

Reagan Is War Crazy! Defend the Soviet Union!

Near East Flashpoint for WW III

NOVEMBER 15—If, as the ancient Greeks believed, those whom the gods would destroy they first drive mad, then the destruction of the United States has surely begun. First came the Americans' KAL 007 anti-Soviet war provocation, sending a civilian airliner directly over the Russians' most sensitive military installations. Now on a "Grenada high" after their "big win" in the Caribbean, the genuinely evil leaders of the Yankee empire have escalated from one anti-Soviet war provocation to another. Meanwhile a giant U.S. battle fleet is arrayed against supposed "Soviet surrogates" in the Near East. And they have begun deployment of new first-strike Euromissiles which will put them only eight minutes from Moscow...and World War III. Ronald Reagan & Co. are acting as if they really believe they can destroy the Soviet Union without harming a hair on the head of a single white middle-class American voter. But as they bring about their own ruin, the crazies in the White House and Pentagon could obliterate the planet. "Will the world survive until 1984?" is suddenly a question on everyone's lips.

In the Atlantic, some 500 miles off the coast of South Carolina, an American sub-hunting destroyer hit and disabled a Soviet nuclear submarine. In the Caribbean the U.S. is staging a "no-notice" naval war maneuver off Guantánamo to threaten the Cubans. And in the eastern Mediterranean Reagan's admirals have concentrated an armada of more than 40 ships, including three carrier battle groups (the *Eisenhower*, the *Kennedy* and the *Independence*, redeployed after its Grenadian "victory") and the battleship *New Jersey*, plus 300 attack planes.

Kennerly/Time



U.S. Navy

Aircraft carrier *Ranger*, sent from Nicaraguan coast to Arabian Sea, is now poised to strike at Iran and "secure" the Persian Gulf.

Their guns are trained on Soviet-backed Syria. Less noticed by the press is another carrier group in the Arabian Sea (the *Ranger*, previously engaged in gunboat diplomacy against Nicaragua) along with an entire invasion flotilla of the Rapid Deployment Force—totaling some 35 vessels—poised to strike at Iran and "secure" the Persian Gulf. From Grenada to the Strait of Hormuz,

Washington's brinkmen of the nuclear apocalypse are doing their best to provoke a showdown with the Soviets. So far, Moscow has been laid back, but someone in the Kremlin is certainly adding it all up.

The Americans' high-seas attack on the Soviet submarine couldn't have been more provocative. First they cripple the boat, evidently ripping its props off by

dragging the cable of a sonar sled across them, then they laugh about it being disabled. Next they accuse the Russians of being at fault under some antiquated British Admiralty rule declaring subs "burdened vessels," and brazenly declare that a Soviet/U.S. agreement to avoid incidents at sea—which bans simulated attacks—doesn't cover submarines. A Navy spokesman blandly announced that the U.S. destroyer was conducting "antisubmarine warfare" (in peacetime). Every American better thank their lucky stars for the cool temperament of that Soviet commander. World War I was started over less than this.

Meanwhile, on Grenada the Soviet embassy staff is subjected to flagrant violations of diplomatic immunity that make the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran look like an exercise in polished diplomatic protocol. And in the Near East, Lebanon is but a beachhead for U.S. imperialism. The real strategic prize is control of the

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Soviet Sub Attacked by U.S. on the High Seas



Soviet nuclear-armed submarine crippled by U.S. destroyer. Don't mess with the Russians!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!

Special Supplement Inside—See Pages 5-12

Edén Pastora: CIA's Nicaraguan Traitor

Once he was known as *Comandante Cero* (Commander Zero) in the bloody war against the Somoza tyranny, hut now that he has gone over to the Somozaist mercenaries his name is reviled in Managua: Edén Pastora, *El Traidor* (Traitor). This counterrevolutionary turncoat has the blood of Nicaragua's peasants and workers on his hands and CIA dollars in his pocket. Last week Pastora arrived in the United States on a tour to promote himself as a "democratic alternative" to the Sandinista revolution. This *contra* terrorist is aiming at a repeat of Reagan's invasion of tiny Grenada, with himself as quisling for the Yankees. But it cost more than 50,000 lives to rid the country of the Somoza dictatorship, and the Nicaraguan people will fight to the death to prevent the return of this gang of cutthroat killers and torturers. The Trotskyists say the Nicaraguan masses are fully justified in demanding, "*Pastora al paredón!*" (Pastora to the execution wall).

When he showed up in New York on November 9 for a kick-off press conference sponsored by "Freedom House," a front for the CIA's worldwide Terror Network, the pseudo-democratic *contra* got a hot reception from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). Several dozen demonstrators chanted, "Nicaraguan people say, smash Pastora and the CIA!" "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!" and "Pastora, *contras*, imperialistas—¡No pasarán!" Spartacist signs included "Hail Heroic Cuban Fighters in Grenada!" and "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" A placard showed Pastora and U.S. war criminal Jeane Kirkpatrick crawling into a Roach Motel labeled Nicaragua as demonstrators proclaimed, "Roach Motels for the CIA—They check in and there they stay!" Eventually a black limousine swerved to the curb and goons from the Cuban *gusano* group Abdala leapt out to hustle *El Traidor* past the angry protesters shouting "Pastora asesino, puppet of the CIA!"

Inside, before the media, Pastora postured as a popular revolutionary, even feigning concern over an American invasion: "In Grenada you got in and out quickly. In Nicaragua you could get in, but getting out would be another matter." He claimed that he needs only "guns and boots" from the U.S. to overthrow the Sandinistas. An SL press release exposed Pastora for what he is: "The CIA is running a Murder, Inc. in Central America, and this 'social-democratic' *contra* is one of its prime operatives. He is responsible for the September 8 bombing of Managua airport, which could have led to a bloodbath of hundreds of civilians. The

plane was provided by the CIA. Pastora's outfit, ARDE (Spanish for 'Burn'), also claims responsibility for blowing up oil tanks in order to cripple the Nicaraguan economy. In one such terror raid, 25,000 people had to be evacuated from the port of Corinto in order to avoid a fiery holocaust. We say: give this terrorist a one-way ticket to Managua to be tried by a revolutionary tribunal of his victims."

Outside "Freedom House," an SL spokesman told the *New York Times*:

SL/SYL confronts *contra* terrorist Pastora at CIA front Freedom House, November 9.



"We're here as a reminder that in Managua there are tens of thousands of people that are going to stop [Pastora], arms in hand. The only way he's even going to get close is with the 82nd Airborne, and they're going to have a fight on their hands."

Pastora and his Somozaist fellow *contras* are already receiving a lot more than "guns and boots" from Uncle Sam. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (27 July), "U.S. intelligence sources say ARDE has been receiving indirect American aid in the form of equipment and laundered cash totaling \$200,000 a month, or more than half of ARDE's income." Pastora's sidekick Alfonso Robelo, Nicaragua's cooking oil king and a former member of the Sandinista-led junta reported anonymous "strange contributions" from "people who call up and say they want to help" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 September). The Cessna 404 which was shot down while bombing Sandino Airport in Managua for ARDE has been traced to two U.S. dummy corporations which do "classified military work for the United States, including projects for the CIA" (*New York Times*, 8 November).

In an interview with the *Times*, Pastora repeated earlier reports that his aides have held talks with Cuban officials:

"The [ARDE] officials said Cuba initiated the talks in June because it was worried that Nicaragua was becoming dangerously polarized and believed the risk of a United States invasion was growing.... [One official said] 'We believe the Cubans recognize the need for reconciliation in Nicaragua.'"

—*New York Times*, 10 November

This is an ominous development which could threaten the very survival of the Sandinista revolution. Hoping to appease warmonger Reagan, Castro is reportedly pressuring his Nicaraguan "compañeros" to negotiate a "compromise" with this wing of the CIA-hacked *contras*. And Pastora does his bit by

calling for a "political solution" in Nicaragua and supporting the so-called "Contadora initiative" (the proposal by Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela to negotiate an end to the civil war raging in Central America before it gets out of hand). But any deal with Pastora means blocking the road to social revolution in Nicaragua, seeking to replace the present petty-bourgeois radical-nationalist Sandinista regime with a refurbished capitalist state. This

al, 31 October). Such agreements—representing an historic betrayal of the Salvadoran revolution—would only dig the graves of the Sandinistas themselves, allowing Washington to tighten the counterrevolutionary noose around Nicaragua. The imperialists and their lackeys cannot be appeased or reformed—they must be defeated on the field of battle.

Thus the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency call

would only prepare the way for the return of the Somozaist butchers and a new bloodbath in Managua.

That Castro should now conspire with the enemies of the Nicaraguan working people reflects the treacherous nationalist logic of Stalinism. Cuba, which has consolidated a bureaucratically deformed workers state under the Yankees' guns, puts the squeeze on Nicaragua to cut a deal with the *contra* killers. Nicaragua, which has had a political revolution ousting the Somoza dynasty, puts the arm on Salvadoran guerrillas to negotiate a compromise with the local oligarchy and its death squads. And spokesmen for the Kremlin have indicated they regard Central America as part of the U.S. sphere of influence and the Sandinistas are on their own. Each is ready to sell out the next guy's revolution in order to appease rapacious imperialism. But the White House and its puppets aren't interested in compromise. As the SL press release stated:

"Reagan wants to drown the Salvadoran leftist insurgents in blood, lay waste to Sandinista Nicaragua, reconquer Cuba for 'free enterprise' (the Havana mafia) and ultimately overthrow the remaining conquests of the Russian October Revolution."

All this talk of "political solutions" short of workers revolution represents a mortal threat to the workers and peasants of Latin America. How is a "negotiated settlement" to be reached? By cutting off attempts at profound social transformation (even land reform) and by cutting off arms to leftist rebels. This is precisely what the "Contadora initiative" calls for, and in draft treaties recently presented to the U.S. State Department, Nicaragua commits itself not to "support or assist any group seeking to attack, overthrow or destabilize another state," and not to "supply arms or military assistance to any of the contending forces" in El Salvador (*Barricada Internacional*—

for "Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador!" "Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan revolution!" and "Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in Central America!" Simply in order to defend the democratic gains of the Sandinista revolution today it is urgently necessary to expropriate the capitalist "fifth column" inside Nicaragua, which is led by supporters of Pastora/Robelo. With the entire Central American isthmus seething, only a revolutionary mobilization of the working masses to take power in their own class interests can defeat the strutting Central American generals and their Pentagon masters. It is not a question of each tiny country standing alone against the Yankee goliath, with nationalist leaders stabbing each other in the back. Reagan thinks that after Grenada, he has wiped out the "Vietnam syndrome"—and

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El Traidor Edén Pastora

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Spartacist League/U.S. Holds Seventh National Conference

Black and Red in Reagan's America

The Seventh National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. was held in California in August 1983. The national conference, highest body of our democratic-centralist organization, is charged with critically assessing past work and establishing present perspectives of the party, and with electing the new Central Committee which will lead the organization until the next conference.

The situation confronting the conference was characterized by manifestly great opportunity for growth, possibly explosive growth, combined with great dangers and difficulties. The SL has shown in action that our program has the power to win exemplary victories amidst a general climate of bourgeois reaction, racist "rollbacks" and union retreats. Our leadership of the militant mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. last November 27 showed most clearly the SL's ability to play the role of a small mass party, the leadership of vanguard layers of the working people. Yet the SL has thus far been unable to consolidate in membership growth its powerful political successes. And such substitutionism as is involved in a small organization undertaking to spearhead the defense of the oppressed involves real risks. Against a general backdrop of rightist retreat by the rest of the "left," the SL stands out more than ever as the hard communist opposition, and powerful enemies have us in their sights. Following the November 27 mobilization, the party was forced to undertake almost simultaneously two defensive legal suits, against the Moonie newspaper and the FBI. The challenge is to make the leaps necessary to become in fact a small mass party of a few thousand members; otherwise, in the words of one comrade, "If we have many more actions like D.C., we will be a mass party with no members."

This national conference was the first in three years. It was prepared by a period of pre-conference written discussion (five party internal bulletins as well as three internal bulletins of the youth organization) and branch debate, leading to the election of informed and representative delegates to the conference. In a more general sense, the conference was part of an intense internal discussion in the party (focused around several expanded Central Committee plenums), as the party emerged

SL conference discusses the black question, the central question of the American revolution.



from a decade of relative social stagnation in America and now finds itself in a sharply changed political configuration. The main document for this conference, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction," sketched the domestic situation.

"We are an organization of under 300 revolutionary Marxists in this country, under the particular conditions symbolized by Reagan's election, which represented the formalization of a considerable shift in this country to the right. And the reformists of the U.S. 'left,' which had gone very far to the right over the past decade, under the pressures mainly of the bourgeois anti-Soviet war drive, now see a chance for an 'anti-Reagan' popular front for the Democrats. And we are widely viewed as being in the way....

"Our sharp isolation on the U.S. left has been reflected in our party by some elements who have picked up a sense that the Spartacist League is 'isolated' in society and all but irrelevant. This is flatly wrong. The instability of the 'Reagan consensus' has opened up, following a decade of relative stagnation, powerful prospects for fruitful work and recruitment. For the first time the party has shown by its leadership of mass labor/black actions to stop the fascists that its program has the power to win important symbolic victories....

"There are in this country, concentrated in the black population but not only there, elements that want to fight if they can see a way forward.... If such elements that have some consciousness

and some energy knew what the Spartacist League was, what it stood for, what it said and did, we could have a shot at winning them.... If we do not find the ways to grow under these circumstances, we can expect real trouble early on.... The targeting of us by the U.S. left is merely the 'radical' reflection of the wrath of U.S. imperialism toward those viewed as 'Soviet surrogates'....

"We have a mounting accumulation of evidences that the social-democratic pressures were tending to pull the comrades toward a blunting and rounding of our program. This loss of angularity at moments of the most intense pressure is what is called centrism. As a program, centrism is self-defeating: if your program loses its angularity it loses its appeal."

The document defined the international political conjuncture as a prewar period marked by intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries and by U.S. imperialism's all-out drive toward war with the Soviet Union, as posed over particular "hot spots of the Cold War." The document summarized the international political line of the Spartacist tendency in terms familiar to regular readers of *WV*. At the conference, several main reports covered broad areas of party work and international concern (one report, centering on inter-imperialist economic rivalry and the Soviet econo-

my, was edited for publication and appeared as an article, "The Worst World Depression Since the '30s," in *WV* No. 337, 9 September). But despite the breadth of material presented to the delegates, the conference discussion as expected focused around the black question, with considerable reference to particular fights in fractions and branches. It was therefore very appropriate that an unusual number of non-delegates and non-member invited guests requested speaking time. Black friends of the party involved in preliminary work of local leagues for labor/black defense had very valuable observations. Non-party youth members too, who normally would intervene mainly in the youth conference, spoke articulately from their own standpoints.

A certain role in the discussion was also played by a section of the party ex-membership, the self-styled "External Tendency," which the main conference document described as "actually a motley and amorphous crew transiently linked by shared hostile subjectivism toward the party (and the rightist character of quits in this period)." The ETs take their political coloration from a couple of would-be trade-union bureaucrats who claim to see in the SL's

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SL fights racist reaction: Organizing the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped KKK in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982 (left). SL-initiated Labor Black League protests South Africa's execution of ANC anti-apartheid fighters, San Francisco, June 8 (right).

Conference...

(continued from page 3)

recent fights for militant unionism and our commitment to black-centered party growth an abandonment of "the working class." In these times when the risks of communist political activism have become so palpable, our members with political differences have tended to head for the door rather than "stay in and fight" for their views (the ETs were no exception). So since sharp debate is usually the best education for communists, we used our pre-conference internal bulletins to publish the most provocative materials we could find from ex-members—their resignations, letters, etc. It is a long-standing tradition in the SL (which is unprecedented so far as we know in any other organization) to circulate to our members the juiciest attacks on us penned by ex-members and other opponents, but the ETs have been of particular pedagogical utility, as they are a kind of crystallization of whatever is backward and wrong in the SL.

Unfortunately the ET presence at our conference was rather an anti-climax. They did turn up with several people and copies of a new ET bulletin, a neatly produced but surprisingly dull compendium of selections from their materials (probably edited by the ET to emphasize "loyal"-sounding and "political" attacks thereby downplaying the venomous subjectivism which our comrades have found most stimulating).



Washington, D.C., 27 March 1982—SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent calls for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, not negotiated sellout. Smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive from Central America to Poland!

They made a perfunctory distribution of their bulletin and took off, ignoring the prize opportunity to seek discussion with the several hundred SL supporters gathered for the intense political process of a national conference.

The conference process was part of a significant "blackening" of the SL psychologically as well as numerically. Key were the conference debates over "a 70 percent black party." An offhand remark in an earlier discussion that the SL should strive for a 70 percent black party precipitated resistance from a small layer of the present organization, evidently based on a sectoralist vision of political life. One of the main conference reporters replied:

"What's the percentage of blacks in the American ruling class—.01? Your gut feeling as communists ought to be that a communist party ought to have the reverse percentage. That's what you ought to feel. Then you also have to think, 'well, how are we going to do this and that?'. . . But you must pay attention to what the fundamental structure, historically evolved, in this country is: one nation of two races, one sitting on top of the other. . . So if [a comrade] worries about a 70 percent black party I want to ask: how are blacks supposed to feel about being in a 90 percent white party? . . . We're not dealing really with arithmetic here, we're dealing with gut feelings."

In general, black comrades played a very heavy role in conference debates, evidently properly conscious of the

For Organizations of Labor/Black Struggle

We reprint below one of the interventions by comrade Dick Fraser to the 1983 SL national conference.

I want to say just a few words about the tentative proposal which I have made for the application of the Labor/Black Alliance in the South. That is, for the All-Workers Union. Now I did not dream this up. That is basically an IWW concept. The IWW was a revolutionary labor movement, the greatest labor movement ever in this country.

And I have seen it, in Spokane, Washington—1937, 1938. The Socialist Party of Spokane was led by an old Wobbler by the name of John McKay. And he couldn't get along with either the old guard of the Socialist Party or with Norman Thomas. And in 1937 they refused to accept his dues payment. So he bought himself a little platen press and printed his own dues stamp. And remained the Socialist Party of Spokane [laughter]. And built the All-Workers Union. Which was a miscellaneous, all-purpose organiza-

tion. It was the days of great unemployment and they operated in the defense of the unemployed. And they operated as a tendency in the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union. Any time there was a picket line they could be there. And that was before the days of peaceful picketing [laughter].

And I was much impressed by that organization. And John McKay wanted me to come there and be its organizer. I could not, because I was committed to the Socialist Workers Party as you know, and they took a dim view of such a proposition. I had other work that I was committed to. However I conceive that it may possibly be applicable to the work in the South.

I anticipate success in the labor/black project with which I am collaborating in an extremely limited capacity. And I want to tell you a little story that I told to Richard last night, that was told to me under very special circumstances many years ago. In the little town of East Texas, a black man is not allowed on the streets on

Monday morning dressed up. If he's in his overalls it's all right, he's either working or looking for work. But not dressed up. But one Monday morning a young black fellow came to town all dressed up. And sure enough in a few minutes the ranger rode up and said: "Hey boy, what are you doing?" "Well I'm just looking around and I'm going to go visiting." "Well why ain't you working?" "Oh I work all right. I work in the domino factory outside of town." "What do you do there?" "I put the spots on the dominos." "Well why ain't you working today? That factory's going." He says, "Today they're making double-blank." And I conceive that our work may eventually make it so that any day in East Texas it will be double-blank day for the black worker.

I've had some discussions with many comrades, which have been very gratifying, and I am humbled by the knowledge that things that I wrote thirty years ago, which were so scorned by the old party, have had some important impact, finally. I am humbled by that thought and very grateful.

strong objective pressure on black cadres to place themselves in the forefront of party work and leadership responsibility in this period. A powerful black writer made two written contributions to the conference which were

An intense part of the conference's work was the deliberations of the Nominating Commission. The Commission is constituted to hear from all members wishing to offer arguments for or against comrades being considered for the incoming Central Committee. By weighing and debating the observations of the nominees' close local co-workers, the Commission is charged with measuring leadership candidates from different locals against one another and arriving at a balanced slate for the delegates to discuss, modify and vote on in the closing session.

The conference elected a rather large Central Committee. It is notable that the SL leadership, which has always had a gratifyingly high proportion of females, seems to have become yet more female than before. While the list of full CC members elected is a shade under half women (and the lowest CC category, candidates, a shade over half women), on the alternates list women comrades make up 64 percent.

The closing conference day heard two appeals against expulsion. One was from an individual expelled for systematic cheating on party dues and the associated physical abuse and attempted intimidation of party treasurers. Also involved was the individual's "male chauvinist pig" behavior toward women comrades. He appeared before the conference (with all the relevant documents on the case provided to delegates in their conference kits). His appeal was just a pitch for some of the strictures of

the ET, the individual evidently having nothing to say about the grave charges of which he had been found guilty. The other case was more interesting—the elected delegates voting to uphold an expulsion while a majority of the fraternal delegates (outgoing CC, Control Commission and International Executive Committee members) wanted to convert the expulsion into a six-month suspension. So the comrade remains expelled but the case can hardly be said to be completely resolved, and the individual continues to affirm his desire to be a member.

The conference social witnessed the first appearance of the Susanna Martin Choir, surely one of the least apt musical groups since the Old Stone Age. Its performance was received with wild and overwhelming acclaim. This group was indicative of a number of informal interest associations which have grown up in and around the organization, comprised of members and supporters.

The conference picked up an additional social/political depth from the participation of comrade Richard Fraser, a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Fraser's years of study of and socialist involvement in black freedom struggles in this country led him in the late 1950s to criticize the SWP for underestimating the revolutionary challenge to capitalist rule posed by integrationist struggles for black equality. Fraser's 1955 SWP internal document, "For the Materialist Con-

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Workers Vanguard KO's Militant

This little chart, compiled from the statistics published by WV and by the Socialist Workers Party's Militant (in compliance with second-class mailing requirements, see WV No. 340, 21 October, "Statement of Ownership"), provided amusement when it was posted on bulletin boards in our New York offices. We pass it along to WV readers with this cautionary observation. The main document adopted by the 1983 SL national conference noted regarding SL publications:

"The high quality of WV and our

associated publications is striking and superb, particularly in comparison with the willfully indifferent, uninteresting and unimportant newspapers of the rest of the left. . . . One must acutely regret that WV does not have ten or a hundred times its present average [immediate] circulation of 7,500. WV . . . is as Lenin explained in *What Is to Be Done?* the "collective organizer" of the party—a tool of intervention which embodies our understanding that our knowledge of the world proceeds from our involvement in the struggle to change it."

The chart therefore displays two things: (1) That this is the end of the reformist SWP as we know it, though its rump and some of its pieces will doubtless still be around. (2) That the press of our crucially important revolutionary organization still has about the same circulation as the unreadable Militant of the now irrelevant SWP. This is hardly grounds for our satisfaction.

	MILITANT	WORKERS VANGUARD
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1981	11,429	10,816
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1982	9,348	12,818
TOTAL CIRCULATION AVERAGE 1983	8,214	14,497
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1981	5,836	2,670
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1982	4,665	2,789
MAIL SUBS AVERAGE 1983	2,957	2,695

Hundreds March in Oakland

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!



Ray Palmiero, Lauren Mozee and her two children.

Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

More than 400 militant protesters in Oakland October 29 put the Alameda County D.A. and Pacific Telephone on notice: Stop the racist, anti-union frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero! The predominantly black demonstrators, many of them trade unionists and their families, had come

out in the drizzling rain to march and rally for "Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray!" In addition, massive leafletting, posters, radio shows, newspaper articles and publicizing by the unions have made this case widely known throughout the East Bay area.

Lauren and Ray were facing seven

and a half years in prison for doing their duty as unionists during the recent national phone strike. While on the picket line in Klan-infested San Leandro, Lauren was called a "black nigger bitch" and hit in the face by racist scab assistant manager Michelle Rose Hansen. Because Lauren defended herself against this violent company assault, because her companion Ray came to her assistance, the two are facing multiple felony assault charges. They have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits.

The phone company, the cops and the D.A. are using this gross frame-up to send a message to the population: black people don't have the right to defend themselves against racist attack, workers don't have the right to defend their picket lines.

Ma Bell and the D.A. may have thought the working people of Oakland would quietly stay "in their place" while two left-wing activists in the union were picked off. But this blatant act of politicized racism in the service of union-busting is being opposed by a vigorous public campaign of protest and exposure. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee has marshaled an impressive united-front defense effort which

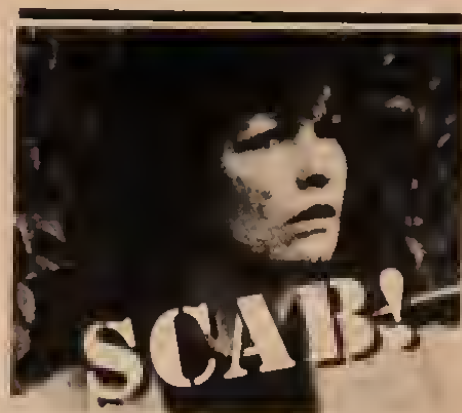
has been endorsed by labor organizations representing many thousands of workers, prominent public officials, numerous left-wing and community activists. Among unionists and students, and in the neighborhoods where supporters of Ray and Lauren went to

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Muhammad Ali Endorses Lauren and Ray Defense

Muhammad Ali,
Former World
Heavyweight Champ:
"No Viet Cong Ever
Called Me Nigger"

Press Release . . . 8



**Michelle Rose
Hansen**
Racist Scab Manager
called Lauren Mozee
"Black Nigger Bitch"



WV Photos

"Freedom and Jobs Back for Lauren and Ray!"

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get the word out about the demonstration, the victimization of Mozee and Palmiero has become widely known and broadly opposed. It is because the victimized militants are determined to fight this vendetta not just in court but through labor/black protest action that the D.A. has backed off from one of the phony charges and the phone company has distanced itself from scab Hansen.

From the steps of the Alameda County Courthouse, Lauren Mozee explained the stakes:

"As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said militant—trade unionist. A former member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines...I've been victimized."

"...It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney."

The demonstration brought out a serious hard core of people who know who the real criminals in this country are. Prominently displayed from the podium were large portraits to honor the memory of two black victims of racist killer cops: Patrick Mason, the five-year-old child shot to death by an Orange County cop last March, and Charles Briscoe, the 37-year-old Machinists union official brutally gunned down in 1979 by Oakland cops.

Patrick Mason's killer, white cop Anthony Sperl, was recently awarded \$35,000 in bounty by the Worker's Comp Board for "psychological stress" allegedly suffered after he broke into little Patrick's home and shot down the



WV Photo

Marchers carry photos of black victims of cop terror, five-year-old Patrick Mason and Machinist Charles Briscoe.

child as he sat watching TV. Oakland cop Robert Fredericks pumped 10 rounds of ammunition into Charles Briscoe; this was the same cop involved in the killing of 16-year-old Panther Bobby Hutton and in no less than four other shootings of blacks, two of them fatal. That Sperl and Fredericks walk the streets as free men today says it all about racist class "justice" in America.

If It Could Happen to Lauren and Ray, It Could Happen to Any of Us

The demonstration was a point of intersection for deep and desperate concerns of militant blacks and unionists. Striking workers came out, integrated couples came and brought their kids. Many participants were people who have had direct or close family acquaintance with cop violence. One interracial couple told us of their firsthand experience with the racist Richmond cops: the husband, a black

man and member of Local 1, public employees, was the victim of the notorious "choke hold"; he still has the marks on his neck.

Some of the most active workers for Lauren and Ray in the weeks before the demonstration were members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense (LBL). The LBL was formed here around the Spartacists' Martha Phillips election campaign last March, which had heavily stressed the hideous pattern of racist killings by East Bay cops and the need to fight Klan terror through labor/black mobilizations like last year's November 27 mobilization in Washington, D.C. The LBL demonstrated with the Spartacist League in September demanding "Vengeance for Patrick Mason!"

Among the unionists who provided monitors to help ensure an orderly march and rally were members of the ILWU, IAM, Teamsters and Steelworkers. These brothers know that the attack on Ray and Lauren is an attack on the

right to have real picket lines—and if you've got no picket lines, you've got no union. As the marchers proceeded from the Oakland City Hall to the Alameda County Courthouse, they passed a small picket line of striking bookstore workers. "Picket lines mean don't cross!" chanted the demonstrators in solidarity.

Speaking at the rally was Tom Sullivan, president of striking USWA Local 1304 in Emeryville. Steelworkers Local 1304 has a long militant history in the Bay Area. The Machinists' 141-day strike in 1945-46 was part of the postwar labor upsurge which culminated in the Oakland general strike of 1946. Members of that Steelworkers local have been out for five months, fighting a concerted union-husting campaign by Grove Valve. One 1304 member, who served as a leader of the monitors at the demonstration, told our interviewers that company "rent-a-cops" have been very aggressive against the picket lines. This black man is now facing charges brought by the company cop: "He claimed that I struck him which I didn't." American Federation of Teachers Local 771 was just evicted from its headquarters in the Piedmont township and was told that unions are not tolerated there. On the day of the rally, the local was moving its office, but was able to send a spokesman.

About 50 phone workers participated in the demonstration. We spoke with Darlene, a young black member of CWA Local 9415 who began working together with Lauren and Ray in the Militant Action Caucus during the recent strike and witnessed Hansen's attack on Lauren. She told us: "A lot of young people today don't realize the struggles their forefathers went through to get unions—the deaths, the arrests, just to have a picket line." Darlene emphasized that defending Lauren and Ray is integral to fighting continuing company harassment and victimization: "Since we got back [from the strike], they've been suspending people for refusing to work overtime," a particular hardship for single parents. Every phone worker has a stake in Ray and Lauren's fight. Had the CWA mobilized its ranks and the rest of labor to shut Ma Bell down, had those picket lines been massive, militant displays of workers power, racists like Michelle "Seab" Hansen would not be crossing those lines let alone attacking the workers on them.

At the rally, the videotape crew interviewed Frank Grinnon, a district representative of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in

PARTY!

Be there for music,
dancing and partying
Saturday, Dec. 3, 8 p.m.

YWCA, 15th and Webster
Oakland

The Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League invite you to a party to celebrate the one-year anniversary of the Spartacist League-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization that drove the KKK out of Washington, D.C. last November 27. Join us in stopping the racist anti-labor frame-up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.
Call (415) 835-1535

Oakland and one of the endorsers of the demonstration. He observed:

"I feel that the old labor slogan of 'An injury to one is an injury to all' is not being practiced these days very much by labor. And that if the company can get away with victimizing Lauren and Ray, it's just the first step. They go after the more militant workers, and then comes next contract, which I anticipate a serious battle and probably a strike—if they get away with victimizing them, they're going to cool out everybody on the picket lines. This is a way for the company to intimidate the unions....

"I think it's very clear here, they're going after particularly Lauren, who was a member of the Black Panther Party for ten years...a radical.... We have to defend everybody in the labor movement, particularly some of these more militant people, who are the ones that, you know, win the strikes on the picket lines."

Supporters of Lauren and Ray organized nationwide. A busload of supporters, including several phone workers, rode up from L.A. to participate in the march and rally. Backers of the defense effort in more distant areas collected signatures for telegrams of support and funds for the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. In Chicago, 150 striking school workers and 56 phone workers (CWA Local 5050) signed statements in solidarity with the demonstration's demands; 96 Detroit workers, many from the giant Ford River Rouge plant, sent a telegram and \$305.05; in New York City, 156 transit workers and 71 phone workers (CWA Locals 1101 and 1150) signed their names for support telegrams; 152 Howard University students also sent a solidarity message to the demonstration.

Locally, campaign volunteers were excited about the way the case has become a real issue in the unions and neighborhoods. Several union newsletters plugged the demonstration, and some of the prominent endorsers, John George and Norman Huntsman among others, sent out appeals for support on their personal letterheads. Union cab drivers and supermarket clerks gave leaflets to patrons; two retired ILWU members posterized their neighborhoods, stores and pool hall; members of black motorcycle clubs and CB van clubs worked to build the demonstration. Leaflets were distributed throughout the Flint's Bar-B-Q chain. One activist told us:

"At Fremont High School in Oakland, a teacher brought in leaflets and discussed the case. The class concluded an injustice had been committed. At the community colleges, where some of the older students are ex-Panther supporters themselves, black students responded immediately to the significance of Lauren's Panther background."

Another comrade told us, "Though it wasn't such a large demonstration, the right people were there":

"People really understood that if it could happen to Lauren and Ray, it could happen to any one of them. That Ray and Lauren were people on a picket line who got screwed over, and the person who got screwed over most was black. This was the focal point. People



Top: Labor contingents back Lauren and Ray. Bottom: Houston Person's jazz band at rally.

understood how the race question was used in the most violent way to bust a union."

The comrade told a story about one of the monitors: "A black steward in a Teamsters bottlers local took 15 leaflets from one of our people on the street, handed them out, then he xeroxed 700 on his union machine and took them to the work locations represented by his local. Then he called us up and asked for 200 more for his friends up in Richmond."

A Spartacist supporter, one of the protest's organizers, stressed the impressive united-front nature of the defense campaign. "People like Bill Edwards [a longtime maritime unionist] helped get us coverage in the *Sun Reporter* and *California Voice*. Everybody opened their doors to him." The extensive press coverage and the solid support from organized labor "are a lot of why the D.A. is dropping the great bodily injury clause even before the hearing," she commented.

Put the Bosses and Their State Out of Business!

At the demonstration, the disciplined protesters were not cowed by the Oakland cops' attempts to harass and provoke them. As the march proceeded down 14th Street to the courthouse, motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors. Midway through the march another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar. Upon arriving at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops zoomed through crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between march organizers and police officials. After the demonstration, *WV* learned that the cop sergeant in charge there, one Nolan Darnell, was the first cop to open fire the night Panther Bobby Hutton was blown away (see Reginald Major, *A Panther Is a Black Cat* [Morrow & Co., 1971]).

Whatever the Oakland cops' motivation for harassing the demonstration, we must assume that they view in particular the memory of Charles Briscoe with a mixture of hatred and fear. After a series of racist cop killings, the murder of IAM member Briscoe represented something of a turning point. Hundreds of angry Machinists crowded into the Oakland City Council demanding justice and forcing certain public exposures of the murderous cop vendetta against black Oakland.

Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained

their discipline and the rally proceeded without incident. Music was provided by Houston Person's excellent jazz band, which played three numbers in the rain. Union speakers included Willie Lee Bell from IAM Local 739, a close friend of slain Machinists officer Briscoe. (Excerpts from many of the rally speeches are featured elsewhere in this supplement.) Alameda Supervisors chairman John George termed the racist slur against Lauren "fighting words": "If we don't fight back for somebody saying something like that, then that's an assault, an insult to all black women. We ought to slap that person in the face." Among other endorsers of the demonstration were Congressman Ron Dellums; Angela Davis, S. Deacon Alexander and Rose Chernin, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Nelson Johnson, Communist Workers Party. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee has just announced that Muhammad Ali has endorsed the defense campaign.

Speaking for the Spartacist League, Diana Coleman received a warm reception from the demonstrators when she explained:

"Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan.... We of the Spartacist League intend to build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party.... The working people produced everything in this country and

MARCH and RALLY!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero Must Not Go to Jail!



Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up!

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, members of the Communications Workers of America, have been tried twice their jobs and have up to eight years each in state prison for delivering promotional signs to a union hall. They were arrested by a racist manager during the recent phone strike. The way they were treated must be stopped! Please help us fight for their freedom!

The undersigned: I endorse the March and Rally to Stop the Racist Anti-Labor Frame-Up of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero on October 29.

Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, members of the Communications Workers of America, have been tried twice their jobs and have up to eight years each in state prison for delivering promotional signs to a union hall. They were arrested by a racist manager during the recent phone strike. The way they were treated must be stopped! Please help us fight for their freedom!

ALL OUT Saturday, Oct. 29!

Assemble at 11 a.m. Oakland City Hall, March at 12 Noon to Alameda County Courthouse for a 1 p.m. Rally

Advertisement for demonstration in Oakland Tribune.

that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it."

Nothing is fair or democratic about this sick, decaying system: that's why killer cops walk the streets and a black five-year-old lies in the grave. That's why Michelle "Scab" Hansen has her job today while Ray and Lauren, with three children to support, have virtually no income and are being dragged through the bosses' courts, forced to wage a staggeringly costly legal defense campaign to stay out of jail.

The October 29 demonstration is an example in action of the Spartacist League perspective of forging a multi-racial vanguard party to lead the working class not only in effective struggle to defend the rights of labor and the oppressed but to fight for what we really need—a workers government to put the bosses and their state apparatus of repression out of business once and for all. Or, as Victor Pamiroyan of ILWU Local 6 said at the rally, "Maybe one day as workers we'll put companies on trial, and we'll be the jury and the judge!"

All workers, all the oppressed have a stake in the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. The October 29 demonstration was a big boost. But keeping these class-struggle fighters out of jail and winning their jobs back will take a lot more work—and a lot more money. Please help. Lauren and Ray fought for all of us; now we must fight for them. ■

Funds Urgently Needed

The hard work of defending Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero against the racist vendetta of the phone company and the Alameda District Attorney costs money! Ma Bell and the D.A. have millions at their disposal—Lauren and Ray have you: the workers movement, black community and student organizations, concerned individuals who want to see justice done.

The racist anti-labor frame-up of Ray and Lauren has cost them their jobs. The two phone workers have been denied unemployment and must somehow support three children until final victory of our defense campaign wins their reinstatement, back pay and gets the charges

dropped. It costs thousands of dollars to fight in the courts and on the streets.

Over a hundred thousand leaflets and some 2,000 posters were distributed to get the word out about the October 29 march and rally to defend Lauren and Ray—all this takes bucks. And the fight is far from over.

The defense effort desperately needs your contribution now. The next time someone is framed for defending a picket line, for defending themselves against racist attack—it could be you.

Please make checks payable and send to:

Phone Strikers
Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152
Oakland, CA 94623
(415) 763-1382.



Motorcycle cops zoom through demonstration, contravening prior agreement with march organizers.

Successful Benefit Held—Cop Harassment Protested

Muhammad Ali Backs Defense of Bay Area Phone Workers

Muhammad Ali, former world heavy-weight boxing champion, has joined with hundreds of labor officials, local unions, black and student organizations and concerned individuals in backing the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two Bay Area phone workers fired and facing racist cop frame-up charges resulting from last summer's three-week national strike against the phone company. Contacted in Chicago, Ali, once stripped of his title for refusing the draft and renowned for his statement "No Viet Cong ever called me Nigger," endorsed the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee: that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay, that all charges against them and all phone strikers be dropped and that amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers.

Support for the victimized interracial couple has snowballed as word has spread of the racist, anti-labor frame-up they face. On August 10 while on a picket line in San Leandro, Mozee was called a "BLACK NIGGER BITCH" and struck in the face by a Pacific

Telephone scab manager, one Michelle Rose Hansen. Lauren defended herself, and her companion and fellow unionist Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired from their jobs, denied unemployment and face up to four years each in state prison, while the racist scab still has her job. Efforts by the Defense Committee, including an October 29 march and rally at the Alameda County Courthouse of 400 mainly black trade unionists, have already resulted in the District Attorney's office dropping the serious "great bodily injury" clause from the felony charges against the couple.

Last night, November 14, over 250 supporters of this defense campaign packed "Your Place" blues club in Oakland for a spirited benefit. Top Bay Area blues artists Maxine Howard, Sonny Rhodes, The Right Kind and Malik and the Plus Factor performed in a dynamic show broadcast live over radio station KPFA. Over \$2,000 was raised in ticket sales and donations.

Following the successful fundraiser, however, Defense Committee spokes-

men stated, four Oakland Police Department squad cars descended on the area in an obvious attempt to intimidate and harass those in attendance. Two squad cars tracked Mozee and Palmiero, who were accompanied by an armed security guard hired by the Defense Committee, to a nearby restaurant and three squad cars were waiting outside when they departed.

Earlier, at the October 29 march and rally, Defense Committee spokesmen stated that Oakland motorcycle cops deliberately grazed three marchers with their bike mirrors and that another protester was hit in the back by a cop's handlebar midway through the march down 14th Street. When the march arrived at the Fallon Street entrance to the courthouse, some six motorcycle cops dangerously roared through the crowds of demonstrators on the street. This attempt to "clear" the street contravened a prior agreement between the march organizers and police department officials. Despite the efforts at provocation by the police, the protesters maintained their discipline and the rally

proceeded without incident.

This pattern of provocations and harassment, designed to spark an "incident" which the police can use to justify cop violence, is strikingly similar to that used to set up and destroy the Black Panther Party, of which Mozee was a ten-year member. Partisan Defense Committee attorney Valerie C. West states she is preparing a formal complaint to the Oakland chief of police and has arranged a meeting with Oakland mayor Lionel Wilson to discuss this dangerous and disturbing pattern of police harassment.

Defense motions for discovery and dismissal of charges will be heard at the next court appearance, December 1, 1983, 10 a.m., Department 2 of the Hayward Municipal Court, 24405 Amador, Hayward, CA. A press conference will be held on the courthouse steps at 9:30 a.m., immediately preceding the hearing. The Phone Strikers Defense Committee is organizing to fill the courtroom with supporters of Mozee and Palmiero to deliver the message to the D.A. once again: DROP THE CHARGES! STOP THIS RACIST, ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP! FREEDOM AND JOBS BACK FOR LAUREN AND RAY!!!

—Phone Strikers Defense Committee
15 November 1983

(For further information, contact: Phone Strikers Defense Committee, (415) 763-1382, or Valerie C. West, Attorney, (415) 832-1225.)

Soviet News Agency TASS Reports Bay Area Defense Rally

SAN FRANCISCO, 30 October (TASS)—Angrily condemning political and racist repression, which has assumed enormous proportions in the U.S. since the Reagan administration came to power, the workers of Oakland poured out to demonstrate and rally. They called for an end to the persecution of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, dark-skinned workers at the local telephone office, who have fallen victims to undisguised tyranny.

The administration drove Lauren and Ray out of their jobs and even plans to put them on trial simply for being trade-union activists and [for the fact] that in August of this year they took an active part in the nationwide strike of the workers and employees of the telephone company "American Telephone and Telegraph."

Addressing the rally speakers

pointed out that the gross racist violence and political repression in the U.S. is a direct consequence of the reactionary politics of the Reagan administration, of its acts directed against the interests of national minorities in the country, against every American worker.

"We see the campaign in support of the trade-union activists L. Mozee and R. Palmiero as part and parcel of our struggle against the offensive of the forces of racism and reaction," Donald Andrews, head of the "League of Black Workers," told the TASS correspondent. "The police, FBI, courts—all this vast repressive apparatus is used by the ruling circles for the defense of the interests of the employers. We should counterpose to it our solidarity, resolutely upholding our rights," D. Andrews pointed out. ■

"Yes to Lauren and Ray—No to Racist Anti-Union Reaganite Frame-Up!"

ILWU Local 10: Injury to One Is Injury to All

Statement by William Bancroft,
Secretary-Treasurer, ILWU Local 10,
on behalf of Local 10

The officers and membership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 10 stand in solidarity with fellow trade unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero in their struggle against the racists and anti-union actions of Pacific Telephone Company.

The struggle against racism and for equality, the struggle against anti-unionism and for workers solidarity are not new to us in the ILWU. Threats of violence and judicial lynchings have been part of the arsenal used against us. These weapons did not deter us then...they shall not deter us now. The attack on Lauren Mozee by Michelle Rose Hansen, a scab/manager of Ma Bell, and the subsequent bringing of criminal charges against her and Ray Palmiero should come as no surprise to most of us. The San Leandro police department and the Alameda County D.A.'s office are tools for the racist, anti-union, anti-life policies of the Reagan administration. The same forces that now seek to jail Mozee and Palmiero, are also responsible for the invasion of Grenada and the attempt to curtail progressive

people's movements throughout this world. *The ILWU says yes to Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. No to racist, anti-union Reaganite frame-ups.* We the members of the ILWU Local 10 stand with Mozee and Palmiero in their fight for justice. *An injury to one is an injury to all.*

Los Angeles NAARPR Backs Lauren and Ray

Statement by Rose Chernin and
S. Deacon Alexander

The entire executive board of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, L.A. Branch, is in full support of the Phone Strikers in general and specifically Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. We demand that all charges be dropped and Ray and Lauren are returned to work with full back pay as labor is our first line of defense and the racist attack on this fine couple is but a part of a pattern to break the back of organized labor.

We congratulate the Defense Committee, the union and all involved for their heroic effort in this matter. Our endorsement will mean that a fund-raiser is just around the corner. We are sorry that we could not be here today. Our spirit of fight back is with you.

Freedom is a constant struggle. Unity is the key.

We can fight back and will.

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Speeches...

(continued from page 12)

their robes in their brown paper bags and scuttle through the basement of the White House [cheers]. So we thank you, because this is where the power is. We have the real power. We have to organize it, and we have to use it. And thank you very much for coming out.

Willie Lee Bell

Chairman, Civil Rights Committee of IAM Local 739

Brothers and Sisters, it was told to us that the '80s would undoubtedly be a decade of serious challenges to our determination for continued progress. Now more than ever we must maintain vigorous and dedicated leadership to guarantee a secure and prosperous future for our membership and the peoples of the world. We have learned from our experiences and we've been taught that we must unite in order to survive. That is why I say I'm glad that you have cast aside your prejudices against one another and stand united against this overt act of suppression directed toward poor, working people and minorities. We will not tolerate this damnable act to deny us our right to defend ourselves on the picket line. And I say we must see and stop the racist anti-labor frame-up against Ray and against Lauren!

John George

Chairman of Alameda County Board of Supervisors

You know, when I heard that we had a labor dispute on the picket line, and my friend, they told her, or called her, a "black bitch." Now, that's fighting words. If we don't fight back for somebody saying something like that, then that's an assault, an insult to all black women. We ought to slap that person in the face [cheers].

We need to tell the doggone telephone company to dismiss this case and withdraw it.

Now here it is, they lose their jobs, they don't have any money, they've got to survive. The only way for them to survive is for us to support them. We have got to be up front. We have got to be up front because this issue is more than just two individuals. An injury to one, they say, is an injury to all. But a victory for one is also a victory for all. And that is what we are talking about. Not just two individuals.

This is a labor dispute. Because all workers, all workers are being threatened. Health benefits are being eroded. Plant closures are taking place. This case is a manifestation of this war on the workers of America.

I am joining with the people, Ray and Mozee, until we can win this case. And Ron Dellums used to tell me, and I will join you in that struggle, and I'm going to start right now by going down on the street.

Tom Sullivan

President, United Steelworkers Local 1304

I want you to know that the Steelworkers are with you, Lauren and Ray.

United Steelworkers have been on strike where I work for five months, that's 150 days. The Steelworkers have been on strike down in Arizona for four months, since the 1st of July. They're fighting Phelps Dodge—the copper barons. The Steelworkers are on strike at Judson Steel, they've been on strike here in Emeryville for two months. They all send you their greetings, Lauren and Ray, and we're going to stand behind you.

Ed Kartsen

NYC transit worker, candidate for president of TWU Local 100

The first thing I'd like to say, I'd like to read a telegram which was signed by over 156 transit workers, a telegram to the president of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company:

"We, the undersigned members of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union in New York City, demand that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero not go to jail. Drop all charges! Stop the racist anti-labor frame-up! Down with South African-style justice! Freedom, jobs back for Mozee and Palmiero! Picket lines mean don't cross!"

I'd also like to say we have collected over \$100 so far in collecting money in helping in this defense.

The bottom line is the picket line. The picket line must be respected, it must be hacked up by the force necessary to galvanize the thousands of trade-union militants that can ensure that when Reagan mobilizes the kind of force that he used against PATCO or the type of force he used against Grenada, that he can be repulsed effectively. We cannot let Ray and Lauren go to jail! Labor solidarity, militancy and the picket line mean nothing if these people go to jail.

And picket lines mean you better not cross! The phone company's trying to erode that tradition. They're trying to say that management can dance across picket lines because they're management. Well, let it be known that a management scab is no different from any other kind of scab. And let it be known that a management scab is just as fragile as any other kind of scab. [Voice in the crowd: "Scabs must go!"]

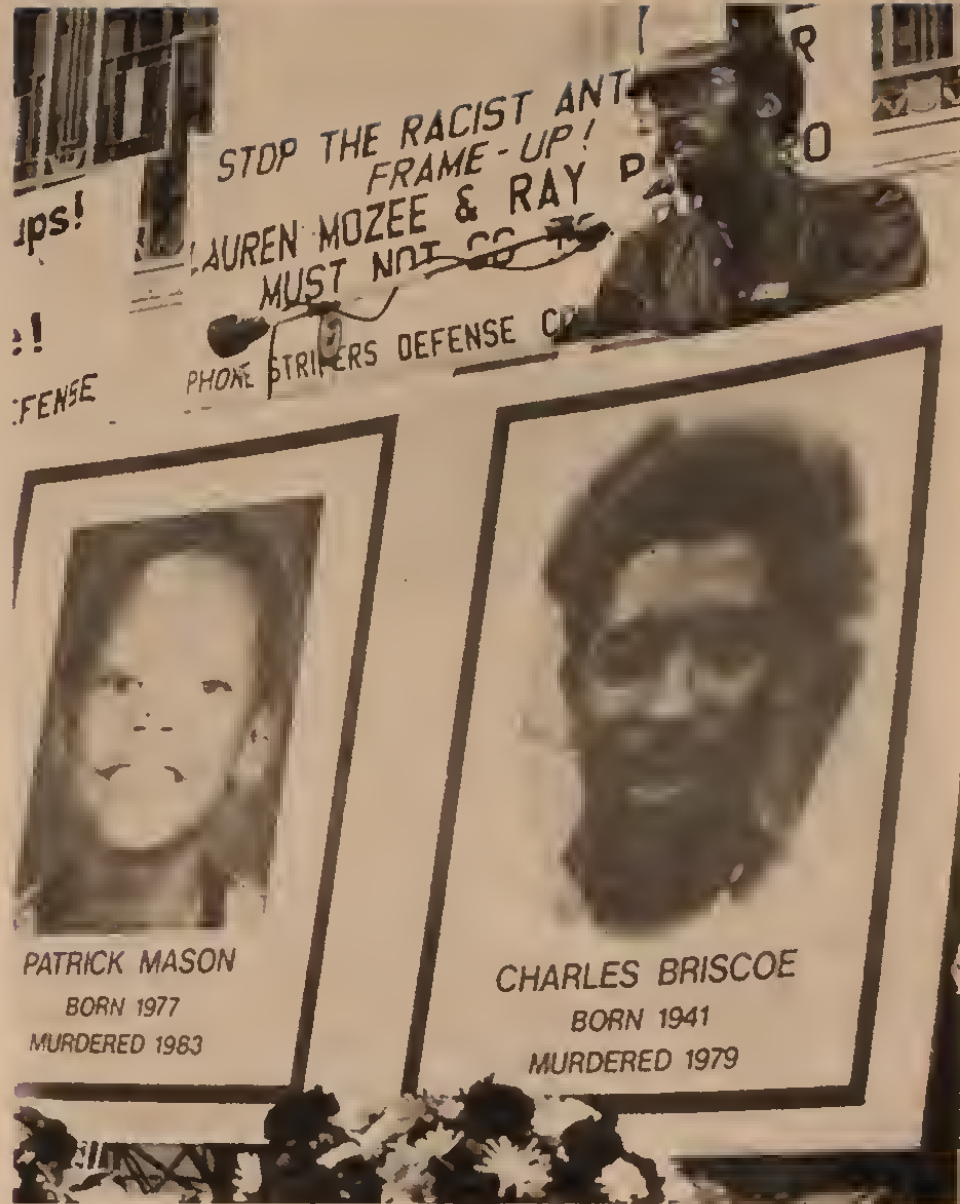
SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO! SCABS MUST GO!

And this was a racist scab at that. So picket lines mean don't cross. We will not let these people go to jail. Labor must continue to fight from here. Freedom and jobs for Mozee and Palmiero! Smash the South African-style justice! Smash this anti-labor frame-up!

Wilson Riles, Jr.

Oakland City Council

It's my pleasure to join with you here in this struggle. I think one of the things that people have learned over the struggles of the '60s and over the long history of struggle here in this country and around the world is that we cannot allow one individual or group in the struggle to be isolated, and to fight that battle by themselves. Because that's the tactic of the right, that's the tactic of the Republican administration. They will pick the particular most vulnerable members of the group and then they will move on from there to attack others. Here we have a black female labor



Ed Kartsen

organizer, legitimately organizing striking the telephone company in order to secure some just rights for all of the workers of the telephone company and for all people within the labor movement. It cannot be allowed for her to fight that battle alone.

One of the beautiful things about the people who are here today is that it is a broad-based coalition of people throughout this community. We have over in San Francisco a number of people who have gathered together around the problems in Grenada, and the fact that the same administration who started a full court press against the labor unions is now taking the military-industrial complex and moving troops into a small country like Grenada.

There are battles going on right here in the city of Oakland. The county of Alameda is rearranging its budget to support the sheriff's department, to build new jails, in order to put more of you, more of the people who are struggling for their own rights, in jails in Santa Rita, and in the jail down here that's just built in the city of Oakland. That's the same military-industrial philosophy that's being passed on. And the people who are going to be out today, people who are in solidarity with you and your concern, are out today attempting to get people to sign petitions to fight back the unfair, unjust restricting of the boundaries for the East Oakland Board of Supervisors seat. The enemy is the same, the battle is the same, and onward with the march so that we can let the District Attorney of

Alameda County know as we're letting the Reagan administration know that people in this country will no longer allow them to take away their rights.

Diana Coleman

Former Spartacist Party candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors

Brothers and sisters, I want you all to come over to this party, because not only are we going to have some fun but we're going to plan some organizing that's going to come next. And you out there are the people we want to do that organizing because we know that you are definitely the hard core. Because you have stood out here in the rain. We have had more speakers, we have also had some more rain than we expected, too. So you are the people we want to come over there.

We came out here today to say that Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero must not go to jail. Not for one hour, and not for one minute! The government and the phone company, in their usual alliance, are trying to turn the victims into the criminals. But our campaign has already had some successes, and Ray outlined that. The phone company is backing away from Michelle "Scab" Hansen, and the District Attorney is taking a step backwards from all his charges which he cannot prove, which he knows are lies.

So the frame-up of Lauren and Ray is one more in a long, long list of racist atrocities and union-busting. And that's right, there's a broader picture to this. Reagan and his millionaire cronies, they hate black America and they hate the unions. But I will tell you, you cannot fight Reagan with Democrats. We need labor action to bring down Reagan. Does anyone here think that Walter "Mundane" Mondale is going to stand up for the minorities and the working people against Reagan reaction? [Cries from the crowd: "No!"] Walter Mondale, the weepy, warmongering clone protégé of professional anti-communist Hubert Humphrey. I'll tell you, brothers and sisters, you gotta be kidding. There has to be a better alternative in this country for us. [From the crowd: "There is. A workers party!"]

We of the Spartacist League intend to



Willie Lee Bell



John George



Tom Sullivan



Wilson Riles, Jr.

WV Photos

build a mass, class-struggle workers party. Not the kind that simply participates in elections but a fighting workers party, a multiracial working-class party that can lead the workers and the oppressed, and take power. We're not talking about cutting up a piece of the pie. The working people produced everything in this country, and that's what we want. We want everything! We want our own workers government, and you need a workers party to get it.

When the Klan endorsed Reagan, let me tell you something, they knew what they were doing. They knew! And right now Reagan—with a little shadowboxing in Congress from the Democrats (he's backed up by the Democrats)—is trying to lead us into a thermonuclear war which will blow up the whole earth. Let me tell you something, brothers and sisters: Yuri Andropov may not be the best friend that black people in this country ever had, but I will tell you he is not the worst enemy. Because the worst enemy is here at home. [Applause.]

So Ronald Reagan was willing to sacrifice a lot of people in that 007 flight, and he was willing to sacrifice a lot of Marines in Lebanon for an imperialist adventure. And now, to cover it up, he is willing to go into tiny black Grenada with 6,000 troops. We say this is an outrage! And we say this is an attempt to cover up the disaster in Lebanon. Believe me, in Grenada our sympathies are with the Cubans who are there fighting. I want to read you what they said from Radio Havana. They said that "The Americans came in with fighter aircraft, with helicopters, with heavy- and medium-caliber artillery and mortars. But at the last, a group of six comrades, clutching our flag, continued fighting. At 11:17 our ambassador communicated, 'There is no further Cuban resistance. The fighters in the final redoubt did not surrender and gave their lives for their homeland'." And I want to tell you something, these are our brothers and sisters. These are our brothers and sisters out there!

So the same reactionary forces that are trying to railroad Lauren and Ray are pursuing armed aggression around the world. And I will tell you something: U.S. imperialism's difficulties are our opportunities, and we welcome them and we will take advantage of them. In El Salvador we say, "Military victory to the leftist rebels in El Salvador! No negotiated sellout!" In Nicaragua we say, "Kill the invaders!" The capitalist fifth column must be smashed and the workers mobilized against the CIA's war. And we call for defense of the Soviet Union, the first workers state, against imperialism. We have our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy, but one of them is that they don't send guns to El Salvador and MIGs to Nicaragua. Why are our brothers and sisters in Central America fighting with battered rifles and old machetes? They need modern jet aircraft, and as far as I'm concerned the Soviet Union ought to be providing it. [Cheers. Applause.]

Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! And defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero begins right here with labor/black mobiliza-

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1821 Park Boulevard Oakland, California 94606
LOCAL 9415
That charges be dropped against Lauren Mozee and Raymond Palmiero and all other phone strikers. This Local will give full support to the legal defense efforts for members of this local and all other phone workers who have been legally victimized in California and around the country.

NAVAL AIRCRAFT LODGE, No. 739
October 26, 1983
Dear Sisters and Brothers
As you know, this Local Lodge has endorsed the Defense Fund for the defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, two phone workers who have been fired and framed up on serious charges for defending themselves from a violent racist assault.
You will no doubt share my outrage that Lauren Mozee, who was called a "black nigger bitch" and struck in the face by a phone company manager on a picket line during the recent national phone strike, is being brought up on multiple felony assault and battery charges for defending herself. Similar charges have been brought against Ray Palmiero, her companion and fellow union member, who came to her aid. Both face eight-year prison terms on these trumped-up charges. Both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and denied unemployment benefits. The racist manager still has his job.
As part of the efforts to stop this racist railroad, there will be a mass march and rally in Oakland on October 29th.
ASSEMBLE AT 11 A.M., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29TH AT OAKLAND CITY HALL (14TH & WASHINGTON STS.) AND MARCH AT 12 NOON TO THE ALAMEDA COUNTY COURTHOUSE FOR A 2 P.M. RALLY
This march and rally has already been endorsed by public officials, including John George, Supervisor District 5, Congressman Ron Dellums, Berkeley's Mayor Gus Newport, numerous labor officials, minority organizations and many others. I urge you to join me at the rally. PLEASE WEAR YOUR UNION JACKET. ALL OUT ON OCTOBER 29TH. Thanks for your support.
Fraternally yours,
Norman Huntsman, President
Local Lodge 739, I. A. M. & A. W.

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
LOCAL No. 9410
749 SECOND STREET • 777-1410
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94105
September 23, 1983
Vice President Marie Halliwell made the following motion:
"I move that CWA Local 9410, based on information so far and in continuance with our historical position of defending all members, go on record supporting the reinstatement of CWA members Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to their jobs with full back-pay. All charges against Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be dropped, and J. Amest, be granted to all phone strikers."
Seconded and unanimously carried. — J. Amest 9/21/83

Communications Workers of America AFL-CIO
1821 Park Boulevard Oakland, California 94606
LOCAL 9415
Whereas, the CWA has provided bail and lawyers for members Mozee and Palmiero; therefore be it
Resolved, that CWA Local 9415
1) demand that these two members be reinstated to their jobs with full back pay,
2) request that the national union seek amnesty for all strikers accused of picket line misconduct,
3) cooperate fully with the legal defense team representing defendant members, and
4) seek a full report from the national union of efforts to defend and reinstate strikers being prosecuted elsewhere around the country.

tions against racist terror, be it at the hands of the racists dressed in the white robes of the KKK, the blue uniforms of the cops or the black robes of the bosses' courts. And, as black people in this country know, a goodly number of those who wear the white hoods at night are wearing blue uniforms during the day. [Applause. Shouts: "Yeah!" "Right."]

Over the years there have been far too many victims. We have the pictures up here of Patrick Mason, Charles Briscoe. There have been so many, so many, going back to Bobby Hutton. So many victims. But this time we have a chance to defend these two before they go to jail, before they get sent away by this government. [Voice in the crowd: "No more victims!"] Lauren and Ray are fighters. They went up to Richmond with the Labor Black League for Social Defense to fight against police brutality. They went over to San Francisco to demonstrate against South Africa's murder of the ANC black militants. And they've fought for militant, class-struggle policies in the union. These are the kind of fighters we need more of! And you have to fight for them now, brothers and sisters, because they fought for all of us.

So we say: "No way! Smash the racist anti-labor frame-up! No South Africa-style justice in Oakland! Freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray! And for a workers government that will avenge all our martyrs!" ■

Statements at Press Conference, October 27



Frank Tanner

Frank Tanner
CWA Local 9410

I'd just like to say that, first of all, you are correct that our local, as well as our union, views not only this case, but the cases of others suffered in the cause of alleged picket line activities, as being very dangerous to the labor movement in general, and especially when a case comes along with the racial overtones that we find in this case, which we find extremely repugnant. That our efforts should certainly not slacken, but probably be redoubled in dealing with this case, as well as all the other cases that are pending for our people who somehow suffered from alleged picket line incidents.

Father William O'Donnell

I'm here to emphasize and to stress the immorality of this action against two workers and two union organizers. Once you categorize thoughts and frame a person into violent categories, then you can behave against them basically by being physically violent, by being juridically violent, by being morally violent.



Father O'Donnell



Norman Huntsman

It's just blatantly unjust and unfair and immoral. And the issue is racism, which is the very evil that will bring this society down. The court's accepting this case, it seems to me, is corruptive of the courts. And I think public opinion is so necessary in this case to bring the injustice of these charges before the public. And to see that these two fine persons will be exonerated.

Norman Huntsman

I'm Norm Huntsman, I'm president of Local Lodge 739 of the Machinists union, International Association of Machinists. In the march Saturday you will recognize the Machinists by these jackets like the one that I'm wearing. We are outraged. As a labor leader, we expect the establishment to attack us. That's old hat. But we cannot sit idly by while they attack our rank and file. We will not do that, we want to protest. We will be there. And we hope everybody, every unionist, community person, anybody with any sense of decency, will join us in this march to protest this racist act.

FINISH the CIVIL WAR!
BLACK LIBERATION THROUGH
WORKERS REVOLUTION!
SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Spartacist
spokesman
Diana Coleman
with rally
chairman
Don Andrews.



"No South Africa-Style Justice in Oakland!"

We publish below excerpts from the speeches at the October 29 Oakland march and rally to defend Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, fired phone workers facing jail in a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Other speakers at the rally included Victor Panfroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6; Ann Fagan Ginger, Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute; Father William O'Donnell, Church of St. Joseph the Workman; Ben Visnick, United Teachers Local 771; Tom Boot, Freedom Socialist Party; Tim Ligosky, Exec Board, IAM Local 284.

Lauren Mozee

Fired telephone worker facing years in prison for defending her union picket line and herself from racist management/scab attack

I want to thank everybody, and I've had a drink under my belt so I'm a little calm now. I had a frog in my throat, and that washed it down.

As everyone knows, I'm a victim of a racist, anti-labor frame-up. Why? One, I'm a black woman. Two, Ray and I are an interracial couple. Three, I'm a militant—I said *militant*—trade unionist. [Voice from the crowd: "Right on, sister!" Applause.] A former-member of the Black Panther Party for many years. And I'm a firm believer—I said firm believer—in socialism. I've always been a fighter against racism and cop terror, and a fighter for unity of the working class against the bosses. Now, for these things and for doing my duty on the picket lines by defending myself against this racist attack, and for defending my picket line and our jobs against those who want to break the unions and take our jobs, I've been victimized.

We have been made a victim by the people who hate blacks, unionists and the whole working class. Blacks, unionists and workers have a right to take a stand in this country. That's what you all are here for. Local 10 is here, from the ILWU. IAM is here, Willie Lee Bell. And all my phone worker comrades—I see a lot of them! [Applause.] And many, many others. I thank you all for being here, I really do. And your



Oakland, October 29—From left: Rally chairman Don Andrews, Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee lead chants: "Hey, D.A.I Workers say: Hands Off Lauren and Ray!"

support has been of great effect on the District Attorney's office, let me tell you. Ray is going to talk about that a little bit more.

Ray and I aren't the only ones who face this kind of situation. On Wednesday, October 26th, in Oklahoma City (I have a brother-in-law and a sister that were deported there from General Motors Fremont), the Klan marched into the plant in full dress—hood, robes and all—and worked on the assembly lines! Until my brother-in-law, my brother and my sister stopped the line. [Applause. Chants from the crowd: "Stop the Klan! Stop the Klan!"] So these people are all over. They're all over, I mean they follow them all the way to Oklahoma. This is their second encounter with the Klan in only five months that they've been there. I mean, two hours after my brother-in-law was in the city they tried to arrest him for armed robbery.

I am a member of the Militant Action Caucus, which is a real, living part of our union. As with Jane Margolis, an elected delegate to the National Convention of CWA in 1979: she was dragged off the convention floor bodily by Jimmy Carter's Secret Service men. Later, in 1980, they sent her a letter of apology and a \$3,500 check which she signed over to the CWA Defense Fund.

So as you see, we can win with this kind of support. We need to win not only for ourselves, believe me. That's a real important point, important in the long run for all blacks and working people. An injury to one is an injury to all. It's not Ray and myself who are the criminals here. The criminals are Ma Bell, the San Leandro Police Department and the District Attorney.

I thank all of you.

Ray Palmiero

Fired and facing prison for defending his union and his companion Lauren

I want to thank you all again for Lauren and myself. We appreciate you all coming out here and hanging with us in this weather. I want you to know, and I'm happy to have been allowed to make this announcement, that our efforts—your efforts—have already paid off to

some degree. Now the fight isn't over, and we have to keep fighting, and we want you all to be fighting with us, but our efforts have started to pay off.

And what I mean by that is, that, number one, the phone company has already started to distance itself from this scab manager. There was an article in the *Oakland Post* dated 26 October where, I quote, "Doug Jones of Pacific Telephone's Community Affairs Department said he had just received a copy of the press release issued by the Ad Hoc Committee and had only a vague idea of what the issue was about. He promised to investigate further and call back with an official statement from the company. He did say that the telephone company was not the party filing charges against Mozee and Palmiero." [Lauren interjects: "And we all know *that's* a lie!"]

Now, anybody who knows the phone company knows that that woman doesn't go to the bathroom without approval from her superiors. So let's not kid ourselves, they're trying to distance themselves from this because they're already feeling some pressure.

The other encouraging news was that yesterday at our court appearance the District Attorney, with a very sad expression on his face, made a motion to drop one of the charges that was originally filed against us. And that was the "great bodily injury" clause [cheers], saying that originally they had had the understanding that Michelle Rose Hansen would need surgery on her nose, but recently they've come to discover that this wasn't necessary...so, sorry about the lies, but, you know....

So, your energetic work is paying off. They're feeling the pressure. But it's not over yet. As I said, we're dealing with dangerous people here and we have to keep fighting them. These people have to lie, the social contradictions in this society, where a rich minority tries to rule over a working-class majority, force them to lie. Witness Grenada, where the government said that a naval convoy would not be engaged militarily, and then they invade this tiny island in the name of restoring democracy. Lies.

Lauren and I are the victims of the kind of democracy that Reagan would

like to see worldwide. The kind of democracy that slaughters thousands in El Salvador, the kind of democracy that massacres Palestinians at Shatila and Sabra. That same kind of democracy has tried to turn Lauren and me into criminals.

Why? Because when we were on a picket line, a scab manager hit Lauren, called her a "black nigger bitch," and Lauren defended herself. And when somebody attempted to get involved, I assisted her. Now, we've been fired, and we've been denied unemployment. We've got Lauren's two children and her nephew to support. And we're facing time in state prison.

So this is an act of politicized racism. It's an attempt to import South Africa-style justice to Oakland. We've been singled out and selectively prosecuted because we're an interracial couple, because we've been active in the Militant Action Caucus, because Lauren was a long-time member of the Black Panther Party. But everybody knows that we are not the only intended victims. They're aiming at blacks and working people. They're saying that blacks do not have the right to defend themselves against violent racist assault. They're saying that unionists do not have the right to defend themselves against management violence on the picket line. And that's bullshit.

Because if we can't defend ourselves on the picket line, then we don't have picket lines. And if we don't have picket lines, then the right to strike is really meaningless. And if we don't have the right to strike, then we don't have unions. And if we don't have unions, Reagan would be a very happy man. Because the only union he likes is Solidarność. They hate unions. They hate us. They hate mobilizations of this kind.

And I want to thank you again for coming out here, because it's labor/black mobilizations of this kind that will stop this atrocity before it happens. And that will stop any other attempted mobilizations by the KKK, the Nazis, as we witnessed in November in Washington, D.C. where the KKK had to put

continued on page 10



Ray and Lauren on the CWA picket line during strike.

Edén Pastora...

(continued from page 2)

Nicaragua is next on his hit list. We say: "Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!" The iSt calls for the construction of Trotskyist parties, based on the program of permanent revolution, to lead the proletariat to power, from Central America to Mexico and beyond.

The Spartacist League is at the forefront in denouncing *El Traidor* Pastora, warning that he is a "democratic" front man for Yankee invasion and Somozaist counterrevolution. But to the reformists, Pastora is "Mr. Political Solution," and thus they hesitate, equivocate and vacillate. The Democratic Party "doves" courted by the rad-

libs are for a "negotiated settlement" both in El Salvador and Nicaragua, and Pastora is their man. He even enjoys support from the social-democratic Second International of Mitterrand and Schmidt, who call on the Sandinistas to restore "genuine" political pluralism (for the bourgeoisie), a mixed economy and nonalignment. So when the SL/SYL approached various groups for common action against the CIA's traitor Pastora, they were either "too busy" (Casa El Salvador "Farabundo Martí") or opposed to "common activities with the Spartacists" (Casa Nicaragua). Instead they preferred their November 12 "peace" crawl together with imperialist liberals like Congressman Michael Barnes who have supported Reagan's Big Stick invasion of Grenada.

But hundreds and thousands of those who have marched in opposition to Reagan's policies in Central America

can smell a *contra* cockroach. Last Friday, Pastora received a small taste of what he deserves from the audience at a Columbia University forum sponsored by Albert Shanker's rabidly anti-Communist Social Democrats USA. Outside the auditorium where Pastora was to speak on "A Revolution Betrayed" (by him), the SL/SYL held a small protest picket together with the Revolutionary Communist League-Internationalist. Later, inside the auditorium, the largely anti-Pastora crowd erupted in chants of "Asesino" (murderer) and "No pasarán" (they shall not pass) when the CIA's "social-democratic" traitor-terrorist appeared. Pandemonium ensued. At times Pastora's translator seated beside him could not hear his voice above the tumult. Frustrated *gusano* goons charged into the crowd to get at the "Communists." When the "Young Social Fascists" tried to chant "Viva Pastora!" they were

drowned out by the crowd responding, "CIA, CIA!"

Pastora is no democrat, he's Ronald Reagan's terrorist. This counterrevolutionary scum deserves to be driven from any platform from which he attempts to speak. While he talks of "democratic debate," his mercenaries are slaughtering defenders of the Nicaraguan revolution with guns and ammo provided by the CIA. As Pastora rants against "Cuban internationalists"—the teachers and doctors who are serving the Nicaraguan people, and the military advisers aiding the Sandinistas' defense against a new Bay of Pigs—the U.S. Marines are practicing amphibious landings with their Honduran puppet army. Nicaragua is in danger! We say: "Smash the *contras*, workers to power!" As Spartacist demonstrators proclaimed outside Freedom House, "No more Batistas, workers smashed the tsar—Defend Cuba and the USSR!" ■

Conference...

(continued from page 4)

ception of the Negro Struggle," castigated the SWP for adapting to black separatist ideology, a stance which became the SWP's theoretical cover for abstention from mass civil rights struggles: the party implicitly redefined itself as a "white" organization whose role toward the black movement was to enthrone from the sidelines over black nationalist currents. Fraser's analysis showed how black separatist ideology has emerged at times when blacks saw little hope for integrated social struggles. He counterposed a program of revolutionary integrationism.

Dick Fraser, presently a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, was one of a sizable layer of SWP spokesmen propelled out of the party as it plunged rapidly from centrism to outright reformist appetite in the 1960s. Though the comrade's political contacts with the SL have been episodic, he is an acknowledged theoretical mentor of our tendency, which has published "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" as part of our *Marxist Bulletin* series.

At this conference, SL National Chairman Jim Robertson acknowledged his personal political debt to Dick Fraser as "almost my last teacher" in the SWP (along with the late Murry Weiss). Robertson cited the strong positive subjective component of the relationship, telling the conference that we have some profound agreements with comrade Fraser and have always been happy to bend the stick that way despite no less serious differences which neither of us ever sought to hide. Comrade Fraser has recently become a closer party collaborator helping to guide our efforts to root the SL among militant black workers and youth. In particular, he is participating in elaborating our perspective for

transitional organizations of labor/black defense, mass organizations of the party (see box page 4).

Comrade Fraser's participation in this conference helped underline the conference document's insistence that "what is posed for our party is not so much a 'turn' as the renewed applicability under these conditions of the perspectives outlined in 'Black and Red: Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom' (March 1967), one of the founding documents of our tendency." The "Black and Red" document was adopted in draft form at the SL founding conference in April 1966. The report on that conference published in *Spartacist* noted the need for "a mass organization of black workers around a program of organized self-defense, independent political action, and other transitional demands." The article noted that comrade Richard Fraser spoke then as a co-reporter on the black struggle and "traced the evolution of the SWP's theoretical bankruptcy and unprincipled practice and our present Marxist position on this question." The article defined as a central task "blackening" the Spartacist League.

The SL of 1966, though a very small group, had forged, mainly in rent-strike organizing work and protests against cop brutality, real political and social ties among a layer of militant ghetto working people. But the rise of left-talking black nationalism, in the absence of a powerful revolutionary integrationist pole, closed off for a period the prospects for rapid recruitment of black cadres to Trotskyism. Now the black nationalist rhetoric has run straight into a hardening white bourgeois hostility, slamming the door on the illusion that blacks will "make it" in America by the "split-level dashiki" route, while the social and class polarization impelled by the blows of Reagan reaction opens up a renewed prospect for the SL to emerge as the vanguard of united class struggle for black liberation.

In the months since the conference, our work continues to confirm the urgent opportunities we believe are presented. We continue to meet with a very encouraging response to our propaganda and slogans among blacks and other working people. There are serious people around our party who have not come forward lightly in this period, people who want to be convinced that our party has the program and the will to lead their struggles to victory. But everything underlines that in these times of social instability and war preparation, there is not much time left to get from where we are now to where we must go: the building of a mass revolutionary workers party to lead the conquest of power. We have had a forthright, politically rich and forward-looking national conference. Its ultimate significance will be judged by how well the party confronts our urgent tasks in the present and future. ■

On the 27 November 1982 Labor/Black Mobilization

Excerpted from the Main Conference Document of the Spartacist League/U.S. Seventh National Conference, "Struggle Against Reagan Reaction."

Masses of black people in the Washington area have embraced as their own victory the militant mobilization whose size, discipline and labor backing kept the cops on their good behavior, prevailed over the Reagan administration's intention that the Klan's "right" to march for genocide would be shoved down the throats of black Washington by any means necessary, and handed the rapidly growing fascist "fringe" of reaction an important defeat. The success of this small mass action under our leadership poses big opportunities for our growth...

The November 27 mobilization showed how quickly things can move in this period. With Reagan covertly backing the KKK provocation, probably gambling that it would cow rather than inflame the black masses, with the Marcyite All-Peoples Congress perfunctorily building an ill-defined protest after a desultory showing earlier in the month, and with D.C. police officials proclaiming early on their special animosity towards us, November 27 looked at the outset like a marginal proposition for our effective intervention. Furthermore the APC had permits for about two dozen sites all over the vicinity. But the mass sentiment for militant anti-Klan action among D.C. area black people, enabling us to obtain real labor support, enabled us to leap over the APC obstacle and

directly lead thousands of people in action.

The SL's entry onto the scene had pushed the APC openly into the diversionary role played elsewhere by the Democrats themselves in "community unity" festivals counterposed to our same time/same place anti-fascist mobilizations. The APC chose its spot near the very end of the announced Klan march route; we chose to assemble at the point appropriate to forces interested in stopping the KKK march at its starting point. Thanks to the outpouring of support for the Labor/Black Mobilization, instead of our being squeezed between the Marcyites and the cops, as the Marcyites would reasonably expect in the El Salvador protest milieu, the Marcyites got politically squeezed between us and the black masses. In substance simply running a pro-Democratic diversion, the Marcyites had to maintain a posture as "Marxists" and vicarious fans of "peoples rebellions." Thus the APC, while explicitly anti-militant (baiting the Labor/Black Mobilization as "confrontationist" and with predictions of "violence"), had to hedge on the central question of "ignore the Klan"/"han the Klan" vs. "stop the Klan." Hence the scared reformist leftists convoked a crowd of militant blacks, Palestinians, etc., some of whom thought they had come for anti-Klan action. Under steady provocation by the cops, the APC bloc lost political control of their demonstration and actually tried to link arms against their own crowd.

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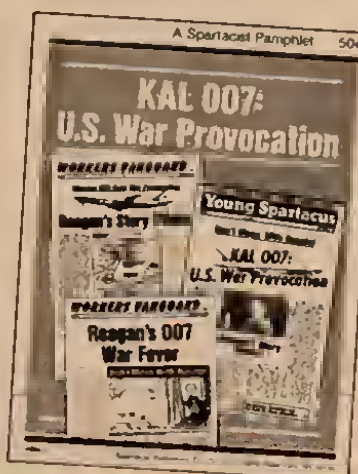
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Near East Flashpoint...

(continued from page 1)

Strait of Hormuz, through which passes much of the capitalist world's oil, in transit from the Persian Gulf to West Europe. Washington is now using the Beirut bombing to whip up war frenzy against Khomeini's Iran as well as Syria. According to the *New York Times* (29 October):

"The Reagan Administration is now assuming that the Iranian Government played the key role in the bombing attacks on the American marines and French troops last Sunday and will retaliate once conclusive information is collected. Administration officials said today."

"Dizzy with success" over tiny Grenada, the Reagan gang are now set to plunge into the Near East quagmire on a broad front.

From Grenada to the Shores of Tripoli

The tiny island of Grenada, with an army good only for shooting down its own unarmed citizens, was supposed to be a quick, tidy military operation for the American war machine. "Operation Urgent Fury" was a diversion to draw attention away from the bloody mess in Lebanon, where U.S. military headquarters were blown away and some 240 Marines killed. Maybe it would give Reagan a "Falklands factor" to get himself re-elected as well. Grenada did manage to drive Lebanon off the front pages for a few days, especially as the media were reduced to printing government handouts in the U.S.' first-ever off-the-record invasion. When reporters were finally permitted on the island they found the fighting neither quick nor tidy: it took 6,000 "crack" American troops, 20 naval warships and several squadrons of Air Force fighters and helicopter gunships almost a week to take Grenada in the face of heroic resistance by 700 Cuban construction workers.

Reagan's Grenada adventure has pushed up his popularity in the opinion polls. There's all the flag-waving jingoism, of course. But there's also another factor, never mentioned but brutally obvious every time you turn on the TV: raw, undiluted racism. All those white boys, many of them Southern crackers, getting their kicks by shooting down,

The recent attack on a Soviet submarine in international waters by the U.S. destroyer *McCloy* recalls the 1960s movie, *The Bedford Incident*. In the movie an obsessed Navy commander (played by Richard Widmark), who wanted to sink Cuba during the '62 missile crisis, hounds a Soviet submarine ("Big Red") off the Greenland coast until it is forced to surface. As he moves in for the "kill," crossing the line between playing at war and the real thing, an overwrought crew member launches the missiles. In the movie, the commander of "Big Red" retaliates; in the recent real-life attack on the high seas, the Soviet commander withheld fire. Perhaps he was thinking of the 90 men aboard his disabled vessel who were now sitting duck targets. But remember that these subs are not only nuclear powered, they carry nuclear weapons. If the Soviet commander, harried by an American destroyer out to play "dirty tricks" on the Russians, had loosed his torpedoes it would have left a large hole in the ocean where the U.S. ship used to be. Reagan had better stop messing with the Soviets.



abusing and lording it over black islanders, both Grenadians and Cubans. The Cuban dead are dragged along the ground and dumped in piles. White medical students who kissed the ground after being "rescued" by the Marines refer to the native inhabitants as "FIGS" ("fucking ignorant Grenadians"). Bringing "democracy" at bayonet point to Grenada is a replay of the colonialists' "white man's burden."

And what "democracy"! The governor-general, Sir Paul Scoon, representative of the British queen, promptly banned all public assemblies and meetings, instituted searches without warrants and announced plans for press censorship! Now it is revealed that prisoners were held for "interrogation" in tiny isolation booths, wooden crates with a few slits and tiny holes for ventilation; a new version of the Vietnam "tiger cages" for suspected Viet Cong. Yet now most of those Democrats who earlier complained about Reagan's violation of "international law" have changed their tune: they obey a higher authority—the Gallup Poll, and the interests of the American ruling class.

The *Wall Street Journal* (28 October) proclaimed that Grenada had buried the "lesson of Vietnam" and proved its opposite: that the U.S. should "use military power to achieve its political goals." It's an open secret that the Reagan gang is now preparing an

invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua to follow up their Grenada "win." The *New York Times* (11 November) reported a secret meeting last month of the military chiefs of Panama, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala to study "the legality of joint military action against Nicaragua." Asked if the U.S. would "aid" an invasion by its puppets in this "Central American Defense Council," as it did the phantom "Organization of Eastern Caribbean States," National Security Council head Robert McFarlane replied, "Yes, we support them." But Nicaragua could be the political graveyard for Ronald Reagan, as well as the physical graveyard for his *contras*. Unlike the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, which took power through a military coup, the radical-nationalist Sandinistas toppled the hated Somoza regime through a mass insurrection and civil war. The Nicaraguan people will fight like hell to prevent the Somozaist butchers from returning. And next door in El Salvador, the leftist insurgents are wiping up the puppet army which seems close to collapse.

Even more imminent than direct U.S. invasion of Central America is the prospect of Reagan touching off a major war in the Near East. The *Wall Street Journal* (9 November) writes that "the mobilization of American, Israeli and Syrian forces there [in and around Lebanon] looks like the prelude to a major dust-up." Despite all their talk of Syria as a "Soviet proxy," much of the U.S. ruling class knows that Damascus strongman Assad is just as treacherous as was Egypt's Sadat, who dumped the Soviet alliance a decade ago in exchange for U.S. weapons and Saudi petrodollars. Washington is threatening a punitive attack on Syria in order to force Assad to do Washington's bidding (pull his troops out of Lebanon, recognize an Israeli protectorate south of the Awali River, etc.) or else face the consequences. But whatever Washington's war plans and scenarios, a U.S./Israeli attack on Syria, now Russia's main military client in the region, can easily and quickly escalate into a nuclear World War III.

Syria is the Kremlin's most important client state in the Near East. Several thousand Soviet military advisers are now with Syrian forces, and many of these would certainly be killed in any major U.S. or Israeli attack. Facing American war provocations and war moves around the globe (above all, the deployment of first-strike Pershing 2 missiles in West Europe), Soviet leaders may well not allow their Syrian ally to be humiliated and defeated at the hands of Reagan and his Zionist henchmen. Even Washington's staunchest anti-Soviet NATO allies—Thatcher's Britain and Mitterrand's France—are worried that Reagan is playing a dangerous game on the Lebanon/Syria front. London warned the U.S. not to retaliate against Syrian-backed forces in Lebanon for the bombing of the Marines'

Beirut headquarters. Likewise Paris expressed concern about the "risks of an escalation in the Middle East."

In the 1973 October War between Israel and the Arab states, Nixon resorted to nuclear brinkmanship to warn off the Soviets from intervening on Egypt's behalf. That was during the heyday of "détente." Now the Russians are in Syria in a big way, and Reagan is "going for the big one" against the Soviets' "evil empire."

Reforging the Washington/Jerusalem Axis

Especially after that truck bomb demolished Marine headquarters at Beirut airport, U.S. rulers were furious with their Israeli allies for precipitously pulling their forces out of central Lebanon. On national television Henry Kissinger complained, "The Israelis withdrew some 20 miles, leaving the Americans facing all the contending forces in Lebanon that have been fighting a civil war for 10 years" (*Washington Post*, 24 October). The Israeli army is supposed to police the Near East for U.S. imperialism, not the other way around. So Reagan is now pressuring Israel to step up its involvement across the board. A week after the Beirut bombing, State Department troubleshooter Lawrence Eagleburger went to Jerusalem to strengthen "strategic cooperation" between the two countries. This was widely understood to mean preparations for war with Syria.

A few days after the Eagleburger mission, an Israeli military compound in Tyre, southern Lebanon, was itself hit by a truck bomb, killing about 30 Israeli soldiers and secret police and 30 Palestinian prisoners undergoing "interrogation" (i.e., torture). One almost suspects the Marines of doing it in order to show the Israelis that they're not immune in their new "security zone." In any case, this attack had the effect of reinforcing Israeli military presence in

Protest Reagan's Provocation Against Russian Press

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Telegram

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SECRETARY OF STATE

PROTEST OUTRAGEOUS DENIAL OF PERMISSION TO SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS AND PRAVDA REPORTERS TO COVER COMMUNIST PARTY USA CONVENTION IN CLEVELAND. THIS BRAZEN VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND TRAVEL COMES AFTER DENIAL OF LANDING RIGHTS IN NEW YORK TO SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND DIPLOMATIC STAFF FOR U.N. SESSIONS, GROSS VIOLATION OF DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY OF SOVIET EMBASSY STAFF IN GRENADA AND DISABLING OF SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINE BY U.S. NAVY, ACTS WHICH NOT ONLY VIOLATE CIVILIZED NORMS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BUT CONSTITUTE WAR PROVOCATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. NOTE THAT IN THE PRESENT PERIOD OF U.S. GLOBAL BRINKMANSHIP AND CONFRONTATION, PRESS OF "EVIL EMPIRE" HAS MAINTAINED HIGH STANDARD OF VERACITY IN CONTRAST TO PREVARICATION AND LIES OF U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISHMENT PRESS.

JAN NORDEN, EDITOR, WORKERS VANGUARD

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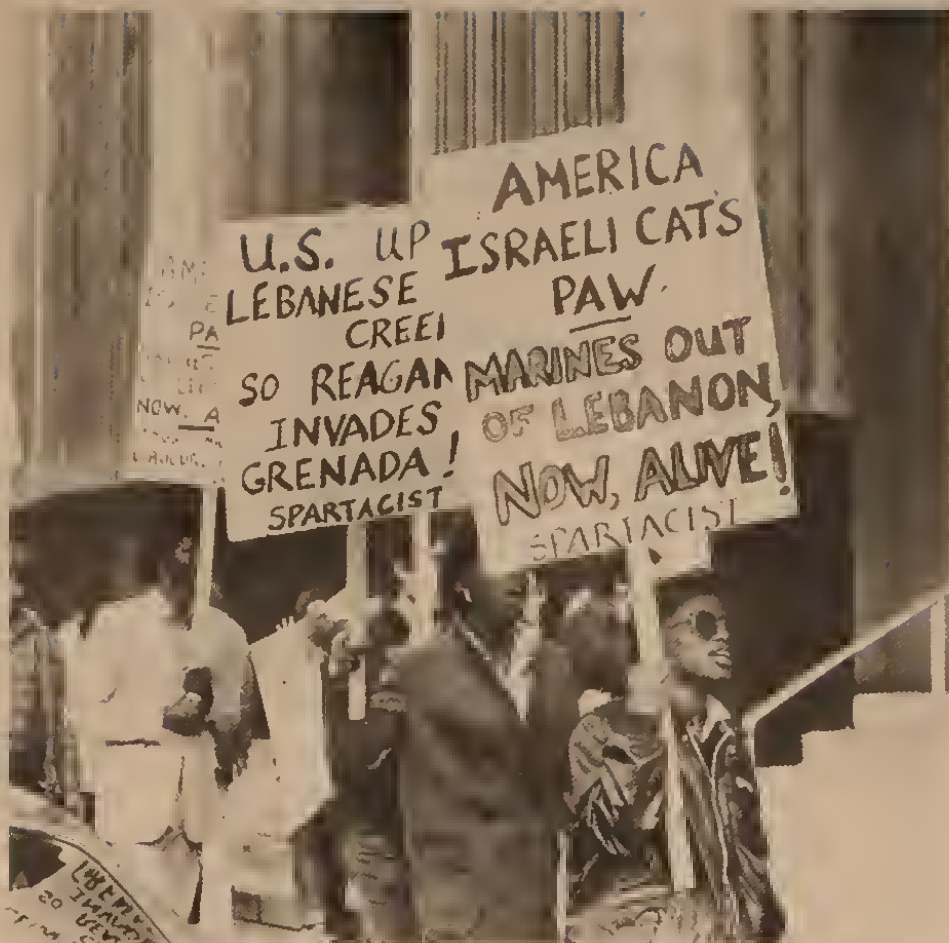
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Detroit, October 25: SL protests U.S. war moves in Near East, rape of Grenada.

Lebanon. Like the chauvinist pigs that they are, the Zionist rulers responded by bombing defenseless Palestinian refugee camps. They have since repeatedly threatened Syria with retaliation, and backed up these threats by mobilizing Israeli army reserves.

However, Washington's current policy of pushing Israel into a war with Syria is a dangerous game, for it threatens to further destabilize the Zionist fortress internally. The invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 deeply polarized Israeli society, including its armed forces. Soldiers in uniform on leave from the front participated in mass "peace" protests; elite units signed petitions against the war. Had Begin/Sharon ordered the Israeli army to take Beirut, staggering casualties would likely have caused an explosion on the home front and in the army as well. The Zionist butchers did not withdraw from the Shuf Mountains because they suddenly lost their taste for Arab blood. The occupation of central Lebanon was bleeding Israel, not least economically. With inflation running at 130 percent, the former finance minister actually proposed to replace the shekel with the dollar to secure monetary stability. Instead of Theodore Herzl, Israelis would be looking at a portrait of George Washington as the founding father of their country.

If the Lebanese adventure has proved to be a Pyrrhic victory for the Zionists, it

did achieve its main aim: the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as an independent military force. Yasir Arafat (and unfortunately not he alone) is now paying the price for withdrawing PLO fighters from Beirut and inviting in the U.S. Marines and other imperialist "peacekeepers." The PLO commandos were dispersed in concentration camps across the Arab world, while those remaining in Lebanon increasingly came under the control of the Syrian army. Assad moved to take over the Palestinian movement, in part by exploiting justified hostility to Arafat's sellouts among many PLO militants. As Syrian forces and their Palestinian flunkies besiege the remaining Arafat loyalists trapped in the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli, while also killing countless Palestinian and Lebanese civilians, we are witnessing the destruction of the PLO as its remnants become clients of various mutually hostile reactionary Arab regimes.

The simultaneous crisis of Zionism and the Palestine national liberation movement offers a crucial opportunity to crystallize an Arab/Hebrew communist vanguard. A Trotskyist party must be based on this fundamental understanding: that there will be no future for the Hebrew-speaking people in the Near East without the destruction of the Zionist state; and there can be no national liberation for the Palestinian people without breaking from Arab

\$\$\$ Needed to Fight FBI Red-Hunt

War fever is in the air: Reagan's first-strike missiles in Europe, global anti-Soviet adventurism from the Near East to Central America, and a campaign of political repression and increased racism at home. War preparations trigger domestic witch-hunting. And as the government's secret police go on "red alert," the deadly machinery for a domestic Red Hunt is retooled. Political opponents of the government are branded as "terrorists," "criminals" to be set up for the kill. The FBI has new "Guidelines" for more COINTELPRO-type operations. In this poisonous Cold War climate, racist terror and police brutality rule the streets.

Cold War II is no time to "duck and cover." If there is a simple, practical lesson to be drawn from the terrible times of Senator Joe McCarthy, it is this: better to organize and fight. When facing government set-up and fascist provocation, it is time to defend our rights and our lives before it is too late.

Stop the Red Hunt! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are fighting the Attorney General's

new FBI Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines with a lawsuit. These Guidelines make speech the basis for increased surveillance, harassment, disruption and government violence. Marxists, black activists or defenders of black people's rights, trade unionists and other opponents of the government's policies must not remain silent while they are characterized as outlaws, to be shot down like dogs.

Initial endorsers of the suit include Haywood Burns, Co-chairman, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Alexander Cockburn; Florynce Kennedy, Co-founder, Black Women United for Political Action; William Kunstler, Center for Constitutional Rights; Conrad Lynn, Civil Rights Attorney; Carl Marzani, Veteran, Abraham Lincoln Brigade; and Marshall Perlin, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (organizations listed for identification purposes only).

Send your contributions for the suit against the FBI (earmarked if you wish) to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

nationalism. The only road to peace and justice for both peoples is through a binational Arab/Hebrew workers state, in the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East.

Smash the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

It will take more than a "Grenada high" to restore the "American century" which ended in the swamps of Indochina as the most powerful imperialist war machine in history was defeated by the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers. In raping Grenada Reagan sought to retaliate for the American humiliation—not only in Beirut but in Cuba, Nicaragua, and above all Vietnam. A revolutionary war throughout Central America would threaten Yankee imperialism with a new Vietnam-type defeat, this time in its own backyard.

Behind America's bullying arrogance is the cowardice of a reactionary social class. The insane warmonger Reagan, like Hitler, is the personification of the deeply irrational capitalist system in its death agony. Private property and the nation-state, the cradle of the bourgeois revolution, are now shackles which strangle and deform the productive

forces: millionaire farmers are paid subsidies not to produce milk while infant mortality from hunger skyrockets; bulldozers level steel and auto plants while millions are unemployed.

At the same time Reagan's general staff is complaining that even its \$1.7 trillion military buildup program is not enough—they are stretched too thin to fight all the wars required for the world imperialist gendarme, as they rush carrier fleets from the Caribbean to the Med, from Nicaraguan coasts to the Arabian Sea. The crisis of American capitalism today is not the crisis of a single country but of the entire imperialist system. Whatever their tactical disagreements, the U.S. along with the other imperialist powers believes that the only way out is through reconquering the one-third of the world which has been liberated from the grip of capitalism. The Reaganites see the hand of Moscow behind every struggle for national emancipation and social justice because these struggles can only be fully victorious through the revolutionary expropriation of capital and the establishment of proletarian property forms as in the 1917 Russian October Revolution. Defend the Soviet Union! ■

Greyhound Strike...

(continued from page 16)

scale of wages and hours; for full cost-of-living protection and jobs for all, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

For a National Transportation Strike!

A nationwide transportation strike to smash Greyhound's scabherding would cripple the U.S. economy and immediately pose a political confrontation with the Reagan government. First of all it's necessary to defend the bus drivers' picket lines. But it will take more than simple militancy to organize such a struggle. It's not just a question of opposing particularly sordid acts like those of the UAW's "Solidarity House," which has already undermined this

strike by ordering its Greyhound mechanics, baggage handlers and ticket agents (Locals 656 and 985) to cross the lines of the drivers in Detroit. The AFL-CIO bureaucrats zealously support Reagan's crusade against the Soviet Union. And once you buy that, you can't fight against its domestic reflection—Reagan's war on the unions and poor.

You can't fight Reagan with the anti-Soviet, strikebreaking Democrats. When Greyhound gets ready to try to move its buses, it's going to be all those Democratic Party city bosses—the Kochs, Feinsteins, Washingtons, Coleman Youngs—whose cops will be out there to knock the heads of pickets.

It's going to take class-struggle militants who fight for the political independence of labor to rally the unions behind the embattled Greyhound strikers. The Rouge Militant Caucus in Detroit, who are organizing against the UAW's scabherding and for mass support to the Greyhound picket lines, demanded:

"We say the UAW membership, employed and unemployed, must join those picket lines and make sure 'Picket lines mean don't cross.' UAW Local 656 and 985: Stop work now! Join the ATU Strikers!..."

"For a general transport strike coast to coast—shut it down!"

Militant Teamsters, airline and rail workers, transit workers: rally your unions behind the Greyhound workers! Bust the union-busters! Build mass picket lines—don't cross them! Shut down Greyhound tight! For united strike action! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

No More PATCOs—For a National Transport Strike!

Smash Greyhound Union-Busting!

NOVEMBER 15—The battle lines are up. Greyhound Lines, the nation's largest bus company, is out to break the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). This is a fight for the entire labor movement. The showdown is Thursday. Greyhound scabherding must be stopped—no matter what! For mass pickets to blockade the garages! Transport workers: all out to stop the scabs! Defy the bosses' cops and courts!

First Reagan broke PATCO. Then Continental Airlines fired its entire workforce. Now they're aiming at the ATU. If they can bust the bus drivers, you're next! But labor has the power to ensure that there will be no more PATCOs! If Greyhound tries to roll the buses, we must make damn sure that nothing in this country moves—no buses, no planes, no trains, no trucks, no subways—nothing! This is everybody's fight. For a national transport strike!

Even before the picket lines went up on November 3, Greyhound had already put out its ads for scabs. On the first day alone in New York City, over 1,000 lined up under the nose of the union at the Port Authority terminal; within two weeks, the company was boasting it had 55,000 scab applicants nationwide to replace the jobs of 12,500 strikers. Then Greyhound issued a take-it-or-leave-it ultimatum, demanding that union members swallow a 25 percent cut in wages, medical and pension benefits, and holiday time.

On Monday, November 14 determined union members—bus drivers, mechanics, baggage handlers, ticket agents—massed in nationwide rallies. They were there to make it clear that they weren't going to take the company's total surrender terms. In Los

Angeles some 300 integrated strikers marched to the Greyhound terminal from the bus barn and chanted defiantly, "Hell no, we won't go!" In San Francisco 400 pickets burned copies of Greyhound's back-to-work letters and loudly counted down the seconds to the company's noon deadline. It was the same in other cities. The strikers know that the existence of their union and every hard won gain they've made is at stake.

Greyhound is pleading poverty, but that won't wash. Last year the Greyhound Corporation netted \$103 million. Meanwhile profits for the bus lines have zoomed as the bus line junked its unprofitable routes under new deregulation guidelines. The ATU offered to freeze the current contract for a year and submit to binding arbitration. But Greyhound provoked the strike with its massive takeaway demands for the sole purpose of breaking the union. As a union spokesman, Joe Brady, put it, "They're trying to make this the private-sector version of the air-traffic controllers fiasco of a few years ago" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 November).

When Reagan busted PATCO, it was a green light for every boss to go after the unions. The government would love to see the trade unions beaten and picket lines smashed and militants like Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero jailed, to regiment and terrorize America's working people as part of the anti-Soviet war drive. With the air traffic controllers out of the way, the airlines went on the warpath. Last August Continental provoked a strike of the Machinists: pilots and flight attendants crossed the IAM's lines. Then it was their turn: Continental fired everybody,

San Francisco Greyhound strikers man picket lines chanting: "No scabs, no cuts, let the union drive the bus!"



WV Photo

and hired back a scab workforce at half the pay and twice the workload! And in the Southwest, Phelps Dodge—backed with a massive display of police power and the National Guard—brought in truckloads of scabs in an effort to break the copper miners' union.

What's behind the defeats of the unions is not so much the courts and cops, but the failure of the union misleaders to unleash the enormous power of labor solidarity. Two years ago, had key unions like the Teamsters, pilots or Machinists supported PATCO by honoring their strike, the airports would have been shut down solid and Reagan brought to his knees. No more PATCOs! The bosses' union-husting attacks can and must be stopped now! Teamsters, railroad workers, airline workers, private and city transit workers should meet Greyhound's scabherding with nationwide strike action!

Although a relatively small unit in itself, the Greyhound workers have established links with the powerful transportation unions. Teamsters in most cities have refused to make deliveries to Greyhound; Chicago's transit workers are manning Greyhound picket lines. Bus drivers in San Mateo, California refused company overtime to take over Greyhound routes. And every one of these key unions has reason to strike a blow at the union-husters—from the powerful Teamsters, who've been saddled with over 100,000 layoffs and concessions; to New York transit workers, who have seen their jobs and union conditions go to hell; to Chicago transit workers, who face government union-busting legislation supported by capitalist politicians ranging from the Republican governor to Chicago black Democratic mayor Harold Washington. And it wouldn't hurt to park some of those semis and city buses in front of the Greyhound terminals to make sure that no scab buses roll!

But the ATU leaders oppose linking their strike with other unions and call on

bus drivers at Trailways and other lines to continue working! And they spread illusions in phony, nonexistent "legal guarantees," rather than preparing to build effective mass picket lines to stop the scabs.

Well, you can be sure that if the bosses will run airlines with scab pilots and air traffic controllers, they won't think twice about scabs driving Greyhound buses full of poor and working people. As for the "law," capitalist politicians from Reagan on down are primed to unleash the same strikebreaking court injunctions, jail terms and armed police thugs that PATCO strikers and the Arizona miners got. The capitalist state is not neutral but an organ of the class rule of the bosses. Defending their union and jobs means shutting down Greyhound solid! Particularly in a period like this, where union-busting is rife, that means a massive mobilization of labor, bringing out on strike the raw power of transportation workers, who can bring the economy to a grinding halt.

Such powerful labor action lays the basis for undermining the bosses' scabherding and union-husting. To break the airline strikes, they brought in not only the military, but ex-CIA flyboys, mercenaries and other social trash to do their dirty work. A lot of these guys are scabbing for kicks. Greyhound is openly appealing to the poor and hungry—particularly blacks and other minorities in massive ghettoized areas of high unemployment like Detroit.

What's necessary is not only militantly defended picket lines, but a class-struggle program that can unite the unions with the unemployed and blacks, with all victims of this decaying capitalist order! A solid strike now from all transportation workers opens the way for a class-struggle offensive by labor against the givebacks, the cuts in social benefits and massive unemployment. Urgently needed is a fight for a sliding

continued on page 15



During 1981 PATCO strike, militant NYC transit workers called for labor action to shut down the airports.