

**No Détente Illusions—
Victory to
Soviet Army
in Afghanistan!**

Cold War II?

Kretz/Stern

From the halls of Congress to the Khyber Pass, Carter and Brzezinski deploy their weapons to "punish" the Russians. They are making the Moscow Olympics a vicarious battleground. And when the U.S. Olympic hockey team beat the superior Russian team at Lake Placid, a tidal wave of patriotic fervor broke across the U.S. A nationally televised NBA basketball game was interrupted by a public address announcement that the U.S. team had won the gold medal. The crowd came to its feet cheering. The band struck up "The Star Spangled Banner" and the audience sang with a reverence not seen in

years. For the first time since the 1950s, America is experiencing a popular mood of anti-Soviet jingoism.

Once again the media is filled with 1950s-style calls to help "freedom fighters" "contain" Soviet "aggression." Once again we hear cries to unleash the "reformed" FBI and strengthen the CIA. The presidential candidates differ only in disputing the degree of Carter's "effectiveness" against the USSR: will the grain boycott really starve the people of Russia before it bankrupts the people of Iowa? In the union movement a bureaucracy tempered in social patriotism spearheads a reactionary boycott

of Soviet ships and cargo. The anti-draft demonstrations are infected with chauvinism as the leaders wave the flag and dodge the question of defense of the Soviet Union vs. defense of imperialism. Behind the Cold War rhetoric is an increasing U.S. arsenal readying for nuclear war. We Marxists say: No to the imperialist draft—Smash Carter's war drive—Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan!

Post-Vietnam distrust of the government is still a fact of life. But the antiwar movement led by the liberal imperialists and tailed by the reformist left was built on refusing to draw the class line be-

tween U.S. imperialism and the deformed workers states. And so the "Vietnam syndrome" is not a terminal disease for pro-imperialist public opinion. A recently released Gallup poll counted 64 percent in favor of American military action "if the Russians invade the Persian Gulf."

But even if the U.S. rulers can erode lingering resistance to American military adventures, they cannot bring back the Cold War in its old form. Unlike the post-World War II period, the other imperialists are less allies and more rivals. And while last month's headlines

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Smash White Supremacism! Black Workers to Power!

Rhodesia Election Settles Nothing

MARCH 4—The nearly three million blacks who went to the polls in Rhodesia last week demonstrated their hatred for white-supremacist rule. The reigning black front-man for the white ruling caste, Abel Muzorewa, was utterly wiped out, losing even in his tribal homeland. The "moderate" Joshua Nkomo was shown up as strictly a tribalist politician, holding only Matabeleland. The big victor was the "Marxist" Robert Mugabe, unexpectedly gaining 57 of the 80 parliamentary seats allotted to blacks.

For their architects in the London Foreign Office, these elections were seen as the last chance for a relatively peaceful transition to a neo-colonial Zimbabwe, safe for imperialist exploitation. For the black masses, however, any election under imperialist auspices and a constitution which maintains the privileged status of the white settler caste is a fraud. Every black leader, from the former stooge prime minister Bishop Muzorewa to the nationalist guerrilla chiefs Mugabe and Nkomo, agreed in advance to give the 4 percent white population twenty of the parliamentary seats as well as a virtual ten-year ban on constitutional amendments.

Moreover, the door by which Britain returned to Rhodesia 15 years after the white settler Unilateral Declaration of Independence was opened by none other than Mugabe and Nkomo. Not only agreeing to the imperialist settlement hammered out at London's Lancaster House, they positively *welcomed* the return of Rhodesia to the status of a British colony and the arrival of 1,200 Commonwealth troops and the colonial governor Lord Soames.

Nkomo won the formal seal of approval from the white settler leader Ian Smith, while Mugabe, running for white support, announced his desire for "coexistence" with South Africa. He even asked Lord Soames to stay on after the election, projecting "a role similar to that of the late Lord Mountbatten in India after independence" ([London] *Times*, 28 February). Mugabe has promised to recognize "historical, social and political realities of Zimbabwe." Paramount among these "realities" is "the capitalist system which cannot be transformed over night" so that "private enterprise will have to continue until the circumstances are ripe for socialist change" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

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Mass Picketing Key to OCAW Strike Victory

Nearly 60,000 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) members walked off their jobs January 8 in the first nationwide strike against the major oil companies since 1969. The union is negotiating a re-opener clause in the second year of a two-year contract and is demanding a dollar-an-hour pay increase as well as fully paid medical coverage. But despite outbursts of militancy reminiscent of the coal miners strike of 1977-78, the oil strike now going into its third month may be in serious trouble. What is needed is mass picketing to shut the oil industry down and solidarity action from the rest of the labor movement. It was an important beginning when West Coast dock workers shut down Los Angeles harbor March 1 in solidarity with their striking OCAW brothers (see box).

In particular, the failure of the national OCAW leadership to shut down the refineries and appeal to other unions to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) scab petroleum products is key to the present precarious situation. Across the country there are reports of numerous arrests and violence against strikers. And now the Big Oil giants are compiling lists of militants to be fired and mobilizing the capitalist courts to go after strikers with injunctions and arrests.

The focus of the strike is the Gulf Coast, particularly Texas, where the OCAW stronghold of 20,000 members has a history of strike militancy. Here, rank-and-file unionists started off the strike by going after scabs with a vengeance. On the second day of the strike at Houston's Atlantic Richfield (ARCO) refinery, despite a show of force of 20 police squad cars, some 250 pickets turned out to stop wholesale scabherding. As one picket told *WV*:

"People would run over to where there's big piles of rocks and bricks lying on the side of the road. If the scabs came out of that gate they'd really catch it. After the second morning they started bringing in buses because the scabs' cars weren't holding up to this. At about ten minutes to seven, here comes the scab bus. By the time they got to the maintenance gate they were already pretty battered. As they pulled in, it was like a hailstorm of rocks."

Things are still pretty hot at ARCO. After Houston OCAW Local 4-227 officials made a deal with management to keep pickets away from the contractors' gates in exchange for the company dropping a suit against the union's alleged picket-line "violence," the membership overturned it at a February 7 local meeting. The next morning a picket line of some 75 people appeared at the contractors' gate. Not only is the suit continuing, but ARCO is circulating a lengthening list of names of workers threatened with firing once the strike is over. On February 14 a mass women's picket line held in defiance of an injunction against strikers' pickets infuriated the company, which went to court, singling out some 40 union militants and socialists for contempt of court citations.

But the Gulf is not the only area where oil strikers have shown their desire for action. At Long Beach, California on February 13, some 400 shouting, foot-stomping OCAW strikers from Local 1-128 rallied and cheered the formation of a ten-union Los Angeles Harbor Council including the UAW, UE, ILWU and Teamsters, and castigated the SIU (Seafarers) for scabbing on the OCAW strike. In the Midwest during mid-January, oil trucks were stopped at the Energy Cooperative plant in East Chicago, Indiana, and company securi-



ILWU Local 13 contingent at March 1 rally. One-day dock shutdown cost bosses millions. WV Photo

L.A. Harbor Shutdown to Support OCAW Strike

LOS ANGELES, March 1—Longshoremen here demonstrated their solidarity with 60,000 striking oil workers today by shutting down the L.A. port in a one-day work stoppage. Giant container cranes ground to a halt as waterfront workers stood together in struggle with their class brothers. In addition, 3,000 southern California trade unionists rallied in solidarity with the OCAW strike. Altogether it was the most powerful show of labor muscle in the Los Angeles region since a 1946 McDonnell-Douglas aircraft strike rally.

The work stoppage was carried out by ILWU Local 13. According to dock union officials, it was 98 percent effective, as other unions respected the action, including the marine shipyard workers, marine firemen and several craft unions. However, the action was weakened by the decision to exempt military and passenger ships, as well as perishables, from the one-day strike.

The strike-support rally was called by the Harbor Coalition (formed by some ten union locals including

OCAW, ILWU and Teamsters), and labor contingents from some 30 L.A.-area unions enthusiastically participated. The protesters took to the streets, marching from Banning Park to the ILWU Local 13 hall in Wilmington where the rally was held. A UE (electrical workers) contingent chanted, "Down with the capitalists—Up with the workers" while supporters of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA (phone workers) marched with their placard calling for "Victory to the OCAW Strike! Break with Democratic and Republican Parties—Build a Workers Party!"

An IBT official at the rally remarked that this was a rare occasion—the first time in years that the Teamsters had appeared in the ILWU hall. But more than just token displays are needed. While NMU and SIU seamen, for example, marched in the demonstration, their unions are continuing to handle scab oil. It is urgent that labor bolster the lagging OCAW strike with mass picketing and "hot-cargoing" by the transport unions. This is the way forward to victory for the oil strikers!

ty stated it was powerless to clear strikers from the entrances. Nearby, mass pickets at an Indiana Amoco refinery prevented deliveries and non-striking contractors from entering the plant. Amoco officials complained of bags of nails strewn in the road, shattered windshields and hoses and valves missing from their trucks.

Since the beginning, however, OCAW International president Robert Goss has been running the strike with timid business-union tactics. In this heavily capital-intensive industry, it is virtually impossible to win without militant tactics of class-struggle unionism: every day thousands of supervisors and technicians cross the OCAW picket lines. A union spokesman recently told *WV* that refinery capacity utilization, 85.9 percent when the strike began, has only dropped to 80.3 percent since then (about the level it was when the companies manufactured their oil "cri-

sis" last year). Solid picket lines extended to every plant and terminal to shut down Big Oil are key to victory in this strike. And militant labor solidarity is essential: OCAW must enlist the support of the transportation unions—Teamsters, maritime and railroad unions—to prevent struck oil from being marketed!

But Goss & Co. have no intention of organizing militant picket lines or of actively seeking the support of transport unions in hot-cargoing struck oil. Nor do they have much of a leg to stand on in such an appeal since Local 8-801, which represents Mobil seamen, is currently carrying scab oil. Some OCAW locals which represent terminal workers in the Northeast have not been called out. And government tankers run by the Military Sealift Command and crewed by the National Maritime Union have been loading at the Shell docks despite picket boats at the Houston refineries. These

scab actions must be stopped!

Last year OCAW was the first union to negotiate a contract under Carter's 7 percent wage guidelines, and the union tops settled for a meager 8.3 percent. By contrast, increases in oil companies' profits last year were astronomical, some rocketing over 100 percent! So, the OCAW ranks want theirs. Reportedly, local negotiating committees last week turned down a 10 percent wage offer with no substantial change in the medical plan. But while oil workers are holding out to win, Goss's defeatist strategy is eroding the possibilities of victory. Ominously, OCAW has signed contracts with 12 "independent" oil companies and 1,500 former strikers are back at work under contracts which an International official admitted, "... wouldn't equal the rate of inflation."

How to Win the Strike

In any serious confrontation with the bosses, striking unions come face-to-face with the capitalist state in the form of riot-equipped cops and injunction-equipped judges. In such a struggle the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats repeatedly surrender before the battle is joined. Yet there is popular hatred of the oil companies by the American public, many of whom had to wait for hours last summer in gas lines to pay \$1.50 a gallon. A stinging defeat for the oil barons at the hands of OCAW would awaken wide sympathy.

By raising the demand "Expropriate Big Oil," the union could tap into this outrage against the bloodsucking energy trusts. But a real fight against this most arrogant section of the U.S. ruling class requires a class-struggle union leadership. Instead, the OCAW bureaucracy is tied to capitalist politicians like Carter, who decontrolled oil prices last year, and Kennedy, who came out for mandatory wage controls to make workers pay for rampaging inflation. What is needed is a complete break from the Democratic and Republican parties of big business, and a workers party to lead the fight for a workers government.

Militant oil workers must reject the OCAW bureaucracy's defeatist tactics and sell-out "independent" settlements. No one should go back to work until every local has a contract. No reprisals! Shut down every refinery and terminal in the U.S. and Canada! Elected strike committees must coordinate effective mass picketing and approach the transport unions to hot-cargo scab oil. With such militant tactics OCAW could win a substantial wage boost, 100 percent cost-of-living escalator in addition to fully paid medical coverage. And a solid victory in a nationwide oil strike could be the springboard for a drive to organize the unorganized, starting in Jimmy Carter's "right-to-work" South.

Thousands of American oil workers remain outside the OCAW, accounting for 30 percent of U.S. refining capacity. Some of these workers are organized by other AFL-CIO unions and the Teamsters, but many are unorganized. Exxon, for instance, one of the world's largest corporations, is almost totally non-union, from its Arabian oil fields to the tankers, to the refineries and clerical employees. One industrial union of refinery, terminal and pipeline workers, backed up by militant solidarity of the entire labor movement, would have the power to shut down Big Oil cold. Victory to the OCAW strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Steel Strikers Hit Back at Thatcher

For a British General Strike!

LONDON, March 4—"What do we want? 20 per cent! How do we get it? General strike!" shouted two thousand striking steel workers as they marched through the streets of Sheffield today. Storming and occupying the local British Steel Corporation headquarters, they showed what they thought about management's latest attempt to force an end to the strike on BSC terms. Taking thousands of the ballot papers on BSC's latest offer—which had been distributed by the corporation over the heads of the unions during the previous week—they dumped them out of windows and from the roof and set them afire in two raging bonfires below.

After ten weeks of tireless mass picketing; after brutal police bashings, hundreds of arrests, murderous arson and midnight cop raids on strike headquarters; after ten weeks of vicious backstabbing by people who call themselves workers leaders, the strikers are as determined as ever to see the struggle through to victory. From Sheffield, Rotherham, Scotland and South Wales the message is the same: A ballot from BSC isn't going to stop us when the government, press, courts and cops have failed. "Time's hardened a lot of people," said one strike militant outside ISTC [Iron and Steel Trades Confederation] headquarters in London. "They didn't know what it was about—thought it was about wages. Now we know it's not. If we lose this one the trade-union movement's done."

Defeat for the steel workers would mean 50,000 jobs immediately threatened, one-third the total at British Steel. And at British Leylands, another nationalised corporation, the Tory government's sacking of BL chief convenor Derek Robinson is a big step towards straitjacketing the shop stewards structure, the heart of the trade-union movement. But Sunday outings, like the one called by the TUC [Trades Union Congress] for March 9, will not stop the criminal cuts in social services nor defend wages against the ravages of 20 per cent inflation. And [Labour Party leaders] Callaghan and Benn speechifying in Westminster won't kill the Prior anti-strike bill—even if the Labour fakers wanted to kill it—and it certainly won't get Robinson reinstated.

But a general strike could! Militants in every sector must demand their unions join the steel workers out on strike; they must organise joint strike committees and send delegates from them to a national strike conference which can check bureaucratic sabotage and insure the greatest degree of unity. Force the TUC to call an immediate, indefinite, national general strike around the aims of reversing the redundancies [layoffs], the attacks on the unions, the social service cuts, and of winning a sliding scale of wages and pensions to protect against inflation and work sharing on full pay! It is necessary to smash the Tory anti-labour programme and the hated Thatcher government. Thus a victorious general strike, even begun around necessarily limited, defensive aims, could open up a pre-revolutionary perspective. Otherwise, decaying British capitalism must bleed the working people—whose living standard is already among the lowest in Europe. At the same time, the seemingly unstoppable decay of British society will spawn reactionary despair among the petty-bourgeoisie.

General Strike—Workers Government

Militancy has clearly not been the missing ingredient in this strike—



Steel pickets battle cops at Sheerness Plant.

Newsline

effective direction is. The strike is at a crossroads—it urgently cries out for a leadership not only prepared to fight, but one which breaks out of the narrow confines of simple trade unionism.

A successful mass picket which shut down Hadfields and the overwhelming "no" vote against a separate deal by BSC craft workers on February 14 created a powerful momentum to extend the strike to Leylands, the mines and the water workers. A week later the momentum had been checked in a series of bureaucratically inflicted setbacks which set the bourgeoisie screaming for joy. BL Longbridge workers overruled a strike call to defend Robinson, 2,000 massed pickets failed to shut down the scab bastion at Sheerness, and Welsh miners voted by 46 pits to 8 against their leadership's strike recommendation. In the last week private steel workers have been returning to work as well.

The reason is not some "new sense of reality on the shop floor" as claimed by the bourgeois press, but old-fashioned treachery. When Robinson was sacked in November, BL workers walked off their jobs in the thousands. They wanted to fight. But AUEW [engineering workers] leader Terry Duffy—with the criminal acquiescence of Robinson and his fellow Communist Party convenors—got them back to await the outcome of his scab "inquiry," allowing Leylands management two months to carry out a massive propaganda campaign against "Red Robbo." The Welsh miners' vote, in turn, came only days after the Welsh TUC postponed its general strike call. But the militancy of the strikers remains unabated, as shown by 11,000 angry demonstrators at strike rallies in Scunthorpe and Rotherham on March 1 and 2, and by the 2,000 strikers at Sheffield who burned their ballots today.

What is needed is not simply more militancy. It is necessary to break from the capitalist framework of sectional struggles for a piece of an ever-shrinking pie. What militant economist trade unionism offers as a "political" programme is the Labour Party. Callaghan "leads" the workers by calling for the arrest of strike pickets; Benn is all for "socialism" in the future but wants wage and import controls right now. Indeed, not a single Labour MP [member of

Parliament] has campaigned for a general strike. And what is the Labour Party going to "lead" the workers to? The Westminster benches? Socialism can never come about that way! A workers revolution is needed to smash the capitalist state and eradicate the bourgeoisie's economic and political power.

Needed: A Revolutionary Leadership

A workers government must grow out of and be based on organs of working-class power (strike committees, factory committees, councils of action, soviets). And above all to win it requires the leadership of a communist vanguard party. The Labour Party can only govern in the framework of capitalist parliamentarianism, which it works to uphold against any threat of revolution. In the wake of years of Labourite wage-cutting large parts of its working-class base are today distinctly unenthusiastic about another Labour cabinet. But with a bit of Tory-bashing rhetoric, and in the absence of a credible revolutionary alternative, the working class will again direct its expectations to its historic party with its organic links to the trade-union movement.

As for the "left" alternatives to Labour, their programme the workers is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that they all called for a vote to five more years of Labour "social con-trick" in the last election, and their failure to present any sort of a viable perspective for victory during the present crucial class battle. The Communist Party, with substantial support among miners and car workers, has not done a thing to pull any sectors out on indefinite strike action. And the Socialist Workers Party, the largest "far left" group, refuses to this day to call for a general strike—much to the evident disgruntlement of some of its members. And while centrist groups like the IMG and WSL have belatedly called for a general strike, they are currently enthusing over the TUC's Sunday "day of action" as a step forward.

It is no accident that despite our modest resources and limited history as an organised tendency in Britain, the Spartacist League's intervention has met a resonant response among militant

strikers. Our leaflets calling on BL workers to join the steel workers in strike action were posted on notice boards inside Leylands. There was a similar receptivity to an SL leaflet distributed to the March 2 Rotherham strike rally, where our chants for a general strike (repeated at Sheffield today) were enthusiastically taken up. And now also our demands to burn the BSC ballots. So apparent is the vacuum of leadership in this strike that even a relatively small nucleus of communist militants in the strike committees could have some impact on the course of the struggle.

The Labour traitors and fake-lefts instinctively draw back from the general strike because it quickly poses the question of questions: which class shall rule? But this is the issue in Britain today, and the issue in this strike. There is no perspective short of a revolutionary confrontation for threatened steel men, car workers and others facing tens of thousands of redundancies due to the moribund state of uncompetitive British capitalism. The bourgeois press has been fantasising about returning to a pastoral economy by junking the decrepit industrial plant, a tangible sign of demoralisation, while more ominously the fascists are gathering in the shadows. Meanwhile, Thatcher's cabinet is talking with the monetarist starvation expert Milton Friedman, whose programme can't be implemented by anything less than a Chilean-style coup.

While the union-hating Tories may long for such a "final solution" they can't get it yet. Their real problem is inability to confront other imperialist powers economically—remember, Britain couldn't even win the "Cod War" with Iceland! And the capitalists' alternative to a strike victory is a faster fall into miserable poverty and imperialist war. Only a Trotskyist party, which poses the issues clearly and presents a transitional programme leading from today's struggles to a socialist federation of the British Isles, can split the working-class base of Labour away from its pro-capitalist misleaders. While various pseudo-socialists call for a new Labour victory and tail after Len Murray's TUC, there is only one organisation in Britain that has a programme for the working class to put British capitalism out of its misery. That organisation is the Spartacist League, section of the international Spartacist tendency, fighting for a reborn Fourth International and world socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, skipping an issue in August and a week in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7860 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$3.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY.

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

No. 251

7 March 1980

Scab Thornett Purges Trotskyist Opposition

ADAPTED FROM
SPARTACIST BRITAIN, NO. 18
FEBRUARY 1980

At a specially convened national conference on January 12 the right-centrist Workers Socialist League (WSL) carried out a bureaucratic purge of a left-wing opposition, the Leninist Faction (LF). This is the most important split from the WSL since early 1978, when the Trotskyist Faction (TF) left to fuse with the London Spartacist Group and form the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B). Two years ago most of these lately expelled cadres were active fighters against the Trotskyist Faction—indeed one, Mark Hyde, co-authored the only attempt at a serious reply to the TF by the then WSL majority. Now these militants have themselves re-examined and rejected the bankrupt programme and record of the WSL.

The appearance of the Leninist Faction has awakened considerable interest in the British ostensibly Trotskyist milieu—which includes more than a half dozen stagnating small groups without significant international ties, and whose largest organisation, the International Marxist Group, is obviously experiencing internal turmoil over its anti-Soviet line on Afghanistan. At a London forum held by the LF on February 8, Mark Hyde told an audience of 60 that in contrast to the traditional philistinism of the British left, the Faction began with the international questions, notably Iran and Nicaragua. The main LF speaker, Di Parkin (former convenor of the WSL's women's commission), emphasised the necessity for a perspective of revolutionary regroupment around the Trotskyist programme. The meeting was attended by WSL leaders Tony Richardson, who attempted to justify the suspension and expulsion of the LF solely for its political positions, and Alan Thornett, who was driven to a frenzy by denunciations of his scabbing at British Leylands last year.

The LF had its origins in the Left Tendency (LT) which was formed in May 1979 initially around the question of the fight to reforge the Fourth International. In late June two WSL Executive members, Alan Clinton and John Lister, attacked the LT for "echoing" Spartacist positions. Utterly belying its pretence of "fighting Pabloism," the WSL believes there is a broad family of Trotskyism, and in their attack Lister and Clinton explicitly repudiated the International Committee's fight against Pablo's liquidationism in the 1950s and early 1960s. Throughout the summer and autumn the WSL leadership pursued the logic of their embrace of the "world Trotskyist movement," making increasingly brazen manoeuvres aimed at getting in with the "big-time"

WSL leader Alan Thornett: kudos for Khomeini, scabbing at Cowley.



Spartacist Britain

fake-Trotskyists—first Mandel's United Secretariat and then the rotten-bloc Lambert/Moreno Parity Committee.

To date the end product of all these opportunist gyrations has been nil. Instead the WSL is left stuck in a "Liaison Committee" with its traditional minuscule sub-reformist partners in the U.S. Socialist League (Democratic Centralist), an even smaller Danish group, and the Italian GBL, who have endeared themselves to Thornett by providing a more "sophisticated" cover for capitulation to popular frontism than the WSL can manage by its own efforts. The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the LF to the "International Conference" called by the WSL for late December 1979, which resulted in the establishment of the "Liaison Committee."

Scabbing at Cowley

A decisive turning point for the LT was WSL leader and Cowley deputy convenor Alan Thornett's scabbing during last summer's national engineering strikes when faced with a reactionary anti-strike mobilisation by backward workers in his plant (see *Spartacist Britain* No. 15, October 1979). In fact, information given by the LF makes clear that Thornett's role was, if possible, even more despicable than it appeared at the time. For Thornett's usual allies in the plant leadership, including senior shop steward Bob Fryer, wanted a picket line to stop the scabs and Thornett had to fight against them in order to turn them into scabs. Fryer and others, who were at the time rightly more concerned about maintaining a national strike than heading off

threats to their trade-union positions, were characterised by Thornett inside the WSL as "syndicalists" who did not understand that it was all a "question of leadership"!

Initially Thornett's scabbing met with widespread resistance in the WSL (including among other Cowley workers). But even though some Cowley WSLers had to face being denounced as scabs by long-time trade unionists (and even by elements in the bureaucracy who saw a good opportunity to blast away some of Thornett's richly undeserved kudos), most restless WSLers fell back into line. However, for the LT Cowley showed definitively for Britain what the leadership's support for Khomeini's movement in Iran showed internationally—that the WSL was quite capable of flipping right over the class line and betraying on an occasion when the need for principles clashed with its opportunist appetites.

The formation of the Leninist Faction came when the WSL leadership tried to mount a witchhunt by giving the LT an ultimatum to come up with their "areas of agreement with the WSL and areas of disagreement with the iSt [international Spartacist tendency]," or else. The LF's founding document "Centrism or Bolshevism—The Choice Facing the WSL" stated that the Faction was "as yet in no position to make a finished assessment of the politics of the iSt" but solidarised with the basic thrust of Spartacist positions on Iran, Ireland, opposition to popular fronts, and the need for a fighting propaganda perspective. For the first time the oppositionists presented a rounded programmatic critique of and alternative to the centrism of the WSL majority.

The leadership reacted by forcing through the LF's suspension, and for the next six weeks they were systematically excluded from all WSL internal activities (and even some ostensibly "public" ones). Finally on January 12 after first excluding two members of the youth organisation who were sympathetic to the LF, and then denying the right to any discussion, the leadership summarily pushed through its purge at a Special Conference.

Alan Thornett's parochial-workerist WSL is certainly not finished with internal crisis and strife—as the LF

explicitly recognized in its final document:

"Should the threats of expulsion that have been made by leading members be carried out the WSL will not wait long before it faces another struggle (perhaps the Sverdlov Faction!?), and another. The reason for this prognosis is straightforward—unstable and degenerating centrism must find itself repeatedly assaulted by the Bolshevik politics which it finds itself unable to politically answer."

—"The Fight for the Proletarian Programme." 11 January 1980

The road taken by the Trotskyist Faction, and now being pursued by the LF, is the only one for members of the WSL who seek the road to proletarian revolution. The LF's struggle also has lessons for would-be revolutionists internationally. The final LF document solidarises with the iSt's nine points for international Trotskyist regroupment (see "Document of the First Delegated Conference of the iSt," in *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80). The LF has stated its intent to fight for these programmatic positions. Currently, while the faction has also stated its eagerness to discuss with other groupings in order to further test its positions and familiarise itself with other views, the LF and SL/B are preparing discussions on outstanding questions.

Leninist Faction Statement

"The efforts of the centrists to reconcile the irreconcilable and to save, by means of patching the pieces, what is fated to be destroyed are foredoomed. The new epoch requires a new International. The primary condition for success on this road is the close consolidation nationally and internationally of the genuine proletarian revolutionists, the disciples of Marx and Lenin, on a common programme, and under a common banner."

—"Open Letter for the Fourth International" [1935].
Documents of the Fourth International

The WSL hosts this preconference towards the formation of an international tendency in *disregard of this primary condition*. Gathered here are disparate groups from different countries with no common programme or common banner. The split in the United Secretariat (USFI)—following from its complete failure to uphold a revolutionary line in *any* recent events of the class struggle—and the ferment among ostensible Trotskyists internationally have brought exceptional opportunities for revolutionary regroupment on a principled programme. But all the WSL can do is attempt to replicate in miniature the grander rotten blocs of Moreno/Lambert and Mandel/Barnes. And *excluded* from the conference and *suspended* from the WSL are the members and supporters of the Leninist Faction—including three National Committee members (among them the National Secretary of the youth organisation) and members of area leaderships in London and Yorkshire. We are being bureaucratically witchhunted because of our fight to turn the WSL away from the centrism of the majority leadership and onto the road of Trotskyism.

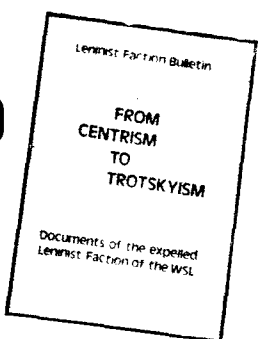
The Leninist Faction (formerly Left Tendency) was formed in May this year, taking as its starting point opposition to the WSL majority's international per-

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Leninist Faction Bulletin From Centrism to Trotskyism

Documents of the expelled Leninist Faction of the WSL

Order from: Leninist Faction, BM Box 380, London WC1V 6XX, England
Price: 75p



Interview with Jane Margolis

"Determined to Protect the Rights of Labor"

Last July 16, Jane Margolis, an elected delegate and executive board member of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410, was seized by Secret Service agents and dragged off the floor of the CWA annual convention at Detroit's Cobo Hall. The incident immediately touched off a wave of protest from CWA members in her San Francisco local and from trade unionists and defenders of democratic rights across the country. Since then a million-dollar lawsuit has been initiated by the Union Committee Against Secret Service Harassment (UCASSH) to protest the government's blatant, illegal attack on the rights of labor. Last week WV interviewed Jane Margolis by telephone on recent developments in the case.

WV: It's been several months since you filed a suit against the Secret Service for violating your rights to speak at your own union convention. Where does the case stand now in the court battle?

Jane: As could be expected, they've been putting up every obstacle, making it difficult for an ordinary worker and citizen to pursue a civil suit against the government. On February 29, we had our first day in court. The Secret Service is stalling. Using a recent Supreme Court decision, they say we cannot file the papers in California, that we have to bear the expense and fly ourselves and legal staff, counsel, to Detroit or

Jane Margolis won't be silenced. Following Secret Service attack, elected delegate Margolis returns to post at 1979 CWA convention.



WV Photo

Washington, D.C., which is an obvious added expense and burden. But we are determined to protect the rights of labor. And we won't be stopped by this legal harassment.

WV: The Union Committee Against Se-

cret Service Harassment—UCASSH—was formed by CWA members in the Bay Area to pursue your case against government intervention in the union movement. Could you tell us about the support UCASSH has been gaining?

Jane: Over the last couple of weeks we've been speaking to hundreds of trade unionists in the Bay Area and in Los Angeles at their union meetings, at exec board meetings, at labor support rallies, and news of the case has truly traveled throughout the labor movement in the Bay Area.

Our case has gotten a warm reception. The list of endorsers shows the support that we've been getting in the labor movement. But behind many of the endorsements are other stories of government harassment against the labor movement. We have received letters of support from striking OCAW workers as far away as Houston, Texas. We've received letters of support from postal workers from the West Coast all the way to West Haven, Connecticut. Just today we received a letter of outrage against government meddling in the labor movement from an AFSCME brother in Milwaukee. Several brothers in the NMU have written us with their support. And I've just heard that some brothers in the mines are going to be trying to raise support motions and financial support in the UMW.

These are just samples of the letters that have been coming in from unionists around the country. And support from socialists, too. Jim Robertson, national chairman of the Spartacist League, was one of the first people to protest me being dragged out of the union conven-

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Beat Back CWA Purge Attempt

L.A. Phone Workers Defend Militant Leader

LOS ANGELES—By a two-to-one margin, the members of Local 11502 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) voted on February 19 to defeat a bureaucratic scheme aimed at ousting Militant Action Caucus (MAC) leader Gary Adkins from the Local's executive board. Adkins had been elected by the predominantly black and Chicano membership of the old downtown Local 11501 which subsequently merged with Local 11502. Just a few weeks after the merger, however, Local president Warren Downing, who was not accustomed to facing a militant opposition, demanded that Adkins resign from the exec board on the pretext that his work headquarters had been transferred to a different jurisdiction.

Downing's "reasoning" was dishonest from top to bottom and clearly intended to justify a political purge. Under the terms of the merger agreement, Adkins remained an exec board "member at large" and does not represent any specific sub-section of the Local. Furthermore, the attempted ouster was an insult to the membership since Adkins is an *elected* member of the exec board

(running second in a field of twelve) and Downing wanted to replace him with one of an increasing number of *appointed* officials.

Many Local 11502 members saw this not only as an attack on union democra-



Los Angeles CWA militant leader Gary Adkins

WV Photo

cy, but also as an attempt to silence militant opposition to the CWA bureaucrats' sellout policies in a contract year. Adkins' supporters gathered 700 signatures on a petition opposing the purge and Local members were mobilized to vote for a motion demanding that the militant finish out his elected term. Downing's pretext was so flimsy that the Local By-Law Committee was forced to recommend that Adkins retain his seat. Yet even in the face of widespread membership support for Adkins, the majority of the executive board contemptuously voted against him.

Adkins has been a militant oppositionist for several years. He was elected CWA convention delegate in 1978 and worked with the San Francisco MAC in fighting for the local right to strike. Last year he ran for convention delegate along with fellow oppositionist Rudy Nevel on a class-struggle program. Adkins was also present at the Detroit CWA convention last summer, where Jane Margolis, a leading MAC spokesman and a delegate from Local 9410 in San Francisco, was hauled off the floor by the Secret Service. After discussions with the San Francisco militants,

Adkins, Nevel and other phone workers who support the caucus program, formed the Los Angeles Militant Action Caucus.

The attempted purge was not the first attack on the newly formed L.A. MAC. In response to the November 3 Klan/Nazi murders of five Communist Workers Party (CWP) members in Greensboro, North Carolina, the caucus immediately issued a leaflet calling for labor action to protest the killings. Pacific Telephone responded by disciplining several MAC members for distributing the leaflet. Instead of protesting the fascist murders, Downing and the Local bureaucrats caved in to company pressure and attacked MAC. The exec board passed a motion restricting the right of oppositionists to use union bulletin boards and Downing attempted to decertify MAC steward Barbara Britton for passing out the anti-Klan leaflet. This attempted purge also was defeated, however, because of overwhelming opposition to the move in Britton's garage.

In opposition to a MAC motion which called for labor/black/Chicano

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Gold War II?



"Joint chiefs" of U.S. imperialism

Moore/Gamma-Liaison

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were all about Afghanistan, this month they are about inflation, headed this month for a 20 percent annual rate as "tight money" policy has become a joke. And the arms build-up only feeds inflation. The capitalists' program is grinding austerity for the workers. Whether they can make it stick is another matter.

Afghanistan has heated up the Cold War mood that has run at different temperatures since the October Revolution overturned capitalism in Russia. Can the U.S. imperialists bring off "Cold War II"? We reprint below excerpts from a report by Spartacist League National Chairman James Robertson to the California Spartacist comrades.

If you look back over about the last year, the gang in Washington has been increasingly restless. They committed a series of atrocities along the way. You remember the phony Cuba crisis where some 1,500 Russian troops that had been in Cuba from its inception suddenly were discovered? There was a great confrontation, which blew up in Carter's face, and in fact was one of the contributory factors to his precipitous loss of popularity and the then assumption that he wasn't going to get re-elected.

Okay, so here's this bunch. They had the phony Cuba crisis, and then real hard stuff. Do you remember seizing the Soviet Aeroflot liner at Kennedy because it had a ballerina that was trying to get away from her rotten husband and get back to cash in on her loyalty chips in Moscow? Apparently she's not a very good ballerina, but now she's getting all the first roles in Moscow. And of course she wanted to go back. But you remember what the government did? Real big violation stuff.

Then they stumbled into their little difficulties in Iran, and I remember that the American government said, "We're



Carter wants anti-Soviet alliance with "revolutionary" mullahs.

going to raise in the Security Council the question of demanding that the hostages be let go. And if the Russians vote against it, we will take this as a hostile act!" And so the Russians abstained on the issue, and then the Americans got their Afghan thing to play. Suddenly, from saying, "My, how could Russia commit a hostile act against our state interests," then bang! Now they're being very clear, they're arming the Afghani mongrels that they find drifting around on the Pakistani side of the border.



Philadelphia, 1946: government goes after UE strike. Anti-Red purges had domestic as well as international causes.

Massive escalation—very overt.

And of course, a lot of accoutrements, like a new charter for the CIA, *de facto*, and they'll work out *de jure* later. They've got Zbigniew Brzezinski running around. He almost got offed. Remember he turned to a Pakistani soldier and said, "Son, can you use that submachine gun?" And the soldier said, "You try." He said, "No, no, you try." So the guy pulls the trigger and of course automatic weapons when you don't hold them right start firing all over the place. And we almost lost one of our revered advisers at the Khyber Pass, while he was shouting, "On to Kabul!"

So, is there a second Cold War? Well, Carter wants to get elected and "the fatherland is in danger" is a way to try it. It's a pretty big deal. Now, the Russians are genuinely annoyed and I know that we did put in *Workers Vanguard* what Brezhnev had to say. He said that these people are irresponsible. He said it very succinctly, better than our press did, which is why we quoted the Russians. Well, if there's going to be a second Cold War, what kind of compass do we have? One wants to think perhaps about the first Cold War and see what conditions tend to be the same and those that are very different.

The United States emerged the unique victor from the Second World War. The European bourgeoisie had holes in their shoes. The Americans had an absolute monopoly on nuclear weapons. They had over 50 percent of the industrial production of what I think

is called the "free world." And considering the state of Russian production at the time, they may have had an absolute majority of all productive capacity on the planet. They had naked power and no other capable of contending with or even modifying their policies.

At the same time they emerged victor, it was a victor in a world they didn't very much like. And remember, from the standpoint of American socialists, we see an enormous difference between the Stalinists' victory in China, the massive

militancy of revisionist workers parties in Europe, and militant trade unionism in the United States—all these things taking place in '45-'46. But from the standpoint of the American bourgeoisie, I think they had a more unitary and less rational outlook. I recall sometime later some of the creatures of the Nixon administration, their minister of the interior and his nutty wife, standing and watching a demonstration from the windows of the Justice Department—these utterly tame peaceniks over the Vietnam War—and the woman turned around and said to her husband, "My god, it looks like the Russian Revolution!"

Well, if you examine the press at the time, the American bourgeoisie with all their power faced an enormous escalating American strike wave and a labor movement that was saturated with 100,000 reds, controlling perhaps a quarter of the structure of the labor movement. A troops-come-home movement in Europe, but especially in Asia, which had to be conceded to. A very large majority of the population of West Europe overtly organized and yearning for some sort of socialism or communism; all of the institutional structures like monarchies and right-wing parliamentary devices and the rest crumbling. Churchill thrown out in favor of a Labour Party, which it's hard to believe now, but it marched into Parliament singing "The Red Flag"—in Britain, the conservative bastion in Europe. Russian soldiers deep into Germany and in the

Balkans, and what they saw as a thoroughgoing communistic revolution in China. And yet they had raw and unique power. And that confrontation was the Cold War, basically.

The interesting point is that from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, the domestic witchhunt, which was a part of the Cold War, was not subjectively on their part an irrational mindless reflex of, "Well, we've got the CIA running around internationally, doing dirty tricks, so the FBI wants to do their thing here." No, they saw it in a little more unitary way—that it was necessary to break the back of and discipline the American labor movement as part and parcel of the whole thing. From their standpoint, 20 million workers in militant strikes and winning big concessions in the United States was of a piece with all the rest of the developments around the globe. In other words, they overestimated—but then, why shouldn't they?

And the thing was pretty hard. One could go into lots of stories characterizing it. One thing that is apparently true and not sufficiently well-known is that just before the CIA was reconstituted out of the fragments of the OSS, the Americans allegedly made the greatest coup—they got a defecting chief of security of the Polish state in place. I guess it was the Dulles boys probably [who] played a game and they managed to feed to Stalin information which the paranoid old man was quite prepared to believe: that every Stalinist leader in East Europe who had not both been in Moscow during the Second World War and was a hopelessly mindless pro-Russian hack—that if those two qualities were not met, in fact the men involved were American agents. The Americans, to their immense pleasure, because they wanted to draw a perfect line—no national communism—got the Russians to run what are called the Tito purges, thereby laying the basis for the perspective of "rollback." Remember that slogan, "rollback" or "containment"?

This was the greatest coup, that they got the Russians to purge tens of thousands of Communists, and the Communists who most had roots in their own nations. The enthusiasm, of course, led them immediately to found the CIA in order to institutionalize this kind of technique and to go on to ever higher and higher successes. Well, they never got any ever higher and higher successes. They managed to "save" Guatemala, they managed to "save" Iran via coups. And I can't think of anything else that they did. They certainly didn't "save" Cuba very well. Theodore Draper said that the Bay of Pigs was one of those truly rare things in political life—a perfect failure, without any redeeming consequence whatsoever. (Although, while we may never know about it, it also had something to do with the premature demise of the first president who hired the Mafia to run whores into the White House... which is how he ought to go down in history... "Camelot.")

Well, they ran this Cold War for a long time, a series of confrontations, especially the Korean War. And the domestic high point of it, I'm sure, was the execution of the Rosenbergs. Did their best to smash insurgencies more or less successfully in the Philippines and a dozen other places. Very expensive, of course. Not particularly in American blood, but in American wealth. It was the basis for the situation now. With absolute American economic and military power, the Americans were in a position to make the world eat dollars, billions and billions of dollars. And furthermore, to propagate the charming myth that gold was demonetized, that it had no meaning, only the dollar was a unit of exchange. They simply forced these billions and billions of dollars on the rest of the capitalist world. Which meanwhile, of course, economically, was making a pretty steady comeback,

especially those areas that had been fortunate enough to have their outmoded industrial apparatus removed by American air power during the Second World War, particularly Germany and Japan, so that they had a clean field to start with. That is, they had a highly skilled labor force, all of the raw materials, all of the managerial expertise and they were not weighed down by an archaic investment in old apparatus, in old physical plant.

So, a series of quantitative developments took place: the undermining of the American dollar (and of course Vietnam vastly accelerated all of this), the growth in industrial and military potential for a number of other capitalist powers. This stuff ran on and on, and the American politicians working with the "After me, the deluge" proposition, acting like the mayors of New York, except that the American presidents have state power. So, they will never have a New York City-type problem because they'll just print more money (they thought) based on American hegemony. But American hegemony became undermined and it collapsed. There's a nice date for it: the 15th of August 1971 Nixon devalued the dollar—let it float, I think—did a whole bunch of other things at the same time. And it was the official declaration that American hegemony, absolute power, was over.

The Russians just toughed it out in that whole period by and large, armed like hell, and took a defensive posture, took whatever dives they could, took whatever advantages they could. It's funny that the Americans are screaming about the Near East now, because—was it 1958?—Khrushchev was going to see Eisenhower, and the Iraqi Communists were at the leadership of quite a good proletarian upheaval and the Russians gave those orders to the Iraqi Communist Party that caused it to be beheaded, its leaders, its central committee murdered. And all so that the Russian leadership could go have a nice chat with Eisenhower at Camp David. That was Iraq. The Iraqi Ba'athist Party has never forgotten the menace, of course. Didn't they just execute another 20 Communists in the army? That's right—

American power atrophied relative to the rest of the world. You can look at the nuclear proliferation—that's another index of it all. So that even the Indians and the Israelis both have atom bombs. Everybody knows that the Japanese could have all that they ever wanted within six months if any one manufacturer decided to have them. And the South Africans are grinding away and have all the prerequisites, maybe a bit more than prerequisites, etc.

And I notice funny things going on even in South America. Carter tried another tack. Remember "Human Rights"? So, he annoyed the Brazilian and Argentine generals by demanding that they practice "Human Rights," an idea which was quite novel to them. And I notice now that the Brazilian generals are happily denouncing the Israelis for not respecting Arab "Human Rights" and the Argentine generals are pointing

like something, you don't have this sense of dual unionism—you post and embrace it as part of your section of the workforce, as a good expression. So we got a lot of that. That was good.

Okay, I've already given you the main point. I don't know how the Americans are going to be able to bring it off, because they've got to try to keep a bunch of substantial capitalist powers in line. They have to try to orchestrate it. The Americans still are not good at orchestration. They've deeply offended the Japanese over the approach to China and in general in blocking with the Common Market against Japanese imperialism. And the Common Market itself is not united. In fact, the Common Market in effect is just a cover name for West Germany, as any French president will tell you.

And so I don't know that they're going to be able to bring it off.

Afghan Nelli Kim, quite liberated and quite successful. In fact, that's probably fundamental. It is not at all clear to me that the course of the Afghan revolution was very well thought out. It's not our place really, it's very difficult to do and there's not much material. Apparently the entire young intelligentsia of Kabul was pro-Communist as they understood it, and they had no other social base in the countryside. And they didn't do any salami tactics, you know, they didn't separate out and take on first the landlords, and then maybe the mullahs and then maybe somebody else and upgrade the peasantry and do this and that. So they managed to unite the nation against the intelligentsia. And then they started being exterminated. Furthermore, except that Russia was not far away, they did the same thing with the army that Allende did in Chile—he relied on it.



Generals of Cold War I: Joseph McCarthy, Senate witchhunter; The brothers Dulles, Allen of the CIA and John Foster of the State Department.

out that the Russian gold reserves are very large indeed and it's a good market for wheat. Even the not-very-powerful inmates of the backyard of American imperialism are pretty uppity.

So, I don't know that the American bourgeoisie can bring this off, a new Cold War. I really don't. Maybe they will. Maybe there's something there, the crucial element that eludes me, but I don't see it. Furthermore, there's not even much point in making a massive assault on sections of the American population, only obnoxious groups like the Spartacist League and a few thousand more need to be taken care of. And the erstwhile Trotskyists of the SWP, god knows, are tame enough. The Maoists, who used to be quite numerous and still more or less are, are now firm allies of American imperialism, and by and large endorse the proposition that NATO must be stronger in order to fight the Russians and all that. The American labor movement remains pretty tractable.

But don't think we're not going to get some casualties. We got one. Fred Zierenberg was the most seriously injured of all of our central cadre in Frankfurt. But don't think that there weren't other guys stabbed in the belly, people kicked in the head and smashed around. A murderous attack. Maoists using Afghani counterrevolutionary assassins.

The other thing is, something that has been just about entirely suppressed in the American press, there is one hell of a steel strike going on in Britain, tending to lead to a very, very heavy confrontation with the government. Now, you have to understand British conditions not to be carried away with what happened in a number of places: uniquely, our Spartacist League of Britain leaflet was posted by the men around a lot of the strike areas. You've got to remember that for them a communist fraction is about the same thing as a union caucus for us, because they're a more advanced working class. So it didn't mean that they're embracing communism, rather that they perfectly well expect that socialists, Trotskyists, Stalinists, what have you, are an organic part of the working class. And if they

Furthermore, it's pretty irrational. It does suggest, however, that if American power is not smashed in the world, the world as we know it will end. That is, at one or another point along the way, and rather sooner than later on the scale of world history, some bunch in Washington is going to find themselves, however irrationally, rammed into a corner and start something that goes nuclear and escalates somewhere. Rather sooner than later. Or maybe one of their clients, like the Israelis, will pull something like that and then pull others in. Not necessarily this time—there's no reason to say that it would not be now, but in the course of the undulations of the imperialist system. And particularly the role of the Americans, they're a pretty deadly bunch, they're going to start a nuclear war. This is just a useful reminder, because sometimes when things go along fairly smoothly and the government's talking about "Human Rights" and they're not actively pouring napalm on insurgent dark-skinned peoples right this year, and all that kind of stuff, it's easy to fall back and take the mask of the bourgeoisie for good coin. And then, of course, they get a little bit jammed up, the mask slips, you see the mass killing, mass insanity; all this talk about sacredness of treaties, "Human Rights" and the rest, just utterly wiped out. So that right now, the official position of the United States is that human freedom means what the Afghani mullahs want. That is "freedom"! You know what that is. Isn't it great—they got a Russian colonel and they stripped all the skin off him while he was still alive. Thus they struck a blow for "freedom." They shoot every schoolteacher they can get, because reading is Communist. And all this stuff about women—that's "freedom" now. That's the official American position—it's out there raw.

We happened to be looking at a program about the teenage Central Asian gymnasts and I thought about Afghanistan and the hideous oppression of women. This Nelli Kim I believe is the daughter of a Tatar and a North Korean, a product of the "enemy" side in the Korean War. And I thought maybe in a generation there will be an

But there was another army nearby.

So one could be critical. But we're being critical of people who were shot to death for wanting to teach little girls to read and write. Or worse than shot to death. And I do not believe that any sane person can deny that the present perspective for Afghanistan, which has been a lost place for a few hundred years, is such that the people in a generation will be immensely better off.

So Carter thinks he's pulled something pretty smart. A felt offense to the American nation took place—namely the seizure of the American embassy personnel. Of course they're all spies. Every member of every embassy from all time has always been a spy. That is their job. They're put in a foreign country in order to look around. Do you understand that? What an absurdity. The Persian empire has existed for a long time and they have had many ambassadors and they've always been spies. It's absurd. But what Carter's managed to do, is that somewhere you get the idea that it was the Russian army that's holding the people in Iran. Meanwhile, of course, as soon as they start beating the drums over Afghanistan, they soften the line on the ayatollah, begin to say, "Look, we're both members of ruling classes. Don't you understand? The Russians are *Commies!* We must unite against them. Just let these 50 people go, we don't care what you do, we'll give you all the guns in the world in order to pursue your ruling-class revolution." And that's the shift that's being attempted.

Now I don't place a lot of credit on present public opinion. I don't think that a lot of people liked Churchill's Fulton, Missouri speech in 1947 that was the official inauguration of the Cold War. But insofar as I am capable of sampling the middle-class political responses in the Midwest, the position that is reported back is that, "Yeah, we're ready to fight for our country, but what's this Afghanistan? Carter just wants to get elected president." That is the current American folk response. I'll tell you, it can be shifted. These things are highly manipulable. They are dependent variables. But it's nice to know that. ■



Echoes of post-war anti-Communism in Carter's war drive.

Healy said it was a good thing, I remember that.

So, the Russian bureaucracy took a very conservative policy, pretty empirical, and toughed it out and retained the posture of trying to deal with the Americans with a carrot and a stick, hanging tough when they could, doing this or that, seeking trade, what have you. They're still doing the same kind of thing, not much different, been pretty continuous in their policies. And the Americans after '71—it wasn't particularly Watergate or even the defeat in Vietnam—those are psychological—but

According to the friends of his last years, this long-time trade unionist and former communist died holding generally anarchist views and, it is said, sympathizing with an Ed Sadlowski takeover of the Steelworkers, the union in which Ed Lee had a long-time membership until his retirement. One might wonder, then, why a communist newspaper would choose to note his passing. But there was more to Ed Lee than his last dozen years. He pretty well embodied in his own experiences and earlier active role much of the history of 40 years of the Bay Area communist and trade-union movements.

While Ed Lee talked well, at length and knowledgeably about many political, social and scientific questions, all who knew him testified that he was always unusually modest about himself. Therefore his friends and old comrades are at some difficulty in supplying precise biographical details, except those that appear in the available records. We are grateful to his brother, Herb, and to Micheline Gordon, whom Ed married in 1948 and with whom he lived until 1958, for filling in valuable background.

Ed Lee, derived from a San Francisco middle-class background, was a brilliant biology and botany student and Phi Beta Kappa who walked away from a Ph.D. at the University of California (Berkeley) at the last minute. Though maintaining a lifelong interest in science (even as late as 1948 he was elected to the California Academy of Sciences) Ed in the Depression 1930s deliberately chose Communism and the machinists' trade as his life.

He joined the Communist Party in the mid-1930s and from the very beginning was set a bit apart. Ed recalled that when the new members were being asked why they had joined, the bulk gave responses more appropriate to the YMCA or a temperance union; Ed caused some disturbance by announcing that he'd joined to make the revolution. Always a leftist, he hated the smarmy days of Rooseveltian popular frontism and saw the Hitler-Stalin Pact as opening floodgates of Communist participation in living class struggles and agitation overtly and directly for socialism.

He became a leading member of the San Francisco machinists' union during the Second World War. At the end of the war those militant machinists struck, some months earlier than the bulk of the American labor movement, to make up for the "no-strike pledge" losses of the war years. Implacable opposition by the bosses, savage strike-breaking by the International Association of Machinists top leadership, and finally stab-in-the-back betrayal by the Communist Party broke the strike after



three months. The Communist club in the machinists went to the end of the road with their fellow unionists. The CP's *Political Affairs* tells the sequel. "The Struggle Against Deviations and Factionalism in San Francisco" by Oleta O'Connor Yates (*Political Affairs*, December 1946) states:

"Action was finally taken against this 'Left' factional grouping. Vern Smith, Walter Lambert, Ed Lee and a number of their followers were expelled from the Party for participation in an anti-Party, 'Left'-sectarian factional grouping, and the membership was warned against further association with these expelled people."

Or as Ed's brother said after Ed's death, "Ed always fought for the right of the workers to make a living with dignity"—a sentiment heartily acknowledged by his former colleagues on the executive board of machinists Local 1304 of the United Steelworkers.

Ed was expelled from the CP on 8

August 1946 and was among some hundreds who in that period sought to rally the CP to a class-struggle perspective of trade-union militancy and opposition to the Democratic Party. California CP head William Schneiderman (who, interestingly, started political life as a Young Workers League leader in the Cannon faction of the old CP and even continued to read the first issues of Cannon's *Militant* until Lovestone's burglars in 1929 stole Cannon's private files and found the connection) and San Francisco henchperson Oleta O'Connor Yates were arch-Browderites. As a result of the famous "Duclos Letter," General Secretary Browder was finding himself eliminated as a "revisionist"; but not Browderism and the Browderites! Schneiderman & Co. sacrificed Browder and then wiped out the understandably bitter anti-Browder militants and "Third Period" holdovers.

These left Stalinists spent some

months attempting to shape a few hundreds, mainly in Northern California and New York City, into a new formation. But the sad fact that Stalin backed the CPUSA came home and the nascent groupings disintegrated. In Northern California two comrades made it over to the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. One of them was Ed Lee, who intelligently reacted to the "Trotskyite"-baiting by sympathetically reading Trotsky.

About 1948, Ed finally joined the SWP, where Pabloism was just beginning to flower. But after Ed's experiences in the CP and his close personal association with a comrade from the "state-cap" Johnson faction, he was not about to acquiesce to this new anti-working-class revision of Marxism. In the 1950-52 period of subterranean faction fight in the SWP, as Ed told the story, a young agent of Bert Cochran (America's ostensible Pablo loyalist) came out to the West Coast and privately confronted Ed with the shocking word that Cannon was resisting Pablo, the secretary of the Fourth International. Ed was not impressed: "Good," he said, "I'm against him myself."

After the Cochranite Central Committee members had been expelled, the SWP was re-registering its membership to clean out the rank-and-file Cochranites. On stubborn principle—having already joined the SWP once—Ed refused to re-register. The SWP could hardly expel a most premature anti-Pabloite in a Pabloite round-up. National Organizational Secretary Tom Kerry is supposed to have written Ed a letter telling him to just not make an issue out of it. And Ed didn't. The fragmentary documentary evidence indicates that after the failure to crystallize a left Stalinist grouping in 1946, Ed beat a fundamental retreat to the role of critic within the communist workers movement.

But Ed Lee continued to be a good party cadre as he continued to be a good trade-union militant. In this period he was frequently elected to the executive bodies of his union and of the East Bay SWP. In those years he played an extremely valuable pedagogical role training younger and newer comrades, including some who went on to found the Spartacist League, in the history, lessons and traditions of communism and of the Bay Area labor movement.

He rallied early to the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, forerunner of the Spartacist League, in its struggle against the consummation of revisionism in the SWP around Cuba and reunification with the Pabloists. But while he remained thoughtful and committed to the communist future of the working class, his political perceptions had become rigid. Thus he announced (Bay Area RT meeting, 29 April 1963) that he wanted "to be on record against calling Cuba a workers state of any sort." And these views and critic's posture slowly deprived us of the comrade's advice and work until finally (Bay Area SL minutes, 20 November 1966) our then Bay Area chairman, Geoff White, moved "that Comrade Ed be dropped from membership in the SL on grounds of non-attendance, non-participation and non-payment of sustainer."

Ed's last 13 years saw him out of social struggle, but he continued his lifelong interest in botany and other biological sciences. He didn't have much when he died; he was living on a union pension and social security. He left nothing behind but a microscope, a very old jalopy and a 1940s' record player. Mercifully, when cancer struck him he died very suddenly with only a day's warning. Thus ended the life of a man who under not very advantageous conditions did his best for 40 years to be a good communist and a defender of the working class. ■



Ed Lee, sitting left, with fellow members of the Executive Board and officers of International Association of Machinists Local 1327, San Francisco, August 1945.

Detroit Cops on Torture Rampage

DETROIT—The cold-blooded murder of a black man in the Second (Vernor) Precinct cellblock and a subsequent lawsuit by the victim's family have unleashed a wave of revelations by former victims of cop terror here. Daily there have been new reports in the press of vicious blackjack beatings, electric shock treatments and savage physical assaults routinely practiced by the racist Detroit police. The exposures have also torn the mask off Coleman Young's "New" Detroit where the cops were supposedly "reformed," and the hated trigger-happy STRESS squads which gunned down dozens of blacks a thing of the past.

Young rode to power in 1973 largely on his promise to fight the openly bonapartist Detroit Police Officers Association. He was supported by the city's fake-leftists who helped foster the dangerous illusion that a black face in City Hall could somehow alter the character of the cops and make them more "responsive" to the community. But the more Chrysler layoffs mount, the more black youth unemployment skyrockets, the more Mayor Young as all capitalist politicians before him will rely on naked repression to keep the bourgeois order.

On February 3, Edgar Smith, a 39-year-old black man, was brutally clubbed with a blackjack in a cellblock at the Vernor precinct station and left to die of a ruptured spleen. Discovering the dead prisoner, police guards pulled out their cattle prod, a battery-powered device which delivers a high-intensity electric shock, and stung him in an effort at revival. A \$5 million lawsuit brought by Smith's family against the policemen in the city of Detroit touched off a series of testimonials verifying the use of cattle prods (the "stick") to "subdue unruly prisoners" in the Vernor and other precincts.

Last week three more people filed lawsuits and others spoke at an outraged community meeting, all describing the beatings and shock treatments they received at the hands of the police. A black youth picked up for a minor traffic violation recounted how he was given the "stick": "I felt it go through my whole body—I still have pain in my neck and shoulders" (*Detroit News*, 27 February). This has erupted into a full-



Coleman Young's "reformed" police protect Nazi bookstore, 1978.

scale scandal about Coleman Young's police department, exposing their systematic use of procedures notorious as part of the torture arsenal common to Latin American dictatorships.

At City Hall, police officials made no attempt to deny the regular use of blackjacks and cattle prods on prisoners. Police chief William Hart evaded the question by promising to "uphold the confidence and support of Detroit's citizens" by "pursuing all violators of the law." His meaning can be measured by the fact that Edgar Smith, who was arrested for "investigation for burglary," is dead, while the killer-cop, John Pawlak, is walking the streets freely on \$5,000 bail, facing the watered-down charge of "involuntary manslaughter"! Hart has arrogantly refused to appear before the City Council until the police department completes its

own "internal investigation," that is, cover-up.

The City Council feigned indignation at the exposures and called for an investigation by an "outside agency," which turns out to be Mayor Young's Board of Police Commissioners—the phony civilian review board appointed by Young as a public relations tool of his administration. The "objectivity" of this board was revealed when the *New York Times* (23 February) published a letter by the chairman of the board, Walter E. Douglas (president of the powerful "New Detroit" financier group), claiming that "police-community relations are at an all-time high"—this in the middle of the unfolding exposure of Detroit police torture! Any review or investigation conducted by the Young administration will certainly be a whitewash.

Attempts by the cops to secure greater independence from any form of civilian control must also be opposed. Detroit police are currently proposing the purchase of \$300,000 of radio "scrambling" devices to keep the media, which monitor police calls regularly, from listening to "sensitive" conversations. These clandestine killers must not be allowed to make themselves judge, jury, executioner and censor as well to avoid public exposure.

Certainly the racist, bonapartist Detroit Police Officers Association has resisted Young's cosmetic reforms, such as a black facelift to the cops through "affirmative action," and every effort of the bourgeois liberal-black city administration to maintain its civilian control. At the same time Young has not hesitated to employ the full force of police terror against Detroit's poor and working masses. In the summer of 1975, Young ordered virtual police occupation of the Livernois area where blacks took to the streets to protest the killing of a black youth by a racist bar owner. Two summers ago the mayor ordered the cops to defend a Nazi recruitment headquarters against community outrage in the very same Vernor precinct, resulting in scores of arrests. And only last November, Young attempted unsuccessfully to stop Detroit-area blacks, auto workers and other citizens from demonstrating against the Greensboro KKK murders, threatening to arrest anti-Klan protesters.

As auto companies throw hundreds of thousands of workers onto the streets and city unemployment soars to over 17 percent, the more cop terror against the Detroit masses will intensify. The horrifying revelations of police torture demonstrate the extent to which Young will go in order to protect the privileges of capitalist rule. From the beginning, Young has turned his back on blacks in this city for the "brotherhood" of Jimmy Carter's Democratic Party and his class. Labor and blacks must fight for a workers party that will oust the Coleman Youngs, Jimmy Carters and their savage torture squadrons. In this labor and black town, the powerful union movement must not allow this campaign of racist torture to continue even one more day. Detroit labor must demand: Jail the Torturer Cops! ■

Rhodesia...

(continued from page 1)

General Peter Walls, commander of the army, has now replaced Ian Smith as the "great white hope" of the Rhodesia settlers. Imperialist leaders in London and Washington have broader strategic considerations and know that ultimately white settler Rhodesia is doomed. Many of the 200,000 Rhodesian whites, however, are prepared to defend their lifestyle down to the last swimming pool.

Walls has become the supreme negotiator playing for time on their behalf. First he visited Pretoria to assure the South Africans that he could contain the situation should Mugabe come to power; then he hopped over to Maputo to convince Mozambique's president Samora Machel that he need not worry about a white coup after the elections. In order to conciliate certain guerrilla forces, the general entered into secret parleys with Mugabe and Nkomo to ease their followers' "integration" into the army of the "new Zimbabwe."

Despite these maneuvers, all hell is now likely to break loose. The white settlers are not buying Mugabe's constant assurances of moderation. The

conservative London *Economist* (23 February) reported:

"Mr. Ian Smith and other white leaders have said that they cannot and will not accept a Marxist government. The possibility of a white-led military coup is dismissed at military headquarters, where it is maintained that the army will obey its new political masters, whoever they may be. Others take a less confident view."

At the same time, the black masses did not vote for the "Marxist" Mugabe so that white "private enterprise will have to continue." At the base Mugabe's electoral victory will be seen as the opening shot of an attack on the white power structure. Mugabe understands this and urged his followers to keep quiet: "If you break the law," he warned, "you will be arrested and punished for it." In a joint broadcast this message was seconded by General Walls, who, Mugabe reaffirmed, would remain commander-in-chief:

"Anybody who gets out of line or for whatever reason starts disobeying the law will be dealt with effectively and swiftly—and I may say with quite a bit of enthusiasm."
—*Ibid.*

In addition to the fundamental conflict between the toiling black masses and the white settler caste, there

remains the tribalist enmity between Nkomo's Matabeles and the Shona-speaking followers of Mugabe. Add to this the direct intervention of imperialist Britain seeking to establish a stable neo-colony. The stage is thus set for a bloody, many-sided war.

In the face of a white-led coup attempt Marxists would of course stand for military victory of the black nationalist forces. But no political confidence whatsoever in proven traitors like Mugabe. Unlike them, we say get the imperialist troops, cops and colonial administrators out now! Down with General Peter Walls—Smash white supremacist rule! The liberation of southern Africa's black masses demands the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party basing itself on the program of permanent revolution and centrally rooted in the strategic black proletariat of South Africa. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 12)

works) and a former member, along with William Lee, of the infamous "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining," has denounced the Demo-

cratic Party and its "strikebreakers." But so far not a peep from either about real union *action* to smash Byrne's union-busting assault.

Labor unity does not, however, include the Chicago police, presently in a bargaining coalition with the Fire Fighters Union. The cops are Byrne's badge-toting gun thugs, who protect the banks and big businessmen. Who guards the fire houses to save scabs? Who put the cuffs on Frank Muscare? Who sent scabs across transit picket lines? Cops must be thrown out of the labor movement!

As we go to press Frank Muscare is still in jail. The immediate task facing Chicago's potentially explosive labor movement is to get him out and win the Fire Fighters strike! Byrne *can* be defeated. The old Daley machine is no more, and it's high time for Chicago workers to stand up for their rights. No contract, no work! Stop the layoffs! For a joint ATU/CTU/Fire Fighters bargaining committee and a strike of all Chicago public employees! CFL must organize a general strike!

Labor must mobilize to smash Byrne and her Democratic Party cohorts before they smash Chicago labor! ■

Leninist Faction...

(continued from page 4)

spectives. We argued that, contrary to the assertions of the leadership, there is no "world Trotskyist movement" encompassing everyone from the USFI to Moreno and Lambert (and even Gerry Healy!), as well as the smaller groups gathered here this weekend. We said that the Fourth International could not simply be repatched together but had to be rebuilt through a hard fight for the Trotskyist programme against the centrists and reformists internationally. Our critique of the leadership's document for this conference, "The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle," centered on its utter failure to fight for such programmatic clarity, instead blurring over every question in a soggy mish-mash of abstract home-truths and blatant revisions of Trotskyism.

We raised and developed our differences on these and other questions—notably Iran, the national question, the popular front and trade union work—during the last seven months. And the response of the leadership was an apolitical wave of "Spartacist"-baiting, culminating in a cowardly, bureaucratic suspension at the 1 December "Special Conference" with a clear threat of expulsion if we refused to submit meekly and effectively renounce our political positions.

But we will not be silenced! We want to remain and fight within the WSL; however we will not tolerate or feel ourselves bound by this gross Healy-style suppression of our democratic rights. The Leninist Faction wishes to put its views before this conference, but since we have been denied the right to speak (or even attend) by the majority leadership, we have been forced to distribute this statement both to protest against our suppression and to put forward our positions. Anyone who is at all serious about fighting for the Trotskyist programme should demand that we be admitted to this conference, allowed to argue our positions, and reinstated with full democratic rights in the WSL.

The Positions We Have Fought For

The basic thread running through the politics of the majority leadership is a failure to draw the class line, to understand the distinction between Menshevism and Bolshevism. Five months ago we wrote:

"The basis of Trotskyism as the revolutionary Marxism of today involves insistence on the distinct position of the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class. At no time can the dissolution of the proletariat—either on the level of theory or practice—into the 'oppressed masses' in general be tolerated."

—"The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle—A Critique," document of the Left Tendency

The WSL majority fails to make such a distinction in its constant talk of the "forward movement of the masses." This is particularly clear on Iran. The leadership blinded itself to the fundamentally reactionary nature of the Islamic movement against the Shah, claiming instead that "the Shah's regime...has been swept aside by a mass

movement at the head of which were the courageous strikes by workers in the oilfields, industry and government" ("The Transitional Programme in Today's Class Struggle"). In fact, in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, the workers of Iran were tragically unable to provide a *third road* against both the dictatorial monarchy and Khomeini's would-be dictatorial theocracy. Contrary to the bankrupt assertions of the majority, the mullahs never played a "progressive" role in Iran.

Similarly with the popular front. The WSL International Perspectives document of early 1978 argues against "the treachery of the Popular Front—which, by prostituting workers' independence to bourgeois political groupings, can lead only to the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie, or in the worst instance, to a new Chile-style catastrophe" (reprinted in *Socialist Press*, No. 180). Nonetheless the leadership in practice pursues policies which help put popular fronts in power, using the mystification that voting for Allende in Chile, or for any workers party in a popular front, does not lead to such a consolidation and catastrophe! A line must be drawn against popular frontism, including no votes to any of the components of such a bourgeois formation.

On the national question in Ireland and the Middle East the majority has similarly adapted politically to non-proletarian national movements like the IRA and PLO, again utterly failing to draw the class line. And the same holds true on the question where the majority claims to feel most confident—trade union work.

The WSL sells its reputation internationally on the basis of its supposed serious fight in the working class and its "worker base." Yet the vast majority of this work is fake, mindless activism. And the "worker base" really only exists at all in the Cowley British Leyland car plants, where the WSL and its allies hold the trade union leadership in the Assembly Plant. The woeful truth is that the organisation's record even here is light years removed from communist work in the trade unions.

This was most graphically demonstrated in September when the WSL committed an actual betrayal of principle. During the two-million-strong national engineers' strike there was a reactionary anti-strike revolt in Cowley. In the face of this Alan Thornett led the move (initially against others in the plant leadership) against setting up a picket line to stop the scabbing. Thus the WSL worked and led others to work during a national strike—objectively scabbing on the strike. This is the sorry reality behind the organisation's "mass work" facade.

The bureaucratic methods and centrist programme of the WSL leadership cannot draw any sort of principled line among the sundry groups attending this preconference. From our knowledge of most of these groups, it is apparent that they too have a centrist political record and methodology. For example, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency coexisted for many years in a rotten international bloc with the Lambertist OCI and defends a conception of the "anti-imperialist united front" which amounts to a political bloc with the "national" bourgeoisie in Latin America. The Italian GBL has a rotten centrist position of voting for popular

fronts which is very similar to that of the WSL majority. And as for the WSL's own long-standing international co-thinkers: the American SLDC is a grouping which openly supports the syndicalist positions of Albert Weisbord against Cannon and Trotsky by attempting "mass trade union work" with about half-a-dozen people, while the Greek CIL upholds reactionary Healyite positions on the woman question and homosexuality and believes that the only forces which can contribute to rebuilding the Fourth International will derive from the International Committee tradition....

Any agreements reached between the leadership and these groupings will assuredly not be based on clear Trotskyist principle; nor will they lead to any real international democratic centralism with a common political practice. Any formal international bloc which emerges from this weekend's proceedings will look nothing like Trotsky's Movement for the Fourth International, but more like a Fourth Division replay of the London Bureau.

Moreover the WSL leadership, like sundry of the other groups at this conference, has also been trying to curry favour with the larger fake-Trotskyist rotten blocs—both with the USFI and, more recently, with Moreno/Lambert. Only last summer Alan Thornett was holding meetings with the leadership of the IMG and the organisation was ready to make thoroughly opportunist diplomatic pacts in an attempt to get into the USFI's "Eleventh World Congress." In August a National Aggregate passed a draft agreement with the USFI which stated:

"1) The USFI and WSL are both organisations which see themselves as standing on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International. Despite the substantial differences that exist—in particular the fact that the WSL does not recognise the USFI as 'the' Fourth International, characterises it as Pabloite, and fights for the reconstruction of the FI—there remains the objective possibility of the WSL fusing with the USFI. It is our duty to examine to what extent this is a concrete possibility through the opening of a discussion between our two organisations."

—*Internal Information Bulletin*, 18-19 August 1979 (our emphasis)

This rotten pact, which involved an agreement to engage in public polemics "of an organisational character" against the USFI only with the latter's express agreement, became a dead letter solely because the USFI backed out. And since then the leadership's on-again, off-again flirtation with Moreno's Bolshevik Faction and the Lambertist OCI has been switched on once more, as the WSL has "welcomed" the BF/OCI initiatives and formally applied to join the Parity Committee formed by these two organisations (themselves widely divergent politically). Again, Moreno/Lambert seem to have shut the door in the leadership's face (at least for now), and *Socialist Press* No. 180 complains

that "it begins to look as if the [Moreno/Lambert-organised] conference may not be as 'open' as it appeared and certainly will not take place for some time." Yet when Left Tendency comrades argued in early November that Moreno and Lambert were not Trotskyists and that the Parity Committee gambit was just a rotten manoeuvre, we were charged with "Spartacism" and the gears were set in motion for our suspension from the organisation. (Of course it would be quite principled to go to an open conference—if such were actually to be convened—in order to fight for the Trotskyist programme, but to seek to bloc politically with the likes of Moreno and Lambert, by joining their Parity Committee, is pure and simple opportunism.)

The WSL majority's pretensions of Trotskyist orthodoxy are demonstrably founded on sand. As Trotsky wrote about the centrists of his time:

"We see here also the repetition of a rule that has been observed hundreds of times in the past on a much larger scale: centrists, even left centrists, always respect the opportunists and feel flattered and encouraged when they win their smiles. At the same time, the centrists are terribly outraged when the unbehaved 'sectarians' (i.e., Marxists) spoil the pleasure they derive from the smiles of friends at their right by inappropriate criticism. When the centrist makes his big combinations, he always bows low to the right and hisses to the left: shut up!"

—"To Comrade Sneevliet on the IAG Conference," *Writings* 1934-35

We will not be shut up—we will continue the fight for Trotskyist politics despite and against all the manoeuvres of the majority leadership. We are for principled revolutionary regroupment based on agreement on the fundamental programmatic tests of our time, on a modern-day equivalent of Trotsky's delineation of eleven fundamental principles for the International Left Opposition in 1933.

The leadership has engaged in "Spartacist" name-calling in a pathetic attempt to avoid honest political struggle. Nevertheless, as we have stated in our documents, we do believe that the international Spartacist tendency has made a much more serious attempt to wage such a programmatic struggle than the WSL majority—around Iran, the popular front, the national question, communist work in the trade unions and more. And we are not about to sit back passively and be hounded out of the organisation solely for holding this, and our other political positions.

Rescind the suspensions! Demand that full democratic rights be restored to the comrades of the Leninist Faction!

Down with Healyite bureaucratism and Menshevik rotten blocs! For the rebuilding of the Fourth International through the fight for a genuinely Trotskyist programme!

Leninist Faction
28 December 1979

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Margolis Interview...

(continued from page 5)

tion and was one of the first people to endorse the case.

Besides official union endorsement, there have been many prominent civil libertarians that endorsed the case. William Kunstler is going to be putting out a letter signed by himself encouraging people to give financial contributions and support to the case. We've also gotten endorsements and support from well-known people like Daniel Berrigan and Robert Meeropol and the National Lawyers Guild. And also David Hilliard, who is an ex-leader of the Black Panther Party, has endorsed the case. If you remember—during the Vietnam War and under Nixon—he was arrested after an antiwar rally in Golden Gate Park because his speech allegedly threatened the life of the president. While that case was thrown out of court, he spent five years in jail on other frame-up charges.

WV: The UCASSH has urgently appealed for funds for this campaign. How has the fund raising been going?

Jane: Just this week we received over \$2,000 in contributions to our UCASSH post office box. And we had a party last night of principally CWA members in which we raised \$200 from small donations.

WV: What's the total of contributions so far to the UCASSH campaign?

Jane: We've raised over \$7,000.

WV: And what do you project your legal expenses might run?

Jane: Our goal is to raise at least \$25,000 for the defense. The Partisan Defense Committee has been doing the bulk of the fund raising and helping us to get in touch with the legal and civil libertarian people. All over the country. UCASSH can't say how grateful we have been for the PDC.

WV: Jane, what is the situation in the union right now?

Jane: Well, we are six months before the contract's up, and the company has started the contract fight early. They have begun their usual harassment level, victimizing workers right and left. In the last year and a half, over a hundred workers, including leading stewards, have been fired from the San Francisco Local alone. Recently a man of 14 years' seniority, an outstanding worker named Tim Bissell, was fired on a phony and fraudulent "productivity" charge.

They are trying to intimidate the entire workforce. And they've also been going unmercifully after union stewards and representatives. So that last week they came for me. Now, I'm an executive board member of the union, a prominent spokesman for militant union activities in the San Francisco Local. So a manager observed me as I was walking

on my job to my next job and he falsely accused me of "conducting a meeting" as I was walking to my job. And I was put on "final warning" for dismissal because of this. It's a frame-up and it's a provocation.

WV: So what are you calling for to fight these victimizations?

Jane: They are trying to weaken us severely before the August contract fight so they can ram a sell-out contract down our throats. The Militant Action Caucus is going to be mobilizing for strike action at our March 18 union meeting, to stop the firings, drop the disciplines and stop the company harassment. This is the only strategy that will back the company down. And this union-busting attempt has been all over the country. Last week in Washington and Oregon thousands of CWA members were out protesting unsafe working conditions.

A woman splicer was suspended for refusing to go into a manhole alone. In Washington and Oregon it has always been company policy that you did not have to go into a manhole alone, but it was not in their contract. Just recently the company announced that they no longer were going to respect two-man crews, and they started ordering workers into the dangerous holes alone. A woman refused. She was suspended, and the workers, CWA workers in Washington and Oregon, walked out. *And the union was successful in winning no reprisals.*

Oh, and there was another case, in Los Angeles. The company a couple of weeks ago tried to hire on a built-in scab force of two hundred non-union Kelly Girls into CWA jobs. The Local executive board and stewards threatened to take the union out on strike, and the company backed down. But it is not only on the West Coast where there have been strike votes and action. Recently in New York, in the Long Lines Local 1150, the Local went out carrying signs, "Ma Bell Kills," and that's exactly what happened. Two phone workers, operators, were harassed to death. And the Local went out on strike.

WV: There's another CWA convention this coming summer...

Jane: And I absolutely intend to run for convention delegate. The Militant Action Caucus is going to be running a slate of delegates here in San Francisco and also in Los Angeles. Of course, I will take the floor against Jimmy Carter. He most likely will address the convention since Glenn Watts, our International president, is one of the first International presidents to back Carter. He is on the "Re-elect Carter" committee and I absolutely intend to make the point that labor must break with the Democratic Party, that we have no interest in supporting the strikebreakers Carter and Kennedy, who just recently came out for firm wage-price controls.

The response of the membership is that the people in the Militant Action Caucus are the only people that have the

guts to stand up when it counts, and I'm very confident of being re-elected to the convention. In Los Angeles, the union bureaucracy tried to purge the Militant Action Caucus exec board member, Gary Adkins. And 700 members in a couple of days signed petitions protesting this political purge, and at last week's union meeting in Los Angeles they were successful in getting the membership mobilized and they defeated the bureaucracy's attempt to run Gary off the board.

WV: When you tried to oppose Carter's presence at last summer's CWA convention his popularity was at an all-time low. Since then, because of the Iranian embassy crisis and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, his popularity in the polls has risen. How has this affected your case?

Jane: I can expect that at the upcoming union convention a big emphasis of Watts and the International is going to be an attempt to mobilize the union delegates behind Carter's war drive and Carter's foreign policy. Carter is running for election on a program of threatening nuclear war against the Soviet Union. And we're going to be talking about this in our upcoming convention delegate leaflet, that the Soviets are not the enemies of the American working class. It is not the Russians who have broken our strikes and have cut our paychecks. The workers have a side in what is happening in Afghanistan. Look at the condition of women in Afghanistan, who have been literally bound and gagged. We want to see illiteracy wiped out, as an attempt is being made by the Soviet-backed regime in Afghanistan, versus what the Afghanistans mullahs are doing—they're shooting teachers in the back.

So at the last union meeting we had, I made a statement about what was going on in Iran. The local leadership had sent out a memo to all the union stewards calling on them to circulate a petition backing up Carter's efforts in Iran. I took the microphone; I announced to the membership that I as an executive board member refused to circulate the petition about Iran. I talked about the fact that Carter is attempting to whip us up into a war frenzy that we have absolutely no stake in. And further, that the draft that Carter was trying to impose was going to be used against workers and minorities.

So when I got up at the union meeting and stated that I was not going to help fan the flames of Carter's war drive, there was a lot of attention to what I was saying, and a lot of the workers were very sympathetic. They have learned over the years that what we say is true. ■

L.A. Phone...

(continued from page 5)

demonstrations to smash Klan terror, the bureaucracy pushed a resolution whitewashing the Klan murders, part of which read:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That CWA Local 11502 goes on record opposing the Ku Klux Klan, Communist Workers Party,

and any other totalitarian group that advocates violence to bring about social change."

This echoed the lies of the bourgeois press, which equated the victims with the perpetrators of the KKK terror. This is particularly obscene since the dead in Greensboro were themselves union activists and organizers. In order to defeat the MAC motion, the bureaucracy issued a "red scare" leaflet and hoped to assemble its right-wing supporters at the November 20 Local meeting. The leaflet attacked Adkins for his refusal to condemn the CWP and tried to stir up a McCarthyite witchhunt over the "emergence of pro-communist forces in our local." Since much of the membership is black and Chicano and was outraged at the Klan killings, the bureaucracy was unable to mobilize a hard anti-communist turnout at the union meeting. So Downing was forced to rely on a sometime social democrat, Ian McIntyre, to provide a more "militant" sounding defense of the bureaucracy's whitewash in order to keep the MAC motion from coming to a vote.

Just six weeks later, Downing was at it again, trying to run Adkins off the exec board. But MAC has shown that it is a serious opposition which is in the union to stay. In a leaflet which thanked the hundreds of Local 11502 members who demanded his retention on the exec board, Adkins stated, "It is a disgrace that every meeting is taken up with Downing's bureaucratic attacks. *What is needed is discussion over strategy to fight the company in this contract year.*" That is exactly the point. The phone company is clearly on a coast-to-coast offensive against the CWA. Heightened harassment and recurring victimizations are intended to demoralize the phone workers and eliminate the union's best fighters prior to the deadline for a strike. And only MAC has a strategy to fight back.

In both L.A. and San Francisco the caucus has announced its intention to run in delegate elections for this summer's CWA convention. MAC demands a *nationwide strike* in 1980 to win a catch-up pay hike and 100 percent COLA; an end to forced overtime, production quotas and paternalistic work rules; and a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to fight unemployment. Rejecting the bureaucrats' bottomless trust in the political parties of big business, Adkins and Nevel's delegate election brochure points the way forward for workers in every industry:

"Capitalism offers the working class no future but plant closings, inflation, and war. There is only one sane solution: a workers' party based on the trade unions to take power from the capitalists and form a workers government—a government which will seize all major industry and establish a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people, not profit."

The emergence of MAC in Los Angeles is an important step toward the caucus becoming the nationally recognized, fighting alternative to the Watts bureaucracy. The Militant Action Caucus must be built throughout the union. Vote MAC! On to a nationwide, militant opposition in the CWA! ■

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D.L. Reissner Editor, *Women and Revolution*

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Monday, March 10
12:00 Noon
UC 110
Cleveland State University
For info.: (216) 621-5138

Ann Arbor
Tuesday, March 18
7:30 p.m.
University of Michigan
Room to be announced
For info.: (313) 868-9095

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League

WORKERS VANGUARD

Lock Up Byrne! Let Out Muscare!

Labor: Shut Chicago Down!

CHICAGO, March 2—Four thousand five hundred firemen have been out on strike here since February 14. Their union president is in the slammer, the union is being fined thousands of dollars daily and the city threatens to fire every single striker. Eleven thousand transit workers are without a contract, facing binding arbitration imposed when the courts ordered them back to work in December. And hundreds of teachers are right now being thrown out of their jobs as the school board, on orders from the banks, imposes draconian cuts—the result of a defeated teachers strike in January.

Chicago rulers are waging a one-sided war against labor—if the unions don't fight back they will take it in the neck. The crisis is here. And the answer is simple: All together, all out now! Shut Chicago down!

Mayor Jane Byrne—popularly referred to as “Calamity Jane,” “Ayatollah Jane” or “Crazy Jane”—has launched a cutthroat assault on the labor movement. Following her vicious assaults on the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), Byrne's latest attack on the striking Fire Fighters Union makes it clear that the very existence of any public employees union in Chicago is at stake. Even liberal Democratic alderman Martin Oberman, who worked hand in glove with Byrne to impose no-strike provisions on city employees, admits, “She doesn't want contracts with anybody.... She's trying to rev up public sentiment against labor in general.”

Now Fire Fighters Union president Frank Muscare has been thrown in Cook County Jail for *five months* on “criminal contempt” charges, provoking a wave of anger and militancy among striking firemen. The judge's sentence and court behavior shocked even hardened Chicago reporters. “You, Frank Muscare, did it all with your big mouth. You have done a dastardly thing, and I am not sure you ever wanted a contract,” Judge John Hechinger harassed the union leader, repeatedly interrupting Muscare's testimony with shouts “Liar! Liar!” Chicago labor must answer this kangaroo-court atrocity by showing a fist to city rulers who only understand the language of power.

Four thousand strikers and labor supporters militantly demonstrated in the downtown Loop on February 23, chanting “Shut It Down!” In the past several months, other mass labor rallies have hit Chicago, in support of the January teachers strike and the still continuing four-month-old bitter struggle of UAW workers against International Harvester. After Muscare's jailing, rumors flew for a few days of a possible “general strike” by Chicago unions, as fire fighter pickets massed at city work sites.

A united labor mobilization is urgently needed to smash Byrne's anti-union offensive! But the conservative union leaderships, including Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) tops, have stifled the powerful Chicago labor



Striking fire fighters march to Civic Center February 23.

WV Photo

movement. The CFL ordered their members (including the well-patronized building trades unions) to cross picket lines the angry fire fighters had set up around building sites.

Meanwhile ATU, CTU and Fire Fighters union tops have gone to Byrne's chopping block in succession. This behavior is *criminal*—allowing each group of workers to be picked off one by one. Instead they should immediately form a joint bargaining committee and strike *together* against the mayor's war on labor. Then they could really put the fire under the CFL to organize a general strike.

Second-City Crisis

Chicago has been in trouble for a long time. The school system's massive financial woes began last year when Chicago's influential First National Bank (as well as Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, et al.) decided to turn off the spigot of loans to the heavily indebted Board of Education. This forced school employees to go payless for weeks, finally triggering a teachers strike. But the bankers took a hard line, and finally CTU president Robert Healy caved in, leading teachers back to work with a bare 504 jobs restored (out of 2,000 cut) and savage cuts in programs. (This was hailed as a “victory in hard times” by the cowardly, reformist Communist Party's *Daily World*.)

Meanwhile transit workers walked off the job December 17, paralyzing the city for four days while fighting to stop cuts in their traditional cost-of-living formula. The potentially powerful strike was broken, however, after ATU leaders capitulated to Byrne's scabherding tactics. Frustrated but still seething transit workers returned to work the very same day teachers missed their first paycheck. Had the city unions struck together then, the union-busting Byrne assault could have been stopped cold.

Now it's the firemen's turn on the block. Fines of \$40,000 a day are levied against the union as its president sits in jail. Byrne is threatening to fire all the strikers and hire an entire new fire department. While she has begun the bureaucratic procedure to carry out her blustering threat, the “recruits” (scabs) can't even operate the fire engines and have to be bused to the sites. Nevertheless, her vindictive attack on the city workers unions is no joke. All Chicago labor must be called out to stop it!

Democrats Attack Labor, Blacks

Byrne is widely unpopular, viewed as unstable and vindictive. Even the *Chicago Tribune's* arch-reactionary columnist Bob Wiedrich has written that “Each morning she must rise to crush or demean someone.” Billboards advertising an all-news radio station ask, “What made the Mayor Byrne today?” But it's not the mayor's nasty personality that has the powers that be upset. It's that the old Daley machine is fragmenting, no longer able to piece off the interest groups which had their place at the table—the union bureaucrats, the bought-off black politicians, the ethnic neighborhood clubs. But government austerity is going to have to be enforced, say the bankers. Their question is, can Byrne do it?

Today the Democratic Party lashes out to make sure it's the working people who prove *their* “fiscal austerity.” There is a real potential now for an alliance of Chicago unions with the large black population. The transit and teachers unions are heavily integrated, and the school crisis is widely seen by blacks as a direct attack on the city's impoverished minorities. It was the black vote which put Byrne in office, but a vote born of desperation. Her constituency of one short year ago is more than ready for a change.

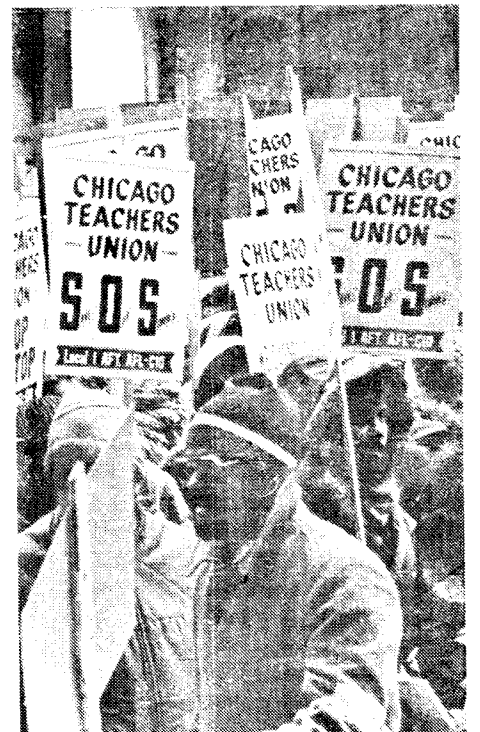
Meanwhile “black capitalist” hustler

par excellence Rev. Jesse Jackson has been waging a personal vendetta against Byrne for months over her refusal to appoint a black police superintendent or school superintendent. Recently Jackson has been negotiating on behalf of black Cook County prison guards—the same men who are keeping Frank Muscare and thousands of ghetto youth behind bars!—while setting up a scab school during the teachers strike and inciting black firemen to push for a union-busting affirmative action scheme. One of the union's main demands is defense of the seniority system.

The sellouts of the Chicago Federation of Labor have been invaluable to Byrne. The CFL has refused to honor the fire fighters' and teachers' picket lines, even allowing its members to handle fire hoses. What's behind this treachery is not only a long tradition of reliance on patronage plums, but the fact that (after threatening not to) Byrne has continued to pay “prevailing wage” rates to city craftsmen. Clearly she made a deal with CFL president William Lee, who's been her main labor man ever since. Lee's role in the fire strike has been to denounce the union and turn around city workers who want to honor the picket lines (and there are plenty). AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland was even prevailed upon at a Florida conference to make a special phone call to Lee to support this backstabbing.

For Labor Unity Against Byrne's Anti-Union Offensive!

The fire fighters strike has forced Chicago labor to pick sides. The powerful United Steelworkers (USWA) District 31, led by Ed Sadlowski supporter Jim Balanoff, has taken a formal stand in favor of the firemen. Alice Peurala, left-talking president of USWA Local 65 (U.S. Steel South—*continued on page 9*)



WV Photo

January 28 CTU strike rally.