

Big Brother Reagan Attacks Democratic Rights

Fight Cold War Terror Scare!

**Labor, Blacks—
Break with
the Democrats!**

**Build a
Workers Party!**

Big Brother Reagan's 1984 campaign slogan: "war is peace." Bringing the imperialist drive toward anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust home with a vengeance, Reagan & Co. have launched a campaign of actual and threatened *state terror* designed to intimidate the population into ideological conformity behind the rulers' "Cold War II." Walter Mondale and the Democrats, who launched the current anti-Soviet crusade under Jimmy Carter, chime in with more denunciations of Soviet "totalitarianism" while questioning the administration's "preparedness" for nuclear war against the Russians.

The rulers of this country are desperately attempting to reverse the decay of U.S. imperialism. The gang who came to office proclaiming it would "get the government off our backs" is trying to remove all legal restraints on police power. They want to institute more than the kind of witchhunt that existed in Joe McCarthy's America. But Reagan's wishful thinking to the contrary, this is not the 1950s! The McCarthyite witchhunts were conducted in an atmosphere of apparent ideological seamlessness: America, the big victor in World War II, was the unquestioned hegemonic ruler of the "free world"; the dollar was "as good as gold"; economic prosperity was here to stay; social protest was simply "un-American" while communists were perceived to be as alien and irrelevant as creatures from



outer space. Labor was beheaded and muzzled by the anti-red purges; under the sway of the union misleadership that rose by smashing the militants, organized labor was indeed about the last sector of the U.S. population to go over to opposing the losing Vietnam adventure.

Those days are gone and so far Reagan and the Democrats haven't had much success trying to bring them back. Bourgeois politics is manifestly unstable, while at the same millions of blacks and other working people know the government is their enemy. America's "foreign policy" aims are met with massive distrust and widespread fear while on the home front the indications of economic "recovery" have touched off a wave of industrial militancy. A

revolutionary leadership could weld the working people, the minorities and their defenders into a force capable of bringing down Reagan and shaking this repressive and racist capitalist society to its very core. It is this, more than chimerical fantasies of crazed Libyan hit-men stalking the White House bunkers, which has Reagan and his Republican and Democratic cohorts running scared.

Cold War II on the Home Front

From the halls of the Supreme Court to the streets of San Francisco and Los Angeles, the attempt at regimentation through fear means military measures aimed at crushing domestic political opposition and dissent, no matter how

tame. Seeking to whip up public hysteria, the Reaganites surrounded the White House with sand-filled dump trucks and built concrete barriers to repel "terrorists," hid Stinger surface-to-air missiles on the grounds (supposedly to stop the Russians) and even installed plastic snakes in the trees outside the presidential mansion to scare off bomb-carrying pigeons. The campaign against "terrorism" has everything but the purported terrorists. *The real terrorists are in the White House* and have made their intentions "perfectly clear" with this summer's supersecurity mobilizations at both the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco and the Olympics in L.A.

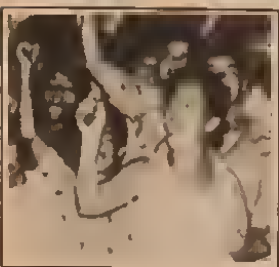
The necessary corollary to any serious
continued on page 14



Sygma

Victims of government's "terror" scare: liberal protesters brutalized at San Francisco Democratic convention.

PAGE 6



Defend Nicaragua—
Smash Capitalist
Fifth Column!

PAGE 7



Report
From
Nicaragua

PAGE 8



Minneapolis 1934:
How the
Workers Won

Phelps Dodge: Cops Were Out for Blood

San Francisco
July 12, 1984

Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Dear friends,

I very much appreciated reading *WV*'s coverage of the Arizona Copper Miners' strike. Along with several other trade unionists from California, I attended the June 30th rally in Clifton and I wanted to add a couple of points to the report in *WV* No. 358 [6 July].

The cop attack on the strikers and supporters was indeed a vicious provocation. The DPS [Arizona state police] and Phelps Dodge were looking for blood that day. Prior to launching their assault, the DPS paused momentarily and posed for the media. Then they started to hit fist against palm in a rhythm, as if gearing themselves up for the charge. Behind riot shields the front line of DPS knelt down and shot the initial rounds of tear gas. None of us in the area heard any warning.

Before the attack, one of the members of the women's auxiliary gave me her binoculars so I could see that the mountain ridge (near the mine) was lined with snipers. As the attack began, helicopters flew in close and dropped off additional snipers at much closer range. A striker told us that after dark, when the barricades went up, she overheard a request on a police band radio to "activate" sharpshooters.

As *WV* reported, the DPS blockaded Clifton. They also blocked the road to Copper Verde Park (where the "official" rally was taking place). This prevented

any strikers or supporters in the park from coming down to aid their brothers and sisters under attack on Hwy. 666.

Everyone in Clifton, from old people down to the smallest kids, is united against Phelps Dodge. Several strikers told us that prior to the strike, Hispanics and whites were racially and socially divided (for example, they went to separate bars). But since the strike, these barriers have virtually disappeared. None of us saw any racial hatred, just hatred of the scabs, the company and its cops.

A year of hard class struggle and the courageous role of the women's auxiliary have made a big change in the consciousness of women. There was an anecdote in one of the papers which caught this. It was about a court case against Beverly Cole, the wife of a striker, who was given a ticket for littering on the picket line, and then a felony charge for giving a false name to the cop. She signed the ticket with the name of "Sue Robillard," who is the wife of a scab. At the trial the real Sue Robillard told the *Arizona Daily Star* (June 1):

"Beverly Cole was a good Christian woman, and then the strike started and she changed. I haven't seen her but twice (since the strike) and she gives me the finger. She drives by my house slowly and points it out to other people."

When the paper asked Mrs. Cole why she signed Robillard's name, she said it just popped into her head, adding: "But then, she is a scab."

The copper strikers really detest the bosses' press. No wonder. After the



WV Photos

Above: State police launch three-hour barrage of tear gas against striking Phelps Dodge miners. Miners welcomed *Workers Vanguard*, voice of militant class struggle.



strikers, their wives and children endured a three-hour tear gas barrage by the cops (they shot a 70-year-old man with a pacemaker in the chest with a wooden bullet), an editorial headline in the July 3rd *Arizona Republic* said "Unions Excuse Mob Rule" and referred to the strikers as "Animals"! The *Republic* also started the rumor that "the trouble" at the June 30 rally started when a striker threw a Molotov cocktail at the DPS. Everyone who was there knows this is just a figment of some cop's imagination. The miners were so furious at the filthy lies pumped out by the media that they stoned one TV van at the demonstration.

It was extremely important to them that *WV* was there to tell *their* side of the story. During the three-hour battle, the strikers saw the *WV* combat photographer going up to the front and yelled out, "Hey, there's the *Vanguard*. Now we'll get some good photos." The press team shot film until well into the night, taking a break only to get wet towels when they couldn't take the gas anymore. While the battle was going on and there was a danger of arrests, the strikers put several rolls of our film under lock

and key, promising to get it to New York in case anything happened to the reporters.

Unfortunately, as *WV* said, the PD strikers are essentially leaderless. They are militant and courageous, but they can't beat Phelps Dodge union-busting alone. Their strike needs to link up with the labor struggles that are going on in all parts of the country. And they need concrete union action—hot cargoing struck copper and joint strike action—to win this strike. This will take revolutionary union leadership committed to mobilizing and using our labor power to smash the union-busters. Labor's got to play hardball! Victory to the Phelps Dodge strikers!

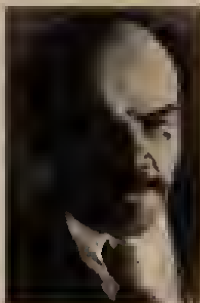
Fraternally,
Kathy Ikegami



TROTSKY

Imperialist War and Anti-Red Witchhunts

As it was entering the second imperialist world war, the liberal Democratic administration of Franklin Roosevelt framed up and imprisoned the leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon called for class struggle against the government's regimentation of the population for war.



LENIN

We are unrelenting fighters in the interests of labor. We fight for the preservation of all democratic rights and civil liberties, against every form of inequality and injustice. As revolutionary socialists, we are principled opponents of the Roosevelt administration and criticize it from the standpoint of the socialist and labor movement.

These are our crimes in the eyes of the administration, and they add to their crimes in attacking us for them. The Roosevelt regime claims to oppose fascism but it collaborates, when expedient, with the fascists. It claims to be defending the four freedoms while trying to deny these freedoms to its political opponents. We Trotskyists, however, are defending democratic rights here at home against Roosevelt's assault upon them. We are fighting for the freedom he hypocritically pretends to be safeguarding.

But we are not defending these rights for ourselves alone. We are fighting on behalf of the entire labor movement in the United States.

—James P. Cannon, *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II* (1975)

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3 August 1984

ET Exposes Itself

June 10, 1984
Golden Valley, MN

WORKERS VANGUARD
TO THE EDITORS.

Dear Comrades,

Thanks to the S.L. for the May 5 midwest educational "WARS AND REVOLUTIONS." The talks were excellent.

I also found the discussion period very interesting. A few members of the "External Tendency" used the discussion to present several criticisms of the S.L. During the discussion someone from the E.T. claimed that the S.L. refuses to answer the criticisms from the E.T. Every E.T. member who attended the educational was given speaking time during each of the three discussion periods. The E.T. did not link their discussion to the educational subjects in any manner.

The E.T. claims to be loyal to the

S.L., yet they did not participate in the educational in any positive manner. They used all of their speaking time to criticize the S.L. When someone announced her intention to join the S.L. the E.T. members did not applaud along with those who are S.L. supporters.

The E.T. charges that the S.L. took a social patriotic position during the intervention in Lebanon by raising the slogan "U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon Alive!" During the discussion the E.T. was forced to defend the logical conclusion of their position, that there is no economic draft feeding the U.S. military. It became clear to me during the discussion that the E.T. position is essentially racist and anti-worker.

The educational and discussion periods were an excellent example of Leninist democracy and direct, open political struggle.

Comradely,
Steve S.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Feds Set Up DeLorean

The John Z. DeLorean cocaine trial, which finally got underway this summer, has been a real circus for the media and ever-hungry autograph hounds of Los Angeles, who've been hanging around the courtroom trying to get to the silver-haired "automotive genius," a former glamour executive with General Motors, and his beautiful wife Cristina Ferrera. But behind the pop media's attempts at moralizing about the supposedly deadly influence of "life in the fast lane," behind their gossip column tidbits about Mrs. DeLorean's fashion model clothes and their gleeful wallowing in the couple's trouble, there's something really dirty. The fact is, the FBI set up and entrapped DeLorean, and the implications are pretty scary.

The FBI has been consciously turned loose to set up criminal plots and entrap prominent individuals in an attempt by this nation's rulers, spearheaded by Reagan, to terrorize everybody. That's what ABSCAM (short for "Arab Scam") was all about: an explicit attempt by the central directorate of the ruling class to terrorize Congressmen and Senators who might get out of line with the threat of "investigation" and targeting with bribery offers and entanglement in criminal activities.

ABSCAM was the FBI's revenge for Watergate and the exposure of their dirty COINTELPRO attacks. This new and expanded program of offering bribes and spreading the word that prominent Congressmen or judges are under investigation is often enough to taint a politician's career for life, as South Dakota Senator Larry Pressler bitterly learned. (The poor guy turned down an ABSCAM bribe but got his name smeared all over the headlines anyhow.) The presumption is supposed to be where there's smoke, there's fire, right? Not necessarily; the particularly horrible thing about this FBI assault is that they're going after people whom they don't even suspect of anything, in order to destroy them. Which is of course a most effective terror technique.

Why DeLorean? We don't know who decided to go after him, but it's clear he deeply embarrassed General Motors and the Thatcher government in Britain. A "maverick" who broke with GM, he wrote a scathing attack in *On a Clear Day You Can See General Motors* (formally signed by his co-author J. Patrick Wright) on the criminal unconcern for safety, general stupidity, sluggishness and mismanagement of the GM tops. He didn't fit their "team player" image (he had a facelift, hung out with "the beautiful people," actually had fun). Further, when he broke with the corporate monolith he set up his own competing sports car company in Northern Ireland, to make what he called an "ethical" sports car, the gull-winged DMC-12 with a stainless steel skin and corrosion-resistant underbody. The British Labour government had poured millions into financing his Belfast plant, which employed 2,600 in

the industrially devastated area and was popular with the workers. Thatcher pulled the rug out from under him by shutting down the financially troubled plant the day after he was arrested (the Conservatives were tipped off the month before that DeLorean was being investigated by the FBI for possible ties with the IRA). And after all, he's the son of immigrant auto workers and utterly self-made, with none of the old family and ruling class connections which smother news of many a scandal and crime within our "finest families." (And Mrs. DeLorean, the *New York Times* reminds us, is for all her good looks and fine clothes "the daughter of a butcher." But she's got plenty of class: what's wrong with dressing up to stand by your man?)

But above all DeLorean's troubles resulted from his particular misfortune in having as a neighbor in Los Angeles a long-time FBI informer anxious to make another "big score" for his masters, besides getting a few hucks himself. So when DeLorean's Belfast factory got into financial trouble, there was the "friendly neighbor," the FBI's own captive cocaine importer and informer James T. Hoffman ready to make DeLorean "an offer he couldn't refuse." They kept after DeLorean with a whole crew of FBI agents and finally got what they wanted: DeLorean lured into a hotel room looking at a suitcase of cocaine while FBI agents next door videotaped (they were so hot to get him they actually set off a fire alarm from smoking so many cigarettes while waiting to close in).

The Anatomy of a Set-Up

DeLorean was arrested that night, 19 October 1982 (they taped the actual arrest too: instant Eliot Ness fame, not to mention the perverse pleasure of watching over and over again their victim being taken). It came out at the trial that they hadn't bothered to get authorization for their home movie and that the FBI backdated authorization records to cover up. DeLorean was thrown in jail until he could make bail, on charges which could put him away for 72 years. The press had a field day blasting away at him, digging up every piece of dirt they could find (or were fed) for two years, until the government finally opened its case this summer. What the trial reveals is a nasty web of FBI and government entrapment.

On July 31 former federal drug agent Gerald V. Scotti testified he'd heard a heated argument between DeLorean's prosecutor and FBI agents the night before DeLorean's arrest, in which someone said, in Scotti's paraphrase, "... this thing is going clear to the White House, that they got Meese in on it" (*New York Times*, 1 August). Earlier in the trial, it was brought out that the government's "star witness" James T.

Hoffman, who was paid over \$32,000 during his targeting of DeLorean, had threatened at one point to pull out unless the FBI gave him a 10 percent cut of any assets seized from DeLorean! Judge Robert M. Takasugi noted after this surprise admission that "If there is such a thing as a smoking gun in terms of the credibility of Mr. Hoffman," this outrageous demand was it, noting it was "quite offensive" that the prosecution had tried to hide this mercenary motive (*New York Times*, 27 July).

Not just greed but also fear kept the bounty hunter in line: he knew, as FBI agents admitted, he could be prosecuted for past heroin violations any time his work didn't please his masters. It came out at the trial that Hoffman had made a lot more phone calls to the auto executive than he'd admitted. The defense contends these unrecorded calls (which Hoffman at first denied existed, then admitted he'd discussed with the FBI before the trial started) were in fact threats against DeLorean's family and specifically his daughter if he tried to back out of the thickening plot.

FBI agent Benedict J. Tisa, who'd played the part of a legitimate hanker to lure DeLorean in, was forced to admit that he "misspoke" when he told the court he had "no doubt" DeLorean was into a drug deal—turned out he wasn't so sure after all. Tisa further admitted it was Hoffman who initiated the first contact with DeLorean—a key fact in terms of entrapment—and not the other way around, as the local FBI agents first insisted. Tisa further admitted "that's a possibility" when asked whether DeLorean's telling Tisa in September 1982 that he didn't have \$2 million available might have meant DeLorean was trying to get out of the deal. And it was the government's own chief prosecutor, James P. Walsh, Jr., who approved Hoffman's next offer to DeLorean to accept collateral instead of cash, thus keeping the pressure on.

DeLorean's attorney Howard A.L.

Weitzman told the press, "John was in a pathetic frame of mind during that time period. The agents knew it. These guys are calling him day and night, day and night" (*Newsweek*, 4 June). And finally they apparently got him with the coke. Nobody's denying it; the key issue is the set-up entrapment, which is deadly serious business.

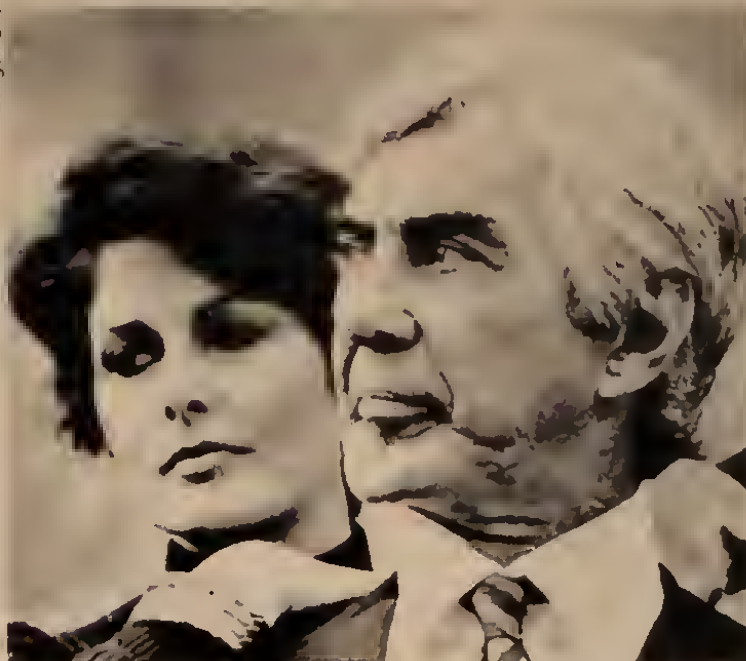
The FBI: Criminal Conspiracy as a Way of Life

Beginning under Carter, the FBI's budget for "undercover" sting operations has mushroomed fantastically (from \$1 million in 1977 to over \$12 million in 1984, at least according to what they officially report—who knows how much more is obscured). They're getting hack for Watergate with a vengeance, putting politicians on notice it isn't just the left anymore who can be smeared. On one level we suppose it's possible the FBI, about the most felonious outfit in the country, just got sick and tired of all those years of endless investigations, black-bag jobs, break-ins, phone-tapping of socialist organizations without ever coming up with *any* single thing they could convict anybody for, and decided to drum up a little action by getting into the crime business for itself.

The House of Representatives just concluded hearings, chaired by Don Edwards, into FBI undercover operations, noting in their "Report of the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights" published this April that "the spectacle of the United States Government spending large sums of money to tempt people into committing crimes; and the atmosphere of fear, suspicion, and paranoia which develops as the use of the technique expands, are all anathema to the values protected and cherished in our Constitution." Yeah, mainly this time it looks like it's *their* ass on the line.

Using the techniques refined and honed against the left for decades, the FBI's full-scale launching of criminal enticement operations is a very conscious attempt to intimidate and terrorize potentially influential political opponents, even within the range of bourgeois politics. The DeLorean case is a continuation of the purposes of the ABSCAM operation, designed to prove *nobody* is safe from the FBI if they decide to get you. For us, democratic rights are indivisible: just as socialists defended the French officer Dreyfus against an anti-Semitic witchhunt, so it is in our interests to defend a capitalist entrepreneur like DeLorean against FBI terror and entrapment. Because if they can get away with it against DeLorean and his fancy lawyers, there's no limit to what they'll do to the working stiff and the welfare recipient. That the bourgeois state's secret police has now grown into a monster which devours even members of the bourgeoisie itself (after all, any one individual is always expendable in some higher interest, theorists of "authoritarian" states must agree) is a chilling indication of the growing appetite toward sheer state terror against the entire society on the part of this decadent and corrupt ruling class. ■

Zanger/UPI



John Z. DeLorean and his wife, Cristina Ferrera.

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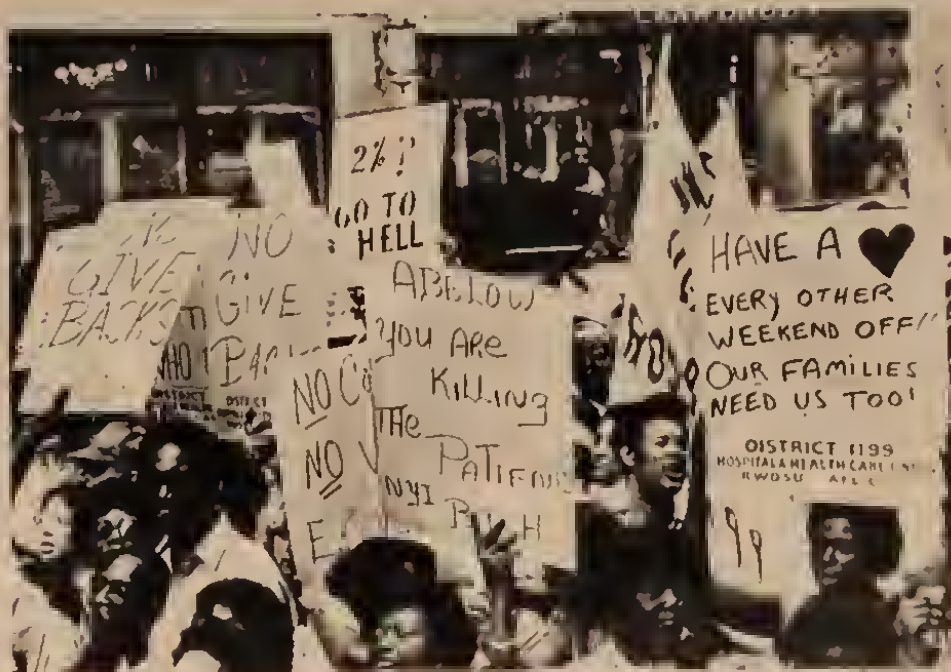
Black, Hispanic Workers Fighting Reagan/Koch Attacks

Shut Down All NYC Hospitals!

NEW YORK—Nearly two weeks into a walkout against 70 private hospitals and nursing homes, some 8,000 striking members of District 1199, RWDSU (Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union) rallied here July 25. The spirited strikers jammed into a hock on West 40th Street, but after two hours of wind from local union bureaucrats including 1199 president Doris Turner and Central Labor Council chief Harry Van Arsdale, somebody yelled, "Let's go to 42nd Street!" What followed was a labor rally the likes of which the Big Apple hasn't seen for quite a while.

Chanting, "Hey, hey, what do you say—1199 is here to stay!" "No contract, no work!" and "EOWO! Every other weekend off!"—a key union demand—the overwhelmingly black and female crowd took to the streets, totally disrupting midtown traffic. At Grand Central Terminal the strikers surged past the police and headed toward the Roosevelt Hotel, site of the currently broken-off negotiations with the League of Voluntary Hospitals and Homes. Chanting, singing and carrying hand-lettered signs, balloons and banners, the demonstrators surrounded the hotel, and then marched down the middle of Fifth Avenue to disperse at the Public Library. The exuberant march gave a hint of what thousands of determined strikers can do.

The medical slumlords are ruthless. 1199 organizer Tom Dawes told *WV* that he was sideswiped by a scab-driven car on the picket line at Long Island College Hospital July 21. The previous Wednesday Dawes and four union delegates narrowly missed being struck by another scab car. Pickets at Beth



Militant hospital strikers tie up NYC midtown for hours during July 25 rally. WV Photos

Israel Hospital told *WV* of supplies being snuck in via ambulance and of scab laundry deliveries accompanied by armed guards brandishing guns.

Aided by the capitalist press, the bosses are trying to whip up hysteria about a medical emergency to discredit the strike. It is the League of Voluntary Hospitals which is holding the sick and the elderly hostage! Everyone who genuinely cares whether patients live or die must be for granting the obviously just and necessary demands of the hospital workers. What's needed is to shut down solid all NYC hospitals now, bringing out all workers, including nurses and doctors. Union officials are now starting to talk about closing emergency and critical care facilities and

stopping scabs and deliveries. This should have been done from the first day of the strike!

The nurses from five hospitals who joined the strike and courageously ignored a Federal court order to return set an example for the entire labor movement. Several hundred AFSCME DC 37 members attended the July 25 rally and the crowd erupted into applause and cheers as a contingent from the Amalgamated Transit Union arrived with signs saying "Greyhound Workers Support 1199." But amid the rank-and-file solidarity, there was the city workers' DC 37 president Victor Gothaum shooting off his mouth: "If you take a beating at the picket line, then we'll take a beating at the bargain-



ing table." Sure, for this cynical social democrat, "solidarity" means fighting to the last member of the other guy's union. Meanwhile Gothaum is refusing to bring out the thousands of AFSCME workers in the municipal hospitals.

Today the hospital strikers occupy the front line against Koch and Reagan's racist war on labor. The outcome of this struggle will set the pattern for hundreds of thousands of New York City municipal workers. It's time for a working-class offensive! A sign carried by a militant transit worker pointed the way to victory: "All NYC Labor Must Back Up 1199 Strikers with Action!" Teamsters: Stop the Scab Deliveries! AFSCME, Nurses and Doctors: Join the Strike! 1199—Stay Out and Win! ■

Defend the TWU—Stop the Victimizations!

Transport Workers Union (TWU) militants Paul Mitchell and Tracey Devlin are fighting for their jobs at the 207th Street subway repair shop in Manhattan. They are the latest intended victims of a Transit Authority (TA) intimidation campaign in which 207th Street boss Ronald "Jefferson" Davis disciplined more than 350 workers in his first six weeks on the job. Eighteen workers are currently suspended. It's all part of the TA's program for NYC: break the back of the union and let the mass transit system go to hell. The Mitchell/Devlin case is a union-management dispute because in solidarity with fellow workers they advocated the elementary right to refuse slave conditions of overtime, a right which is in the contract. Mitchell and Devlin are members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU which has been standing up to a management union-busting drive. That's why the TA went after them, and that's why their fight is the fight of every union member. These militants must not stand alone!

In an effort to intimidate the traditionally militant 207th Street shop, Davis has particularly attacked the workers in the truck gang. Disregarding seniority, he's assigned men to jobs outside their classification, to different shifts and even to other parts of the city, handing out more write-ups there than have been handed out to any other department. In solidarity with the truck shop, workers in the Running Repair

Gang refused overtime. That's why Davis, whose idea of labor relations is best symbolized by the bullwhip he hung in his office, was out to get Mitchell and Devlin. "They went after the [TWU] Shop Committee leadership," Mitchell told *Workers Vanguard*, "and they've gone after anyone else who attempts to lead a fight in defense of the members' rights."

Speedup and harassment mean rushing unsafe equipment back onto the rails. Four TWU members have been slaughtered on the job so far this year. As the Committee put it in a July 17 leaflet: "No matter how hard [transit czar Robert] Kiley's clones may try, slave labor conditions cannot substitute for quality tools, production machinery, upgrading and training." Since the first of the year, 122 fires have broken out in the electric switchboxes "repaired" at the 207th Street and Coney Island yards. In April, five elected union officials of the Track and Power Division, including chairman Benny Foster, were summarily fired by the TA from their safety committee posts. Ex-CIA spymaster Kiley and TA president David "Hired" Gunn are trying to substitute the sweat, blood and lives of the TWU membership for the billions of dollars needed for decent subways and buses. It's the likes of these, along with Mayor Koch, Governor Cuomo and the parasites on Wall Street who are destroying the NYC transit system.

In order to prepare the union for

battle, the Committee for a Fighting TWU demands an end to the dues checkoff system and calls for dues collection by elected shop stewards, the membership's first line of defense on the shopfloor. The Committee calls for militant solidarity between the TWU and the rest of city labor to smash the anti-strike Taylor Law. All city workers must fight for the right to strike over

shopfloor and safety grievances during the life of their contracts. The TWU, the most powerful municipal union in the U.S., has the power to beat the capitalist bloodsuckers on the picket line. The battle begins with the defense of the union membership. Drop the charges—full back pay for Mitchell, Devlin and all of Kiley/Davis' victims! An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

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Screw Mondale!

Shut Down Auto!

DETROIT—Several thousand union members marching under the slogan "Restore and More in '84" ringed General Motors headquarters here July 23. The demonstration was timed to coincide with the opening of the United Auto Workers (UAW) contract negotiations. At midnight on September 14, when GM and Ford contracts expire, the last thing the Big Three bosses in Bloomfield Hills, their Wall Street bankers and, not least, Walter Mondale and the Democrats want to see is hundreds of thousands of mainly black, militant auto workers on the picket lines. That would really shake up this country. That's how to strike a truly powerful blow against the entire union-busting and racist offensive in Reagan's America. Auto workers must demand a nationwide strike of the Big Three. Reopen the Chrysler contract. No contract extensions, to hell with "pattern bargaining" and screw Walter Mondale—just shut down the whole damn industry and win.

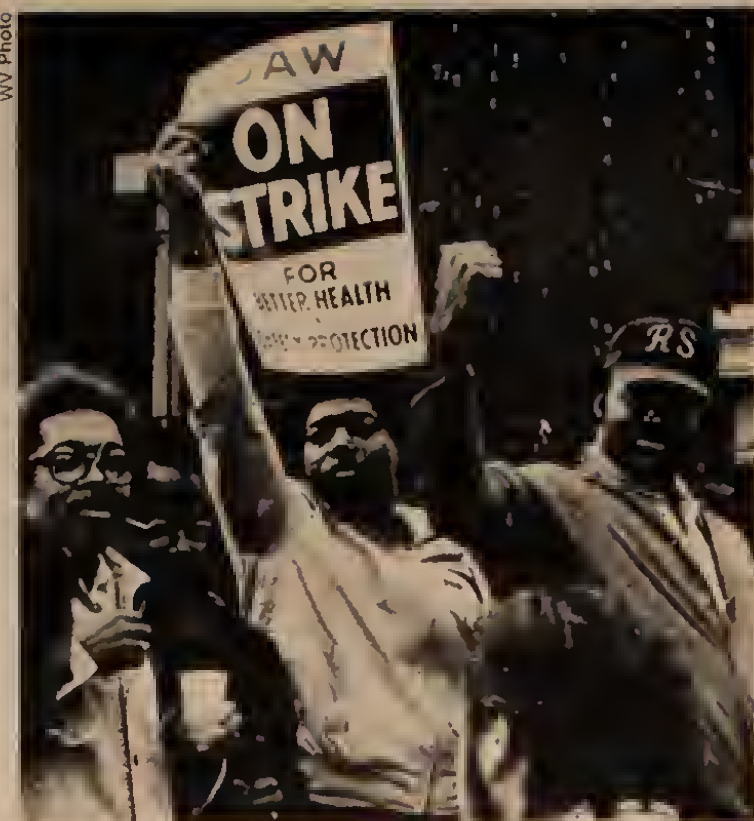
Back in the 1950s Eisenhower's secretary of war, Charlie Wilson, stated that what's good for General Motors is good for America. In fact, the auto industry stands at the core of modern American capitalism. And ever since the rise of the CIO in the late 1930s UAW contracts with the Big Three have set the pattern for industrial unionism in this country. The 1979 Chrysler bailout set the pattern for the giveback contracts not only at GM and Ford but throughout U.S. industry. Faced with the worst depression since the '30s, the Solidarity House gang gave back \$5 billion in wages and benefits, claiming this was necessary to "save jobs." Soon the same thing was happening in the Teamsters, Steelworkers, in union after union.

But with the present economic upturn

producing record profits, the workers are not taking it anymore. The situation is especially explosive in auto, where already in the first half of 1984 the major companies posted \$6.5 billion in profits, more than in all of record-breaking 1983 (*Detroit News*, 3 July). GM executives, for example, recently awarded themselves \$180 million in salary increases, bonuses and stock options. In fact, throughout the Big Three the average executive bonus was \$2,000 more than an auto worker's annual salary! Workers are particularly angry and bitter at Chrysler, where the givebacks came earlier and went deeper than at GM and Ford. A UAW piccard laments: "All this million-dollar talk makes it almost impossible to convince the rank and file that GM and Ford can't step up to the table and make a fancy settlement. It's a bad scene" (*Detroit Free Press*, 29 April). Bad for whom?

Recent months have seen a resurgence of working-class struggle in this country. However, the most militant labor battles have been geographically remote from the main centers of union power (copper miners in Arizona, hotel workers in Las Vegas) or involved relatively small groups of workers, such as the AP Parts plant in Toledo. The Big Three auto workers stand right at the heart of American industrial unionism. Moreover, just two weeks after the GM and Ford contracts expire so does that of the United Mine Workers, the other pillar of the old CIO industrial unions. A nationwide auto strike would certainly spur the traditionally militant coal miners to go out, too. And an auto and coal strike this fall could trigger an explosion of all workers fed up with years of giveback contracts, the desperate and impoverished black and Hispanic masses—everyone who hates what

Detrol's black workers took the lead in Chrysler walkout, September 1982.



has happened to them in Reagan's America.

What's Good for Mondale Is Bad for Auto Workers

Now is the time to strike the Big Three. For the first time in years sales are outpacing production. The *Wall Street Journal* (5 July) reports:

"A walkout of any length would cost GM or Ford hundreds of millions of dollars in lost production....

"With demand for new cars continuing to exceed their ability to supply them, GM and Ford are expected to have uncomfortably low inventories on hand when the UAW contracts expire—weakening their bargaining position."

But while even the big-business press is saying that auto workers have the Big Three bosses on the ropes, the Solidarity House gang still does not want a strike. UAW vice president Don Ephlin, head of the union's GM department, states, "there are times when you go into bargaining with a strike issue staring you in the face.... We have no such issue this time" (*Detroit News*, 2 May). If givebacks that bleed the workers alongside robber-baron profits are not a

strike issue, for Ephlin there never will be one.

Apart from the fact that these sellout artists never want to fight, there is an additional factor behind the UAW tops' "no strike in '84" line. They don't want to embarrass Walter Mondale in an election year. For this "friend of labor" will be an enemy of an auto strike, especially in the middle of his presidential race. Sitting across the bargaining table, Ford's vice president for labor relations, Peter Pestillo, observed that UAW officials "realize they would impose a great liability on [Walter Mondale] by shutting down the industrial Midwest in the middle of the campaign" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 July). Auto workers can now see that the Solidarity House bureaucracy's support for the Democratic Party is directly taking money from their pockets to swell the Big Three's profits. Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party!

And just what is Mondale offering auto workers in return for eating another rotten contract? Higher taxes

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Defend the Toledo 37! Win AP Parts Strike!

Last May 21 striking United Auto Workers (UAW) members at Toledo's AP Parts plant and several thousand of their union brothers from all over northwestern Ohio fought like hell and beat back the cops, the scabs, the hired goons from "Nuckols, Inc." Squad cars went up in smoke, a 14-wheeler car carrier rammed through the plant gate, the workers came within inches of a plant occupation. This explosion of labor militancy shook up everybody from company officials to the city fathers to the UAW bureaucrats. In the aftermath, the cops arrested 44 militants, cordoned off the area, slapped injunctions on mass picketing and set up a police-state pass system on blocked-off Matzinger Road. Now, on July 3, a Lucas County grand jury has come down with 37 indictments against picketers in the May 21 battle.

There's far more at stake in the AP strike than mufflers. The auto bosses want to hand the UAW a stinging defeat in Toledo as a message for the September contracts. GM provided a war chest for AP management, in the form of a \$30 million contract on the condition they gut the union. And they have mobilized state power to "teach a lesson" to the strikers and their supporters. In the face of this act of revenge by the bosses and their government, all labor must come to the aid of the combative unionists. The UAW must mobilize throughout the region in a



Toledo strikers at UAW rally in Detroit, July 23. Last May AP Parts workers and fellow unionists beat back scabs, cops and hired goons.

heavy display of class power. The real defense of these victimized militants is to pull out the union's big guns and win this strike solid!

AP provoked the strike on May 2 when they decreed a \$5.84 an hour pay cut, ripping up the pension and changing the work rules in the UAW Local 14 contract. Pushed to the wall, the strikers dug in, but their leaders have criminally done the opposite. The confrontation on May 21 scared the pants off UAW president Owen Bieber, who turned heel and called off the Toledo local's planned June 24 march from the big militant

Jeep plant to AP Parts. Instead the UAW tops want to divert militancy into pressuring the city government into turning the cops—the armed fist of the capitalist state—into glorified school crossing guards. Last month the UAW tried to get the Toledo City Council to pass "municipal neutrality" laws to prevent police from being assigned as scabherders at struck plants. Guess what? On June 28 the city ruled that the UAW's proposals were contrary to city, state and federal law.

But even Bieber has figured out something had is going on in Toledo.

His personal rep to the negotiations, Frank James, told the *Toledo Blade* (7 July) that at AP Parts, "There seemed to be a game plan on the part of the company to actually destroy the union." Right. The point is what to do about it. The June 30 *Blade* reported that union officials had now agreed to the \$5.84/hour concessions, but the company is now holding out for more! While the UAW says they are fighting for amnesty for indicted picketers, this only includes AP Parts strikers. Even this only refers to company sanctions against the workers and not at all to the railroad job being carried out in the courts. This is even more despicable since the core of the workers at the May 21 solidarity action came from other Toledo plants, particularly Jeep. Thus Danny Wilson, chairman of the 6,200-member Jeep unit of UAW Local 12, charged with "inciting violence," and Tom Joseph of the Toledo Area Solidarity Committee both face up to 18 months in jail.

To get the indictments, the state dragged in videotapes made by the hired thugs of Nuckols, Inc., and the testimony of over 40 cops. They want to send the message that workers who fight for their rights and their class will be sent up the river. They tried the same tactics back in 1934 during the great Toledo Auto-Lite strike, but it didn't work then, and it must not be allowed to work now.

This is Union Country—the heart-

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Defend Nicaragua— Smash Capitalist Fifth Column!

On July 19 more than 150,000 Nicaraguans gathered in the Plaza de la Revolución in Managua to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the popular Sandinista revolution which overthrew the hated dictator Anastasio Somoza. Junta coordinator and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) candidate for president Daniel Ortega announced that the state of emergency would be eased for the upcoming elections. Meanwhile the Pentagon dispatched the aircraft carrier USS *Kennedy* (with 85 combat aircraft) to cruise just off Nicaragua's Caribbean coast as a "subdued military, diplomatic and political campaign" (*New York Times*, 18 July). Ronald Reagan, who had been denouncing "Sandino-Communists" for not holding elections, now dismisses the November 4 Nicaragua vote as a "sham." And if Reagan is himself re-elected in November, everyone from the Democrats to the Sandinistas is worried about a "December surprise." But resolutions by imperialist "doves" are not going to stop a U.S. invasion. What's needed is to mobilize the American working class to refuse to move U.S. weapons to Central America, to strike against direct intervention.

The Sandinista victory put an end to 45 years of tyranny by the U.S.-backed Somoza family, who slaughtered 50,000 Nicaraguan youth in the last two years of fighting. But contrary to Reagan's "Communism"-baiting, the FSLN represents radicalized petty-bourgeois nationalists who are more than willing to live with a "national" bourgeoisie. Following the trinity of a "mixed economy, political pluralism and non-alignment" they have religiously refused to take over capitalist enterprises other than those of Somoza or those whose owners have fled the country. Yet although well over half the economy remains in capitalist hands, the capitalist *state* was shattered as Somoza's mercenary National Guard fled before the triumphant Sandinista forces in July 1979. This raised imperialist fears of "another Cuba," and indeed under the

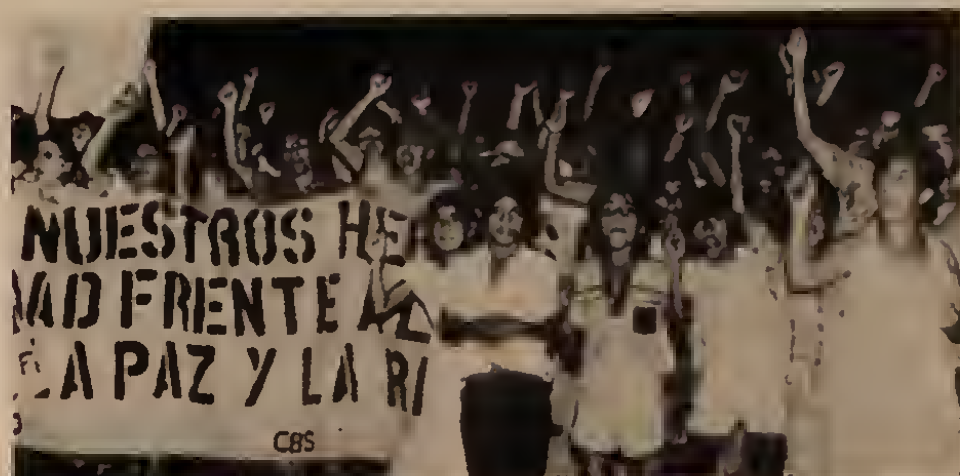
blows of Reagan "destabilization" and aggression the petty-bourgeois regime in Managua is being pushed toward consolidating a (bureaucratically deformed) social revolution.

The Sandinistas are currently counting on their elections to revive support among the European social democracies and the Latin bourgeois states in the area. However, "solidarity" from fair weather bourgeois "friends" will not be enough to defend Nicaragua from Yankee imperialism. With the future of the revolution at stake, what's urgently required are resolute measures to *smash the capitalist fifth column* inside Nicaragua and prepare a *revolutionary war throughout Central America*. And the petty-bourgeois FSLN regime, while proclaiming "All arms to the people!" and "Everything for the front!"—while responding bit by bit to the campaign of pro-imperialist sabotage—still holds back the workers and peasants from unleashing a thoroughgoing social revolution at home.

As Reagan has run into flak in Congress over aid to the *contra* mercenaries, the administration has responded with a combination of empty talks with the Sandinistas and gunboat diplomacy. In addition to the *Kennedy*, the U.S. currently has the nuclear carrier *Eisenhower* and both its operational battle-ships (the *Iowa* and the *New Jersey*) floating around the Caribbean. Anonymous "private sector" aid (from "the Company"?) is now reportedly flowing to the Nicaraguan *contras*. And the Pentagon has announced a series of company-sized "training exercises" in Honduras, continuing the nearly constant U.S. maneuvers that have kept up to 5,000 American ground troops just over the border from the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas of the FMLN.

War on the Home Front

Within Nicaragua, attacks by the *contras* have escalated sharply. In March an estimated 10,000 mercenaries



Barricada Photos

Angry demonstrators in Managua denounce right-wing newspaper, *La Prensa*, voice of the counter-revolutionary "internal front."



entered the country in their highest offensive yet. While they were defeated in their goal of capturing a piece of Nicaraguan territory (in order to establish a "provisional government" that could then appeal for aid from the Marines), even the Sandinista army estimates there are now as many as 6,000 Somozaist counterrevolutionaries based inside the country. According to Daniel Ortega (*Barricada*, 5 May), in three years of fighting Nicaragua has suffered over \$200 million in material losses. In 1983, material damage inflicted by the U.S.-backed terrorists amounted to almost a third of Nicaragua's total export income. This year it was necessary to devote one-fourth of the national budget to defense. And in his July 19 speech, Ortega reported that 7,391 Nicaraguans had been killed by the *contras* since 1981. Proportionately (compared to the total population) that's more than twice as many as all American dead in World War II.

An example of the CIA-backed mercenaries' ability to inflict serious damage (and a disturbing indication of internal collaboration) was the June 1 *contra* attack on Ocotal, a provincial capital near the Honduran border. While U.S. secretary of state George Shultz was all smiles and handshakes during his surprise PR trip to Managua, Reagan's "freedom fighters" were busy murdering and destroying upcountry. Nearly 500 *contras* penetrated Ocotal's defenses while the local garrison was on patrol. The toll was devastating: the main grain-storage center (filled with rice, beans, corn and powdered milk) blown up, an important lumber mill destroyed along with the town's coffee processing plant and part of the broadcasting equipment of the area's only radio station. These facts were reported in an on-the-spot account by the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (29 June). But the implications were so disturbing that the next week the *Militant's* editors denounced their own reporters for giving "an inaccurate picture of the social and political situation," and reprinted a couple of

Nicaraguan government handouts to gloss over the danger.

The *Wall Street Journal* (20 June) reports that "when their guard is down, coffee growers are astonishingly frank about supporting the *Contras*." These Nicaraguan kulaks, together with the businessmen's association COSEP, the reactionary right-wing newspaper *La Prensa*, two U.S.-backed yellow unions and the Catholic church hierarchy, form the backbone of a counterrevolutionary "internal front" intimately linked to the terrorists. In late June one CIA-directed network was broken up including Catholic priest Luis Peña. Sandinista security officials caught Father Peña red-handed, while delivering a tote bag filled with hand grenades, explosives, counterrevolutionary propaganda and a yellow and white flag (the Vatican colors) of the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN). This did not stop Archbishop Obando y Bravo from calling a demonstration protesting Peña's house arrest at the papal nunciatura. When ten foreign priests participating in that provocation were ordered to leave Nicaragua, Pope John Paul Wojtyla unleashed what is described as the Vatican's "biggest protest campaign since the Polish crisis."

A major focus of the fight against internal counterrevolution has been the "Patriotic Military Service"—conscription. By the end of this year a total of 30,000 men will be called up to fight against the imperialist-financed invaders. And the Catholic church not only calls for "dialogue" with these professional killers (who have murdered no less than 150 teachers during the last three years), it openly supports draft dodgers. The response of the FSLN regime has been to promote the so-called "popular church" (grassroots congregations who reject the authority of the Catholic hierarchy), and to boast that Nicaragua is presently the only country in the world where the ministers of education, culture and foreign affairs are priests! Certainly it is vital to exacerbate the contradictions between

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Sandinista newspaper, *Barricada*, publicizes New York Spartacist protest last November against "Contra Zero," Edén Pastora. Nicaraguan people say: Pastora to the wall!

Embattled Nicaragua

We print below an account by a French trade unionist and Trotskyist militant of her recent trip to Nicaragua.

My first impression on arriving in Nicaragua: it is a poor country, very poor. You see misery everywhere. The houses are more or less shanties and there are very few which have solidly built roofs or walls. While the adults are basically adequately clothed, the kids are really very poorly clothed—the adults have shoes, but many children don't.

On the economic level they are in a catastrophic situation. Even if there's no open, complete blockade by the Americans, the counterrevolutionary guerrilla war means that all the money they have is used for the war effort and the country's economy is very shaky. On the other hand, and this is interesting, there is very little unemployment. But there is also very little public transport. They have buses which are veritable moving museums. You wonder how they stay in one piece. One day I waited two hours to get a bus. They were all completely packed, and the taxis, too.

The Sandinista government has passed a law concerning the black market which is very important. Since there are a lot of imported goods, or goods manufactured from imported materials, which are expensive, and since given the shortages the state fixes prices, there's an enormous black market. They have been forced to pass a law to try and stop it. Black marketeers now run the risk of enormous fines: if a truck is used for contraband it will be confiscated, which represents a fortune in a country like Nicaragua. On the other hand, according to the June 1 *Barricada*, the government subsidies for basic products (including rice, beans, corn and soap) will be cut in half. This will mean roughly doubling the cost of these items, a tremendous increase in the cost of living for the poor.

The new law will introduce state control over the distribution of a range of goods, which will still be distributed by private firms but supervised by the state, except for nine essential products which will be directly distributed by the state. This shows the process underway in Nicaragua: simply to defend the revolution they have been forced to take a step toward the monopoly of internal trade.

On the political level, when you arrive the first thing you see is the graffiti all over the walls, all Sandinista slogans. One day I saw a big number 4 with a rifle and wondered what it was. Then I saw the slogans, "For the Fourth Anniversary of the Revolution" and "All Arms to the People." Anti-imperialist consciousness is widespread. When I went to the movies they were showing *The Deer Hunter*, about Vietnam. So when the U.S. is evacuating some troops and Robert DeNiro and his buddy fall out of the helicopter, the audience shouted and cheered. They really hate the U.S., but not Americans. There are a lot of American volunteers there, you see many of them in the streets.

I was able to have a lot of discussions, including an interview with a woman from the AMNLAE, the Sandinista women's group, and an official of the CST, the Sandinista trade-union federation. But also with ordinary people, since I stayed with a family. There's an enormous contrast between talking to the bureaucrats and talking to the people like the ones I stayed with. The latter are openly for socialism and against their own bourgeoisie, while the



May Day, 1984: Nicaraguan workers want revolutionary change, but Sandinista leaders still make concessions to bourgeoisie.

bureaucrats have a much more nuanced vocabulary when they talk about the struggle against imperialism. The Sandinista cadres make a sharp distinction between the struggle against imperialism and against the "national bourgeoisie." They're really two separate things for them.

You can see the contradictions which exist in a revolutionary situation where people really want things to change and the leadership does everything it can to make concessions to the bourgeoisie, to imperialism and to the church. So there is always a lot of publicity when the Sandinistas distribute a few parcels of land to the peasants. It's on television and in the newspapers. In fact it's only a question of land that was earlier confiscated from Somoza. It's really a small thing, since the estates still belong to the large landowners. The same with the factories: except for the Somoza properties, there have been no nationalizations, only state intervention.

The masses are mobilized, but even so, the level of mobilization has probably dropped and obviously those who remain are the activists in the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front]. People are organized in the CDS [Sandinista Defense Committees] and the Sandinista People's Militias. The CDS have many military functions, such as patrols. In Managua it's above all against street crime, but in the countryside it's much more against the counterrevolutionaries. So once a week you go on patrol in your neighborhood and once a week you guard your factory. In talks I had with people, they felt that the FSLN completely controls the bourgeoisie. They say "the Sandinista Committees are watching them, watching their homes." I have the impression it's like Cuba, the process of transformation. If imperialism were less hard on Nicaragua, it wouldn't be on the road to a deformed workers state. But in all probability the result will be a deformed workers state, because it would be really tough to turn back.

The interview with the official of the CST was the most interesting when I

asked him: when you raise wages, don't you get opposition from the bosses? He said, "Of course not! The bosses who have stayed here want to rebuild the national economy, so they're for it." This was the only time I heard someone defend the bourgeoisie, and it's not an accident that it was a hureaucrat.

In fact, on the level of the economy, they've only confiscated 30 percent of industry, which is not much. And as always it's the companies in the worst shape which get taken over. For example, in the sugar industry there are six refineries. One is privately-owned and five are state-owned. The five state-owned ones barely succeed in producing as much sugar as the private one, since they don't have the machines, everything is old and broken down, etc. With such profitability, he said, the bosses can permit themselves to pay their workers more than in the state sector. That way, they can undermine the morale of the working class. This refers to the San Antonio sugar mill, owned by the Pellas family. And what the CST official *didn't* say, was that the higher wages there were won through hard strikes in February and November of 1980, initially led by Frente Obrero, and an illegal walkout this spring. The Sandinistas did their level best to break the workers' actions [see "Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 277, 27 March 1981].

The interview with the woman from AMNLAE was even more of a rehash of the official FSLN line. She took out her notebook and read me what she had written there: a prepared speech. The most interesting was when I asked about abortion. She told me, "Oh, here there's no problem." I explained that in France a limited legalization of abortion had been won, which even so represented progress, since before that illegal abortions had had terrible medical and psychological effects. We started talking about something else and five minutes later she came back to it and said, "Well, actually, abortion has not been legalized, we have never passed a law on abortion." She presented it as though they had just forgotten. I believe that above all, they don't want to get into trouble with the church. They don't want the church on their backs. It's true that there's no repression against women who get abortions, or the doctors, which is already a good thing. But they haven't legalized abortion and it's clear that their whole policy is for the conservation of the family.

A law has been passed on "Relations continued on page 11



Militia women on guard against contra raids.

Class Struggle and Revolutionary Leadership

MINNEAPOLIS 1934: HOW THE WORKERS WON

"Toledo, Las Vegas, St. Croix, Arizona Mines—Class Battles Flare in Reagan's America," we said a couple of issues ago. With this upsurge of labor struggles, militants must look to the great struggles of the past for lessons to guide their actions today. Exactly 50 years ago, in 1934, America was shaken by three almost simultaneous citywide strikes, all led by avowed socialists, which paved the way for the CIO organizing drives. Then, as today, the country was emerging from the depths of depression, and with the revival of industry the workers regained confidence in their ability to fight *and win*.

In Toledo, Ohio supporters of radical labor organizer A.J. Muste, then forming the American Workers Party, led auto workers and the unemployed in the explosive Auto-Lite strike (see "The Battle of Toledo, 1934," in *WV* No. 358, 6 July 1984). On the West Coast, dock workers led by the Stalinized Communist Party fought pitched battles with the SF police (see "The 1934 San Francisco General Strike," *WV* No. 109, 14 May 1976). And in Minneapolis there was the "Teamster Rebellion," led by the Trotskyists of the Communist League of America (CLA).

In Minneapolis, under the guidance of CLA leader James P. Cannon, they solidly organized the strike (something the old-line AFL bureaucrats didn't even know how to do) and above all prepared the strikers for the inevitable confrontations with the capitalist state. The Trotskyists, including veteran local trade unionists Carl Skoglund, the Dunne brothers (Vincent, Grant and Miles) and the young Farrell Dohbs, established their credentials by organizing Minneapolis coal yard workers. An effective three-day strike in February 1934 paralyzed the coal yards and won union recognition for Teamster Local 574. With the unwavering support of local president Bill Brown and rejecting the narrow craft union mentality of the

Teamster International under Daniel Tobin, these class-struggle militants quickly organized truck drivers and "inside" workers on an industrial union basis. On 15 May 1934, after the bosses refused to deal with the growing local of 5,000, the union struck.

The bosses didn't count on the class-war tactics of the Trotskyists, such as the "flying squad" of pickets, adopted by the CIO in the late '30s. All trucking in the city was halted except urgent services (such as milk deliveries) given a permit by the union. The rest of labor was mobilized: in late May 35,000 building trades workers struck in sympathy with the Teamster drivers, and even the conservative Central Labor Union had to vote support. The climax came May 22, when the union battled 2,200 "special deputies" and virtually the entire city police force, who tried to run scabs through the picketers. The bosses' thugs were smashed in "The Battle of Deputies Run," and the companies quickly settled the strike, recognizing the union.

But the bosses soon forced a new strike in July. On "Bloody Friday," July 20, the cops opened fire on the strikers, killing two and wounding 67, most of them shot in the back. Some 40,000 union supporters marched in the funeral for Henry Ness, Local 574's first martyr. Then, as part of an orchestrated red scare, the cops arrested Trotskyist leaders James P. Cannon and Max Shachtman and sent them to a military stockade. And in a pre-dawn raid, the "Farmer-Labor" governor Olson sent in the National Guard, which seized strike headquarters and arrested strike leaders, including Bill Brown, Vincent and Miles Dunne. This action by the "friend of labor" governor exposed Olson's capitalist loyalties, and the union militants exploited the contradiction between his words and actions to press the strike forward. Even after Olson had penned up over 100 strikers in the state fairgrounds, the Teamsters led by the



Minnesota Historical Society

Workers defense guards routed scabherding cops and Citizens Alliance vigilantes during Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

Trotskyists defied the troops and maintained mobile picketing. On August 22 the bosses gave in to the union's main demands, including union membership for inside workers.

By their militant action and determination, strikers won tremendous gains in the 1934 strikes. Soon workers in the mass production industries were flocking to union organizing meetings. Because old-line craft unions of the AFL turned their backs on the unskilled, this led to the birth of industry-wide unions, frequently under radical leadership, and the formation of the CIO. The ruling class saw industrial unionism was on the way, and would either be headed by "sensible" leaders or "reds." In Minneapolis, during the 1934 strikes and for years after, the bosses tried to split and defeat the militant Teamsters with redbaiting. But this failed—the Teamsters stuck by their revolutionary leaders. Finally, on the eve of World War II Roosevelt, spurred on by corrupt Teamster leader Tobin

and the treacherous Stalinist CP, jailed the Minneapolis 18—Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders and class-struggle unionists—under the notorious Smith Act for their courageous opposition to the imperialist war.

In 1942 Cannon, leader of the then-Trotskyist SWP, gave a series of lectures on the history of the Trotskyist movement which were subsequently collected into a book. We reprint below excerpts from Cannon's talk on Minneapolis, delivered when he was already under federal indictment. These lessons remain a beacon for today's labor struggles, and we encourage our readers to obtain Cannon's lectures (*The History of American Trotskyism*). We would also like to thank the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul for the photos (part of a collection on the 1934 strikes) on these pages.

The class-struggle traditions of Minneapolis 1934 are today embodied in the Spartacist League. This is *our* heritage.

EXCERPTED FROM
JAMES P. CANNON, *THE HISTORY
OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM*
PIONEER PUBLISHERS,
NEW YORK, 1944

This May general strike shook Minneapolis as it had never been shaken before. It shook the whole country, because this was no tame strike. This was a strike that began with such a wallop that the whole country heard about it, and about the role of the Trotskyists in its leadership—the bosses advertised that widely, and also hysterically.

There was no essential difference, in fact I don't think there was any serious difference at all between the strikers in Minneapolis and the workers involved in a hundred other strikes throughout

the land in that period. Nearly all the strikes were fought with the greatest militancy by the workers. The difference was in the leadership and the policy. In practically all the other strikes the militancy of the rank and file workers was restrained from the top. The leaders were overawed by the government, the newspapers, the clergy and one thing or another. They tried to shift the conflict from the streets and the picket lines to the conference chambers. In Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top.

All modern strikes require political direction. The strikes of that period brought the government, its agencies and its institutions into the very center of every situation. A strike leader without some conception of a political line was very much out of date already

by 1934. The old fashioned trade union movement, which used to deal with the bosses without governmental interference, belongs in the museum. The modern labor movement must be politically directed because it is confronted by the government at every turn. Our people were prepared for that since they were political people, inspired by political conceptions. The policy of the class struggle guided our comrades; they couldn't be deceived and outmaneuvered, as so many strike leaders of that period were, by this mechanism of sabotage and destruction known as the National Labor Board and all its auxiliary setups. They put no reliance whatever in Roosevelt's Labor Board; they weren't fooled by any idea that Roosevelt, the liberal "friend of labor" president, was going to help the truck drivers in Minneapolis win a few cents

more an hour. They weren't deluded even by the fact that there was at that time in Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Governor, presumed to be on the side of the workers.

Our people didn't believe in anybody or anything but the policy of the class struggle and the ability of the workers to prevail by their mass strength and solidarity. Consequently, they expected from the start that the union would have to fight for its right to exist; that the bosses would not yield any recognition to the union, would not yield any increase of wages or reduction of the scandalous hours without some pressure being brought to bear. Therefore they prepared everything from the point of view of class war. They knew that power, not diplomacy, would decide the issue. Bluffs don't work in fundamental things, only in incidental ones. In such



Trotskyist leadership guided historic victory in Minneapolis general strike. Above left, from left: Grant Dunne, Bill Brown (president of Teamsters Local 574), Miles Dunne, Vincent Dunne, Albert Goldman. Above right: Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon.



"Battle of Deputies Run," 21-22 May 1934 (left).

things as the conflict of class interests one must be prepared to fight.

Proceeding from these general concepts, the Minneapolis Trotskyists, in the course of organizing the workers, planned a battle strategy. Something unique was seen in Minneapolis for the first time. That is, a strike that was thoroughly organized beforehand, a strike prepared with the meticulous detail which they used to attribute to the German army—down to the last button sewn on the uniform of the last individual soldier. When the hour of the deadline came, and the bosses thought they could still maneuver and bluff, our people were setting up a fortress for action. This was noted and reported by the *Minneapolis Tribune*, the mouthpiece of the bosses, only at the last moment, a day before the strike. The paper said: "If the preparations made by their union for handling it are any indication, the strike of truck drivers in Minneapolis is going to be a far-reaching affair.... Even before the official start of the strike at 11:30 P.M. Tuesday, the 'General Headquarters' organization set up at 1900 Chicago Avenue was operating with all the precision of a military organization."

Our people had a commissary all fixed up. They didn't wait until the strikers were hungry. They had it organized beforehand in preparation for the strike. They set up an emergency hospital in a garage—the strike headquarters was in a garage—with their own doctor and their own nurses before the strike even broke. Why? Because they knew that the bosses, their cops, and thugs and deputies would try in this case, as in every other, to beat the strike down. They were prepared to take care of their own people and not let them be sent, if injured, to a city hospital and then placed under arrest and put out of commission. When a fellow worker was injured on the picket line they brought him to their own headquarters and

doctored him up there.

They took a leaf from the Progressive Miners of America and organized a Women's Auxiliary to help make trouble for the bosses. And I tell you, the women made lots of trouble, running around protesting and scandalizing the bosses and the city authorities, which is one of the most important political weapons. The strike leadership organized picketing on a mass basis. This business of appointing or hiring a few people, one or two, to watch and count and report how many scabs have been hired, doesn't work in a real struggle. They sent a squad to keep any scabs from going in. I mentioned that they had their strike headquarters in a garage. This was because the picketing was put

on wheels. They not only organized the pickets, they mobilized a fleet of picketing cars. Every striker worker, sympathizer and trade unionist in town was called upon to donate the use of his car or truck. The strike committee thus had a whole fleet at its disposal. Flying squads of pickets on wheels were stationed at strategic points throughout the town.

At first the pickets went out barehanded, but they came back with broken heads and injuries of various kinds. Then they equipped themselves with shillalahs for the next trips. A shillalah, as any Irishman can tell you, is a blackthorn stick you lean on in case you suddenly go lame. Of course, it is handy for other purposes too. The

attempt of the bosses and the police to crush the strike by force culminated in the famous "Battle of the Market." Several thousand special deputies in addition to the whole police force were mobilized to make one supreme effort to open up a strategic part of the town, the wholesale market, for the operation of trucks.

Those deputies, recruited from the petty-bourgeois and the employing classes of the town, and the professions, came to the market in a sort of gala holiday spirit. They were going to have fun down there just beating up strikers. One of the special deputies wore his polo hat. He was going to have one hell of a time down there, knocking strikers' heads around like polo balls. The ill-advised sportsman was mistaken: it was no polo game this time. He and the whole mob of deputies and cops ran into a mass of determined, organized pickets of the union supplemented by sympathetic unionists from other trades and by members of the unemployed organizations. The attempt to drive the pickets from the market place ended in failure. The counter-attack of the workers put them to flight. The battle has gone down in Minneapolis history as "The Battle of Deputies Run." There were two casualties, and they were both on the other side. That was one of the features of the strike that lifted Minneapolis high in the estimation of the workers everywhere. In strike after strike of those days the same story had been monotonously repeated in the press: Two strikers killed; four strikers shot; twenty strikers arrested, etc. Here was a strike where it wasn't all one-sided. There was one universal hurst of applause, from one end of the labor movement to the other, for the militancy and resoluteness of the Minneapolis fighters. They had reversed the trend of things, and worker militants everywhere praised their name.

The May strike lasted only six days and a quick settlement was reached.

Then the bosses came to the conclusion that they had made a mistake; that they should have fought longer and broken the union, so as to teach the workers of Minneapolis the lesson that unions could not exist there; that Minneapolis was an open-shop slave town and should remain that way.

The bosses remained obdurate. They raised the "Red Scare" in a big way, denouncing the "Trotsky Communists" in screaming advertisements in the newspapers. On the union side, preparations went ahead as in the May strike, but on an even more highly organized plane. When it became clear that another strike could not be avoided without sacrificing the union, our National Committee decided that the

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Luxton—Minnesota Historical Society



Minnesota Historical Society

Mass picketing and tying squads were key to Minneapolis victory. Above: Vincent Dunne arrested during National Guard raid of strike headquarters.



Minneapolis...

(continued from page 9)

whole Communist League of America would have to go all-out in its support.

In our movement we never played with the absurd idea that only those directly connected with a union are capable of giving assistance. Modern strikes need political direction more than anything else. If our party, our League as we called it then, deserved to exist it would have come to the aid of the local comrades. As is always the case with trade union leaders, especially in strike times, they were under the weight and stress of a thousand pressing details. A political party, on the other hand, rises above the details and generalizes from the main issues. A trade union leader who rejects the idea of political advice in the struggle against the bosses and their government, with its cunning devices, traps and methods of exerting pressure, is deaf, dumb and blind. Our Minneapolis comrades were not of this type. They turned to us for help.

We sent quite a few forces into the

situation. I went there about two weeks before the outbreak of the second strike.

The strike began July 16, 1934, and lasted five weeks. I think I can say without the slightest exaggeration, without fear of any contradiction, that the July-August strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers and helpers has entered into the annals of the history of the American labor movement as one of its greatest, most heroic and best organized struggles. Moreover, the strike and the union forged in its fires are identified forever in the labor movement, not only here but all over the world, with Trotskyism in action in the mass movement of the workers. Trotskyism made a number of specific contributions to this strike which made all the difference between the Minneapolis strike and a hundred others of the period, some of which involved more workers in more socially important localities and industries. Trotskyism made the contribution of organization and preparations down to the last detail. That is something new, that is something specifically Trotskyist. Second, Trotskyism introduced into all the plans

and preparations of the union and the strike, from beginning to end, the class line of militancy: not as a subjective reaction—that is seen in every strike—but as a deliberate policy based on the theory of the class struggle, that you can't win anything from the bosses unless you have the will to fight for it and the strength to take it.

The third contribution of Trotskyism to the Minneapolis strike—the most interesting and perhaps the most decisive—was that we met the government mediators on their own ground. I tell you, one of the most pathetic things observable in that period was to see how in one strike after another the workers were outmaneuvered and cut to pieces, and their strike broken by the “friends of labor” in the guise of federal mediators.

Our general strategy in the strike was to fight it out, not give anything away to anybody, to hold on and fight it out. That was Trotskyist contribution number four. It may appear to be a very simple and obvious prescription, but that is not the case. It was not obvious to the great majority of strike leaders of the time.

The fifth and crowning contribution that Trotskyism made to the Minneapolis strike was the publication of the daily strike newspaper, the *Daily Organizer*. For the first time in the history of the American labor movement, strikers were not left dependent on the capitalist press, were not befuddled and terrorized by it, did not see public sentiment disoriented by the capitalist monopoly of the press. The Minneapolis strikers published their own daily newspaper. This was done not by a half-million coal miners, a hundred thousand auto or steel workers, but by a single local union of 5,000 truck drivers, a new union in Minneapolis which had Trotskyist leadership. This leadership understood that publicity and propaganda are highly important, and that is something very few trade union leaders know. It is almost impossible to convey the tremendous effect of this daily newspaper. It wasn't a big one—just a two-page tabloid. But it completely counteracted the capitalist press. After a day or two



The Organizer, special strike daily, was the workers' voice against bosses' lies.

we didn't care what the daily papers of the bosses said. They printed all kinds of things but it didn't make that much difference in the ranks of the strikers. They had their own paper and took its reports as gospel. The *Daily Organizer* covered the town like a blanket. Strikers at the headquarters all used to get it straight from the press. The Women's Auxiliary sold it in every tavern in town that had working class customers. In many saloons in working class neighborhoods they would leave a bundle of papers on the bar with a slotted collection can beside them for contributions. Many a dollar was collected that way and carefully watched by the friendly bartenders.

The *Daily Organizer* was the greatest of all the weapons in the arsenal of the Minneapolis strike. I can say without any qualification that of all the contributions we made, the most decisive, the one that tipped the scale to victory, was the publication of the daily paper. Without the *Organizer* the strike would not have been won. ■



The Minneapolis 18, unionists and leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party imprisoned during World War II as the Roosevelt administration sought to mobilize the working class for Imperialist war.

Auto...

(continued from page 5)

and economic war against Japan. Import protectionism is the Democrats' only answer to Reaganomics. The climate of anti-Asian hysteria whipped up by the Democrats and UAW tops is so poisonous in Detroit that two years ago a Chinese American, Vincent Chin, was bludgeoned to death by a racist auto foreman. National protectionism, which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers in Japan and Europe, “protects” only the banks and stockholders while auto workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant and Ford's River Rouge slave 56 to 60 hours a week without even a pretense of union defense on the shopfloor.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

UAW president Owen Bieber & Co. are trying to sell another sellout by arguing that what's important is not a big money settlement—this after years of wage gouging!—but job security. Auto workers should remember that the \$5 billion in givebacks since 1979 were also sold in the name of “saving jobs.” During this period a quarter million auto workers were laid off. Despite the present boom, 80,000 GM and Ford workers with recall rights are still on layoff while for another 74,000 recall rights have run out. At the same time, their union brothers fortunate enough to have a job are working endless forced overtime. The March issue of the UAW's *Solidarity* calculates that the overtime worked in one month last fall “would have provided jobs to 95,000

workers—almost wiping out indefinite layoffs.” UAW members must demand unlimited recall rights and no forced overtime.

Job security is indeed a key issue for auto workers. Wall Street auto analyst Scott Merlis estimates that through attrition and automation the Big Three will reduce their labor force by over 20 percent during the next three-year contract. How to fight this? Through a militant struggle for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—30 for 40. But can anyone imagine Bieber & Co. leading such a struggle? It's unthinkable.

Over the years the UAW has seen more than its share of house opposition-

ists claiming to speak for the discontented ranks. A typical example of this type was Pete Kelly, who is now close to Solidarity House as a local president and member of the union's national bargaining committee. It was Kelly and his friends who initiated the recent demonstration, which Solidarity House later took over, at GM headquarters. These small-time bureaucrats did not call for a strike but did prominently sport Mondale-for-president buttons. Indeed, many of them must have rushed back from the San Francisco Democratic convention to make the demo, where they sang, “Bieber is our leader, we shall not be moved.” One thing is sure. With

Bieber as their leader these officials will not be moved to wage the necessary fight against the auto bosses this fall.

As the showdown with GM and Ford approaches the Detroit Spartacist League has been widely distributing the *Workers Vanguard* supplement, “Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win,” among the city's heavily black auto workers. The “Hardball” supplement is an argument for a new, fighting leadership of labor capable of rallying working people in support of the brothers and sisters on the picket lines. Real solidarity is backing up the elementary principle that “picket lines mean don't cross” with the tactics which built the UAW—tactics like secondary boycotts, sitdowns, flying squads and mass picket lines to face down scabs and their cop protectors. These questions are posed in Arizona where Chicano and Indian copper miners have waged a year-long bitter strike against Phelps Dodge. They are posed in Toledo, Ohio where workers have seen that massive and united labor action is the key to picket lines that stop scabs.

And they are certainly posed in Detroit auto. UAW locals must begin now organizing elected strike committees, generating new leaders and mobilizing labor's allies, above all, Detroit's impoverished black community, for the fight against the auto bosses. As in the 1930s, when the union was built, labor must organize the unemployed and champion the oppressed. Key to successful class struggle and ultimately workers revolution in this racist, capitalist society is linking the ghetto to the factory in struggle. Detroit's black proletariat will certainly be in the vanguard of a nationwide auto strike, which could turn this country around. ■

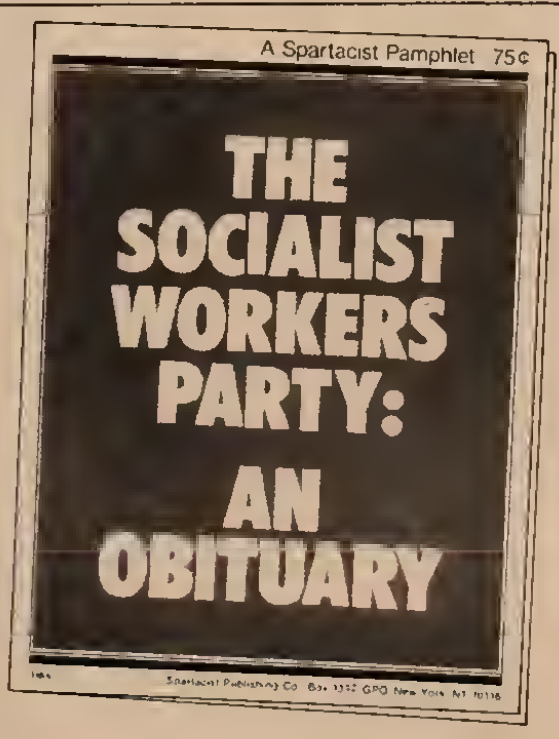
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Defend Nicaragua...

(continued from page 6)

pro-imperialist church leaders and the traditionally religious populace, whose sons are being killed by the *contras*. But conciliation of the Catholic hierarchy can only aid the *contras*. From Poland to Nicaragua, the Vatican is an agency of counterrevolution.

Another crucial battlefield in the fight against the capitalist fifth column is food production and distribution. Already more than 10 percent of Nicaragua's granaries have been destroyed, and with growing shortages of basic products the price-gouging by speculators has become rampant. This is alienating not only the middle class but also the poorest sectors who don't have money to wait in long food lines or the money to pay exorbitant black market prices. As conflicts with market vendors multiply, on June 1 the Council of State passed a law regulating the distribution of eight basic products (see "Embattled Nicaragua," page 7). But since they are

"American way of life" to impoverished Miskito Indians under the sway of their U.S.-trained pastors—to undermine, undo and ultimately overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution. Fundamentally, however, the FSLN is still stronger than the forces of reaction inside the country so long as it can bring out hundreds of thousands of peasants, workers and urban poor who have benefited from literacy drives, free medical care and other gains of the revolution. Counterrevolution from within would require a split among the Sandinista *comandantes* (and there are tensions, reputedly between a go-slow wing—the "tortoises"—headed by Daniel and Humberto Ortega and the "hares" led by interior minister Tomás Borge). Meanwhile, the FSLN line appears to be hardening. Comandante Jaime Wheelock recently declared that "the time has now come to take stronger measures against enemies of the revolution who are trying to turn back the people's conquests" (*New York Times*, 22 May).

Today the counterrevolutionary threat is first and foremost military, not only from the *contra* bands attacking from both north and south (reportedly

in by Nicaraguan Liberals and promptly established English as the official language, legalized slavery and held "free elections" to elect himself president. In 1912 the Marines were sent in to guarantee the election of Adolfo Diaz, an accountant for an American mining company, as president. Under U.S. occupation which lasted almost continuously until 1933 there were several "free elections" in which the candidate picked by Washington always won. And from 1934 until 1979 the Somoza dynasty regularly had a family member (or one of their flunkies) duly elected. No wonder the Nicaraguan masses are not overly impressed by Reagan's denunciation of Sandinista "sham" elections in November.

In fact, through these elections the FSLN's past and present conciliation of the domestic bourgeoisie comes back to haunt them. The bourgeois opposition non-candidate, Arturo Cruz, is a former member of the governing junta, a banker who would have no political authority except that the Sandinistas chose him as a representative of the "democratic" bourgeoisie. Now he is the standard-bearer of "democratic" counterrevolution. (Likewise *contra* leader Rohelo is a former "patriotic" junta leader who now works openly for the CIA.) While petty-bourgeois nationalists like the Sandinistas seek political collaboration with sections of the capitalists, communists organize the working masses independently of and against their exploiters. The Trotskyists fight for the soviet democracy of workers and peasants councils, which can replace the whole edifice of the oppressive bourgeois state.

Recent reports from Managua claim that the Sandinistas "have reconciled themselves to the likelihood that President Reagan will be re-elected" and that the FSLN is looking for "survival as the only revolutionary government in the region" (*Guardian* [London], 23 July). This is a program for disaster. To begin with, this is the hour for bold action. Even the war-crazy Reagan is not about to send in the Marines during the election campaign; and if re-elected the last thing the Hollywood rough rider in the White House will be interested in is "coexistence" with Nicaragua. Moreover, the Sandinistas' present tightrope balancing act is manifestly unviable. Simply to defend the gains achieved so far it will be necessary to carry out a profound social upheaval, and that could escape the control of the Sandinista comandantes, going beyond the limits even of a deformed workers state on the Cuban model and unleashing permanent revolution.

To liberate the impoverished masses of Central America it is necessary to fight for workers revolution, led by Leninist-Trotskyist parties, extending beyond this impoverished region to Mexico, with its several million strong industrial proletariat, and to the imperialist heartland of the United States. This is the task above all of the North American revolutionaries, who look not to the Democrats but to the workers, calling for "hot-cargoing" U.S. arms to Central America, for political strikes against American intervention and for militant labor action to bring Reagan down. This is what the Spartacist League fights for. ■

Embattled Nicaragua...

(continued from page 7)

Between Father, Mother and Children" which legislates the kind of relationships which should exist inside the family. It's to reinforce the family, although it grants women certain legal rights, very important for a Latin country. In virtually all Latin American countries, in case of divorce or separation it's the father who has the right to the children. But in Nicaragua now it's the mother

who has custody and the father is obliged to pay child support.

The living conditions for women today are extremely difficult. This really affected me, since where I was staying I could see the situation for young women. They have a triple workday. Because of Latin culture there has been very little evolution inside the couple. So the women do the housework, helped out by their daughters (who start working at the age of eight). They go to work and in addition they engage in political activity—including armed patrols. It's really a triple workday with the added burden of taking responsibility for the children.

And the children are at school only half of the day. Because there are not enough schools and not enough teachers, the children go to school in shifts—some in the morning, some in the afternoon and others in the evening (the hours are something like 8-12, 1-5 and 6-9). If both parents work the children are alone the whole day. One woman I met has six children. The eldest is grown-up, a man, so he doesn't take care of the house. The daughter, 12 years old, watches the children the whole day. It's terrible for women to have to leave their children all day long, alone in the street, risking an accident just by crossing the street—and people drive like crazy there. Anything can happen.

And the machismo is really awful. A guy comes home at night, puts his feet up on the table, and his wife prepares dinner and gets his pack of cigarettes, which are only a few feet away, because he's used to getting what he wants. But these women have a lot of political consciousness. They're trying to fight with their husbands to get them to change. They also know that women's liberation can only come about by the integration of women into productive life, which is very important. I believe that women are bearing the greatest weight in the revolution, especially the militants.

Here's the problem. The FSLN succeeds in putting this over because of the war: their constant argument is that because of the war everything must be geared toward winning the war. The rest will have to wait. So they postpone a whole series of immediate measures, not to mention expropriation of the bourgeoisie, which a genuinely revolutionary leadership would undertake forthwith.

American imperialism is running a counterrevolutionary guerrilla war in Nicaragua. It's not a full-scale, constant war, but it forces the Sandinistas to maintain a constant military mobilization and to spend enormous sums of money on armaments. The imperialists know very well they're in the process of economically undermining Nicaragua. There will soon be food shortages inside the country and the rightist parties are beginning to use these shortages for their anti-Sandinista propaganda (the church advertises the distribution of rice and beans at Sunday mass).

After what I saw, I believe we're going to see the creation of a deformed workers state in Nicaragua. It would take such a U-turn in American policy to reverse this process that it seems difficult to imagine even if Reagan isn't re-elected. People in Nicaragua are quite anxious about the American elections, worrying that Reagan will be re-elected. If he loses, they think they'll breathe easier. Which is not necessarily the case!

What's happening in Nicaragua is a confirmation of our views. I had the feeling I was seeing concretely a contradictory situation where the masses hope for a real revolution, to go forward to socialism and liquidate the bourgeoisie. One day I said to someone, "If you want to defend your revolution you are going to be forced to take measures against the bourgeoisie, because it's against the revolution and it's plotting with the CIA against you. If only to defend yourselves you're going to be forced to take measures against them." He replied, "Yes, we're going to do it." ■



Boyd/Gamma-Liaison

Oil depot at port of Corinto after being hit by CIA-run *contra* terrorists.

still attempting to maintain a "mixed economy," the Sandinistas simultaneously drastically cut food subsidies in order to maintain prices to the peasant producers.

In the fall of 1917, Russia likewise faced the spectre of drastic shortages, economic chaos and famine as bourgeois "democrats" threatened to open the way for the return of the tsarist generals. V.I. Lenin laid out what had to be done in his pamphlet, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It":

"In point of fact, the whole question of control boils down to who controls whom, i.e., which class is in control and which is being controlled. In our country, in republican Russia, with the help of the 'authorised bodies' of supposedly revolutionary democracy, it is the landowners and capitalists who are still recognised to be, and still are, the controllers.... We must resolutely and irrevocably, not learning to break with the old, not fearing boldly to build the new, pass to control over the landowners and capitalists by the workers and peasants."

Lenin's answer was the October Revolution, a proletarian revolution led by the Bolshevik Party, which gave all power to the soviets. In Nicaragua today the economy is still largely in private hands, from wealthy landowners to thousands of small-time entrepreneurs. To prevent hoarding, black marketeering and ultimately starvation, the Nicaraguan working masses must be mobilized through their unions, militias, neighborhood committees—not only to watch over the middlemen but to expropriate the capitalists whose constant sabotage of production and distribution is every bit as dangerous as the CIA terrorists.

Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!

Yankee imperialism is using every point of support it can find—from middle classes who want to imitate the

viewed by the CIA as a "holding action") but directly from U.S. forces. "An invasion of Nicaragua is not impossible," declared the American ambassador to neighboring Costa Rica last December. And the Sandinistas know it. For the last two years the rad-lib "solidarity" milieu has screeched with horror over the Spartacist slogans "Stop Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua Needs MIGs!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" Russia has got nothing to do with Central America, they yell, trying to keep their "movement" safe for the Democrats. But in late June FSLN junta coordinator Ortega visited Moscow hoping to obtain urgently needed jet fighters "be they Soviet-built MIGs or Mirages made in France" (*Barricada*, 11 June). Certainly the idea that social democrat Mitterrand would send jets to Nicaragua to be used against his NATO ally Reagan is a mirage.

And the idea of a "nonaligned" social revolution that would be accepted by the imperialists is a dangerous illusion. The present administration in Washington has made it abundantly clear that it seeks to "roll back" the Sandinista revolution as part of its global drive for war against the Soviet Union. And while they don't go in for Reagan's "evil empire" rhetoric, the Democrats have made it clear they're just as anti-Soviet as the next imperialist. It's just that the U.S. got burned in Vietnam and they want to avoid another *losing* war. So they are looking for a peaceful road to counterrevolution in Central America, through "Contadora" negotiations and imperialist-voted "elections." The upcoming vote in Nicaragua is largely a propaganda exercise designed to appease the Democrats in Congress.

In Nicaragua (and not just there), "free elections" has always been a watchword and cover for Yankee intervention. In 1856, Confederate freebooter William Walker was invited

ET Follies

Over the spring, the Spartacist League held regional educational gatherings taking up "Wars and Revolutions: Historical Materialism in Practice." These public meetings, held in New York, Berkeley and Chicago over successive weekends, heard and discussed presentations on "From the Great French Revolution to the Paris Commune," "World War I and the Russian Revolution" and "Germany 1919-1933: Revolution and Counter-revolution." The presentation by comrade Joseph Seymour on the French Revolution is featured in our youth paper, *Young Spartacus*, this summer while comrade George Foster's presentation on Germany will be a highlight of *YSp* next fall.

The rich presentations were however rivaled in educational value by the illuminating opportunity to watch the so-called "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" go into action. The ET is an amalgam of ex-members and others of generally very rightist political coloration, *quitters* who like to posture as victims of supposed bureaucratic purges and still claim to be loyal critics, indeed, the last best hope for our organization, while

Puffs to Food Poisoning," *WV* No. 349, 2 March. As we wrote then: the "ET has been useful as a crystallization of everything that is backward and wrong in the SL.... We use the ET to keep us on our toes." Too, the ETs on the hoof have a way of revealing more than they mean to. Speaking from the floor, the ETs themselves stripped away their window-dressing of professed solidarity with our party and exposed their utter contempt and outright hostility to our best work—some real victories against racism and Reagan reaction which have won us the respect and kindled the hopes of many thousands of working people and defenders of labor and black rights. At the Midwest meeting, the ETs' interventions brought about some important political struggle with our contacts on the principle of workers democracy:

and their picket line against a racist scab attack during last summer's national phone strike. The two militants had faced years in prison for doing their duty as unionists.

Secondly, Spartacist spokesman Richard Bradley had twice scaled a 50-foot flagpole in San Francisco's Civic Center to rip down the Confederate flag, the banner of slavery and the KKK. Bradley arrived at the educational after spending five and a half hours in jail for climbing the pole yet a third time to put up a historic Union flag. The participants at the educational responded to his arrival with a standing ovation. Both the successful defense activism for Lauren and Ray and the removal of the Dixie flag—to which the city government had finally to accede—were met with broad popular support, particularly among blacks and other working people. But the ET intervened to blame the attempted frame-up of the phone militants not on the bosses but on SL "substitutionalism," while belittling the action against the Dixie flag and crediting the mayor for its removal!

We found the remarks of ET leader Bob Mandel so damning that we also played the tape for the benefit of the subsequent Midwest meeting. Here is Mandel on Ray and Lauren, on the defense of longshore union militant Stan Gow and on the Confederate flag:

"...and suddenly the SL leadership had to change tack and start polemicizing against ET, because ET's trade-union document intersected some opposition in that fraction. Opposition which has continued, opposition which included people realizing that substitutionalism was going on during the CWA [phone] strike, which led to abnormally high arrests in that fraction. People who were aware of the fact that what Stan [Gow] did was heroic, but it ended up with a trial. And you want to know about the flagpole? I'll tell you what I think about the flagpole. Damn good thing that the mayor felt compelled to get it down, because it is the flag of racism. Goddamn good thing."

At the Midwest educational, comrade Reuben Samuels observed in his remarks:

"'Goddamn good thing Mayor Feinstein took down the flag, because... because what if she hadn't? (laughter) Perhaps 10,000 people would have shown up the next time to take that flag down. Perhaps Mayor Feinstein would be in a very funny position in the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco, with Jesse Jackson on the one hand and the Dixiecrats on the other hand, over the fact that there are thousands of people demonstrating in that city around the question of 'Finish the Civil War!' Goddamn good thing for Mayor Feinstein, or else her

political career... in San Francisco at least (after all, she is also of Jewish background, so her possibilities for a career, let's say in Selma, are rather limited) but in San Francisco, in a major Northern city, it would be over. "Goddamn good thing for Bob Mandel that the Democratic Party politicians saved Feinstein's career by not pulling the flag back up. Brother Mandel should be reminded—as brother Charles indeed reminded us—that it was Ritchie Bradley, it was the Labor Black League for Social Defense, it was the Spartacist League in the Bay Area that took that flag down. An act applauded by every decent person in that city.

"So what Mandel came to do at the West Coast conference was not to address the political issues of the French Revolution or Lebanon or the KAL, provocation, but to put forward a statement that the Spartacist League gets trade-union militants and black militants into trouble, that it sets them up through adventurist stunts for arrests, for provocative actions, resulting in trials within their own unions. And that was the *real* purpose, and that's the theme that pervaded his entire intervention into that meeting. It was a statement to whom? What alien forces is the ET acting upon, to make such a statement, after such victories? He can't even mention the names of the people involved—Ray and Lauren—because they symbolize, not victimization, but *victories*. Because they symbolize not simply bourgeois persecution but defiance and triumph over bourgeois reaction in this period....

"So you had better watch where you are going, because your mentor, Bob Mandel, has already declared what his purpose is. Which is to violence-hait, provocateur-hait the finest work, in the trade-union arena, around the black struggle, the question of 'Finish the Civil War!' that this party—and not just this party, but the working class and oppressed people everywhere—can take pride in."

The ET is strident in its calls for bloody "struggle"—so long as someone else is doing it and it's very far away (see ET letter below and our reply). But closer to home, they condemn as "substitutionalism" any effort to offer leadership which risks potential victimization. Marxists understand that social struggle entails risks of state repression, nor is this news to veterans of the civil rights movement, to former Black Panthers, to strikers in Arizona battling the copper bosses' cops. Repression is a fact of life in the class struggle, one which Leninists seek to minimize by picking our shots intelligently. We know that we will be a target for repression so long as we are doing our job as revolutionists in this racist, capitalist society. And we are justly proud of our record of victories against some very determined attempts by the enemies of the working people to victimize our members and supporters.

So it's not too surprising that when an ETer at the Chicago educational demanded an answer to the ET's cynical request for "readmission" to the party, he was answered by a resounding cry of "No! No!" from the participants. Comrade Ed Clarkson added wryly, "Of course, you understand that this is just an informal poll of the membership." ■

DOWN WITH THE CONFEDERATE FLAG OF SLAVERY & THE KKK! LABOR BLACK LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL DEFENSE



At Spartacist educational in Berkeley, Richard Bradley (left) celebrated putting up historic Union flag at SF Civic Center. Twice Bradley ripped down Confederate banner. ETer Bob Mandel credited Mayor Dianne Feinstein.

engaging in downright sinister provocation against us. At bottom fugitives from the "Russian question" in the Reagan years, they profess an orientation to the SL but their appetites lie in the direction of the racist labor bureaucracy. Most SL comrades are familiar with the ET in at least a literary way, having studied their documents mainly through our own internal bulletins, but seeing them in loathsome living color at the educationals in California (April 28-29) and the Midwest (May 5-6) was an education in itself.

For a short course in the ET's origins and unsavory profile, see "From Cream

why it would be wrong to physically eject the ETs from the hall, as some of our prospective recruits were urging.

The West Coast educational was held in the aftermath of two significant anti-racist victories in the Bay Area. First, a labor-centered mass defense campaign had won, after eight months of struggle, the dropping of serious felony assault charges against Bay Area phone workers Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee. Lauren, a former Black Panther, and her companion Ray were singled out by the phone company and Alameda County D.A.'s office in a vicious, racist vendetta after they defended themselves

Who's a Pig?

ET Letter

July 5, 1984

Workers Vanguard

Dear Comrades:

It's a funny thing about had political positions—sometimes they just won't go away. In this connection, we found your article on the case of U.S. Marine Corporal Alfred Griffin (*Workers Vanguard* No. 355, 25 May) of interest. The vindictive punishment of this man

by the imperialist military is an outrage. But so is your attempt in the article to link your own cowardly call for saving the survivors of the demolition of the Marine barracks in Beirut with his refusal "to go to Lebanon...to kill fellow Muslims."

Quite a few of the Marines who went to Lebanon to kill Muslims didn't come back. That sometimes happens to those who sign up to fight the dirty colonial wars of imperialism. We don't think it's such a bad thing either—apparently you do. We don't care how many Marines walked out of Beirut and how many

were taken out in coffins. All we care about is that they left. You wanted them all out *alive*. So we have a difference. While you were cringing in anticipation of what the Reagan administration might do to anyone who made unpatriotic noises in the wake of the decade's biggest military setback for U.S. imperialism, we observed that those who lived like pigs frequently end up dying like pigs. Our slogan may have been too angular for you—but it was *not* blood-thirsty. (It wasn't original either—as you are well aware.) It is simply an objective encapsulation of the risks run by colonial gendarmes. Corporal Griffin may very well have saved his own life by refusing to go to Lebanon and kill Muslims.

At your educational in Chicago on 5 May, SL Central Committee member Seymour took your revisionism one step further and asserted that the Marines

were "no better and no worse" than any of the various communal militias in Lebanon. Coming from the leading theoretician of the tendency this repudiation of the Leninist position on imperialist intervention in "third world" countries is shocking. Presumably Seymour thinks that calling for saving the Marines makes more sense if the issue of imperialism is downplayed. So he blithely announced that the militias of the squabbling semi-colonial peoples of Lebanon are equivalent to the military SWAT team of the world's most dangerous imperialist power.

What's next? Will *WV* begin to worry about the safety of all the poor economic draftees in the British army of occupation in Northern Ireland? Perhaps Seymour thinks that the British army is "no better and no worse" than the IRA and the UDA. Will we soon see a call for "British Troops Out of

WORKERS VANGUARD

Ireland, Now, Alive!" in *WV*? Somehow we doubt it—after all, they're not Americans.

It was remarkable that while joining the Democratic Party chorus calling for getting the Marines out alive, *WV* never once advocated saving the French paratroopers. Why not? They too had their ranks thinned by a Shi'ite truck bomb. We suspect that their nationality was a factor. Social-patriotism begins (and ends) at home.

Corporal Griffin is indeed a man of principle. We applaud his refusal to "live like a pig." But your cowardly flinch (based on the calculation that it is more important to safeguard your "good name" with your own ruling class than your claim to the revolutionary tradition of Bolshevism) is a shameful blot on the record of the international Spartacist tendency. It is reminiscent of Farrell Dobbs' craven expression of remorse over the assassination of imperialist chieftain J.F. Kennedy.

Bolshevik greetings,
External Tendency of the ISL

SL Reply

The self-styled External Tendency (ET) has again displayed its dismissive and contemptuous attitude toward black oppression. Not once in their letter do they mention that Alfred Griffin is a *black* man in a white-ruled racist society—as if this isn't important!—and they disappear the fact that he refused to fight in black Grenada. This Marine corporal's refusal to fight in Grenada and Lebanon personifies a fundamental problem for American imperialism, namely, that a large fraction of its combat forces consist of black men who are deeply alienated from the white ruling class and less susceptible than whites to anti-communist and anti-Soviet prejudices.

Imperialist armies consist of young workingmen sent off to die for the interests of their rulers. Thus every capitalist armed force shows potential contradiction—it can be polarized along class lines between the officer corps and the ranks. This potential is particularly explosive in the dirty, unpopular, no-win colonial wars of decaying imperialism, and in the case of the present U.S. military is exacerbated by the high proportion of black soldiers.

As a Spartacist spokesman put it to the ETs at the Chicago educational referred to in the present ET letter:

"...one of the most objectively racist speeches I've heard by someone who claims to sympathize with us. Do you think that the fact that a disproportionate number of combat troops of U.S. imperialism are black and Hispanic doesn't matter? This is a social fact of potentially enormous historic importance. Why do these blacks join the Marines? Join the army? Because they want to kill in the service of Ronald Reagan? Is that what you think? No! You have no sense of the *desperation* of black people in this country. You're contemptuous of them. Because the army is the only place they can get three square meals a day, and they get a warm place to sleep and learn a job skill. That's why they're in there. They're the most alienated, they're the people who are least anti-Soviet. So what happens? Reagan sends them over to Lebanon and they get killed. Every interview [in Lebanon] and the interviews in Camp Lejeune say, 'this guy [Reagan] is getting us killed, we want out!' That's the stuff of which mutinies are made. Of course, Nicaragua's different. They go in, we want them to be defeated. Insofar as they have to take casualties, we want the Marines to take casualties. But that's not *just* our program. A revolutionary government in Nicaragua would also *appeal* to these black soldiers, would try to fraternize with them, would try to win over the prisoners of war. [It] would say, look, you are fighting for an unjust cause. That's the stuff that revolution in this country is made of, and you have no sense of that whatsoever."

The Lebanon disaster is universally recognized as Reagan's biggest foreign policy defeat so far. Central to our position on the Lebanese conflict

encapsulated in the slogan, "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" is that none of the myriad factions were fighting for a just cause. All sides are squalid, and no side is fighting imperialism. The ET implicitly supported the Shi'ite/Druze/Syrian forces. They do this dishonestly, through the false analogy with Northern Ireland, an analogy they have used repeatedly. In Northern Ireland British troops are the *state power* upholding the Protestant-supremacist (Orange) government which oppresses the Irish Catholic minority. In making the analogy of Lebanon (before the Marines were withdrawn last February) and Northern Ireland the ET is implying that the Shi'ite/Druze/Syrian side was waging not only a war of national liberation against U.S. imperialism but also a just struggle against a reactionary government. This is a cynical effort to prettify the Lebanese reality as do the Stalinists, SWP, Mandelites, Marcyites and revisionist left in general.

The analogy between Lebanon and Northern Ireland is wrong—indeed, absurd—at both levels. To begin with, the Marines constituted a *token* military force, which, moreover, hid in their bunkers during most of the fighting. As former Israeli chief of staff Mordechai Gur explained a few months before Reagan ignominiously pulled the Marines out:

"...the U.S. hope for establishing a strong central government in Lebanon is unrealistic. No foreign military intervention can accomplish that—certainly not the U.S. Marines, whose force is so small that nobody takes it seriously."

—*Newsweek*, 19 December 1983

Secondly, the Maronite-dominated Gemayel "government" did not oppress the Lebanese Muslim population for the simple reason that it did not govern them. Apart from the Israeli-occupied south, the effective public force in the Muslim communities since last September has consisted of fellow Muslims (Shi'ite Amal militia in West Beirut, Druze militia in the Shuf Mountains, Syrian army in eastern and much of northern Lebanon). In recent months much of the fighting in Lebanon has been *among* the various Muslim communalist forces.

The present fighting in Lebanon is essentially a continuation of the communalist bloodletting which broke out in the 1975-76 civil war. The presence of a few thousand U.S. Marines guarding Beirut Airport did not change the character of the conflict. The ET sometimes likes to posture that it is upholding the old Spartacist positions against alleged revision by the SL leadership. However, it is the ET's line on Lebanon which in substance repudiates our position on the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, which was then and remains a touchstone of our opposition to the Stalinists, nationalists and New Leftists who applaud the empty "anti-imperialist" posturing of oppressive, *pro-imperialist* Third World factions and regimes.

When we raised the slogan "Marines Out of Lebanon, Now, Alive!" it was coupled with the slogan, "U.S. Out of Grenada, Dead or Alive!" This fact—which simply refutes the ET's contention that we seek to make ourselves palatable to social-patriots—illuminates our Marxist opposition to the vicarious bloodthirsty ET posture on the Marines: "live like pigs, die like pigs." Over Grenada, where unlike Lebanon there was a just cause at stake—the defense of the rights of the people of Grenada against the imperialist, racist U.S. invasion—our distaste for violence and loss of life is subordinated to our support for the victory of the just cause, by whatever means are necessary, against the violence of the oppressors. But even here, we unlike the ET do not claim to enjoy the fact that sons of the working class—black and white, American and French and what have you—must die for the crimes of their rulers. ■

Postal Workers...

(continued from page 16)

against this threat is to wage a solid strike. But after APWU leader Moe Biller and NALC head Vincent Sombrotto homophatically walked out of the negotiations on July 21, when the contract expired, they stuck their heads in the sand. Biller told his members in a nationwide telephone hotline message to "stay cool" and conduct "no wildcat strikes, no job actions." Instead, the members are supposed to wait for the upcoming union conventions on August 19. These bureaucrats thought they could coast on the old contract while the issues went to time-consuming arbitration. But contracts are enforced by *power*. Bolger, sensing union weakness, went ahead and unilaterally tore up the contract by announcing that USPS would hire new workers at 20 percent below union scale. The union answer must be: no contract, no work! On strike, shut it down!

Labor fakers like Biller & Co. want to bury the memory of the successful 1970 strike because they want to hold onto their privileged, cushy positions as agents of the bosses in the workers movement, reflected in their many ties to the capitalist Democratic Party. The 1970 strike was essentially a wildcat as the bureaucrats repeatedly tried and failed to send the workers back to work—NALC leader James Rademacher was hung in effigy, and New York workers booed Biller off the podium at the Statler Hilton. Biller, a former Communist Party supporter and 22-year APWU Metro local president who recently rose to national office, has a long history of treachery. In 1978, for instance, when the Bulk Mail Center in New Jersey went out, Biller let them get crushed in isolation rather than call out New York and create a nationwide strike. He slanderously denounced the BMC strike leaders as "FBI agents," "labor spies" and "agents provocateurs"; New York NALC leader Sombrotto carefully followed behind Biller. Thus Biller & Co. helped management in its sanitizing operation and thus paved the way for the current union-busting offensive. Now these traitors hide behind the PATCO defeat as an excuse for not striking—in fact, they contributed to PATCO's defeat by their deliberate haste to accept a rotten contract in the summer of 1981 in order to avoid striking alongside PATCO against Reagan. Now the chickens come home to roost.

What passed for a "left" in the postal unions over the years of the '70s all had one thing in common—they never tried to be anything more than a pressure group on the incumbent bureaucrats. Some, such as ex-Maoist Kenny Leiner, made it into the bureaucracy (he's an APWU vice president). Some of the social-democratic supporters of the defunct International Socialists huddle in the pan-union *Labor Notes* newsletter along with petty bureaucrats, promoting the bureaucracy's utter defeatism. For instance, the May 23 article on the postal negotiations by Paul D. Roose, president of NALC Branch 1111, ends by noting that "the political climate is bleak" and that "a strike... could be another PATCO magnified fifty-fold." *Labor Notes* might serve as a "left" cover for aspiring bureaucrats, but it offers no fighting program for militant workers.

PATCO lost because it was isolated against the full weight of the federal government, due to the treachery of the AFL-CIO tops. But Reagan can be beaten, *if* the battalions of labor are mobilized against his union-husting and racist austerity. The postal workers, a large and heavily integrated union, is in a good position to call upon all of labor and the unemployed, black and white, to defend its picket lines and shut it

down! In fact, the postal workers provided a number of the militants who attended the Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982, foiling Reagan's provocatively racist attempt to let the KKK march down Constitution Avenue.

Such power can also defend the unions—Bring down Reagan with labor/black action! The APWU and NALC ranks can prepare now by electing strike committees to organize mass picket lines. The upcoming August union conventions should be turned into a strike mobilization meeting. A class-struggle strategy can only be taken by a revolutionary leadership which breaks with the bosses' parties to build a workers party and fight for a workers government. As the 1970 strike showed, you can't sort mail with hayonets. ■

Toledo 37...

(continued from page 5)

land of the industrial Midwest, Toledo is only 50 miles from Detroit. Solidarity House's "solution" to the log-jammed AP Parts negotiations was to send a couple of busloads up to Detroit for the toothless July 23 demonstration to pressure management on opening day of the Ford/GM bargaining. This was the



Jeep transport—a "workers tank"—blocks Toledo AP Parts plant gate.

same line as those aspiring bat boys for the bureaucracy, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose representative in Toledo, one Mark Friedman, has the dubious claim to fame of *debating* KKK terrorist Tom Metzger. The SWP's only comment on Bieber's criminal cancellation of the June 24 march was to politely suggest it be rescheduled.

Bieber & Co. just want to roll this strike into the national negotiations and hope everybody forgets about it. But the best way to show the auto bosses the union means business on September 14 is to defend the guys at AP Parts to the hilt. On May 21, Toledo labor showed it has the power to stop scabbing cold, and stuck it to the arrogant owners of AP. They must not stand alone. The UAW should be pouring thousands of union members into Toledo in caravans and buses to go back to AP with mass pickets and finish the job! Bring out Jeep, link up with Sun Oil strikers and turn Toledo labor into a spearhead of resistance to stop the union-busters. Drop the charges—Defend *all* the victimized Toledo unionists! Victory to the AP Parts strike!

Workers Vanguard encourages readers to send contributions to: AP Parts Defense Fund, UAW Local 14, AP Parts Unit, 5411 Jackman Road, Toledo, Ohio 43613. ■

NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard
skips an issue
in August.**

**Our next issue will be
dated August 31.**

Terror Scare...

(continued from page 1)

preparations for war is the suppression of effective dissent at home. While there is no mass, activist opposition to the war drive, neither is there much support. Most Americans do not want "another Vietnam" and most realize that Cold War II is a move toward nuclear armageddon. No longer does the U.S. have a monopoly on nuclear weapons, to rampage unchallenged throughout the globe, threatening a repeat of the fiery obliteration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The USSR now has rough nuclear parity and, in the face of Washington's bellicose provocations, has sometimes demonstrated a willingness to militarily defend itself. And the so-called "Vietnam syndrome"—the fruits of imperialist military defeat when the heroic peasants and workers of Indochina wiped the floor with the U.S. forces—remains alive and well in the consciousness of the American masses.

For the U.S. ruling class, Democrat and Republican, this state of affairs is intolerable. Thus, despite some debates for the record (usually long after the fact), both the disastrous Lebanon intervention and the vindictive and racist invasion of tiny Grenada (to divert attention from the Lebanon debacle) were bipartisan efforts. Such is also the case in Central America, where at bottom "hawks" and "doves" agree that the need to halt the spread of revolution, from Nicaragua to El Salvador and beyond, supersedes any lip service to "human rights" or "legality." What is at issue in the presidential contest between the twin parties of capital is how best and most effectively to mobilize the country—politically and militarily—for war.

Back in the 1950s, the days of the McCarthyite "Cold War I" witchhunt, there was plenty of popular support for the persecution of so-called "subversives," including their being purged from the labor movement by the pro-Democrat giveback artists who now run the unions. But that popular Cold War mood was broken by the emergence of the civil rights movement and the broad opposition to the Vietnam War in the 1960s. With the discrediting of the McCarthyite techniques—the destruction of reputations and livelihoods by "Comsymp" smear jobs and the prosecutions of leftists for "advocacy" thought-crimes—J. Edgar Hoover's FBI shifted over to an immense covert spying and "counterintelligence" program of disruption, slander, violence and outright murder known as COINTELPRO. Initially targeting the Communist Party and later the Socialist Workers Party, COINTELPRO during the 1960s was expanded to get virtually anybody and everybody associated with political opposition to the government's policies, most murderously targeting black militants and their organizations. As we wrote in the last issue of *WV*: "...whereas the COINTELPRO operations were carried out in darkest secrecy, Reagan's anti-terrorist Round/Two is right out at center stage."

Round Two: Reagan Needs "Terrorism"

Lacking the ideological conformity of the 1950s, Cold War II needs a "new" kind of McCarthyism which incorporates the direct-hit military measures of COINTELPRO. We have called this "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." And our characterization has proved to be all too apt. There has been a steady strengthening of state bonapartism and diminishing of constitutionally protected civil liberties: the "new" FBI Guidelines which obliterate any distinction between political opposition to government policies and "criminal terrorism"; the recent spate of Supreme Court rulings more appropriate to a police state than a bourgeois "democracy"; the Presidential directives granting sweeping powers to military and secret police

intelligence agencies. But one can see in action what this all means in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

An orchestrated scare-campaign predicting "violence" at the Democratic Party convention—repeatedly citing the Spartacist League in dispatches replayed coast-to-coast, despite our public statements of essential indifference to the proceedings of that bourgeois gathering—prepared the way for the real violence of the SF cops and provocations by the far right against various tame demonstrations planned to pressure the Democratic Party. The cops announced that they were going to arrest early and often. Despite our fundamental class hostility to the Democrats, we recognized that the convention itself was a target for "state-supported terrorism"—intimidation via cop brutality against the Democrats'

Reagan as a symbol of America arrived in Smog City, it promptly lay down and died of emphysema. The anti-Soviet provocations meanwhile continue: Russian cargo ships have been banned from the Los Angeles harbor for the duration of the Olympics. As we reported in our last issue, those groups planning demonstrations of a liberal or reformist nature will be heavily "monitored" by the cops. Despite persistent disinformation that the SI secretly or openly supports the pathetic liberal gatherings which will no doubt whine about the Soviet absence from these Cold War Olympics, our own view is that it will be more productive for us to circulate *Workers Vanguard* to the heavily black and Hispanic working class of Los Angeles—preferably as far away from the Olympics and its "security" net as possible. And we think the Russians did



SF Chronicle

Olympics In Reagan's America.

"fringe"—and publicly called upon the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations to defend the Democrats' right to assemble, offering to provide a security team of a dozen trade-union supporters of our own.

On the eve of the convention, scores of protesters were clubbed and arrested after a vicious cop charge on an anti-Moral Majority demonstration. Throughout the week any demonstrators who ventured outside a specially-prepared concentration-camp corral were dragged off, brutalized and busted. The convention delegates themselves were terrorized from venturing outside the convention site. As the proceedings drew to an end (and no one was watching on prime-time TV) the frustrated cops let loose and arrested nearly 400 on the last day—savagely beating many, most from a "Rock Against Reagan." Had they been given total license, we suspect the cops would have preferred to leave a body or two on the ground, Greensboro-style, to "nip in the bud" any groundswell of those seeking to exercise their right to assembly and free speech.

The Los Angeles Olympics shaped up as an extravagant Cold War provocation—complete with the crazed "Ban the Soviets Coalition" and their network of "defector havens"—until the Soviets foiled that gambit and had the good sense to stay home, pointing to official encouragement of pervasive threats to Soviet-bloc athletes. The biggest game in L.A. today isn't sports but police-state "preventive terrorism" military mobilization. The \$100 million, 17,000-man security force led by LAPD chief Daryl "Choke Hold" Gates and the FBI is armed with silencer-equipped machine guns, 100 military helicopters, armored personnel carriers, a Star Wars scrambler communication system linking 50 police agencies. Even the Good-year blimp has been dragooned as a "LAPD Skywatch." The Coast Guard is supplying an additional 3,000 men and a 399-foot cutter to guard the Southern California shores from seaborne "terrorists." All these forces will be augmented by each participant country's own "security team" from the grisly Israeli Mossad to the death squads of Latin America.

The atmosphere certainly isn't conducive to sport: when a bald eagle sent by

quite a wise thing in keeping their athletes away from this snakepit.

Supreme Court Über Alles

Overthrowing many of the safeguards of individual rights established following the discrediting of the old McCarthyism, the recent Supreme Court decisions legitimize the police-state mobilizations in San Francisco and L.A. Liberals were "stunned" at this deluge of rulings according to a recent opinion piece by Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times* (9 July). Stunning they are, as they constitute wartime measures—not only stripping elementary democratic rights from the populace, but greatly enhancing the powers of the police and the executive. Liberals looked to the Supreme Court in the 1960s as the defender of civil and democratic rights against government and police abuse. But the Warren Court was only the pale and token reflection of the social struggles of the time, especially the civil rights movement, and its liberalism is revealed as entirely reversible.

In the same fashion, the liberals and civil libertarians like Nat Hentoff who themselves became victims of FBI "excesses" in the COINTELPRO days are shocked to see the supposed "restraints" on secret police spying and "dirty tricks" removed under the FBI's new "Domestic Security/Terrorism" guidelines. A decade after the exposures and reforms of the post-Watergate period—hailed as the answer to J. Edgar Hoover's massive spying and Murder, Inc.—the civil libertarians now look about them and see that COINTELPRO is not only back, but is being "legalized" in order to be conducted on a more massive scale. A recent example is the case of Muhammad Kenyatta, a black civil rights activist driven off the campus of Tougaloo College in Mississippi in 1969 by COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" such as racist threatening letters. In its legal brief, the government asserts that the FBI's actions were legal and "part of the F.B.I.'s law enforcement responsibilities" (*New York Times*, 11 June).

Now you don't have to be read your rights—you just get read the riot act. In effect the Supreme Court threw out the 18-year-old "Miranda" ruling and cops

are no longer required to inform the arrested that they have the right to remain silent. The Court also ruled that the Fourth Amendment's proscription of unreasonable searches and seizures no longer obtains and evidence gained from illegal searches will no longer be excluded from trials if it was either seized in "good faith" or would have been "inevitably discovered." The Court also found the exclusionary rule inapplicable to deportation proceedings, sanctioned factory raids and roundups of "aliens" on the basis of their "foreign" appearance, rebuffed a challenge to the racist LAPD choke hold and declared prison inmates to have relinquished all rights of privacy. The recent all-sided assaults on the elementary constitutional principle of separation of church and state are fed by the ruling that the city of Pawtucket, Rhode Island could pay for a Christmas nativity scene. The Court also approved preventive detention for juveniles and isolation of those in custody. And Burger & Co. have added their own direct contribution to the anti-Soviet war drive by upholding Reagan's ban on travel to Cuba as "justified by weighty concerns of foreign policy."

The relish with which the Court has embraced capital punishment has opened a floodgate of executions—mostly of black men. Just as the killer cops carry out street executions in the ghettos and get away with such atrocities as the cop killing of five-year-old Patrick Mason in a Los Angeles suburb, the Supreme Court rulings on capital punishment show that the racist rulers of this country openly do not give a damn about a black person's life. In that mecca of capital punishment, Florida, no one has ever been executed for the murder of a black. Last year the Court ruled that an execution may be carried out prior to exhaustion of the victim's appeals process, expressing its distaste for the dilatory tactics of the condemned seeking reprieve from racist American "justice."

War on Labor

Integral to the attempt at *regimentation through fear* is the imposition of draconian anti-labor legislation. In February the Supreme Court declared that a bankruptcy judge can throw out a union contract if a company simply files for Chapter 11 "reorganization." The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that companies can move to non-union "runaway" shops at will, management will not be penalized for harassment of union activity, and you can now be fired just for yelling "scab" at scabs. And everyone from the unions to radical leftists are being prosecuted under the government's RICO "racketeering/corruption" conspiracy law. Continental Airlines has brought out the whole arsenal: first they declared "bankruptcy," ordered a 50 percent wage cut, provoked a strike and fired all the strikers; now they are suing under RICO, accusing the pilots association of "terrorism" against the company and scabs.

From Ohio to California the bosses are literally *murdering* strikers on the picket lines. In the Arizona desert, Phelps Dodge copper miners are facing injunctions, evictions and decertifications, while the National Guard and an army of state police hold the mining camp under virtual military occupation. Encouraged by Reagan's success in busting PATCO, now the post office bosses want to eradicate the gains of the militant 1970 strike and break the postal unions. The postmaster general made outrageous takeback demands, and when the labor fakers refused to call a strike after the contract expired, simply decreed that new workers would be hired at way below union scale. To top it off, using Reagan's all-purpose new McCarthyism, postal management has been warned to be on the lookout for strike agitators from "outside interest groups not in sympathy with USPS [postal service] or our form of government."

The biggest threat to Reagan's terror-scare mobilization for war on the Soviet Union is the restless giant of American labor. The union bureaucrats, tied to the capitalist Democratic Party, have allowed the bosses to wage what AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland calls "one-sided class war," giving away gains won through the blood, sweat and tears of decades of hard labor struggle. As we wrote in the *Workers Vanguard* special supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hard-hall to Win":

"No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power."

Today, militant postal, auto and coal strikes combined with genuine class-struggle solidarity with the Phelps Dodge strikers could not only smash Reagan's assault on labor and democratic rights but also go a long way toward spiking the sinister anti-Soviet war drive. This time around, there could be labor strikes from Day 2 of a U.S. invasion of Central America. This is what the Spartacist League fights for—political strike action against imperialist war.

Reagan's State-Supported Terrorism

The "New Right" blueprint for Reagan's war on democratic rights was drafted in 1980 by the right-wing Heritage Foundation gang, including James Coors (the union-hating beer magnate) and Edwin Meese, Reagan's nominee for attorney general. Using vintage McCarthyite hyperbole the Heritage report, *Mandate for Leadership*, declared: "the threat to the internal security of the Republic is greater today than at any time since World War II." The report called for the elimination of all the post-Watergate restrictions placed on intelligence agencies, emphasizing the necessity of targeting individuals and groups engaged solely in lawful activities. With slight modification the Heritage program has been adopted in near entirety. The "New Right"—whose idea of culture is John Wayne smashing commies from Hawaii to Indochina—has become mainstream, not merely in the Reagan White House and Reaganite Supreme Court, but also in the Democratic-controlled House. But where the report speaks of the classical "threat of subversion," the desperate state of U.S. imperialism has upped the ante: yesterday's subversives are today's "terrorists" to be blown away in the night. Thus the new methods of repression take the ideological criteria of McCarthyism and apply the murderous methods of COINTELPRO.

The day after Klan-endorsed Ronald Reagan assumed office, his then-Secretary of State Alexander ("I'm In Charge") Haig announced to the world: "International terrorism will take the place of human rights as the chief concern of U.S. foreign policy." Reagan sacked Haig because presidential mansions have room for only one Bonaparte. But last April 3, his replacement George Shultz appeared before the Trilateral Commission (U.S., Japan, West Europe) of imperialist personages and schemers to campaign—in his bland, corporate boardroom style—for "preemptive action against terrorist groups." That same day Reagan codified this "shoot first" policy in super-secret National Security Directive 138. This "Presidential Directive to Kill" unleashed U.S. military and intelligence forces to carry out unprovoked "strikes" against "terrorist" targets. Using the Beirut truck bomb that killed 241 Marines as a pretext, the directive was modeled on Israel's criminal "preemptive strikes" and "reprisal raids" against defenseless Palestinians, from Deir Yassin to Shatila and Sabra.

To give his secretary of state the "pre-emptive" powers he craves, Reagan

Justice for Japanese Americans!

One of the most revolting crimes of American imperialism during World War II was rounding up and jailing 120,000 Japanese Americans in West Coast concentration camps. More than 40 years later, in 1983, a federal commission piously found that the internment was a "grave injustice" motivated by "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership." That this is empty hypocrisy was underlined when a federal judge on May 17 dismissed a \$24 billion suit on behalf of the victims of this racist atrocity, on the ludicrous grounds that the six-year statute of limitations had expired!

"Memories have dimmed," wrote Judge Oberdorfer smugly. Not for those who were ripped away from their homes and livelihoods, reviled as "Jap traitors" and used as slave labor. For those whose childhood

was spent behind barbed wire, memories of Tule Lake and Manzanar are engraved as indelibly as a KZ-number tattooed on the wrist. Twenty-four billion dollars is a pittance—and now even this token gesture is arrogantly dumped.

The Trotskyists, themselves jailed and persecuted for their revolutionary opposition to imperialist war, were among the few who protested the racist atrocity at the time. We also remember the holocaust at Nagasaki and Hiroshima, war crimes of the victorious "democratic" U.S. imperialists intended to intimidate the Soviet Union. And today we fight against the chauvinist poison of protectionism, which pits American against Japanese auto workers, and fight for the unity of the international working class against all the bloody exploiters.

shortly afterwards sent to Congress a package of "international terrorism" bills so sweeping and repressive that even reactionary witchhunters like Republican Senators Jeremiah Denton (chairman of the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism) and Orrin Hatch called on the administration to clean up its act. The bills would grant the secretary of state "conclusive" power to designate a group, "faction" or government "terrorist"—a designation which cannot be challenged including in the courts—and thereupon anyone found to be aiding or even acting "in concert with" such designated "terrorists" faces a ten-year prison sentence and more.

These sweeping measures are not aimed at the professional terrorists—like the CIA's Edwin Wilson, whose crime in the eyes of the American ruling class was to peddle the murderous skills he had learned in its service to Qaddafi's Libya, one of the few bloody tyrannical regimes in the world the U.S. is not supporting. Their target is the left, even the liberal/radical groups like CISPES which provide small amounts of aid and make tepid propaganda for left-wing nationalist movements and governments. (CISPES, which denied that U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean had anything to do with the Russian question in hopes of winning over the anti-Soviet Democratic "liberals," now finds itself in the cross-hairs of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive.)

Reagan Needs Terrorism

To overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and mobilize the American people for nuclear showdown with Russia, Reagan needs "terrorism." For the Reaganites, the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam was the result of a "stab in the back" by "soft on communism" types. Military defeat for the U.S. is linked in their minds with an "excess of democracy" at home. Conversely, military victory is coupled with a police-state crackdown. The day after Reagan issued Directive 138 for "pre-emptive strikes" he was asked at a news conference about his position in favor of a declared war in Vietnam. His response was not about quagmires abroad but the war he perceived at home:

"I said that at a time when it was going on here because of what was going on in our own country, in which none of the rules of warfare could apply with regard to lending comfort and aid to the enemy."

—New York Times, 5 April

As Richard Nixon used to say, let's be perfectly clear. Reagan is talking about charges of treason and a wartime mobilization of police and military to crush antiwar activity as codified in his recent "terrorism" bills. Reagan contin-

ued with a tribute to General Douglas MacArthur, complaining that during Korea fear of widening the war "prevented us from allowing General MacArthur to lead us to victory." And he ended the press conference with the comment, "Well, maybe General MacArthur was right, there is no substitute for victory." Here Reagan is not only dredging up the "Who Lost China?" accusation once so favored by New Right fanatics. He is holding up the image and right-wing myth of MacArthur, who was removed by Truman because this would-be Bonaparte, this military man-on-horseback, directly disobeyed orders by the civilian authorities in his crusade to lead the U.S. into an anti-Communist nuclear showdown with China and the Soviet Union.

The McCarthyite period mobilized millions of Americans for war on Communism: recall the ticker tape parades for MacArthur. Where has all the confetti gone today, Reagan must wonder as he tries to charge up the American public for war on the Soviet "evil empire." Reagan's Cold War provocations, from the harbors of Nicaragua to the skies over the Sea of Japan to his "Blue Thunder" Olympics in L.A., have not generated the kind of anti-communist and anti-Soviet mass hysteria exhibited in the 1950s. Even the media-hyped "patriotism" over Grenada proved ephemeral. Despite Reagan's best efforts to whip up a full-scale anti-Soviet red scare, it isn't working. And the attempt to find a terrorist "surrogate" for the reds isn't accomplishing all they want either—a population that wants to go to war. So what they lack in support the government is trying to make up for with intimidation. That is why Reagan, the Supreme Court and Congress are putting into place measures far more sinister and dangerous than even those seen under McCarthyism.

Fight the New McCarthyism

Preparation for imperialist war abroad has historically meant repression at home: the Espionage Act of 1917 was used to jail the antiwar IWW Wobblies and Socialists like Eugene V. Debs on the eve of U.S. entry into World War I. The 1940 Smith Act was used to lock up the Trotskyists, leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters who constituted the pole of revolutionary opposition within the labor movement to U.S. entry into a second imperialist war. Ten years later the Internal Security Act targeted opponents of Cold War and the Korean War, both avowed revolutionaries and liberals, for mass detention and deportation.

The Marxist Spartacist League has been specifically targeted for repetitive

"disinformation" smear stories and slanders aimed at portraying us as "violent." We have successfully fought these dangerous attempts to set up our organization and its supporters for state repression. We have sued, we have won retractions, we have published countless statements, written countless letters, organized protest demonstrations and broadly asserted that "A Workers Party Has a Right to Organize!" Precisely because we are (a) forthright in our political stand, including our intransigent defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism's war drive; and (b) manifestly and obviously neither terrorist nor violent, the secret police and their collaborators in the bourgeois press are forced to fabricate the most outlandish "Big Lie" stories from whole cloth. As we have made clear, we do not intend to be blown away—nameless, faceless victims in the night. Among our efforts against the "new McCarthyism" is the legal challenge we have now mounted against the new FBI search-and-destroy guidelines.

Reagan's "New Right" agenda is nostalgic for a return to the "good old days" of intense anti-Communist hysteria leading up to the Korean War. The witchhunt got its name from the mad dog Senator from Wisconsin who gave it its most extreme but by no means most influential expression. But it was initiated by the Democratic president Truman and directed from the highest quarters of government, the military, industry and the media. And when the witchhunt had accomplished its purpose, especially the purge of reds and militants in the unions, the same forces dumped the outlandish McCarthy and denounced his "excesses."

The Democrats demonstrated their commitment to nuclear war with Russia when at their national convention they could not even bring themselves to renounce "first use" of nuclear weapons. SF mayor Dianne "Jefferson Davis" Feinstein knew what she was doing when she sought to greet her party by flying the Confederate flag of chattel slavery and KKK racist terror in Civic Center. Due to determined and technically effective efforts of the Spartacist League, Bay Area unionists and black activists, that Confederate flag does not now fly in San Francisco; its replacement by the "California Hundred" flag of the first Union Army volunteers from California is a symbolic victory for all defenders of black freedom.

The Democratic Party of imperialist war and racism attempts to pass itself off as the "friend of labor." The alliance between the Democratic Party and the labor bureaucracy began with Roosevelt, but it was really forged during the Cold War and the McCarthyite witch-hunt purge of leftists and militants from the unions. That purge is personified by Mondale's mentor, Hubert H. Humphrey, who began his career as mayor of Minneapolis, creating the climate for the Smith Act trial of the Trotskyists and militant unionists who led the 1934 strike, and was responsible for the creation of detention camps during the Cold War.

As James T. Farrell, author of *Studs Lonigan*, put it in defending the Trotskyists and Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for "sedition" under the Smith Act on the eve of World War II: "It is axiomatic that there can be no freedom in a society if labor is not free. The basis of our liberties rests, formally, on the unconditional guarantees given us in the Bill of Rights. It rests actually on the freedom of labor." Labor cannot be free to fight the new McCarthyism, the assault on its rights as well as the rights of the oppressed and the democratic rights that are a legacy of the American political revolution, unless it breaks from the party of imperialist war and racism. The struggle to defend that legacy and the rights of labor is inseparable from the task of working people to forge their own independent party to fight for a workers government. ■

Dirty Hypocrites Mug Miss America

Viva Vanessa!

The world's greatest meat rack, the Miss America Pageant, has fired its reigning queen for having bared too much flesh by posing for nude photographs two years ago. The story goes that while working at a photographer's studio, Vanessa Williams—the first black woman ever to wear the rhinestone tiara—modeled nude, including in sexually explicit poses with a white woman. Then when Vanessa became Miss America, photographer Tom Chiapel saw a chance to make some big bucks and sold the pix to *Penthouse*. The September issue, priced one dollar higher than usual, was rushed to the newsstands a week early and instantly sold out. And yes, there she goes... Miss America: a ten-page photo story with delectable black and white nudes juxtaposed to photos of her as reigning queen.

Warned of the impending exposure—not just nudity, but poses depicting interracial lesbian sex—pageant officials met, examined the photos, and unanimously voted to ask for Miss Williams' resignation on the grounds of "moral turpitude" and violation of the "image" of the Miss America Pageant. The pageant—

which is truly obscene as opposed to the sexy *Penthouse*—was established in 1920 to prolong the Atlantic City resort season. Now it's a big part of the glitter of the Boardwalk and the plush casinos which rim a decrepit city of slums and misery.

At a July 20 press conference, pageant executive director Albert A. Marks, Jr. said, "The Miss America Pageant has been built on traditional American virtues. For six decades it has celebrated the beauty and vitality of young American womanhood in a fashion that has created wholesome role models for girls and young women throughout the country." In case anyone might be misled by the flaunting of tits and ass during the pageant itself, Mr. Marks made it clear that "wholesomeness" and "traditional virtues" are code words for "no sex." Miss America may not date during the year of her reign and two chaperones accompany her on appearances for the pageant sponsors, Gillette, Pillsbury, Beatrice Foods and American Greetings. These companies have been furiously canceling advertisements featuring Miss Williams since the "scandal" was exposed. Advertising

Penthouse photo of first black Miss America, Vanessa Williams, target of anti-sex bigots.



Chiapel/Penthouse

hasn't had such a shock since Ivory Snow's Marilyn Chambers showed up in the porn flick *Behind the Green Door* in 1974 and they pulled her photo off the soap box.

What consummate hypocrisy: those beauty spectacle organizers lamenting "calculated sexual exploitation" because their racket—pimping off Vanessa's sleek black flesh to sell corn

flakes and Mother's Day cards—has been disrupted. Their vindictive act in stripping Miss America of her crown is anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black. It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and "American womanhood" than anything that's happened in Atlantic City.

You Beat Nixon in 1970

Postal Workers: No PATCO Fiasco! Win Strike Against Reagan Hard!

Ronald Reagan and his appointed flunkies on the United States Postal Service (USPS) board of governors are out to smash the postal workers unions. The historic 1970 postal strike showed that you *can* strike against the federal government and *win*! Emboldened by his success in firing 12,000 air traffic controllers and smashing a whole union in the 1981 PATCO strike, Reagan wants to eradicate the 1970 landmark for good. The bosses might be able to pick off an isolated PATCO strike, but taking on over half a million postal workers located in every major city of the country would mean a gigantic class war. Even the army and National Guard couldn't save the bosses in the 1970 strike as the chaos in the mail system cost business millions. It can be done again, and it could turn the tide against this wave of union-busting in Reagan's America. No more PATCOs! Strike to win!

Postmaster General William Bolger made clear the government's union-busting intention during the so-called "negotiations" with the two main postal unions, the American Postal Workers



Daily World

In 1970 postal workers showed you can strike against the federal government and win. Nixon's strikebreaking troops couldn't deliver the mail.

Union (APWU) and the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC). Bolger proposed to step up the use of part-time workers below union scale and without fringe benefits, and outrageously demanded a *one-third* pay cut for new hires. On top of this, he provocatively "offered" a three-year wage freeze and cuts in the cost-of-living

adjustment and sick pay for current employees. In keeping with the 14-year-old drive to make the Post Office more like a business, Bolger whined like Chrysler's Lee Iacocca that these sacrifices were necessary to stay in the black and remain "competitive" with rivals. (Of course, like the auto bosses, Bolger ignored his own recent financial boasts

that USPS enjoyed a \$616 million surplus in 1983 and would probably break even in 1984).

This was not "hargaining" but a union-husting proposal delivered at gunpoint by the federal government. According to one UPI dispatch (19 July), Bolger "said he notified the White House about their responsibilities [!] for calling in the National Guard if the workers strike"—a not very subtle reminder of what Nixon did in the postal strike of 1970. To heighten the intimidation, the USPS is circulating a "restricted" contingency plan to management personnel, warning them to be on the lookout for strike agitators from "outside interest groups not in sympathy with USPS or our form of government"—presumably the agitators will be hunted down as Moscow-inspired "terrorists." This is dangerous stuff, part of Reagan's plan to use "terrorist"-baiting to suppress union militancy, cut off support for labor struggles, and persecute socialists, blacks and all other potential opponents.

The only way to defend the unions
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