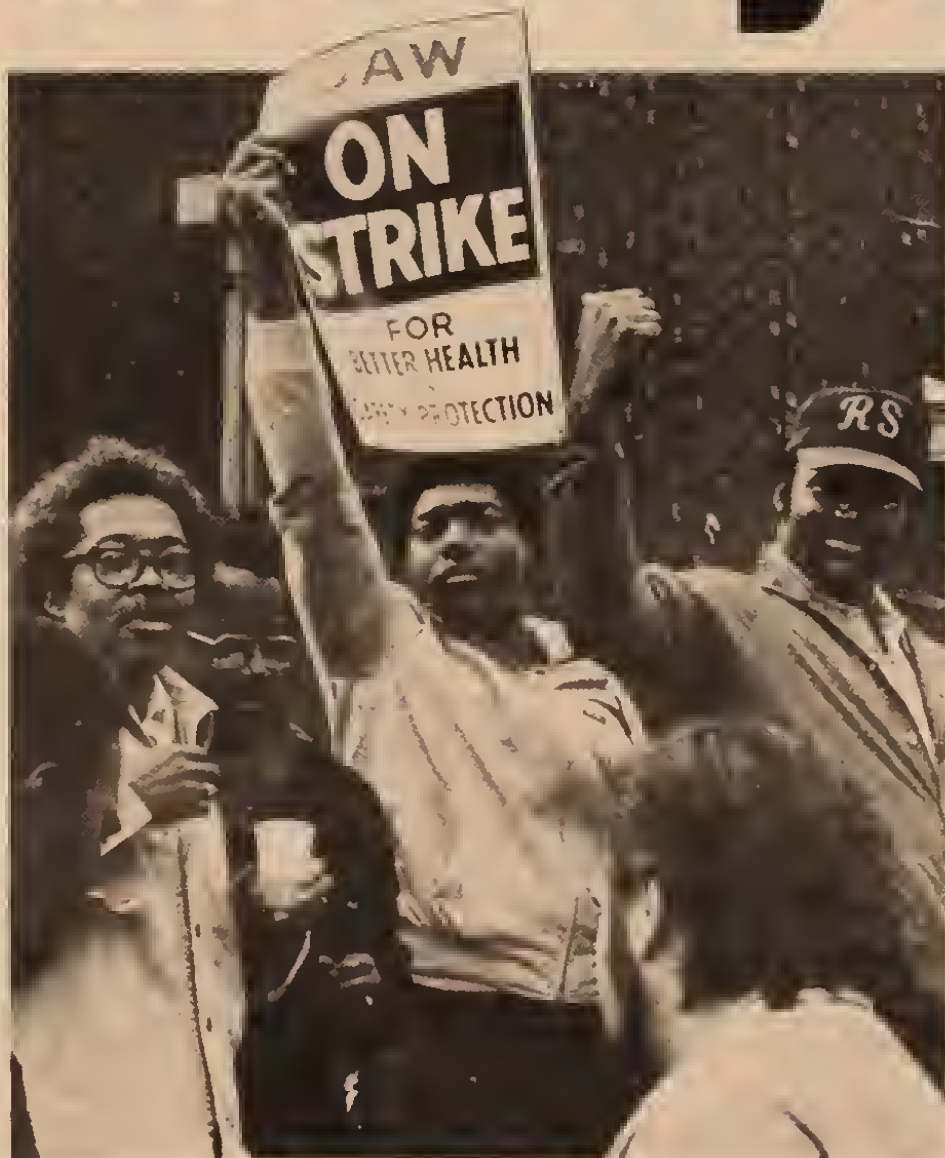
Take Back the Givebacks!

Strike Chrysler!

Dump Company Man Fraser—Elect Strike Committees!

DETROIT—Chrysler workers are in an uproar over Doug Fraser's new give-back contract. After two and a half years of concessions, they've had more than enough. And they showed it when the old contract expired on September 15: there were angry wildcats all over the country, from Delaware to Twinsburg in Ohio to Jefferson Assembly here in Detroit. And they just got madder three weeks ago, when Fraser told them they'd have to eat givebacks for three more years! The United Auto Workers (UAW) chief said he'd personally canvass the big locals to sell the deal. Instead the workers were forced to sit through a videotape of Fraser's speech to the UAW Chrysler Council. At Jefferson hundreds of disgusted workers walked out with fists raised, chanting, "Vote No! Vote No!" And they did. Nationwide the Chrysler deal was stomped by a two-to-one margin.

Across the Detroit River Canadian Chrysler workers erupted on October 6. When Fraser postponed the strike deadline to scuttle the possibility of a joint strike with U.S. Chrysler workers, van plant workers in Windsor answered with a wildcat. They also said they opposed the tentative accord in the U.S. Ignoring the police, hundreds began picketing with makeshift signs. A truck trying to bring parts into the plant was halted, its tires flattened and its contents emptied onto the road. The plant stayed shut the next day; angry pickets even kept the plant manager out. Meanwhile 800 Chrysler workers walked out of the Ajax trim plant near Toronto in solidarity with the Windsor strikers. Tires on 200 cars were slashed as would-



UAW workers strike Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant against Fraser's sellout contract, September 16.

be scabs were reminded that picket lines mean "Don't Cross!" The same day workers wildcatted at the die casting and piston plant in Etobicoke.

Fraser's contract is in shambles. But it will take militant class struggle to bury it. Otherwise the UAW bureaucracy will just wait it out until the anger dissipates. Fraser is determined to get another

giveback deal passed. In fact, this traitor who sits on the Chrysler Board of Directors is the company's *hardliner*! As his contract was being clobbered by overwhelming no-votes, Fraser complained that Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca was boasting about the company's \$1 billion cash reserve: "They've been told there's a big pot of gold and all you have

to do is dip your hand in and pick it out."

Anyone who says Chrysler workers should wait for Fraser, a cop for the bosses, to lead a strike is preaching a strategy of guaranteed defeat. Shut down Chrysler *now* in both the U.S. and Canada! No more contract extensions! For elected strike committees—Oust Fraser! A Chrysler-wide strike could ignite Ford and General Motors workers and lead to an industry-wide strike. They could join up with UAW ag imp workers, led by the Caterpillar strikers. For mass picketing and flying squads to spread the strike! Throw back all the givebacks! Restore the uniform industry-wide contract—with a big pay hike!

For a General Strike in Detroit!

In Detroit where Chrysler is centered, there is a burning need for a citywide labor offensive to shut the city down. Tens of thousands of workers in this black and labor city have been permanently "scrapped." Those who still have jobs have taken colossal wage cuts. Coleman Young, the black Democratic Party mayor, has imposed Reagan-style austerity on workers and the poor, busting AFSCME strikes while slashing city services.

The conditions are ripe for a general strike. Full employment and decent wages will never be achieved under decaying capitalism, but a general strike could defeat the bosses' anti-labor offensive. For a 20 percent wage hike for city workers! For unlimited unemployment compensation at union wages with full cost-of-living for all laid-off workers, retirees and the poor!

A Chrysler strike could lead the way, unleashing the full power of the labor movement. First and foremost is Ford's River Rouge complex in Dearborn. Once the largest factory in the world

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Free Black Panther Geronimo Pratt!

He has been behind bars for 11 years, more than six of them in solitary in such hellholes as Folsom and San Quentin prisons, for a murder he did not commit. The only "crime" of former Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt was to be a member of the best and most militant wing of black nationalism which the government sought to physically annihilate in the late '60s and early '70s.

Only four days after Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in cold blood by the Chicago police, the notorious racist killer cops of the Los Angeles Police Department came for Pratt. On 9 December 1969, hundreds of Metro Squad and SWAT team commandos, armed with M-60 machine guns, tear gas launchers, dynamite and helicopters, bombarded the Panther office where Pratt lived. Pratt, a decorated Vietnam war veteran, survived only because his war wounds forced him to sleep on the floor. Nevertheless, he was arrested for "conspiracy to assault policemen." But the police conspiracy was so obvious that even an all-white jury acquitted Pratt of all charges except a relatively minor weapons charge.

Having failed to kill Pratt in bed, the government turned to those "dirty tricks" that were part and parcel of the notorious COINTELPRO program and the FBI's "neutralization" campaign to "disrupt, misdirect and discredit the activities" of the Black Panther Party.

Later in 1969, Pratt's wife, eight months pregnant and also a Panther member, was mysteriously shot in the head and dumped on an L.A. freeway. No arrest was ever made for this murder. In 1971, while in jail on the 1969 weapons charge, Pratt was framed for the brutal and senseless 1968 murder of a schoolteacher, Caroline Olsen.

It was exactly the sort of crime that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover liked to pin on respected radicals. The point was

to keep the Panther leaders out of circulation, no matter how phony the "cases" against them.

As the *WV* interview with Pratt's attorney, Stuart Hanlon, published below demonstrates, the decade that Pratt has spent in prison has revealed a mass of incontrovertible evidence that he was subjected to a racist frameup. Pratt recently won a federal court decision in which two former San Quentin officials were found guilty of

violating his civil rights by holding him in solitary confinement for six years. The federal jury, however, which reached a unanimous verdict after three days deliberation, still refused to award Pratt one cent of his suit for \$1 million in damages. And Pratt's principled refusal to admit "guilt" in the Olsen murder has meant his rejection of the humiliating parole and pardon process provided by capitalist "justice."

The Spartacist League recognized the importance of the development of the Panthers as the most militant expression of the "black power" movement. But unlike those reformists and fake-leftists who cheered the Panthers' eclectic black nationalism which served as an obstacle to black liberation, we intervened to try to win these militants to a proletarian revolutionary perspective and the building of a Leninist combat party. Today the rest of the left remains silent about Pratt while their former black nationalist heroes like Newton and Bobby Seale have made their peace with the racist establishment and crawled into the Democratic Party. In the case of Eldridge Cleaver, he has become a spokesman for one of its most reactionary and sickest manifestations, the Moonies. Pratt, who refuses to renounce his radical nationalist political past, remains behind bars. Pratt is a symbol of resistance to racist oppression. The fight for black liberation is a motor force of the American workers revolution. Free Geronimo Pratt!



Victims of cop vendetta: Black Panther militants led by Geronimo Pratt (right) after their headquarters was shot up in SWAT team attack, Los Angeles, 1969.

WV: I understand Pratt is now waiting for a decision from a federal district court on his request for a new trial. Is this appeal based on the new evidence which came out in the FBI COINTELPRO documents?

Hanlon: Yes, that is the basis of the present writ of habeas corpus. Pratt should get a new trial because the main witness against Geronimo confessed to being an FBI informant, for about 25 months prior to the trial. That information was not only not turned over by the government, but the witness himself lied about it during the trial. The FBI, with the Los Angeles police, had informants in Pratt's defense team during the trial. That should be grounds to reverse his trial.

Pratt's alibi was that he was in Oakland during the time of the murder, which was in Los Angeles. And we now know that the FBI had wiretaps above the Oakland and L.A. offices of the Panther party. They say they've now lost those wiretaps, which existed at the time of the first trial. If in fact he was not in Oakland like he said, then the government would have come forward with the wiretaps, proving that he was in L.A. So now they've "lost" them—just a way of not turning them over. That's the third ground. The fourth ground is that the husband of the woman who was killed made an identification prior to Pratt of somebody else, a positive

identification two weeks after the killing of a guy [who was] in jail at the time of the killing. But that information was kept from the jury at the time of the first trial.

Then the whole COINTEL program: there was a motive to have this done, these incidents don't exist in isolation. He was the head of the [L.A.] Panther party and the FBI was out to get the Panther party and him. And all the evidence we use to prove this comes from the FBI themselves, or from the Los Angeles Police Department.

WV: So the judge has been sitting on this for over a year. What about the immediate conditions of Pratt's imprisonment? You had filed a suit against him being held in solitary confinement.

Hanlon: We filed a suit in 1976. It came to trial finally in April of this year, and we won the trial. He has been moved and he's living on the main line, so that was a really big thing for him. But strangely, the jury didn't give him any money damages, even though saying he'd been locked up illegally for six years.

WV: We heard a report that he was returned to solitary.

Hanlon: He was returned about two weeks after the verdict, on the grounds that he refused double-celling, which is a big issue out here. They're trying to double-cell all the prisoners. He refused to do it, he was put in isolation, but then within about two days the prison moved him back to the main line, and he's not in double-celling now.

WV: That's two people for a cell that was built for one?

Hanlon: Right, in a cell that's approximately six feet by nine feet. And the main line people are now spending about 20 hours a day [in those cells]. The prisons are overcrowded, and they're trying to deal with it by double-celling. He refused so they put him in the hole for two days. It was real clear it was retaliation for the verdict. He's not in the hole now, but we're in a reactionary political climate, especially out here in terms of the judiciary. The state judiciary is under attack by the right wing,

and the judges are making their decisions based on what they think is going to get them elected. In another political climate he would have been out of prison years ago. The evidence showed he didn't get a fair trial, yet he's still in prison and has lost three times.

WV: We've done a couple of articles on his case, one after the incident where two guys climbed up the Statue of Liberty to publicize it. Nationally, though, he has gotten almost no attention. We're continuing to cover it because we consider this to be a clear-cut case of a racist frameup, and Geronimo Pratt one of the most honorable representatives of the black power movement, who stood fast to his convictions.

Hanlon: He certainly has, and I think if he had not done that, he'd probably be out of prison sooner. But because he's maintained his politics, the reason he's in there, he's not getting any play. We proved what he had to prove, ten times over, and he hasn't gotten anything in

the courts. There's been enough evidence produced to let five people out of prison, and it's clear he didn't get a fair trial. It's clear he was framed, yet because of the right-wing political activity the judges are afraid. And he's been getting screwed because he does maintain the politics he always had. That's what people ought to know.

WV: What about a review by a parole board?

Hanlon: He refuses to go. They want him to admit he did it before they can parole, but he refuses to admit it. So he's just stopped going, as a political statement about them.

* * * * *

Those who wish to send messages of solidarity or financial contributions for the defense of Geronimo Pratt can write to Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, California 94103. Or they can write directly to: Geronimo Pratt, B40319, San Quentin Prison, Tamal, California 94964. ■

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Marxist Bulletin

WHAT STRATEGY FOR BLACK LIBERATION?
Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

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Morenoite Thugs Attack Trotskyists with Claw Hammers

Attempted Murder!

At a "public" forum held in Los Angeles on October 2, leaders of the International Workers Party (IWP—formerly Revolutionary Workers Front [RWF]) carried out a potentially murderous assault against the Trotskyist supporters of the Spartacist League (SL). Offering up their services to the reformist/liberal popular front in the United States, these armed thugs attacked us with deadly weapons—claw hammers and numchakus (two pieces of hardwood linked by a chain). Using the methods of anti-communist Cuban gusanos and Ramón Mercader, the murderer of Leon Trotsky, IWP Political Bureau member Nicholas Kramer aimed a hammer blow at the head of a militant phone worker while the latter's back was turned. The trade unionist required hospital attention for blows to both the head and shoulder. *Nicholas Kramer: we accuse you of attempted murder!*

These cowardly *señoritos*, followers of Argentine adventurer Nahuel Moreno, fear political combat with the SL because they cannot defend their anti-Soviet politics while maintaining pretensions of Trotskyism. Last spring, in a slanderous "open letter to the left," Kramer accused us of "non-political Stalinist-type provocations or insults" in order to excuse his own disruption of an RWF forum in San Francisco. There he cut off an SL speaker who was denouncing the Morenoites for not even mentioning defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and counterrevolution in a speech on Poland (see *WV* No. 304, 30 April). Now it is demonstrated that Kramer's classic Stalinist lies and cop-baiting were the prelude to Stalinist-style gangsterism. And the claw hammers used by these would-be killers can be just as lethal as the ice-ax used by the GPU assassin to murder Trotsky in 1940.

The vicious assault began with the exclusion of Spartacist supporters from the IWP forum. Prior to the attack, Kramer and his sidekick Gregorio treated their own members like idiots. SL leaflets were snatched away and they were told not to speak with SLers. Several did nevertheless, which increased the frenzy of their leaders, who declared that only two Spartacists were to be allowed in. This anti-communist exclusion would, moreover, leave them completely vulnerable to a physical assault. We loudly protested this violation of workers democracy, briefly chanting "Political exclusion!" At this point Morenoite goons slammed the forum doors shut so people inside could not see them pull out lethal weapons and threaten SL comrades and supporters. We immediately set up a picket line on the sidewalk 50 feet away in protest. One SL sign read: "Fake Trotskyists of IWP Exclude Defenders of Soviet Union!"

The Morenoites formed a line of goons brandishing their deadly weapons. When an SL supporter took pictures of these armed thugs, the IWP leadership went berserk, launching their murderous assault. But they were unable to destroy the evidence (see accompanying photos). Our comrades escaped without serious injury in part because most of the goon squad did not use their weapons or join in the attack. In fact, several IWPers who witnessed this unprovoked attack were so shaken by the anti-communist violence that they were in tears. *It was Nicholas*

Claw-hammer attack by IWP assailant (see arrow) on militant phone worker: They would kill to silence the truth.



WV Photos

SL picket (right) protests anti-communist exclusion moments before murderous attack.

Kramer, his strutting hatchetman Gregorio and two or three others who aimed the potentially lethal blows.

Every IWP member and supporter should ask, what is your leadership afraid of, what are they trying to hide? This vicious thug attack on the Trotskyist SL flows from the cowardly opportunist and virulently anti-Soviet politics of the IWP and the Morenoite current internationally. Nicholas Kramer was trained in the school of Nahuel Moreno, a notorious swindler guilty of the most brazen political banditry and violations of proletarian morality.

- Moreno has tried to pass himself off as a Peronist in the 1950s, publishing his magazine "under the discipline of General Perón and the Peronist Supreme Command"; as a Guevarist and (briefly) a Maoist in the '60s, a social-democrat, a Sandinista and a black nationalist in the last decade. He even occasionally claims to be an orthodox Trotskyist.

- But when some of his lieutenants put Moreno's guerrillaist program into practice, this cowardly *caudillo* turned tail and ran. He pledged support to the second Perón regime even while Peronist gunmen were shooting leftist workers in the streets (in 1974). Nicholas Kramer learned to stab in the back from a master!

Moreno has a particular predilection for macho Third World nationalist strongmen, the bloodier and the more ferociously anti-Soviet the better. He hailed Islamic feudalist Khomeini,

murderer of leftists, homosexuals, national and religious minorities. He backed CIA-armed reactionary mullahs in Afghanistan who oppose land reform and shoot Communists for teaching girls to read. The Morenoites support Polish Solidarność, company "union" for the CIA and Western bankers, and call for a government including the most counterrevolutionary clerical-nationalist and anti-Semitic groups in Poland.

Most recently, they supported Argentina's butcher Galtieri against Britain's "Iron Lady" Thatcher in a bloody squabble over some barren islands in the South Atlantic (the Falklands/Malvinas). Left and labor support for this diversion has prolonged the life of the Argentine military dictatorship, a regime which has jailed, tortured and murdered more than 300 of the Morenoites' comrades. Nahuel Moreno has taught his followers to salute their executioners!

He has also taught them every financial con game in the book. In Peru in 1962 Moreno was accused of running off with \$12,000 belonging to peasant organizations led by Hugo Blanco. In Argentina he cheated another left group out of \$19,000 for the publication of books for his Editorial Pluma. When he transferred his publishing operation to Colombia, his business partner accused him of fraud. Moreno's much-publicized Simón Bolívar Brigade in Nicaragua was a similar operation: a Colombian Morenoite leader dressed

up in army fatigues, renamed himself *comandante* and toured around raising thousands of dollars for a brigade which never fought a day against Somoza. Political banditry, café guerrillaism, anti-Sovietism, cowardice, treachery and criminal swindling: this is the truth about Moreno. No wonder Kramer will stop at nothing to prevent "his" membership from discussing with the authentic Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 315 15 October 1982

Keith Anwar: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

Steel Unionist Wins Key NLRB Case

A three and a half year fight has won an important legal victory for the fundamental principle of labor solidarity. On September 24 the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) upheld an NLRB judge's ruling that the Inland Steel Company wrongly fired Keith Anwar, a member of the United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1010, in May 1979 for honoring a picket line at the company's mammoth East Chicago, Indiana plant.

According to the NLRB order, Inland must reinstate Anwar with full back pay and seniority. The company must also eliminate any reference to the discipline against Anwar from its files and post for 60 days a "Notice to Employees" that says: "WE WILL NOT discharge, or otherwise discriminate against employees because they engage in their statutory right to refuse to cross picket lines...."

Also on September 24 the Labor Board ordered U.S. Steel to repay a former member of Local 1014, Gene Goldenfeld, for the 38 days he was suspended in September 1978. Goldenfeld was disciplined for honoring picket lines at Gary Works set up by members of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks during the 1978 nationwide rail shutdown.

The decision in both cases was a 3-2 split, with two Reagan appointees (including NLRB chairman John Van de Water) supporting the companies' reprisals against the unionists. In the Anwar case the minority sided with the arbitrator, whose central argument was:

"...that within the knowledge of the Company, no Inland Steel employee who is a member of Local 1010...has ever refused to report for work because he did not wish to cross a picket line established by striking employees of a company that performed services on Inland Steel premises.... [T]he Union has never raised a contention that it should be permitted...to honor picket lines.... In no instance, however, did Local 1010 ever urge or suggest to the membership that they should or could engage in a sympathy strike."

Thus these professional union busters use the betrayals of pro-company bureaucrats, who regularly stab each other in the back by crossing picket lines, to outlaw labor's most basic

rights. To stop them it takes class-struggle militants and determined union action to fight for the traditions and weapons which built the powerful industrial unions of the CIO.

Such labor victories do not come easy. Wide steel worker support was needed to push the Anwar case all the way through the union's grievance procedure to arbitration. When the arbitrator upheld Anwar's firing, thousands of dollars had to be raised from rank-and-file steel workers to defray the legal expenses of taking the case to the Labor Board. USWA backing for Anwar—including a USWA District 31 conference resolution pledging "all available resources" to the defense of workers who honor picket lines, and a rally by Local 1010—was the critical factor in winning the case before the NLRB.

But as a leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee (KADC) points out:

"...the fight isn't over yet. Inland can appeal the NLRB ruling to a federal appeals court. And if they do it could mean a trip all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.... We've done damned well beating Inland in Reagan's NLRB. Now let's make sure we're prepared to go all the way! It's time to put the 1979 District 31 resolution into action. The USWA should throw 'all available resources'—lawyers, money, publicity—into this precedent-setting fight for union solidarity!"

Labor's Weapons

Steel workers have a special interest in winning this fight today. The American steel industry is running at only 40 percent of capacity—the lowest since the Great Depression—and massive layoffs and plant closures have put 136,000 USWA members in basic steel out on the street. Since the mid-70s total USWA membership has plummeted from 1.4 million to below 900,000. The profit-greedy steel companies see this weakening of the union as an opportunity to extort billions of dollars in concessions from those who still have jobs. At U.S. Steel's South Works in Chicago, the company recently used the threat of complete closure (in a plant where over 9,000 jobs have already gone

Victory for Keith Anwar is a victory for militant unionism.

BALANOFF!
SADLOWSKI/
ANDREWS:
PICKET LINES
MEAN
DON'T CROSS!

MEMBER, USWA #1010



WV Photo

to the slag heap) to force through a local concessions contract. Instead of "saving jobs" the deal will eliminate jobs by combining work assignments. Such local giveback deals are being used to whipsaw the entire union into a concessions deal worth \$6 billion!

Lending the steel bosses a hand, of course, is racist labor-hater Ronald Reagan, who smashed the striking air traffic controllers union (PATCO) in 1981. Reagan's union-busting attack was aided and abetted by union misleaders who refused to carry out a basic act of labor solidarity: shutting down the airports until PATCO won its strike. The PATCO betrayal of 1981 helped make 1982 the Year of the Giveback. Backed into a corner by layoffs and concessions, steel workers must look to the weapons that built the unions in the 1930s—like strikes, mass picketing, sitdowns—for the only way out. Many USWA leaders want to return to the cozy ENA deal of the 1970s, which prohibited strikes even after contract expiration. Instead steel workers must fight to bust the still remaining contractual no-strike clause that has been used as an excuse for herding them across the picket lines of other unions.

The picket line, the battle line of the class struggle, is a basic weapon in labor's arsenal. For over a century the presence of a picket line has called for a uniform response from all workers: don't cross! This is a powerful and essential tool against the capitalists' "divide and rule" strategy. To win in

their future battles with the steel bosses, USWA members must revive the principles of union solidarity, like "picket lines mean don't cross." Many steel workers instinctively know that the working people can only defend themselves by sticking together against the capitalists. They know that winning Anwar's job back strengthens the whole union. This has been demonstrated time and time again throughout the Anwar defense campaign, as USWA members have donated time, energy and money toward the victory of this case.

The Fight for Workers' Solidarity at Inland

The Inland picket line fight began in 1978, the year of the 110-day coal miners strike. A one-week strike by Inland's masons, organized into Bricklayers Local 6, posed to the Local 1010 leaders the hard question: Which side are you on? When Anwar fought at both a Local 1010 membership meeting and at the yearly District 31 conference two days later for Local 1010 to instruct its 18,000 members to honor Bricklayer picket lines, he was ruled out of order. Still Anwar honored the picket lines. The Bricklayers won their strike by picketing the parking lot used by construction workers building Inland's new coke plant. When construction was brought to a halt because of craft union members respecting the picket lines, the steel company capitulated to the union's contract demands.

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Inland worker reinstated

By MARK POTOK
Times Business-Labor Writer

A politically-spill National Labor Relations Board has upheld an earlier order reinstating an Inland Steel worker fired for refusing to cross a picket line.

In a decision which expanded the order by Administrative Law Judge Arthur Pachl, the NLRB voted 3-2 to order the steelmaker to restore Keith Anwar's job and accord him full back pay and seniority. Inland has 20 days from the Sept. 24 decision to appeal to a federal appellate panel.

An Inland spokesman said today an appeal is being considered.

Dissenting from the order were NLRB Chairman John R. Van de Water and member Robert P. Hunter, both appointees of President Reagan whose nominations were stiffly opposed by an array of unions and labor support groups.

The arbitrator's decision overturned by Pachl's order was "palpably wrong," the majority said in their written opinion.

"The totality of bargaining history evidence relied on by the arbitrator was, as a matter of law, insufficient to warrant finding a waiver of statutory right" to engage in a sympathy strike, the 5-page opinion said in part.

Anwar, a millwright's apprentice before being fired in May 1979, called the decision "a real victory at a time when the labor movement is under attack on all fronts."

"We've got to fight together or we'll

go down one by one," he said. "The air controllers' strike shows how much we need picket lines that no one crosses."

Anwar, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1010, several times refused to cross a picket line thrown up near Inland's Indiana Harbor Works by USW Local 8180, representing 37 Apex Steel and Supply Co. employees who had been working inside the giant steel plant. Those workers struck Apex May 1, 1979, after their contract expired.

Anwar was at first suspended, and later fired, for his refusal.

In her earlier opinion, Pachl had sharply criticized the company for failing to back up its legal claims and the arbitrator, whose finding she wrote was "repugnant" to established labor law.

The company's position pivoted on a no-strike clause included in the master contract governing most USW basic steel locals. Attorneys argued that proviso excluded sympathy strikes that could hurt the steelmaker.

But Pachl ruled that only contract language specifically excluding such action — and not a pattern of earlier practice — could have protected Inland.

Pachl had ordered Inland to pay back wages dating to the end of the Apex strike, reasoning Anwar would not have been drawing wages until then anyway. But the NLRB expanded that, ordering the company to allow pay and seniority from the date of Anwar's discharge.

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MEAN
DON'T CROSS!

MEMBER, USWA #1010



Keith Anwar pickets before being fired by Inland.

THE TIMES

Home Newspaper of the Calumet Region

—4 October 1982

NLRB rules for two steelworkers

By Jim Procter
Post-Tribune Staff Reporter

The National Labor Relations Board has ruled in favor of two area steelworkers who were disciplined for refusing to cross picket lines set up by union locals other than their own.

In identical 3-2 votes, the NLRB ordered last month

— That Keith Anwar, a member of USW Local 1010 at

Inland Steel Co. who was fired in 1979, be reinstated with back pay and seniority.

— That Eugene Goldenfeld, a USW Local 1014 member at U.S. Steel Gary Works, be repaid money he lost during two suspensions in late 1978.

The board further ordered both steelmakers to post notices that employees won't be disciplined for exercising their "statutory right to refuse to cross picket lines."

Inland and U.S. Steel have 30 days to appeal the decisions, an NLRB spokesman said.

Spokesmen for Inland and U.S. Steel said decisions to appeal the NLRB rulings are under consideration.

Dissenting votes were cast in both cases by John R. Van de Water, NLRB chairman, and Robert P. Hunter.

Arbitrators initially ruled against both Anwar and Goldenfeld after grievance proceedings.

In both cases, the steel companies argued that no-strike provisions in the basic-steel contract with the United Steelworkers prohibited employees from honoring picket lines.

The no-strike clause, called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, probably will be dropped from the next basic-steel contract, union and industry officials have said.

Citing the ENA, officials of Local 1010 and 1014 didn't endorse the picket lines Anwar and Goldenfeld chose not to cross.

The NLRB ruled, however, that despite ENA, union members didn't waive their right to honor

a picket line.

Anwar, a millwright's apprentice when he was fired in May 1979, refused to cross a picket line established by USW Local 8180, which represented bricklayers working for an outside contractor at Inland.

Goldenfeld, a motor inspector, was suspended without pay for periods of three and 35 days for refusing to cross a picket line set up in September 1978 by Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks members employed by the Elgin, Joliet & Eastern Railway.

Goldenfeld was suspended for three days for refusing to cross the picket line, and then was suspended for 35 days for distributing a leaflet supporting the strike by EJA employees, according to NLRB records.

6 October 1982—

Post-Tribune

serving the city of Gary daily

WORKERS VANGUARD

"For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan!"

SAN FRANCISCO, October 6—The reformist relics and parliamentary cretins of California's Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) couldn't believe their eyes and ears when Spartacist Party candidates Diana Coleman and Richard Bradley addressed their candidates' night with Bolshevik politics. They couldn't imagine how a call to class struggle was relevant to an election and thought prospective city office-holders should have more "concrete" concerns. Their questions to Coleman and Bradley reflect their astonishment that here were leftist candidates who were not sewer socialists like themselves.

Diana Coleman began: "You ask me a lot of questions about Propositions; you didn't ask me any one about class struggle. What do I think about Prop 'M' and tax-the-rich schemes? I'll let you in on a secret. Under capitalism the rich don't get taxed much and the bosses' state will never put people before profits." At this point, there were gasps from the audience. Coleman went on, "You can't change the priorities of capitalism at the voting booth and you can't reform the capitalist state to serve the interests of working people and minorities. It must be replaced with a workers state and it will take a socialist revolution to get it."

When someone asked, "If you're elected, what are you going to do?" and "What does El Salvador have to do with running the city?", Coleman replied that Reagan's drive to "draw the line against Communism" in Central America by supporting the bloody Salvadoran junta was a pressing question for the American working class and the left. The SL candidate said she would "advocate political strikes against U.S. involvement and stopping economic and military aid to the junta in El Salvador." She added, "I would use the seat on the

Board of Supervisors to call people out for struggle. For instance, when the PATCO strike was going on, there was a great need that the other labor unions, especially the IAM and Teamsters, honor those picket lines and shut down the airports."

Richard Bradley began his remarks:

"I sort of resent, actually, having the American flag in the background—I'm speaking here as a socialist candidate. The American flag symbolizes the death of millions in Vietnam and the death of millions across this country.

"As to your question, 'What legislation would I propose or support to stop runaway shops and plant closures?' You're dreaming. I worked as an auto worker for ten years and everyone I saw, from politician to labor bureaucrat to the so-called left who wished a strategy of reliance on the bourgeois state, did so only to defuse militant class struggle in the form of sit-down strikes, which I fought for against plant closures."

Bradley nailed Peace and Freedom as the tail of the capitalist Democratic Party, as witness the PFP's all-out support for "Solidarity Day II"—election day 1982. In San Francisco the AFL-CIO, Teamsters and ILWU have called a rally October 24 to "Vote Labor for Jobs and Justice." "They say 'vote labor,' but everyone knows that means 'vote Democrat,'" Bradley said. In contrast, the SL calls for "mass strike action to bring down Reagan." And in the fight against growing race-terror, the SL is not pushing bills to have the government "ban the Klan." "What's going to stop the Klan and Nazis is a mass mobilization of labor, blacks, Jews and gays and Latinos, not the damned Democratic Party."

To the question, "Concretely, what are you going to do?" Bradley replied:

"First thing is to have the working class remove that flag that's hanging in the

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WV Photo

Spartacist Richard Bradley (right) vs. DSA Democrat Ron Dellums.

Spartacist to Dellums: "You're Part of the Problem"

ADAPTED FROM
YOUNG SPARTACUS NO. 103,
OCTOBER 1982

Running for re-election on the slogan, "Time to take up the challenge," liberal black Democrat and Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) member Ron Dellums got a challenge he couldn't meet—the communist criticism and exposure by supporters of the Spartacist League (SL). At a September 25 meeting in Richmond, Richard Bradley, Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors, nailed Dellums for his lament that the black Democratic Party hustlers haven't been able to get out the black vote:

"Recently at the Congressional Black Caucus there was a comment made by Congressman Dellums, and I hope he responds to this. He said, 'Black people in this country over the last two years have been docile to the point of embarrassment.' Black people have seen what the Democrats and the Republicans have done to blacks in this country, what they have done to the working class... and what they are going to continue to do.

"For instance, the big cities in the country all have Democratic mayors—San Francisco: Feinstein; Detroit: Coleman Young; back to Chicago: Byrne; then go to Atlanta and you have Andrew Young. These

are the people who have laid off the working class and cut back long before Reagan came to power. They just laid the basis for Reagan and they continue to do the same thing."

In his own way, Dellums confirmed what the SL has been saying for some time—there is a bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war buildup which ties the Democrats to Reagan's racist budget-slashing. "One of the frustrations that I have as a black man in the Democratic Party," he said, is that "we are not posing a significant alternative." That's for sure! When Bradley noted that Dellums' budget "alternative" to Reagan's \$269 billion war chest was a "mere" \$200 billion, the black Congressman replied, "The overwhelming amount of money is in the personnel side." Like paying for sending the Marines to Lebanon, which Dellums and the pro-Zionist DSA proudly support! Democrat Dellums and his DSA have historically supported the Israeli government, which is now involved in a genocidal attack on the Palestinians in West Beirut as well as being a major supplier and ally of South Africa in its program of racist apartheid. As a second Spartacist spokesman told Dellums, "You're part of the problem."

You Can't Fight Reagan with Democrats— For Mass Strike Action to Bring Down Reagan! Build a Workers Party!

For Mass Strike Action to Bring Reagan Down!

- **Mass strike action against Reagan and the Democratic mayors!** Unchain labor—Oust the sellout bureaucrats! For a class-struggle workers party based on the unions! Fight for a workers government!
- **Strike to win!** Picket lines mean "Don't Cross!" No more PATCOs—For concrete labor solidarity against union-busting! For mass militant picket lines and flying squads for defense against strikebreakers!
- **For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs!** Seize closed plants! For unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages! Fight runaways—Organize the unorganized! No to import quotas—Trade wars lead to shooting wars!
- **Jobs for all!** 30 hours work at 40 hours pay! For a massive program of public works under union control! 100 percent cost-of-living escalator!
- **For union political independence from the capitalist state!** No court suits against unions! Cops/prison guards out of the unions! For solidarity strikes

against Taft-Hartley injunctions! Break from the AFLD and all other CIA labor fronts!

- **Throw out the bosses!** Seize all banks, major industry and bloodsucking utilities without compensation! Establish a workers government!

For Working-Class Defense of Democratic Rights!

- **Fight discrimination in schools, housing, jobs!** Equal pay for equal work! Decent low-cost housing! No tax breaks for segregated schools!
- **For busing against segregated schools—Extend it to the suburbs!** Free, quality higher education for all—Open admissions and free tuition with stipend!
- **Free abortion on demand!** Free available birth control! Free quality medical care! Free childcare!
- **Government out of the bedroom!** Down with anti-gay laws and cop

harassment! Down with censorship! Abolish all laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution!

- **For strict separation of church and state!** No prayers in public schools!
- **Stop INS raids and deportations!** Full citizenship rights for undocumented workers!

Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

- **For labor/black/Latino mobilizations to smash KKK/Nazi terror!**
- **Disarm the racist cops!** No reliance on racist government to "ban the Klan!"
- **Gun control disarms workers/minorities/gays—No on Prop 15!**
- **For black liberation through socialist revolution!**

Stop Reagan's War Drive— Defend the Soviet Union!

- **The main enemy is at home—Not one man, not one penny for the**

Imperialist armed forces!

- **Unconditional defense of USSR, Poland, Cuba** and all bureaucratically deformed workers states against imperialism and internal attempts at capitalist restoration!
- **Communist unity against Imperialism through proletarian political revolution** to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracies! Down with Stalinist nationalism—For revolutionary unity of Polish and Soviet workers!
- **Israel, U.S. Marines, French and Italian troops out of Lebanon!** Defend the Palestinians! Israeli/imperialist troops out of the West Bank and Gaza! For a socialist federation of the Near East!
- **Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!** Take San Salvador! No sellout "political solution"—Break with the capitalist parties! Defense of Cuba, USSR begins in El Salvador!
- **Halt Red Army in Afghanistan!** Down with Islamic reaction! No to the veil! Extend gains of October Revolution to the Afghan peoples!
- **Smash apartheid in South Africa—For workers revolution!** For a black-centered workers and peasants government! For international labor action in defense of black trade unions!

Workers Beware:



Trashing a Toyota: Democrats, bureaucrats have no answer to capitalist depression except flag-waving chauvinism and trade war against Japan.

Protectionist Poison

"We've been running up the white flag, when we should be running up the American flag!... What do we want our kids to do? Sweep around Japanese computers?..."

"We have got to get tough—and I mean *really tough*!—with nations that use our markets but deny us their markets! And I'll tell you today that if you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

—Democratic Party leader
Walter Mondale to a recent
convention of the International
Union of Electrical Workers

In nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe it was common to blame Jewish bankers—especially the Rothschilds—for all economic ills: depression, inflation, bankruptcies, pauperization. When times got hard Jewish merchants and pawnbrokers were attacked, mobs invaded Jewish ghettos. That is why the old German Marxist August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools." Today, with the capitalist world suffering the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930s, it is becoming common in West Europe and the U.S. to blame it all on the Japanese. Taking a leaf from Bebel, one can call anti-Japanese protectionism "the economic planning of fools." Ultimately, as the quote from liberal Democrat Mondale suggests, this reactionary program

to "solve" the capitalist crisis by exporting it leads straight to imperialist war.

In the U.S. the main peddlers of this "economic planning of fools" are the union bureaucrats and "friend of labor" Democratic Party politicians. In fact, more trade protectionism is the Democrats' and pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats' *only* answer to Reaganomics. Liberals no longer talk about a new New Deal, about large-scale public works projects, about rebuilding this country's crumbling highways, urban transit systems and waterworks, about extending education and social welfare benefits. On the contrary, the Democrats' only difference with Reagan is over *how much to cut* Social Security pensions, Medicare, food stamps and similar programs in order to build up the military machine for war on the Soviet Union.

The only New Deal the Democrats are offering is a new trade war and behind that a shooting war. Fritz Mondale and Teddy Kennedy are competing for their party's presidential nomination by telling union conventions that nobody, but nobody will be tougher against the Japanese. When Democratic Congressional leader Tip O'Neill spoke in Detroit last March, he blustered, "If I were president... I'd fix the Japanese like they've never been fixed" (*Los Angeles Times*, 19 March). Remember that his fellow Democrat Harry Truman dropped two A-bombs on the Japanese!

When United Auto Workers (UAW) chief Doug Fraser is not negotiating giveback contracts—that is, cutting his members' wages and benefits to increase company profits—he is pushing a "local content" bill which would require auto companies which sell half a million or more cars a year in the U.S. (as do Toyota and Datsun) to manufacture 90 percent of the components in this country. This bill is aimed not only at Japanese producers but also at the foreign operations of U.S. companies. For example, this year GM used 400,000 engines made in its Mexican plants in assembling cars in the U.S. If enacted into law, the UAW's "local content" bill would immediately throw thousands of Mexican GM workers into the streets. The Fraser gang couldn't care less about these Mexican auto workers who would face truly desperate poverty.

The "local content" bill is so extreme and disadvantageous to Detroit's Big Three that at first no one took it seriously. However, UAW and AFL-CIO lobbyists have quietly lined up the endorsements of a majority of Congressmen, though it is unlikely to get through the Senate at this time. In the meantime Reagan is using Fraser's ultra-protectionist bill as a stick to beat additional "voluntary" export restraints out of the Japanese.

The anti-Japanese protectionist drive necessarily appeals to "yellow peril" racism and warmongering. A bumper sticker displayed at the UAW's Solidari-

ty House headquarters in Detroit says: "Toyota—Datsun—Honda and Pearl Harbor." Last year in Milwaukee a group of UAW members slashed and stomped on a Japanese flag. This kind of flag-waving and flag-burning chauvinism also inflames racist attacks on black and Hispanic workers in this country. Even more than the Democrats and Republicans it is the Klan and Nazis who are the real "buy American" fanatics. Remember, Hitler's Germany was a model of national economic protectionism. Black workers who support anti-Japanese trade measures are making common cause with the same racist pigs who mobilize lynch mobs, screaming to send them "back to Africa" or to death camps, with lies that "blacks take jobs away from white people." Protectionism is racist poison.

Protectionism will not bring full employment and economic salvation; it is the road to industrial rot. While building up the imperialist war machine, threatening the Soviets with nuclear holocaust and raining napalm death on Vietnamese peasants, America's capitalists have driven this country's industrial plant into the ground. That's why steel, auto, machine tools, electrical products—the list goes on—can no longer compete in world markets. The necessary reindustrialization of America will *never* happen under this degenerate capitalist regime. The modernization and reconstruction of this country's industrial capacity requires *socialist* economic planning. And that requires a workers revolution.

The Workers and Poor Pay for Protectionism

To speak about the benefits of the international division of labor may seem abstract and bookish. However, every man, woman and child in this country appreciates this in their everyday life. Millions of American workers, including auto workers, buy Toyotas, Datsuns and Volkswagens because they are cheaper, better quality and less expensive to operate. In their chauvinist frenzy the UAW tops banned foreign cars from the Solidarity House parking lot. This shows that the UAW's own employees, members and even officials find foreign cars good for their *personal* economy. In fact, the clerical workers union at Solidarity House rightly protested the ban.

Why the flood of Japanese auto imports in recent years? Contrary to the claims of "buy American" demagogues, it is *not* because Toyota and Datsun are low-wage companies. Wage rates in Japan were relatively far lower 15 years ago, when Japanese auto imports were minimal. But beginning in the early 1970s the American/British oil cartel (the Seven Sisters) and its friends the Arab sheiks jacked up the price of crude oil by over 1,000 percent! As gas prices took off, U.S. companies were too shortsighted and profit-greedy to retool for the smaller, fuel-efficient cars American consumers were demanding. Almost all imported cars are small-size models, while the U.S. auto plants which have been shut down mainly produced the traditional Detroit gas guzzler which many cannot afford any longer.

If they would not have to worry about foreign competition, what is to prevent the Big Three from charging the moon for the cars they're producing? Nothing. A study done a few years ago by the Congressional Budget Office calculated that a 20 percent cut in imports would add \$4 billion to new car prices and put only 16,000 auto workers back to work. This means it would cost American consumers a quarter of a million dollars(!) for *each* additional job created through auto protectionism.

Access to lower-cost foreign goods is especially important for the poorest sections of the population. Walk down any big street in a black neighborhood

and you will see teenagers with Japanese Walkman cassette players. Go into any ghetto playground and you will see satchel-size Sanyo radios.

Uncle Sam's Capitalism vs. Japan, Inc.

The American ruling class, especially the Reagan administration, is now making much noise about forcing the Japanese to "open up" their domestic market. Japan, Inc. is certainly no paragon of free trade. But the notion that if only Japan dismantled all import restrictions then U.S. Steel, GM and Zenith could effectively compete with Nippon Steel, Toyota and Sony in their home market is laughable. As a *Washington Post* (8 October) editorial observed drily, "It's hard to think that, with the most open market in the world, Japan would buy many American cars." No kidding.

The only American exports seriously affected by Japanese protectionism are agricultural products. Japan's ruling bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party has artificially preserved a relatively large, politically conservative peasantry as a crucial voting bloc against the Socialists and Communists. Thus the Japanese working class has a direct and immediate interest, political as well as economic, in dismantling their country's import restrictions.

Japan is an island which has to import almost all of its energy resources, metallurgical ore, etc. The dollars which Japan earns selling steel, autos and televisions in the U.S. are largely spent buying oil from the Persian Gulf states and iron ore from Australia and Brazil. If American manufacturers cannot compete in these "third country" markets, this failure has nothing to do with import restrictions in Japan.

Between 1962 and 1979 the U.S. share of world exports of motor vehicles fell from 23 to 14 percent, of telecommunications equipment from 29 to 15 percent, of metal-working machinery from 33 to 22 percent, of agricultural machinery from 40 to 33 percent (*Business Week*, 30 June 1980). The same story right across the board. In no major branch of manufacturing has the U.S. increased its share of world exports.

What accounts for the collapse of American manufacturing competitiveness, especially as against the Japanese? In brief, America's capitalists have run this country's industrial plant into the ground. Since the late 1960s they have invested in new plant and equipment at a rate less than one half of the Japanese: 7.5 percent of gross national product compared with 17 percent in Japan. And now they demand protection from superior Japanese competition!

And why the low U.S. rate of investment? Certainly a major factor is the enormous expenditure of limited industrial and technical resources on playing the role of imperialist world cop and striving "to prevail"—Pentagon chief Weinberger's euphemism for holocaust—in nuclear war against the Soviet Union. While Japanese imperialism is now undertaking an accelerated arms buildup of its own, throughout the postwar period it spent less than one percent of total national output on the military compared to 6 to 10 percent for Uncle Sam.

The cream of this country's technical know-how has been devoted to developing fragmentation bombs to slaughter defenseless Vietnamese and Palestinians, neutron bombs to fight a "limited" nuclear war in Europe and MX missiles for a first strike against the Soviet Union. A careful study on "The Impact of the Military Budget on the Domestic Economy" by liberal economist Lloyd Dumas of the University of Texas concluded:

"...the military budget has had an enormously negative long term impact on the functioning of the U.S. economy.



U.S. Big Three bosses wreck auto industry: Chrysler's Dodge Main demolished in Detroit (left). Datsun's automated plant outside Tokyo (right).



By pre-empting one-third or more of the nation's supply of scientists and engineers, the persistent high level emphasis on military-related technological activity produced a serious retardation of the rate of growth of civilian-related technology in the U.S. This retardation played a key role in producing a serious slowing, even to the point of reversal, of the nation's productivity growth."

—*Current Research on Peace and Violence*, No. 2, 1980

The Road to Industrial Rot

The collapse of productivity growth is the root cause of American industry's loss of competitiveness in world markets and consequently the increased pressures for protectionism. Between 1973 and 1978 U.S. manufacturing output per worker increased at an annual rate of 1.7 percent compared to 3.1 percent in the rest of the capitalist world. Is it any wonder that industry after industry in this country is going down the tubes?

Take machine tools, for example, the core of an industrialeconomy. A decade ago the value of U.S. machine tool exports was twice that of its imports. By 1978 the U.S. was a net importer of machine tools, principally from Japan. With their more up-to-date facilities Japanese firms can not only undersell U.S. machine tool producers, but can even fill orders more quickly, even halfway around the globe in the American market. According to an executive of Tokyo's Makino Milling Machine Co., "It's much easier competing against U.S. firms. In fact, I don't even think Japanese companies view American companies as competition" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 December 1981).

The decay of American industry is nowhere more striking than in steel, whose owners and union bureaucrats complain most loudly about "unfair trade" and foreign dumping. In 1956 the U.S. was far and away the largest steel

producer in the capitalist world. It had a production capacity of 130 million tons; Japan had only 14 million tons. Japan's unit cost was also somewhat higher than the American, although at that time wage rates in Japan were but a small fraction of those in the U.S. Yet within 20 years Japan not only surpassed the U.S. in steel-producing capacity but did so at a cost per ton almost 50 percent less than in American mills, and this despite the fact that Japanese wages rose far more rapidly than American.

How did this happen? Because the American steel cartel refused to modernize. Since 1960 exactly one—that's right, one—new integrated steel mill has been built in the U.S. (Bethlehem's Burns Harbor works). As a result the largest mills in Japan have twice the capacity of American mills; 53 percent of Japanese steel is produced by continuous casting compared to only 17 percent in the U.S. When a district director of the Steelworkers, Robert Petris, visited Japan a few years ago, he reacted as if he were visiting a more advanced planet:

"It's unbelievable! The way they are making steel at the new works we visited appears to me to be at least five to ten years ahead of anything we can build here in America even if we start right now.

"...the biggest single difference is the kind of engineering, plant technology, the size of the blast furnaces and the computerized processes that they employ compared with what I was used to working with and what I see here in America today."

—quoted in Richard Bolling and John Bowles, *America's Competitive Edge* (1982)

It is important to emphasize here that for the past 15 years the U.S. steel industry has been protected. In 1968 the Nixon gang muscled Japan into so-called "voluntary" export restraint in steel. The Carter administration strengthened this with the Trigger Price

Mechanism tariff system. And every year the U.S. steel industry becomes more backward, its plants more dilapidated, productive capacity is cut. Additional protectionism will only perpetuate a high-cost, low-investment steel industry. And the high cost of American steel contributes to the high cost of American autos and acts as a significant drag on the entire industrial economy.

Trade protectionism—"the economic planning of fools"—is the road to industrial rot. To see the long-term effects of trade protectionism, just look at Britain. When British industry reigned supreme in the middle of the nineteenth century, free trade was an article of faith for the British capitalist class. However, with the rapid development of German industry following its victory in the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War, protectionist pressures emerged and grew in Britain. As Trotsky wrote in his 1925 pamphlet, "Where Is Britain Going?":

"German competition was the first serious warning to British world hegemony, and inflicted the first serious injuries. Free trade encountered the superior German technique and organization.... With the middle of the 1870s, poor business sets in; free trade is discredited; the protectionist movement begins; the bourgeoisie is conquered more and more by imperialist tendencies."

Under the impact of the Great Depression in 1932 Britain turned to protectionism, claiming it would "rationalize" its declining industries behind tariff walls. After World War II successive Labour governments nationalized and then subsidized failing or bankrupt industries and firms (British Steel, Leyland Motors). The result of half a century of protectionism is an industrial wasteland, depression-level unemployment and the wholesale impoverishment of the British working people. This is the "future" which the liberal Democrats and sellout bureaucrats like UAW chief Fraser and the Steelworkers' McBride offer to millions of laid-off and concession-ridden workers and impoverished blacks who are suffering from the bankruptcy of American capitalism.

Depression, Protectionism, Imperialist War

When Fritz Mondale says that sending the U.S. Army into Japan is the only way to end the depression at home, he is reliving an important chapter in the history of twentieth-century American imperialism. There is a direct line from the Great Crash of 1929 to Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A key link between the Great Depression and World War II was protectionism—"beggar my neighbor" policies.

One year after the stock market crash which began the depression, the U.S. enacted the highest tariff in its history, the Smoot-Hawley tariff. Roosevelt and also Hitler came to power a few years later on a program of economic nationalism. In his inaugural presidential address the great liberal FDR proclaimed: "Our international trade

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Fraser gang In UAW spews anti-Japanese racist filth, bans foreign cars from Solidarity House parking lot.

Ag Imp Workers Strike Against Concessions

Bulldoze the CAT Bosses!

On September 30 the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck Caterpillar Tractor Company, the world's biggest manufacturer of earth-moving equipment, in an effort to throw back the company takeaways that have swept the automotive industry. With bloated inventories, CAT bosses figure 1982 is the year to get the union. Said one company official: "We are in a stronger position than we've been in for decades" (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 August). But with \$470 million in their war chest, the UAW workers have dug in and are ready to fight. "It looks like it's going to be a long hard winter," said a picket at the Peoria, Illinois plant. For 35,000 CAT workers, the question is: "How to win?"

The willingness of the ranks to fight is not in doubt. In 1979 they fought the company for nearly three months before being sold out. The obstacle to victory is the pro-capitalist UAW tops led by president Doug Fraser and top negotiator Stephen Yokich (UAW veep), who stood by as the company laid off 15,000 workers—40 percent of the Caterpillar workforce—and sent an extra \$300 million in products to dealers in recent months in anticipation of this strike.

Emboldened by Fraser's \$5 billion giveback to the Big Three, the CAT bosses have demanded a wage freeze, reduction in the cost-of-living allowance and elimination of some paid days off, though they've socked away \$3 billion in profits in the last six years. In response Fraser and Yokich are "demanding"—literally nothing! On September 29 the UAW bargainers "took everything we had off the table and offered a three year extension" of the existing agreement (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 October). "It

was rejected by CAT," a Solidarity House spokesman told *WV*. An "extension agreement" based on the existing agreement and subject to cancellation with five days notice was accepted by John Deere & Co. on September 30. Worse still, in May at International Harvester the Solidarity House gang gave back \$200 million in concessions. As in auto these concessions were rammed down the workers' throats as a job-saving measure. Since the settlement Harvester has announced plans to close two plants. CAT workers have decided not to take this crap. They're going to fight.

The tactics for victory come from the UAW's own arsenal of struggle. Caterpillar spokesmen are already talking about moving equipment out of the struck plant. "That might lead to a real bloodbath," a company spokesman threatened. They're talking about workers' blood! Urgently needed are *mass pickets* at every Caterpillar plant. In response to General Dynamic's threats to scab a struck tank plant near Detroit last month, UAW Local 1200 revived the *flying squads* which were crucial in the union's first organizing GM in 1937. After eight days, General Dynamics settled with an 18 percent wage increase. *For mass, "round-the-clock picketing and flying squads at every CAT plant! Nobody goes in and nothing comes out!*

Caterpillar workers must not fight alone. Fraser's one-at-a-time "strategy" is a gift to the bosses which allows the "target company" to hold out longer with the knowledge that its turn for strike action rolls around only once in a decade. But the defeatist cycle can be broken and the agricultural implement workers know it.

Three years ago the target was John Deere but workers at Caterpillar's giant Peoria plant walked out, despite International threats to withhold strike insurance and benefits, and forced Solidarity House to sanction a company-wide strike. A month later, despite the same threats, Harvester workers hit the bricks. A solid industry-wide victory was prevented only by the union misleaders who settled first with John Deere, and then with Caterpillar, forcing Harvester workers to strike for nearly six months before company demands for mandatory overtime were repulsed. Nevertheless, the solidarity which began the '79 strike is key to victory in '82. Strike John Deere—*no contract, no work!*—and pull out the concession-saddled Harvester workers. With Chrysler workers already turning thumbs down on Fraser's sweetheart deal at the Number Three auto maker, the stage is set. A solid ag imp strike by the UAW could be the long-awaited spark for a militant fight against the givebacks across the automotive industry.

Flag-Waving Won't Save Jobs

Caterpillar provoked this strike and a company spokesman made it quite clear why: "We've got to get our labor costs down so we can meet the Japanese head-on." But instead of leading the fight against Caterpillar and Chrysler, the Fraser gang is acting as the bosses' shock troops in the anti-Japanese trade war and the U.S. war drive against the Soviet Union. Fraser wholeheartedly backs Reagan's pipeline sanctions. He wants to punish the Soviets for mistreating his political soulmates in counter-revolutionary Polish Solidarność, Ron-

ald Reagan's favorite "union." But the pipeline sanctions cost Caterpillar workers hundreds, perhaps thousands of jobs. At the Communications Workers convention this summer, Fraser directed his fire not at Reagan or the companies, but at the Japanese for stealing jobs:

"So we said to the Caterpillar Company, in Peoria, Illinois, and to the Fiat Allis plant in East St. Louis, Illinois, 'You can no longer sell this pipe laying machinery to the Soviet Union.' "And what happened? Komatsu of Japan moved in and they sold the pipeline laying machinery to the Soviet Union, which not only undermined our foreign policy but actually steals the jobs of the Caterpillar workers and the Fiat Allis workers."

Protectionism won't save jobs any more than givebacks will. Company man Fraser's program is to protect American corporate *profits* from foreign competition. Protectionism means, unemployment, inflation and war. Import quotas and high tariffs only promote industrial inefficiency and invite retaliation against U.S. industries which still manage to export. Caterpillar relies heavily on export sales. Over 15,000 Caterpillar workers build products sold overseas. If those markets disappear, so will their jobs. If the U.S. automotive industry can't compete it's because the capitalists have pocketed their profits instead of investing in the modern plants and equipment used by overseas producers. Fraser's "Love American bosses, hate Japanese workers" protectionist poison only serves to line up workers behind U.S. imperialism's war drive. Flag-waving won't save jobs—class struggle will.

American workers' enemies are at home in the board rooms of Wall Street, Chicago and Detroit. In order to win the fight for jobs and a decent standard of living, labor traitors like Doug Fraser must be swept away and the weapons of the class struggle—the picket line, sit-down strikes and labor solidarity—must be brought to bear. In the depression-ravaged auto/ag imp industry, Caterpillar workers have shown the way to begin. Victory to the CAT strike! ■

Protectionist Poison...

(continued from page 7)

relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy." The following day another believer in a "sound national economy," Adolf Hitler, was given full powers in Germany. Nazi Germany was even more protectionist than New Deal America. The Nazis regarded foreign manufacturers much as they regarded "foreign" Jews.

The "beggar my neighbor" policies of the 1930s *prolonged* the world depression and drove the capitalist powers toward war over markets and spheres of colonial exploitation. Japan in particular was hit hard by the worldwide tariff barriers erected against what was then called "the Japanese trade menace." Imperial Japan reacted by trying to establish its own economically self-sufficient Asian "Co-Prosperity Sphere." American and British imperialism sought to counter Japanese expansionism at first by economic warfare. In July 1941 Roosevelt and Churchill cut off Japan's oil supply. Fighting for its economic survival, Japanese imperialism responded in the only way open to it—by force of arms. From the Smoot-Hawley tariff the road led to Pearl Harbor, December 1941.

Entering World War II from a deeply depressed economic condition, the U.S. was able to combine a vast armaments program with extensive capital renewal, while the other leading capitalist powers

were devastated. So after its victory American imperialism was able to impose a free trade regime on its war-damaged capitalist allies and the defeated Axis powers. The 1948 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), dictated by Washington, called for "a substantial reduction in tariffs and other barriers to trade." However, the U.S. commitment to free trade lasted just as long as "the American century"—about 20 years.

As its West European and Japanese rivals rebuilt a more modern industrial plant, beginning in the late 1960s, protectionist sentiment developed in the American capitalist class and even more so among its labor lieutenants. Now with a world economic crisis coming on top of the long-term decline of American industry, this protectionist sentiment has become a kind of hysteria. Look at Mondale and the Solidarity House gang! The American bourgeoisie's only answer to world depression and 10 percent unemployment is trade protectionism first and war second. Liberal Democrat Mondale's talk of conquering the Japanese auto market with the U.S. Army is no joke. Only socialist revolution on a world scale can prevent the outbreak of renewed inter-imperialist war and the barbarism which such a catastrophe would bring.

The working-class answer to mass unemployment and competitive wage-slashing is not protectionism. It is the expropriation of capitalist wealth and the establishment of a planned economy. An internationally planned socialist economy would not only secure permanent full employment but would do so with a greatly reduced work year and a far higher standard of living for working people throughout the world. ■

Nightmare...

(continued from page 1)

Caucus called it "an unmitigated disaster for the poor, the unemployed and minorities." Reagan wasn't the first to "roll back" civil rights either. It was the Democrats who offered up the token gains of the liberal civil rights movement to the anti-busing racists in the streets.

Republicans, Democrats—no "lesser evil"! There's a bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union and that means a bipartisan war on blacks, workers and the poor here at home. Reaganomics isn't the problem—capitalism is. The twin capitalist parties have only one answer to the stagnation of the American economy—imperialist war. Today the Democrats are trying to win back union voters by threatening trade war against Japanese imports, while joining

Reagan in busting a nationwide rail strike.

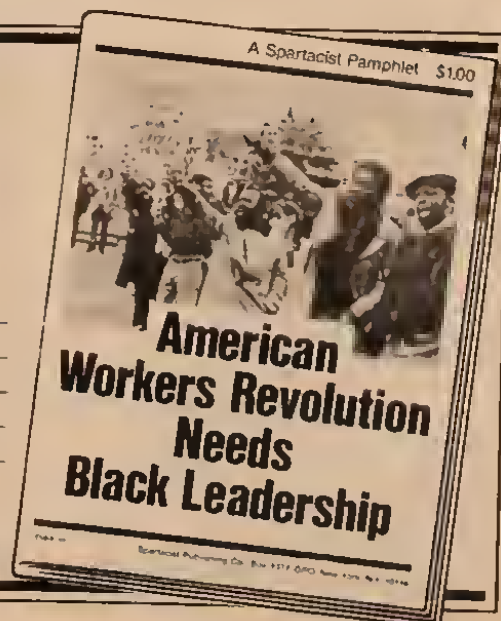
The future won't be determined at the ballot box but on the battle lines of the class struggle. The labor tops sell out strikes, then tell their members to go to the polls and vote Democratic. We say, "You can't fight for jobs with Democrats!" (see article on page 5 on Spartacist candidates in the San Francisco elections). It will take militant labor action and a workers party to beat back the anti-black, anti-labor offensive. For sitdown strikes against layoffs and plant closings! For concrete labor solidarity—picket lines mean don't cross! For mass labor/black mobilization against racist terror! For international workers' solidarity, not the bosses' protectionist poison! Bring down Reagan through mass strikes! Struggle—that's the only way you can save your job. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Chrysler...

(continued from page 1)

with more than 100,000 workers, the Rouge is being dismantled and shut down, piece by piece. For these UAW members the choices are either fight the bosses or follow Dodge Main to the scrap heap. Meanwhile 9,500 members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers were sent back to work after a three-week strike, but maybe not for long. They are now voting on a binding arbitration deal that would give up everything they struck for: money, health insurance, class size, etc. Teachers must vote this down and get back on the picket lines!

This stinking arbitration deal was engineered by a so-called "citizens' committee" made up of the main forces behind Democrat Young's anti-labor administration. This "popular front" initiated by the Board of Education included: Board chairman, preacher William Ardrey (who in 1967 helped bring in the National Guard to crush the ghetto rebellion); the Ford-funded "New Detroit" organization; Horace Sheffield, Fraser's former special assistant and a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Democratic city councilmen Erma Henderson and Maryann Mahaffey; black liberal Congressman John Conyers; Detroit AFL-CIO head Tom Turner; and the NAACP.

At the same time these union bureaucrats, black liberals and Democrats organize for a big vote against "Reagan-omics" on November 2, they impose virtually the same racist austerity program in Detroit. To wage a Detroit general strike it is necessary to break the stranglehold of sellout bureaucrats like Fraser who tie labor to Coleman Young and his Demoeratic Party machine.

The Spartacist League has fought to build a class-struggle opposition in the labor movement. Within the UAW, the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) has campaigned for a general strike linking up Rouge workers, Chrysler workers and the teachers. These militants say Ford's threatened closure of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) at Rouge requires immediate strike action. An October 9 DAP unit meeting of UAW Local 600 recently degenerated into four hours of squabbling between bureaucrats who had one thing in common: no program to fight the assembly plant closure and save even their own jobs. DAP president Hank Wilson reportedly did take time out in his presentation to attack communists who "disrupt unity." "Look at Poland," Wilson said, where he united with Doug Fraser, Ford Motor Company, Ronald Reagan and Wall Street in praising Solidarność, a "union" which wants to bring back "free enterprise" (capitalism) in league with the CIA.

An RMC supporter took the floor amid the bureaucratic chicken fighting (sparked when Wilson appointed his son to one of the few full-time union jobs in the DAP unit!) to argue for a motion for a general strike. He was applauded several times, particularly when he answered Wilson's redbaiting on Poland by pointing out that in the so-called "democratic" U.S. there are well over 11 million workers on the streets! Another RMCer attacked labor's ties to the strikebreaking Democratic Party, which administers the capitalist hell of cities like Detroit.

A couple of phonies calling themselves the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, backed by the picket-crossing Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), showed up at the meeting with a motion for a one-day Local 600 strike, which completely ignored the impending DAP shutdown. Even this motion for a one-day diversion was too much for the RWL to raise on the floor: the RWL supporters, denouncing the Militant Caucus call for a Detroit general strike, used all their floor time to argue for a DAP seniority list! As one worker bitterly observed, a seniority list doesn't help much when the whole plant's about to go down!

For a Workers Party!

Every real step forward for workers and oppressed blacks today can come about only through militant struggle counterposed to the Coleman Youngs, the courts, the cops, the Frasers—to all defenders of the capitalist system. In this period of capitalist decline, the government is ripping up unions (PATCO) while the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy rips up historic gains like the uniform nationwide contract, handing over billions of dollars to the companies. To win these battles, workers need a militant leadership with a program of class struggle. Decades of class collaboration by sellouts like Fraser, Woodcock and Reuther have gotten the unions in the fix they're in today. We need a workers party that will fight for a workers government. Only such a party, built by working-class militants as part of their fight to oust the Frasers from the labor movement, can lead the workers' struggles to victory.

Various fake-lefts are just throwing in the towel. The reformist Communist Labor Party (CLP) ended one auto leaflet accusing the working class of deserving the leadership it gets: "A working class that does not choose to fight does not need leadership or a party—the choice is up to you." Then as Chrysler workers voted down Fraser's sellout, they crowed, "We Did It!"—and not one word about the need for a strike. A leaflet by the Stalinist Progressive Labor (PL) sect, whose specialty is thug attacks against Trotskyists, proclaims "The Labor Movement Is Dead"...

while coming out (on paper) for a general strike! For sure, a fighting working class will not need leadership from the likes of these fakers, who believe that a fight to drive out the present misleaders of labor is impossible.

But the Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists say that now is a time when the stranglehold of the Frasers can be broken. We are building a party to lead that fight in the unions and in every struggle of the oppressed, to forge the leadership the working class truly deserves: a revolutionary leadership. ■

S.F. Candidates...

(continued from page 5)

background because it does not represent the working class. The second thing is not rely on the city to run Bethlehem Shipyard [where layoffs of beleaguered shipyard workers are being administered by the city] but to have the working class run it."

When a voice in the audience cried out, "aside from insulting us and calling us class traitors..." Bradley shot back, "If the shoe fits, wear it."

With a self-styled "central committee" consisting of 1960s New Leftovers and representatives of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Democratic Workers Party and the Revolutionary Workers League, the PFP is a halfway house for the reformist left to give electoral support to the capitalist Democratic Party. They endorse Congressman Ron Dellums and SF supervisor Nancy Walker. As one member told the Spartacists later, "You would have had our endorsement if you hadn't come here tonight and said those things." ■

Attempted Murder...

(continued from page 3)

From his debut in the U.S., when he took over the Los Angeles Sandinistas for Socialism in Nicaragua some three years ago, Kramer has used the organizational methods learned from his teacher Moreno and borrowed from Stalinism. Pretensions to being a mass movement by inventing more and more front groups. Projecting the image of the honcho máximo, Kramer. But the IWP has gone far beyond that now in attempting to *murder* our comrades.

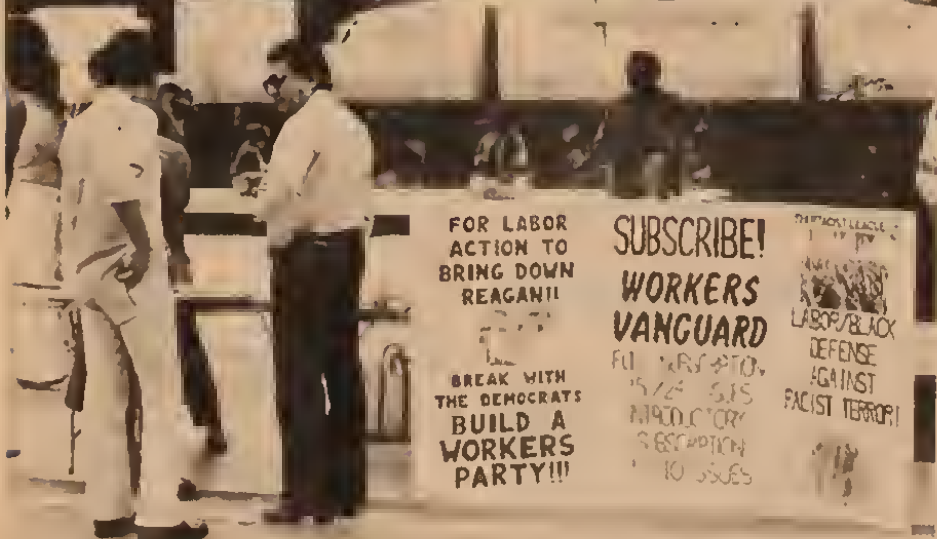
Nicholas Kramer (who has next to nothing, other than language, in common with impoverished Mexican immigrants) and his small-time macho hustler pals posture as the champions of the Latin Third World. They wrote off

"Anglo" white workers, saying that black and Latino unity was the answer to Reagan's racist raids. Now, however, with its eye on the anti-Reagan popular front, the IWP has launched an appeal for a "united slate of left-labor candidates." Yet every one of the groups which they address is up to its ears in collaboration with the Democrats, either directly or via "broad coalitions" like the "nuclear freeze" fraud. Today the price of admission to this unholy alliance is anti-Sovietism, and here the IWP fully qualifies: it sings "solidarity with Solidarność" along with Ronald Reagan and refuses to defend the Soviet Union in Cold War hot spots from El Salvador to Afghanistan to Vietnam. And now they have joined the rest of this anti-Soviet popular front in the Big Lie campaign of slander, thuggery and cop repression against the Spartacist League.

As part of this turn to popular frontism, the RWF recently fused with the "Revolutionary Unity League," a two-man operation of Harry Turner and minor union bureaucrat Earl Owens. Owens is notorious on the left for urging that *cops* be recruited into a labor party and even the revolutionary party. Logically, the IWP must invite into its ranks the hated Border Police and La Migra, which daily deport hundreds of undocumented workers, many of them (such as Salvadoran refugees) to certain torture and death. And if Owens says cops are okay, the Morenoites have nothing against scabs either. In the one union where they are active, *Morenoite supporters in Communications Workers Local 11502, stewards Jim Green (who was prominent and armed on the IWP goon squad) and Elizabeth Wiatr, have been scabbing for over three months on an IATSE (broadcasting) strike for union recognition at Group W Cable in Santa Monica.* For Trotskyists, for any class-conscious worker, picket lines mean don't cross! It is clear that Kramer and his pals need some elementary education in the realities of the class struggle in the U.S., which if they continue their scabbing and gangsterism, they will certainly get and regret.

With its murderous thug assault on the SL, the Nicholas Kramer leadership has sent a message to the anti-Soviet popular front and all the purveyors of the anti-Spartacist Big Lie: IWP cop-lovers, scabs and goons are for hire, to be used against the Trotskyists. This was a cynical attempt to draw a blood line to seal off the IWP from the Spartacists. Those who don't wish to follow this road of thuggery should not confuse the Morenoite fraud with Trotskyism. For the rest, we put the IWP on notice: the SL, with our consistent record of defending workers democracy, will defend our own democratic rights, too. ■

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Anwar...

(continued from page 4)

Anwar received a disciplinary letter for refusing to cross the Bricklayer picket lines, but it was withdrawn after the steel militant filed a grievance. Apparently the Inland bosses were unwilling at that point to contest the legality of Anwar's actions. But in a huge steel works like Inland the picket line question is posed repeatedly. The vast bulk of Inland's workforce belongs to Local 1010, but the plant also has a crazy quilt of some 15 different unions, whose members are employed by Inland's many subcontractors. The bosses play upon the craft and union divisions to keep the workers from acting in concert. A militant Steelworkers leadership would slice through these divisions and forge workers unity by

the picket lines of its union brothers in 8180. Once again Anwar fought for this policy, but the 1010 leadership was content to let the small USWA local go it alone for all seven weeks of its strike.

Anwar was fired on May 18, after honoring the 8180 picket lines for more than two weeks. Local 1010 fought a grievance in Anwar's behalf, which reached the final stage of arbitration only in September 1980. In the meantime Anwar's case generated significant support within the Chicago-Gary Steelworkers district. Resolutions of support were adopted by Locals 1010 and 65 (South Works), and the 1979 District Conference unanimously passed a resolution demanding Anwar's reinstatement and resolving to "use all available resources to reverse these attacks by defending all union members victimized for honoring picket lines." Rank-and-file steel workers formed the

pealed Pacht's ruling to the Labor Board itself, which again ordered Anwar's reinstatement. The NLRB minority of Van de Water and Robert Hunter, however, go further in their written dissent than even the company lawyers, arguing that *any* broad no-strike clause would prohibit a worker from honoring a picket line.

The recent KADC leaflet announcing Anwar's victory before the Labor Board points out that the AFL-CIO has come out against Van de Water's appointment last year by Reagan as NLRB chairman, due to his long years as a union-busting consultant in Southern California. Van de Water's appointment still has not been confirmed by the Senate. In a 1973 seminar, Van de Water described how he helped General Dynamics drive a union out of its Astronautics division:

"The firm...called the employees together in groups—35 groups in 24 hours, to cover the 4,500 employees. They said, 'This union is building a class war—with its attacks on management. We build Atlas missiles to protect our nation against the nations that represent the class-war ideology abroad, if necessary. And here we have class war fomented right here!'"

In that same seminar Van de Water boasted that he had helped defeat 125 union organizing drives during an anti-labor career stretching back to 1943. Among his targets have been the USWA, Autoworkers, Machinists, IBEW and IUE. Here's a man well prepared for the Reagan years!

Defend Workers' Rights Through Workers' Struggle

But these right-wing Republicans aren't the only enemies of labor, not by a long shot. The NLRB was created under Democrat Roosevelt to head off class struggle by channeling labor disputes into an endless and costly system of hearings, briefs and appeals. Far from being "impartial," the Board is but a weapon used by the capitalists to keep labor at bay. However, its effectiveness requires at least the *appearance* of evenhandedness. Thus, before Reagan no president ever appointed an out-and-out union buster as NLRB chairman. This necessity to appear fair and impartial is an opening through which the working people can squeeze out a small-scale victory—like the Anwar case—every now and then. And only because militant unionists fought to defend labor's rights and to build broad labor support for this struggle.

Not only Inland's corporate lawyers and Reagan's labor-hating appointees on the NLRB were lined up against the union militants. Various pseudo-leftists joined pro-company union bureaucrats in trampling on the principle that picket lines mean don't cross. The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for instance, ran as their 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley, a scab steel worker who crossed the same BRAC picket line that Goldenfeld respected.

\$\$\$ Needed

Wealthy Inland Steel has made it clear it will spare no effort in its drive to establish a legal precedent against basic labor solidarity. A lengthy and expensive court battle could go right up to the Supreme Court.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee is asking for contributions to help pay the continuing and anticipated legal expenses. The costs arising just from this recent NLRB victory have already put the Committee several thousands of dollars in debt. Send contributions to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680.

And the social-democratic cult around college-town guru Peter Sollenberger, the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), has made a principle out of scabbing (as they did on a 1977 AFSCME strike at the University of Michigan). The RWL devoted almost half the first issue of its newspaper to attacking the Spartacist League for our defense of the picket line principle. In particular, these scab "socialists" denounced the Anwar case as an "adventurist moral gesture," claiming that all he did was to "reinforce the defeatist view that to be militant means to lose your job." Tell that to the hundreds of Inland steel workers who have actively supported Anwar and made this important legal victory possible!

It would be a dangerous illusion to see this legal victory as proof that the NLRB, or any organ of the bosses' government, can be relied on to defend workers' rights. And the "friend of labor" Democrats are no better than the Republicans: Teddy Kennedy rushed from a speaking engagement at last month's USWA Convention to join reactionary Orrin Hatch in drafting up a Senate bill to bust the nationwide railroad engineers strike. Even if the Anwar case finally wins in the courts, will the bosses and their government—the cops, the courts, the Labor Board—sit on their hands and watch 18,000 steel workers shut down Inland by honoring another union's picket lines? Not likely! Unionists who lead such labor solidarity actions better be prepared to withstand attack from every agency of the capitalist government, whether it's Reagan or a Democrat in the White House.

Only workers' struggle can ultimately defend workers' rights. The Local 1010 leadership could have (and should have) won the right to honor picket lines long ago, by exercising that right. As Anwar told *Workers Vanguard*, "The way we'll settle this picket line question once and for all is when we organize thousands of steel workers to help a smaller union man its picket lines. That will shut down the whole damned plant. Then we'll write a law into labor's law books—that picket lines mean don't cross!" ■

APPENDIX D--9272

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

Posted by Order of the
National Labor Relations Board
An Agency of the United States Government

WE WILL NOT discharge, or otherwise discriminate against, employees because they engage in their statutory right to refuse to cross picket lines established by labor organizations other than their collective-bargaining representative.

WE WILL NOT in any like or related manner interfere with, restrain, or coerce our employees in the exercise of the rights guaranteed them in Section 7 of the Act.

WE WILL offer Keith Anwar reinstatement to his former position or, if such position no longer exists, to a substantially equivalent position, and make him whole for any loss of earnings he may have suffered by giving him backpay with interest from the date that Keith Anwar was discharged.

WE WILL expunge from our files any reference to the suspension and subsequent discharge of Keith Anwar on May 18, 1979, and WE WILL notify him in writing that this has been done and that evidence of this unlawful discipline will not be used as a basis for future personnel actions against him.

INLAND STEEL COMPANY
(Employer)

Dated ----- By -----
(Representative) (Title)

This is an official notice and must not be defaced by anyone.

This notice must remain posted for 60 consecutive days from the date of posting and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material. Any questions concerning this notice or compliance with its provisions may be directed to the Board's Office, Everett McKinley Dickson Building, 219 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604, Telephone 312-333-7597.

NLRB orders Inland Steel to post notice: "WE WILL NOT discharge, or otherwise discriminate against employees because they...refuse to cross picket lines."

organizing all USWA members to honor other unions' picket lines—always. During any USWA strike action such a leadership could expect—and would demand—the same in return.

It was this spectre of facing a united working class in action that prompted Inland to fire Anwar eleven months later, when he again respected picket lines at the plant. On May 1, 1979 some 40 members of USWA Local 8180 went on strike against Apex Steel and Supply Company. Apex leases a section of Inland property, where its employees bale scrap steel before it goes into Inland's furnaces as an ingredient in steel production. While these workers are an integral part of the industry, their wages and benefits were and still are far below those covered by the Basic Steel Industry contract. Their strike would have been over and won by May 2 if Local 1010 had collectively respected

Keith Anwar Defense Committee to build support for the case. This committee was endorsed by USWA officials all over the district, including many Local 1010 leaders. In October 1980 Local 1010 held a rally to "defend the right to honor picket lines," at which Anwar was a speaker along with USWA officials.

Picket Lines Under Reagan Reaction

This broad support was reflected at the arbitration hearing, where several Local 1010 officers turned out to back Anwar and observe the proceedings. The union's case, presented by Grievance Committee chairman Joseph Gyurko, was that Anwar's right to honor picket lines was protected under the National Labor Relations Act. In other picket line cases that have gone to the courts, judges have ruled that this right can be "waived" in a company-union contract, but the waiver of picket line rights must be in "clear and unmistakable language." Gyurko pointed out that while there is a no-strike clause in the Inland contract, it says nothing about honoring picket lines.

Inland was represented at this hearing by a top lawyer from the expensive, "prestigious" law firm of Vedder, Price, Kaufman & Kammholz. The arbitrator agreed with Inland's claim that the intent of both the company and the USWA in negotiating the no-strike clause was to outlaw honoring picket lines. His "proof": that Anwar was the only Local 1010 member to attempt to exercise the right to honor picket lines in at least 30 years.

Last January the arbitrator's ruling was overturned by NLRB administrative law judge Arline Pacht, who noted that if the union intended to outlaw honoring picket lines, it wouldn't have supported Anwar's case. Inland ap-

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(editor)

Whose Kill Pope Plot?

A monstrous new Big Lie against the Soviet Union has been launched. "Brez Ordered Pope Slain" screamed Murdoch's *Post*. But not just the yellow press. A September 21 NBC-TV special, "The Man Who Shot the Pope," would have us believe that the attempted assassination of John Paul Wojtyla in May 1981 by a fascist Turkish hitman was orchestrated by...the KGB. This fantastic and absurd scenario is lifted straight from a *Reader's Digest* (September 1981) "exclusive report" by Claire Sterling, author of *The Terror Network*. This "disinformation specialist" offers not a shred of proof, of course, while explaining away or covering up the considerable evidence of gunman Mehmet Agca's ties to ultra-rightist terror groups and their relations with Western spy agencies. As the U.S. escalates its anti-Soviet war drive, it is pounding public opinion with a big-bang propaganda barrage about a Kremlin-masterminded "International Terrorist Conspiracy." Cold War II version of Joe McCarthy's "International Communist Conspiracy."

The NBC broadcast, narrated by Marvin Kalb, would have made Goebbels blush. According to a press release by this latest affiliate to Sterling's "terror network," the program "strongly suggests that Pope John Paul II was targeted for assassination because of his close ties to the Solidarity movement in Poland; and, further, that the plot itself was developed with the knowledge, and perhaps assistance, of the Turkish Mafia, Bulgarian secret service and the Soviet K.G.B." This crude concoction reeks of the kind of sensationalist "disinformation" the CIA fabricates for consumption in the "Third World." The USSR's news agency TASS certainly pointed its finger in the right direction: "Soviet, Asserting C.I.A. Lies, Denies Any Plot to Kill Pope" headlined the *New York Times* (23 September).

Sterling/NBC parade as their "proof"

an alleged "Bulgarian Connection." Here's the pitch: Agca's fake passport and gun supposedly came from two associates of one Abuzer Ugurlu (known as the "godfather" of the "Turkish mafia"), "boss of an enormous gunrunning ring based in Sofia [capital of Bulgaria]." Ugurlu supposedly owns a "spacious villa in Sofia, a privilege generally reserved for high-ranking Communist Party leaders." Sterling's punchline: "The long and short of it, then, is that Ugurlu worked for the



How about Grace Kelly?

Bulgarians. The Bulgarians do what the Russians want them to do." Therefore...the KGB pulled the trigger?! Of course, as the *Washington Post* (6 October) later reported, the link to Ugurlu is based exclusively on Agca's say-so. And it turns out that our "Turkish mafia" kingpin has been living for the past year not in a luxurious Sofia mansion but in an Istanbul jail!

So much for the "Bulgarian Connection." Their only hard "evidence" is that Agca spent some time in Sofia in 1980 (along with more than one million Western tourists). But there are some connections. First of all, his ties to the Turkish fascist Gray Wolves, who

murdered thousands of leftists during the 1970s. The man who supplied Agca's gun, Omer Bagci, is a "Gray Wolf." And the pope's would-be assassin had been sentenced to prison in Turkey in February 1979 for murdering the liberal editor of a leading Istanbul daily *Milliyet* whom the fascist National Action Party (of which the Wolves are the terrorist action squads) wished to silence.

Moreover, after escaping from prison (with whose help?) Agca spent many months with Turkish ultra-rightists in Germany. This was known to Western intelligence agencies, for after the attack on pope Wojtyla the West Germans admitted having received ten warnings that Agca was holed up on their territory. And the Italian police later reported having bugged the call from Agca to Bagci asking for delivery of the murder weapon (so why were they monitoring this call, and why did they do nothing?). There may be a terror network at work here, but it's not the one Sterling and NBC claim.

Which bring us to Polish Solidarność, the only "union" in the world that Ronald Reagan, Wall Street and the CIA love. Why is this ludicrous "Brez Ordered Pope Slain" plot being floated now? Because the Reaganites have a severe case of sour grapes over Poland. They were counting on Solidarność to spearhead a drive to "roll back" Communism in East Europe, or at least to provoke a Russian invasion that could be used to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy in the West. But instead, Solidarność' counterrevolutionary grab for power was frustrated by a crackdown, at the last moment, by the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy.

So now American "disinformation specialists" accuse the Russians of trying to off the Polish pope. Kalb soulfully recounts Wojtyla's "local boy makes good" tour of his homeland, his resurrection of "the magical link be-

tween church and state" that inspires "the Polish nation" to "dream the impossible dream"—of capitalist restoration, that is. One "U.S. intelligence source" says: "He [the pope] is the real king of Poland. Get rid of him and you deliver a body blow to Solidarity." He claims Wojtyla sent a secret letter to Moscow threatening to go back to Poland and lead a holy war against the Soviets if they invaded. "If you had sent that letter, you would be in no doubt who really took the shot at you or why," he comments (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 September).

One problem: upon escaping from prison in Turkey, Agca had left behind a note, widely reported at the time, threatening to shoot the pope, "the masked leader of the Crusades," in revenge for the attack (by Muslim fanatics) on the Grand Mosque in Mecca. That was in 1979, a year before Polish Solidarność was born.

The obscure, crazed killer Agca is a type common enough in the underworld of Turkish fascism, where rightist terror intersects religious/ethnic vengeance. His brother bitterly told NBC, "A priest is wounded and the whole world is excited. It's like the buzzing of a fly to us." But to blame the Soviet Union?! This hatchet job is so crude, so incompetent, that we can't see it discrediting anybody except its inventors. No direct proof? No matter: this "complex layering of responsibilities" is "said to be typical of the KGB." This from Sterling, who claims that the Basque nationalist ETA are really "Soviet surrogates" because they are in contact with the Irish IRA, who have purchased weapons from Qaddafi, who buys his arms from the Russians. (With petrodollars from Western companies.)

Perhaps they will now blame Moscow for the death of Princess Grace as well! But why stop there? Doesn't Kalb keep harping on how changed the pope seems, so "wounded in spirit" since being "checkmated by the KGB." It's not the old Wojtyla at all—why, just look at his recent meeting with Arafat. The conclusion is so obvious. *Did the Kremlin switch popes on us?* Come to think of it, we don't remember ever seeing pictures of John Paul II and Yuri Andropov at the same time and the same place... ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 12)

Hussein, the butcher of Jordan's 1970 Black September. The fact that the PLO's Yasir Arafat welcomes the imperialist "peacekeepers" and embraces Hussein is dramatic proof of the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism.

Begin/Sharon vs. the Goyim

As Israeli war minister Sharon's hands drip with the blood of Sabra and Shatila, the Americans at least want to put a better face on things. Thus, pro-Reagan and hardline pro-Zionist columnist William Safire advised in a cynical "Letter to Sharon": "This [massacre] is a nine-point shock on the Watergate scale.... But a slim chance exists that you could make yourself the lightning rod and absorb most of the anger"...by resigning (*New York Times*, 27 September). The American ruling class knows how to sacrifice its Nixons for the greater cause of imperialist order.

But Israel is not simply a vassal of U.S. imperialism, and Begin and Sharon have no intention of stepping down to appease Washington. "Jerusalem is not Saigon!" shouted Sharon at a September 30 rally which greeted him as "Arik, King of Israel." And a recent issue of Begin's Likud bloc publication announced on its front page: "The Americans are trying to overthrow the government." Israel has its own particular appetites which often conflict with the *Pax Americana* envisioned in

Washington—especially Begin's biblical/Nazi plans to annex "Judea" and "Samaria" (the West Bank) and to "purify" Lebanon.

The expansionist dynamic of Zionism enormously intensifies the internal contradictions of Israeli society, producing triple-digit inflation, falling living standards, constant military mobilization and a net emigration of Jews. But despite these tensions, the "Labor" Party opposition is scarcely in a position to protest terror against the Palestinians. (This is not a reformist workers party like the British Labour Party, but a pillar of the bourgeois Zionist order.) The very basis of the Israeli state, which "Labor" established and governed for three decades, is the expulsion and terrorization of the Palestinian people. Within the framework of Zionism there is no escaping the monstrous and expanding garrison state. And if all else fails, the crazed Zionist leaders have made it clear they are willing to unleash their ultimate weapon: the nuclear bomb.

Smash Pax Americana in the Near East!

The accelerating drive toward World War III in the Near East can be countered only by the development of proletarian internationalist parties in Israel, the surrounding Arab states and in the very imperialist countries themselves, especially the U.S. But at a time when the notion of "radical" Arab nationalism has never been more obviously discredited, most of the American left has followed the Arafats, Jumblatts

and Assads into the camp of Reagan's *Pax Americana*. When Israel invaded Lebanon, those Third World nationalist cheerleaders par excellence Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP), demonstrated for "effective U.S. action to achieve Israeli withdrawal." Well, the Marcyites got "effective U.S. action" alright. After that, the Palestinians got the Sabra and Shatila massacre.

Even after this Zionist-organized butchery, the cowardly reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) apologized for the withdrawal of the PLO under its U.S. Marine guard. It was, they say, "a remarkable accomplishment under the circumstances." Rejecting the perspective of social revolution in the Near East, overawed by Zionist power, the SWP's *Militant* (8 October) writes: "The only thing a fight to the end would have accomplished would have been to help the Israelis in their aim of destroying the PLO and its forces." In other words, for these reformists (as well as the WWP and many other pseudo-socialists), Reagan's Marines and the French Foreign Legion acted as the saviors—indeed, the only possible saviors—of the PLO.

Once the Israeli juggernaut crossed the Litani and all the Arab regimes abandoned the Palestinians to their fate, the choices facing the PLO were certainly grim. Yet Begin/Sharon's *Blitzkrieg* halted at the gates of West Beirut. Why? According to the liberal Pollyannas of the SWP, "international public opinion prevented the Israelis from simply breaking off negotiations." Sure, "everyone knows" that the deci-

sive factor in war is..."international public opinion"—especially for the likes of Begin and Sharon!! On the contrary, these butchers knew well that to destroy PLO forces in West Beirut would have required house-to-house fighting and lots more Israeli soldiers being shipped back to the Zionist "homeland" in body bags. As we wrote during the siege of West Beirut:

"If the Palestinians can inflict heavy enough casualties on the Israelis, however heavy their own, there could well be a rebellion on the home front against Begin's Lebanese adventure."
—"Zionist 'Final Solution'."

WW No. 309, 9 July

Instead, Arafat withdrew the PLO commandos from Lebanon, leaving the half million Palestinians to the tender mercies of Sharon's army, the fascist Phalange, Reagan's Marines and the French Foreign Legion.

As long as the Israeli and imperialist forces remain in Lebanon there will be more Sabras and Shatilas. The liberation of the Palestinians—driven out of their homeland by the Zionists, dispersed in the surrounding Arab bourgeois states—is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism and for social revolution throughout the Near East. The fissures in Israel provide a crucial opportunity to break through the Zionist garrison state mentality. What is needed is a communist internationalist vanguard which can unite the Hebrew-speaking working class and the Arab toilers against the Begins, Huscins and Assads, who promise only endless bloodletting, and open the road to a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Reagan/Begin Reign of Terror

Imperialists, Israeli Troops Out of Lebanon!

OCTOBER 11—In the final hours of the grisly massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, the remaining Palestinian men tried to make a last stand. They went searching for guns but found virtually none. The Palestinians had been disarmed by the imperialist "peacekeepers"—the U.S., French and Italian troops who had "escorted" the PLO soldiers out of the country only a few days earlier. The imperialists' "gun control" paved the way for the Israeli invasion of West Beirut and the Zionist-organized mass murder of the unarmed Palestinian refugees.

Now the bloody "peacekeepers" have returned to complete the job of disarming and terrorizing the Palestinians and Lebanon's Muslim majority. They are there to shore up the new Gemayel regime which is based on the same Phalange killers who carried out the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Not surprisingly, the "multinational force" did not occupy the Phalangist stronghold of East Beirut. Instead the French Foreign Legion—murderers of Algerian women and children and countless other colonial peoples—occupied Muslim West Beirut; U.S. Marines, who have not seen active duty since their Vietnam "search and destroy" missions, set up a staging area at the airport; and the plumed Italian "bersaglieri" commandos, who specialize in terrorizing civilians during raids of Red Brigades hideouts, held the Burj al Brajneh Palestinian camp.

In recent days French marines and paratroopers actively participated with the Christian-dominated Lebanese army in house-to-house searches of



U.S. Marines land in Beirut: Imperialist policemen out of the Near East!

West Beirut, detaining thousands of Palestinians for "questioning." Many of these refugees without passports are threatened with expulsion. In the southern suburbs the U.S. and Italian troops watched as Lebanese army bulldozers destroyed "illegal" homes and shops belonging to Lebanese Muslims. The American embassy clearly approved of the searches, while issuing a cynical public relations comment, "Don't be too rough." Like My Lai.

Meanwhile, Begin's *Blitzkrieg* invasion and Nazi-like massacre of Palestinians in Lebanon has fueled fascist, anti-Semitic terrorist attacks in West Europe, most recently the murderous attack on a synagogue in Rome where a two-year-old boy was killed and 34 Jewish worshippers were injured. These outrages echo the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. The labor movement must mobilize to crush these fascist killers at the same time as taking vigorous class-struggle action to solidarize with the defense of the Palestinians from Zionist genocide. For an unlimited boycott of military goods to Israel and to the imperialist troops in

Beirut! Boycott all Israeli cargo and transport until Israel gets out of Lebanon!

The U.S., French and Italian troops are paving the way for more massacres, furthering the Israeli aim of terrorizing Palestinians into fleeing Lebanon altogether. Elementary defense of the Palestinian people's right to exist, as well as the advance of proletarian revolution in the Near East, demand first of all: Marines get out! No imperialist "peacekeepers"! Israel out of Lebanon and the occupied territories! West Beirut—Never Again! Not another dime or bullet for the Zionist butchers!

World Imperialism's Policeman on the Beat

By sending in the Marines on an open-ended mission in the Near East, Reagan has brazenly reasserted U.S. imperialism's role as world gendarme. And there has been hardly a peep of protest from the Congressional "doves" of both parties. Considering that the U.S. now also maintains an 800-member battalion of the 82nd Airborne Division in the Sinai as "peacekeepers," it is clear that Washington has sharply escalated its direct military presence in the region. Certainly this is related to the fact that Lebanon's neighbor Syria is the principal Soviet client state in the Near East and that the Soviet border itself is but a few hundred miles away. The U.S. forces in Lebanon are a beachhead for large-scale military intervention in the region—directly posing the danger of a nuclear World War III. No U.S. "strike forces" and bases in the Near East! U.S. Navy out of the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean!

The collection of warring feudal fiefdoms known as Lebanon has long provided an opening for direct U.S. intervention. In 1958 Eisenhower sent the Marines to help suppress an uprising by the Muslims against Christian Maronite domination. But today, unlike 1958 when Arab nationalists vio-

lently opposed Washington's intervention, the Arab regimes, including the "radical" Syrian Ba'athists, welcome the Marines. So, too, the left cheerleaders for a mythical "Arab Revolution." The *New York Times* "national security adviser" and former Pentagon spokesman Leslie Gelb expressed pleasant surprise at the new-found respect for the butchers of Vietnam:

"A most striking thing about the events of last week was how Arab and Israeli leaders alike readily accepted and even sought the renewed American military presence in Lebanon. For one reason or another—Israeli dependence on American ties and military aid, the futility of the military option for Arabs now, the fact that only Washington might be able to pry negotiating concessions from Israel—the United States has fallen into and assumed the role of Middle East policeman."

—*New York Times*, 3 October

Some "peacekeepers"! Washington applauded and aided Israel's destruction of the PLO forces and its humiliation of Moscow military client Syria. (It is certainly poetic justice that the first Marine killed in Lebanon was done in by a Pentagon-supplied cluster bomb which the Israelis dropped on civilians as a terror weapon.) As Russian diplomat Andrei Gromyko noted in a UN speech, it is the anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" which at bottom unites American imperialism and the Zionist state. But while Washington wants to include various Arab regimes in its "consensus," for Begin and Sharon "the only good Arab is a dead one."

The fanaticism of the Begin/Sharon regime, and underlying this the expansionist dynamic of the Zionist state, cut across U.S. imperialism's global anti-Soviet war drive. Hence the present tensions between Washington and Jerusalem. Needless to say, the Reagan "peace plan" for the Palestinians does not even add up to a powerless mini-state, but would simply place the West Bank/Gaza population into a Bantustan existence under the thumb of King

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Imperialist "peacekeepers" mean more massacres: Lebanese army rounds up Palestinians with help from French Foreign Legion.