

**Smash the Union-Busters! Defend the Soviet Union!**

# Class Struggle Sharpens

Today the working class and its allies face unprecedented union-busting attacks and a drive toward nuclear war pursued by both capitalist parties. As Reagan was installing the anti-Soviet nuclear missiles, Greyhound strikers were walking the picket lines. Workers need a revolutionary program and leadership to mobilize the power of labor and blacks against their class enemies. We reprint below excerpts from a presentation given by a New York transit worker at an NYC public meeting December 9 titled, "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League."

## "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League"

I wanted to start out talking about the Greyhound strike. I'm happy to see that there's a lot of brothers from Transport Local 100 who came tonight, because I think there is a recognition in the labor movement now that if they get Greyhound, who's next? I think there's a recognition that there should have been hundreds of union militants out there with those guys helping to man picket lines so that those buses never got off the dock. The Teamsters, the railway workers, the airline workers—you've got to grind it to a halt.

The problem is that the rank-and-file ATU [Amalgamated Transit Union] members have been left largely on their own, and those guys *tried*. In Philadelphia 1,300 of them and other unionists in the city got out there the first day and stopped the buses for 12 hours. But the question is the leadership. Now a man is dead! A striker was hit by a scab driver. And those ATU leaders come back with the same damn offer that Greyhound put on the table in the first place, that take-it-or-leave-it offer. So what are they supposed to do in the face of this? There has to be a fight. They should take the contract and burn it. They should do what the miners did to Arnold Miller in



Support rally for Greyhound strikers in New York City, November 23—Labor must stop the buses! For a national transport strike!

the 1978 coal strike, because he did the same thing to those guys. He brought them two rotten packages, and they put both of them in the bonfire. The way forward is for elected strike committees to run this strike, and that means the guys who want to run this strike have to say no to this deal. The way we fight it is mass pickets, and we go to the rest of the labor movement and we get backing, including national strike action by other transport workers unions.

Because the sentiment *is* there. This comes after PATCO [the air traffic controllers union busted by Reagan in 1981]. There's a widespread sentiment

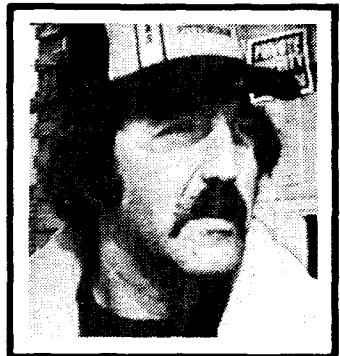
now amongst union members that the labor movement didn't do right by PATCO. The leadership let them hang alone. So that now *any* union is fair game. The labor movement was caught a little bit by surprise when PATCO happened. Also there was a little difficulty feeling much sympathy for these guys that make \$45,000 and furthermore voted for that damn Reagan. But the issue was bigger than that. A lot of people knew it then, and a lot more people know it now. And with the ATU you're talking about drivers and black women who clean the toilets in the terminals. It's one of the reasons that the labor movement is really aroused. It's really felt, *it can happen here*.

What will it take to win? Comrade James Cannon, who was the leader and founder of the Trotskyist movement in this country, said something very important about strikes and strike strategy. It was at the time there was a big maritime strike on the Pacific Coast in 1936. He pointed out that a strike is a bullheaded struggle between two forces

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**Jesse Jackson:  
Front Man  
for the Racist Democrats**

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PHILLIPS  
LABOR  
MARTYR**

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# Class Struggle Sharpens...

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whose interests are in constant and irreconcilable conflict. The partnership of labor and capital is a lie. The immediate issue in every case is decided by the relative strength of the two forces competing at the moment. The question you had better ask every time you go into battle: who are your friends, who are your potential allies and who are your enemies?

The ATU is distributing a petition to [New York governor] Mario Cuomo to revoke the operating licenses of Greyhound in this state. Now, what's the problem with that? The problem is you're going hat-in-hand to the very labor-hating politicians who are busting this strike. Mario Cuomo is our Democratic governor. Ed Koch is our Democratic mayor. Whose cops are out there scabberding at Port Authority? Whose cops in most cities, which are run by Democratic mayors, are out there busting these pickets! Over a hundred of them have been arrested, a lot of them beat up and thrown in jail. These are the guys [the Democratic mayors] who love to hate city workers and bust the city workers unions. They're there to implement Reagan's austerity. So you're going to go hat-in-hand to *them*?

The other thing that they've been pushing is this consumer boycott stuff. Your strength is not in appealing to this amorphous mass of consumers out there who are trying to get to Oshkosh. Your strength is in appealing to the union drivers, so that the passengers don't even have to worry about a choice because those buses aren't going to roll!

In this strike you run right up against the question of the state. As Marxists we have always maintained that the state exists for the subjection of one class by another class. It is not neutral, it doesn't society what the state exists for is to maintain the capitalist exploitation of the working class. Because whose cops are out there trying to break these strikes? Whose courts are out there trying to cripple the picket lines? Sure, you can have picket lines just as long as it's not more than three people. They

slap an injunction on you if you intend to stop the buses. The kind of police terror that is normal in the black community is now being used against the labor movement, hot and heavy.

## Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive on the Home Front

Why is this happening now to the labor movement? And why don't the labor leaders fight? People are generally aware that this country is going to war. The provocations are there, right? The Reagan government sends 269 people up in this Korean jetliner over strategic Soviet [military bases], and it gets shot down. Or he's playing chicken with the Soviet navy in every ocean of the world, disabling Soviet subs. And thank god the commanders of those submarines are quite controlled in their response or we might not be here tonight. Now you've got the raids in Lebanon against the Syrian positions, which is the Soviets' strategic ally in the Near East. So he's pushing it. This country is headed for war.

What stands in the way of that are basically two things. One is Soviet nuclear power. We'd better be thankful that the Soviets have the bomb, because it's given us a little breathing space. The other thing, in terms of this country's preparations for war, is [U.S. rulers] want to militarize the American working class so they can get us all to march lock step. This union-busting and this witchhunting in the unions is the effort to quash any organized resistance to the war drive in this country.

The question of protectionism here is really important because it's one of the tools that they use to line up workers behind "our" government. Whip up nationalist sentiment in this country against foreign workers, meanwhile the *real* problem is these capitalist outfits and how they're running this country and this economy into the ground.

These [anti-union] attacks are political. And the reason why the labor leaders won't fight them is also political, because these guys stand foursquare behind Reagan's war drive against the Soviet Union. The people that presently lead the unions are mainly the people who built their careers driving socialists and militants out of the unions after the [Second World] War. That's who's there, and they've never fought. Since



Oakland, October 29—Hundreds rally to defense of Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero.

they're going to lay down, roll over and put their legs up in the air, both the government and companies have felt emboldened and they've gone to outright union-busting.

## For Labor/Black Struggle

That's basically their message, that blacks don't have a right to fight against racist attacks and workers don't have a right to defend their pickets. It's one of the important things about the Ray and Lauren case on the West Coast. [During the national phone strike last August Lauren Mozee, while on picket duty in San Leandro, California, was hit in the face by a white racist scab supervisor, Michelle Rose Hansen, who called her a "black nigger bitch." Lauren defended herself and the picket line, and her companion Ray Palmiero came to her assistance. Now they are fired and charged with felonies carrying up to seven and a half years in prison.]

What's important is that you've got a real hard core of the Bay Area labor movement behind that case. You've got a very impressive united-front defense effort, which includes many prominent

public officials like [black Democratic Congressman] Ron Dellums and [Alameda County supervisor] John George, and you're dragging behind also organizations like the Communist Party. At the demonstration [on October 29 in Oakland] there were striking workers, interracial couples (lots of them) and people who had experience with brutality at the hands of the police.

South Africa-style justice is still a big issue in this country. Look at the Taylor family case [in Montgomery, Alabama]. Auto workers went down from Ohio and Michigan to mourn their mother, and their mourning is busted up by a couple of racist cops. They defend themselves and *they're* up on charges that could land them in jail for years. But it's not just the South, right? We all knew that—we saw it happen in Brooklyn. They beat our union brother [Willie Turks] to death because he was black and he had the damn nerve to go out for a bagel and a beer after work.

We've got "up South" racism too. And in this country it's really deep. We had a Civil War, which freed the slaves, but blacks are still on the bottom. You've got one nation, two races, one on top of the other. And there's no way out under this system. In the civil rights movement it took mass struggles to win *anything* for black people. But the civil rights movement hit a dead end, because it couldn't answer what this system, meaning capitalism, does to black people. And now some of the best elements of that movement are presently around this party, partly because it has been in the forefront of fighting the Klan/Nazi fascist terror. Five times they tried to march—in Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago and Wash-

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# L.A. Greyhound Strikers Give Big to Lauren and Ray Defense

LOS ANGELES, December 6—Four hundred spirited Greyhound strikers, meeting today to discuss terms of their takeaway contract, dug deep into their pockets and donated a grand total of \$459.45 for the defense of victimized phone strikers Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. This powerful display of labor solidarity is a testament to the fighting spirit exhibited by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) rank and file throughout this strike. This impressive amount of money was collected from workers who haven't seen a paycheck in over a month.

Manuel Delgadillo, Phone Strikers Defense Committee representative, was introduced at the meeting by noting that Manuel's local, CWA 11502, donated \$500 to the ATU strike fund. This announcement was greeted warmly. Manuel explained the background to the racist, anti-labor frame-up of Lauren and Ray and linked it to the Greyhound strike:

"Lauren Mozee, who is black, was walking the picket line in San Leandro when a scab manager, who had been very provocative on the line, called her a 'black nigger bitch,' struck her in the

face, breaking her lip. Lauren of course defended herself. Ray Palmiero, her companion, was also walking the lines and came to her aid. Now they both face four years in prison as a result of this.

"The bosses are out to bust the unions, as Greyhound is trying to do to your union here. All of labor is under the gun. We can't allow the bosses to ram their takebacks down our throats. All labor must stand together against the bosses. You need the support of all transport to win against Greyhound. We will do whatever it takes to win this strike. If it takes shutting down communications, I will go back and fight for that in my union.

"This case is not just about two individual phone workers. This is an attack on all labor, an attack on the picket line. Lauren and Ray need the support of all labor who defend the picket line and the right to defend ourselves against racist attack. I know you are on strike, but I would like you to contribute what you can and help support these two phone workers. Thank you."

Workers enthusiastically applauded

and pulled out their wallets. Many workers, especially blacks, waved their money in the air to ensure that the collection would not pass them by. When Delgadillo returned to the podium to thank the ATUers for their generosity and announced the amount donated the room filled with cheers.

The Phone Strikers Defense Committee's appearance was the highlight of this meeting. After being told by their union leaders to support a defeat—to vote for a 14 percent takeaway contract—ATU ranks refused to let their anger and bitterness turn them away from supporting Lauren and Ray. Strikers, especially black workers, began to leave the meeting in disgust. A worker passing a *WV* salesman responded to our call for a national transport strike by saying, "We need a goddamn general strike!" If this contract stands it will represent a defeat for all working people. *Workers Vanguard* salutes the gut-level fighting spirit and generosity of the L.A. Greyhound strikers showed by their impressive support to the defense of Lauren and Ray.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

# Defend Picket Lines! Defend Blacks!

# Defend Lauren and Ray!

We reprint below excerpts from a presentation by Deborah Mackson, secretary of the Partisan Defense Committee, given at a New York City Spartacist League forum on December 9.

As you know, there was a very bitter phone strike last August. On the tenth of that month Lauren Mozee, a black mother of two children, former Black Panther, avowed socialist, member of an opposition caucus within the CWA, the Militant Action Caucus, was doing her duty on the picket line in that Klan-infested area of California known as San Leandro. With her fellow workers she was defending the elementary rights of every worker in this country, her job, her union and the right to strike.

Now, on that day Michelle Rose Hansen, a racist low-level phone company manager, crossed that picket line and called Lauren a "black nigger bitch." She [Hansen] then hit her in the face. Lauren defended herself. And her companion and fellow unionist, fellow socialist Ray Palmiero, son of Italian working-class immigrants, came to her assistance.

Now, over the next several days Lauren and Ray and every black and every trade unionist in this country received a message from a group of representatives of the bourgeois state, that being the phone company, the District Attorney's office and the local police. Lauren and Ray were fired from their jobs. Lauren and Ray were denied

against racist attack, and workers have no right to defend their picket lines. Now, this is an outrage! And on many different levels. In the first place, if you just look at the incident itself, worse altercations happen in Oakland bars every Saturday night, believe me. But on a more general basis, look at what this means. Everyone in this room knows to some degree the history of the struggle for trade unions and their right to strike in this country. Those victories were not won in negotiations. They were not won in the courts, but they were won on the streets. And on the streets things were not friendly. There were hard-fought battles there. And believe me, when the battles were through scabs were not walking around on two legs going to the courts and bringing charges against picketers.

So this case is a really crystal clear example of what the present rulers of this country have in store for workers and blacks. Unemployment, poverty, racial oppression, atomization in more ways than one, and if you don't like it—jail. Well, Lauren and Ray weren't about to take this. And neither were we, and neither was the working and black population of the city of Oakland and the Oakland Bay Area. We want to tear up that message from those people and throw it back in their faces.

On October 29 a united-front demonstration [demanding] freedom and jobs back for Lauren and Ray was held on the steps of the Alameda County

wanted to continue to have any credibility in the Bay Area, large numbers of phone workers and other unionists, the socialists of the Spartacist League, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense and others, and many individuals who simply could not stand by and not do anything about this case.

And I think that one of the most interesting things in fact about that group of people who came to that demonstration was there were a large number of integrated couples there who came and brought their children. Now, that indicates something about the level of people's commitment to seeing that this doesn't happen.

Now, the demonstration itself, as I said, was very spirited. And in addition to that, the cop harassment that we experienced during the course of this demonstration was way, way out of proportion to anything that one could have imagined. We worked very hard in advance with talking to the mayor, telling people exactly what we wanted to do. And during the course of that demonstration there were at least four people who were hit by police motorcycle handlebars and mirrors on the motorcycles. When the march came into the Alameda County Courthouse area, the police had a whole bank of motorcycles just waiting for the demonstration to come in. As soon as the demonstrators moved around the corner in front of the courthouse, all of those motorcycles started and came sweeping down the street to try and clear the street. So it was very clear that they know too what's going on. And this kind of cop harassment of Lauren and Ray and their supporters continues in the Bay Area today still.

The Labor/Black League had worked very hard at building this demonstration. In the course of that building they talked to people about this case and got a number of new members, so that the Labor/Black League in the Bay Area today now has over 50 members.

The work is not done on this case. This is an ongoing united-front defense effort. And there have been several things that have happened since that demonstration. There was a benefit that was organized for the case of Lauren and Ray which was extremely well attended. And at the time that the benefit was over we had more cop harassment, with four squad cars coming into the area, police following Lauren and Ray and their security guard to a local restaurant and waiting for them to come out, things like that. But nevertheless people stuck right by Lauren and Ray and were not put off by that.

Courthouse. Now, just the publicity that attended the building of that demonstration, in fact, was a very major part of why the day before that demonstration the District Attorney wound up dropping the great bodily injury clause from one of the felony charges.

If you look at the list in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, of people who endorsed this case and endorsed this demonstration, you can see that the import and implications of this case are very, very clear. Individuals, Ron Dellums for example, endorsed this demonstration. Any organization on the left in this country who wanted to continue to have any credibility with the working class endorsed this demonstration.

And the demonstration itself was extremely impressive. On October 29 we had 400 very militant, serious, committed people turn out. And they were committed to seeing that Lauren and Ray don't go to jail. And I'm very happy to tell you that their commitment in fact does continue. It wasn't just for that one day of that demonstration.

So who were they? Well, they were, for example, what I think is the fighting core of the union leadership of the Bay Area, representing thousands of workers, local politicians from the area who



WV Photo  
Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero on the picket line in San Leandro, August 1983.

Also, on December 1 Lauren and Ray for the first time since the demonstration went back to court, and supporters of theirs, unionists, Spartacist League supporters, Labor/Black League members organized their friends and other supporters to come to the courtroom. And they packed the courtroom. We just had every seat in the entire courtroom. And various members of the prosecution team and Michelle Rose Hansen were heard to whisper to each other, "They're everywhere!" [Laughter.] And that's where we want to be, everywhere.

So we want to continue to build the defense effort and publicize this case across the country, but that takes money. And the Partisan Defense Committee is helping in raising funds for this case. So if you're here tonight and you haven't made a substantial donation to this case, please, we'll take checks, we'll take cash, we'll take almost anything. The publicity and the other activities must continue because these people cannot be allowed to go to jail.

So in conclusion I just want to make the point that the Spartacist League is a small organization but we are a very vital part of the struggle for survival and for advancement of blacks and working people in this country. Because, you see, we understand history, we understand the big picture. We understand how this case fits into the history of the working class in this country, and we know that our program for a multiracial vanguard party which can actually lead the working class in successful struggle toward the workers government is the only hope for the workers of this country and indeed of the world. ■



WV Photo  
Militant demonstrators demand freedom and jobs for Lauren and Ray in Oakland, October 29.

unemployment. Lauren and Ray were charged with enough felony counts to put them in state prison for seven to eight years. The racist scab Michelle Rose Hansen still has her job.

So the message of this blatant act of politicized racism is quite clear. Blacks have no right to defend themselves

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## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

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## Smash Thatcher Union-Busting! Victory to the Printers Strike!

# Showdown for British Labor

Cowboy Reagan and Iron Lady Thatcher personify capitalist reaction amid the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Their program: break the power of organized labor to increase the rate of exploitation; slash social services and social-welfare programs; prepare for war against the Soviet Union. They must be brought down by mass strike action!

Within months of coming to office Reagan fired an entire union of striking air controllers (PATCO). The destruction of PATCO set the stage for the give-back contracts throughout U.S. industry and encouraged further union-busting now centered on Greyhound. The British trade-union movement is stronger, more entrenched and far more combative than the American. Despite depression-level unemployment, in part deliberately induced by Thatcher's monetarist economics, union power at the base has not been broken.

Last year Thatcher launched a frontal assault: the Tebbit Act. This law aims to destroy the strong closed-shop tradition of the British labor movement. Unions are now subject to fines up to £250,000 (\$360,000) for engaging in "secondary boycotts" and industrial actions deemed "political." Now the attempt by a small, right-wing publisher in northern England to break the closed-shop agreement with the National Graphical Association (NGA, printers union) has drawn the battle line against Tebbit and the entire Tory union-busting offensive. On November 29, 4,000 members of the NGA and other trade-union supporters confronted 2,000 scabberding cops.

British labor must not lose this fight. The Spartacist League/Britain is agitating for a national printers strike and support action by the Trades Union Congress (TUC), if necessary with a general strike. At a support rally in Manchester on December 1 our comrades led militants in chants of "Shut down Fleet Street!" the center of the British newspaper industry.

The industrial showdown over the printers strike has predictably aggravated the Cold War split in the Labour Party between the NATO-loyal, CIA-

connected right wing and the "little England" left social democrats like Tony Benn. The Labour rights have openly denounced the printers for "illegality" and "violence" as union pickets are brutally attacked by Thatcher's cops. We say: Drive the NATO-loving right wing out of the Labour Party! Meanwhile, the Labour "lefts" have done nothing except talk about changing the Tories' anti-union legisla-



Warrington, England—Militant printers and other unionists defend picket line against Thatcher's scabberding cops.

tion in the great by-and-by. But when they are in office the Labour Party tops—agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement—do their best to suppress working-class struggle. Remember Callaghan's "social contract" in the mid-1970s. The printers strike must and will be won on the picket lines against the defeatist policies of the Labour Party and TUC bureaucracy. We reprint below a leaflet issued on November 30 by the Spartacist League/Britain on this critical class battle.

### Spartacist League Says: Defend the NGA—Defeat the Tory Union Bashers!

Tuesday night Maggie Thatcher's helmeted and visored boot boys rampaged against union picketers in Warrington, injuring and arresting dozens and destroying the NGA van and sound system. The fist of Tory hatred for the

working class is coming down. The whole union movement must respond in kind. Remember Saltley Gates—flying pickets from every union should be pouring in to Warrington right now to build the mass pickets! Attempts to smash the picket lines must be met with determination—for disciplined trade-union-organised defence squads! The lockouts and provocations against the NGA's Fleet Street bastion show the

bosses want to smash the NGA, one of Britain's strongest unions, built on the closed shop and the union hiring list. Its Fleet Street chapels were in the forefront of the Pentonville Five strike that forced Heath to free the dockers' leaders in 1972. Answer lockouts and the juridical theft of NGA assets with mass occupations. What is posed is not simply the defence of the NGA but of the entire trade-union movement. If they beat the NGA, who will be next? Not a penny of union money to the capitalist courts—no reliance on the dead-end of arbitration. *Reinstate all sacked workers! Drop all charges against arrested picketers! Smash all the Tory anti-union laws—Picket lines mean don't cross! Take on the bosses' union-bashing provocation—All out on Fleet Street! For a national all-union print strike!*

The government attacks on the unions are part of a political drive to

smash the gains of the working class everywhere. The Iron Lady and her NATO allies are driving for nuclear war against the Soviet workers state. At home she sends the police out to crack the heads of workers and minorities, while she lauds Solidarność, the CIA company union for counterrevolution in Poland. *Thatcher hates the NGA, Thatcher hates the USSR—Defend the workers unions, defend the workers states!*

Miners are already on overtime ban. Ford workers are voting to strike in meetings up and down the country. The POEU [Post Office Engineering Union] still has a fight to win after the craven capitulation to the courts of their 'leadership.' The powerful TGWU [Transport & General Workers Union] has promised full support—but the only real support is to join the NGA in strike action right now! The ruling class freed the Pentonville Five eleven years ago when faced with the threat of a general strike. A general strike is what's on the agenda now. No TUC sellout—the TUC must back the NGA all the way, up to and including a general strike!

All the important battles of the working class have been won outside the bosses' courts—and outside the bosses' Parliament. But the Labour Party leadership is telling you to crawl before the decisions of the bosses' courts and their laws. No way! The Labour Party wants constitutional windbagery in Westminster. We want to win on the picket lines!

The Fleet Street vultures carry on about 'union privileges.' What a filthy joke! The British working class—privileged? The only privileges workers in this country have are to live in the shadow of the dole in crumbling cities in the most decaying economy in Europe. Every gain of union organisation, every small protection has been fought for over and over. It's vital to defend the workers' fighting organisations. Victory now can give a lead to all workers and oppressed and, with the construction of a revolutionary leadership, open the road to workers power.

- Build the Warrington mass pickets! Flying pickets from every union to shut Messenger down!
- All out on Fleet Street! For a national all-union print strike!
- TUC must back the NGA all the way, up to and including a general strike!
- Give Thatcher the Heath treatment—Mass action to bring down the Tories! Jobs for all, worksharing on full pay! Take the economy out of the bosses' hands—For socialist planning and a workers soviet government! ■

## Stop Greyhound Union-Busting!

# Militants Campaign for a Fighting TWU

The current elections in New York City's Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 offer an especially clear choice between class-struggle politics and the bureaucracy's capitulation to all-out union-busting. The campaign of the Committee for a Fighting TWU—which is running Ed Kartsen for president, David Brewer and Jim Smith for executive board of their respective divisions—has focused on the need for a national transport strike to defeat Greyhound's union-busting attack on the brothers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). The John Lawe regime of TWU Local 100 sabotaged any effective action in support of the Greyhound strike. At bottom these bureaucrats are demonstrating their loyalty to the Democratic Party and the capitalist system it

represents. The Committee for a Fighting TWU says: Break with the Democrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! We reprint below excerpts from Ed Kartsen's presentation at a forum on "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League" in New York City, December 9.

During these elections we haven't been grandstanding on the basis of running simply for posts. We've been fighting for the program that will advance the working class, defend it, unite it against the attacks by management, reasserting the basic foundations of trade unionism like the picket line. It means don't cross and not for information. We're not about a game of grandstanding for the Democrats

and blowing a lot of hot steam.

In the TWU a motion was put forward in a number of meetings:

"Greyhound's scabberding union-busting attack on the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) is an attack on not only the transport workers unions but the entire labor movement like Reagan's attack on PATCO. What's really needed is a solid national transport workers strike to stop this union-busting crap. We should mobilize our members and the entire union to get out to help man the ATU picket lines. We need labor power not protest gestures. A nationwide transport strike and round-the-clock mass pickets can stop those buses from rolling over American trade unionism."

That motion passed in one section of the Transport Workers Union, a meeting of track workers. The central [TWU] bureaucracy, however, did their "part" to go down to the ATU demonstration at Port Authority, [treating it] primarily as a big pep rally for John Lawe. Members of the Committee for a Fighting TWU were there at the rally a few weeks ago. And one demand that was raised, one chant that was raised was taken up by the entire crowd in the face of all the Democratic Party speakers and a lot of the hot air that the bureaucracy was

putting out. The demand was "Stop the buses!" This chant was taken up. Unfortunately, the AFL-CIO leadership that ran that rally was too busy trying to stay within the confines of acceptable business unionism, providing a platform for the "respectable" Democratic politicians. Now an ATU striker is dead, killed by a scab protected by the bosses' cops, which in many cities are called out by these so-called "friends of labor," the Democrats. And the AFL-CIO leadership has not lifted a finger to close down every transport facility in this country, which is what is needed.

This election has laid a foundation for fighting for a leadership that's going to lead the TWU out of this quagmire. Because what's needed is a leadership that's not going to dampen, dilute or weaken the struggle of the working class particularly at moments when it's most important to fight. The working class needs its own party, not the Democrats or Republicans. We need a party that's going to fight to mobilize to smash the Klan and finish the Civil War. The fight continues to build the kind of militant leadership that will form a general staff of a working-class counteroffensive.

# Greyhound Scab Driver Runs Down Strike Picket Captain

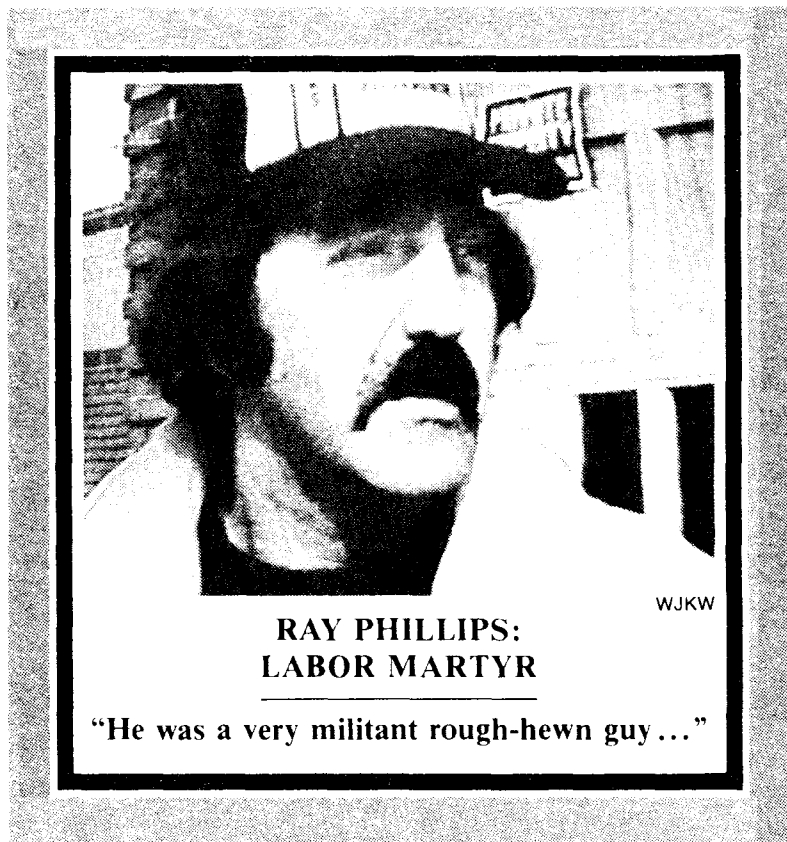
## Ray Phillips: Labor Martyr

CLEVELAND, December 9—Six hundred transport workers from all over the country jammed into the tiny Lutheran Reformation Church in Eastlake, Ohio to attend the last rites for Raymond L. Phillips. Brother Ray was murdered in cold blood by a scab Greyhound driver on December 5 while picketing outside Zanesville, Ohio, about three hours south of Cleveland.

The somber church ceremony was followed by a car caravan to the Willoughby Lakefront Cemetery. There, surrounded by hundreds of his union brothers and sisters huddled in a heavy snowfall, with a three-round salute from the local VFW, to the sounds of taps and the gentle sobbing of his grieving wife and mother, Ray Phillips was buried.

Ray was a union martyr in the war against labor being waged by Reagan and all the bosses. A well-known and respected member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043 in Cleveland, at the age of 42 he had been a Greyhound driver for 13 years. He was a very militant rough-hewn guy opposed to all the givebacks in the current contract. He defended the picket line, declaring in a local television interview that ATUers "were not going to cross the picket lines to go back to work for the same conditions they'd been out here fighting for." He was the picket captain

The union has announced it is in the process of setting up a fund for the support of Ray's wife Linda and their four children. Checks should be made out to Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043 and earmarked for the Ray Phillips Memorial Fund. The Partisan Defense Committee has made a donation and urges readers of *Workers Vanguard* to do likewise. Send to: Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1043, c/o Richard Scott, Financial Secretary, 1538 Payne Ave., Cleveland, OH 44114.



of a crew at the lines out in front of the Greyhound terminal on Chester Avenue in downtown Cleveland. Ray appreciated all expressions of solidarity with the strikers and understood the importance of labor unity to prevent any more PATCOs. He was very friendly with *Workers Vanguard*, purchased our paper on at least two occasions and talked with us at length. Our comrades remember Ray as a decent and honest unionist with determination and commitment.

Greyhound had not felt confident enough to challenge the militant traditions of Ohio Teamsters or ATU Local 1043, which had wildcatted at the expiration of two previous contracts. The company has not been running buses out of Ohio. But when unionists learned that Greyhound was opening a

training school for scab drivers in Zanesville, Ray Phillips was among scores of ATU members from Cleveland, Columbus, Pittsburgh and Charleston who volunteered to go down and picket. On December 5, some picketers approached an unmarked scab bus at the intersection of Ohio Routes 797 and 40. Scab Lewis Harris accelerated through a stop sign and blinking red light while making a left turn. Hugo Fox, an ATU eyewitness, described what happened: "Ray Phillips was walking in front, shaking his fist at the bus. The instructor (who was in the front of the bus with the trainee) motioned for the driver to go ahead. The bus sped up. Ray tried to jump out of the way. His feet got tangled up and he tripped. The bus ran over his legs. You could hear the pop... I was hollering

'Hold it. Hold it.'" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 6 December). But the bus didn't hold it. As Ray was trying to crawl out of the way the back wheels went over him, crushing his skull. The bus continued on for *more than a mile*, before a sheriff's deputy pulled it over.

The immediate aftermath was shock and outrage. Within hours Columbus ATUers sent a memorial pine wreath with a large black ribbon to Cleveland. It was quickly posted next to a makeshift sign reading "Greyhound caused the death of our friend" in front of the Chester Avenue terminal. When news of the homicide reached Pittsburgh scores of ATUers, many of whom knew Ray from his frequent runs through that city, spontaneously showed up at their picket lines and held an impromptu memorial. The next day over 200 unionists wearing black armbands—Cleveland Greyhound workers in uniform, meatcutters, roofers, machinists and communications workers—marched grimly through Zanesville chanting, "Arrest the killer scab, the whole world is watching!"

Outrageously, neither the scab driver nor any of his trainers were charged in connection with this foul murder. On December 13 the Muskingum County prosecutor announced that Phillips' death was "accidental" and no indictments would be issued. The courts ruled it was legal to murder strikers! The obvious partiality of the cops and courts became a major focus in a protest memorial held in downtown Cleveland on December 7. About 200 marched through the bitter cold: hand-lettered signs read "Brother Ray is on each picket line" and "Ohio is a right-to-kill state."

Two days later seven busloads of ATUers—two each from Pittsburgh and Columbus, and one from Philadelphia, Buffalo and Cincinnati—were there to honor Ray Phillips. Black and white unionists formed car pools to travel from Chicago and Detroit.

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## No Surrender—Tear Up the Sellout Contract!

# Beat Greyhound! For a National Transport Strike!

Despite company and cop violence and bureaucratic sabotage, striking Greyhound workers of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) along with thousands of active supporters throughout the labor movement have shown plenty of willingness to fight. In Philadelphia on November 29 a caravan of Teamsters in fifteen 40-foot semis, dozens of cars and one horse-drawn carriage blocked the Greyhound station at the height of the morning rush hour. There were mass labor rallies in New York, Boston and San Francisco. But union officials have limited picket lines and diverted militant picketers from stopping buses.

And now ATU leaders, in connivance with the AFL-CIO tops and federal mediators, are trying to shove a horrendous contract (including a 15 percent cut in wages and benefits) down the throats of the ranks. The deal, virtually

identical to one rejected by a 96 percent margin two weeks ago, would retain scabs "in order of seniority." And there will be plenty of openings for them, because there's no provision for amnesty for strikers facing criminal and federal charges. If this goes through, the bloody murderers of Ray Phillips will get away with firings and huge pay cuts, and all labor will be weakened. ATU members: tear up Greyhound's surrender terms and vote it down! A central demand of any settlement must be to rehire all strikers with no disciplines! No more sellouts: for elected strike committees to select a new national bargaining council! ATU strikers must forge links with Teamsters, longshoremen, transit workers, rail and airline workers. For mass picketing to stop the buses! For a national transport strike!

In San Francisco it was evident that the 1,500 Bay Area trade unionists who

rallied December 3 wanted militant action, not impotent protest. According to an account in the December 9 "Longshore-Warehouse Militant":

"In S.F., December 3, the bureaucrats tried the same story on over 1500 very militant unionists who rallied in support of the Greyhound strikers. After over an hour of boring 'we're with you 100 percent' speeches union members, who were ready to shut it down, marched down Market Street to the Greyhound Terminal, chanting 'On Strike! Shut it Down!' However, the long-winded bureaucrats were nowhere to be seen when the angry unionists tried to get into the locked terminal. Whenever it looked like something militant would happen, the bureaucrats jumped in to 'control' the situation. But in spite of pleas by various union 'leaders' to disperse, the angry union members continued to demonstrate, shutting down traffic for nearly two hours, shouting 'No More PATCO's!' and 'Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!' The bureaucrats wanted to protest, but

the workers wanted to fight! They know that if Greyhound's union busting isn't defeated they will be next."

In San Francisco, where the industrial unions were forged out of the powerful general strike in 1934, sentiment for labor solidarity is particularly strong. So the bureaucrats *talk* more militant there. ILWU top Jimmy Herman claims he's for a port shutdown "if called upon"—while doing everything possible to make sure that no one calls upon him. No longshoreman takes Herman seriously in his oft-repeated threat, as he has consistently repressed strike action against the bosses and lines up his union behind Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. His real role was revealed when he personally interposed himself to help disperse picketers who sought to blockade the SF Greyhound terminal on December 3.

The real fighters for class-struggle action have been the Spartacist League and class-struggle caucuses in the unions such as the Militant Action

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**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard**  
**skips a week in**  
**December.**  
**Our next issue will be**  
**dated January 6.**

# Blacks, Labor Need a Workers Party!

## Jesse Jackson: Front Man for the Racist Democrats

Jesse Jackson is part of the problem of racist reaction, not part of the solution. Black people in America's ghettos are suffering as never before. Anything seems better than continuing under the whip of Reagan racism. Black lives are on the line, and there is an increasing understanding that it means struggle or die. But Jesse Jackson is not part of that struggle. His role is to stop black struggle before it starts. His campaign is not about getting anything for black people, it is about helping the Democrats take away even more.

Jackson is a shill in Walter Mondale's game. The way the scenario goes: Mondale gets the presidency. Jackson gets to strut around the Democratic convention talking in rhyme and soaking up the media, and the black masses get more of the same...shit. After voting for Reagan's war-and-starvation budgets, the Democrats are trying to sell the same cutback-takeback-rollback politics all over again. We say: Don't buy Jesse Jackson! We need to fight back, to bring Reagan down with labor/black action!

It was the black vote which elected Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter in 1976. In 1980, after four years of racist cutbacks, black people stayed away from the polls in record numbers. Now the Democrats badly need the black vote to elect Carter's VP. They figure they need 25 percent more black voters particularly in the South to tip the electoral balance in favor of Mondale. But they know blacks aren't going to register in big numbers for "Fritz."

So Jackson's job is to try to convince black people that the Democratic Party can be made to work for them rather than in the interests of the racist capitalist system. When Jesse Jackson singsongs "There's a freedom train a comin', but you got to register to ride," he's selling the Democratic ticket—from the Dixiecrats to the Northern liberals who knifed busing as soon as it was a question of integrating schools in their

**Jesse Jackson glad-hands George "Segregation Forever" Wallace, in attempt to sell Dixiecrats to blacks: "There appears, among the Democrats, to be a general theme of redemption and reconciliation."**

—Jesse Jackson, 1983



districts.

The Democratic bigwigs want to reconcile black voters to the racist Dixiecrats as part of their "Southern strategy." So there was Jesse Jackson last spring hugging George ("Segregation Forever") Wallace in the Montgomery, Alabama state house—the cradle of the old slavocracy—and whooping: "The South can rise again!" Jesse Jackson will do anything.

"Our time has come," says Jackson over and over again. But is it time for struggle? Not according to this demagogue for the Democrats. In the heat of

the struggle for busing Jackson made his position clear while racist mobs stoned black school kids on the streets of Boston and burned buses in Michigan. The *Chicago Tribune* (19 May 1974) exposed Jackson's hostility to busing: "Neither blacks nor whites really want integration, the Rev. Jesse Jackson says, and the time has come to abandon the fight to establish a racially integrated society."

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt black votes have been used to elect Democrats. And what do black Americans have to show for it? Devastating

unemployment which attacks every aspect of social life like a cancer, increasing segregation and more "separate but unequal" legislation, some of the most miserable ghettos in the world ravaged by cop terror, and wars which take our children as cannon fodder. And it keeps getting worse.

Conditions for black people in America have become so hellish that sectors of the ruling class fear an explosion of black anger, anything from ghetto upheavals to industrial action by black workers. The Democrats want to exploit this sentiment to get their man in the White House in '84. But to appeal to impoverished blacks with their backs to the wall, they need someone with the image of an anti-establishment maverick, someone like Jesse Jackson. He calls up memories of the '60s civil rights struggles in order to deny their relevance today—to say that blacks should get what they can by other means, by leverage and maneuvering within the Democratic Party, if only they will give Jackson the electoral clout he needs to bargain with.

To head off the potential for explosive struggles against black oppression, Jesse Jackson is trying to drain black anger in a presidential protest vote. Thus his campaign is an *attack* on the mass militant struggles of the '60s. Speaking recently at a community college in Manhattan, Jackson told black and Latino students:

"You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses, you cannot serve the age of those who fought the Vietnam War...."

"We need not explode through riots as we had to in '63 to be heard.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution."

The fact is the gains of the civil rights movement, minimal as those gains were, were made only because hundreds of thousands of blacks occupied segregated restaurants, stores and public facilities, organized bus boycotts and rent strikes.

Food stamps, Medicaid, CETA and the rest were funneled into the ghettos because the white rulers feared social explosion in their cities. But it was nowhere near enough. So they bought off a layer of black hustlers—first as poverty pimps and then as "black elected officials," the so-called BEOs—to act as overseers for America's 20th century urban plantations. That was the end of the phony "war on poverty." So now they cynically declare ketchup a vegetable, cancel lunches for black school kids to pay for MX missiles, while the Ku Klux Klan lynches in Mobile and a racist Orange County cop can shoot a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, in his own home and then get a lifetime pension as a bounty.

Black liberation will not come from voting for the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. That will only lead to another defeat. Power for the black masses will come from militant *class* struggles like last year's November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK from parading in the nation's

## U.S. Rulers Fear Black Militancy

We reprint below some remarks on the Jesse Jackson candidacy made by an SL spokesman at the forum "The Class Struggle and the Spartacist League" in New York City on December 9.

It's no secret that blacks have been under attack, especially under Reagan and even before. But it's also no secret, especially to the ruling class, that blacks in this country are not helpless victims. Anybody who lived through the '60s knows that the mass struggles of black people ripped up this country. Not always in ways that were in the interests of blacks. It's not such a good idea to smash all the stores in the ghetto. But black people in the '60s ripped up this country! So what we used to call the white power structure is a little frightened of black militancy; they know that in most industries—

auto, steel, the docks, transit—there are a lot of black workers who could shut this country down.

But if you're going to attack blacks in this country, you can't just do it with guys like New York's despicable racist mayor Ed Koch, who got run out of Harlem [at hearings on police brutality last July]. If Ed Koch was mayor of Detroit, the blacks would burn down the Renaissance Center and would be taking over all the auto plants. If Ed Koch was mayor of Washington, D.C., which is 70 percent black, Reagan would really need all those [dump trucks] they're bringing into the White House.

So at the same time that you get all these attacks on the black masses, you also get the election of all these black mayors, these black front men whom blacks have illusions in and can

identify with. The cops protecting the Greyhound scabs in New York are Koch's cops. But not in Chicago. In Chicago they're Harold Washington's cops, in Detroit they're Coleman Young's cops, in Washington they're the cops of Marion Barry, who like Jackson used to be a big civil rights activist.

Blacks know that Reagan is their enemy, they know that Ed Koch is their enemy, they know that George Wallace, whom Jackson embraced, is their enemy. The really insidious enemies of black struggle, the enemies within, are the Coleman Youngs, Harold Washingtons and Jesse Jacksons. The struggle against the black Democrats as well as the openly racist white Democrats is critical to black liberation and finishing the Civil War in this country.

capital. Black demagogues like Jackson must be defeated politically by a class-struggle labor movement that links the ghetto to the factory and makes the cause of black freedom and working-class internationalism its own.

### Jesse Jackson: All-Purpose Capitalist Agent

Jesse Jackson is a well-known item in the black community. In his Chicago base of operations he has been the black front man for everyone from Coca-Cola to the Uncola, for the giant white corporations and the small parasitic ghetto businesses—all for a price. Jackson has gone to the Near East where he kissed Arafat in expectation of some Arab bucks. Now he comes out for U.S. "strategic cooperation" with Israel to kill Palestinians. And he is opposed to unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon.

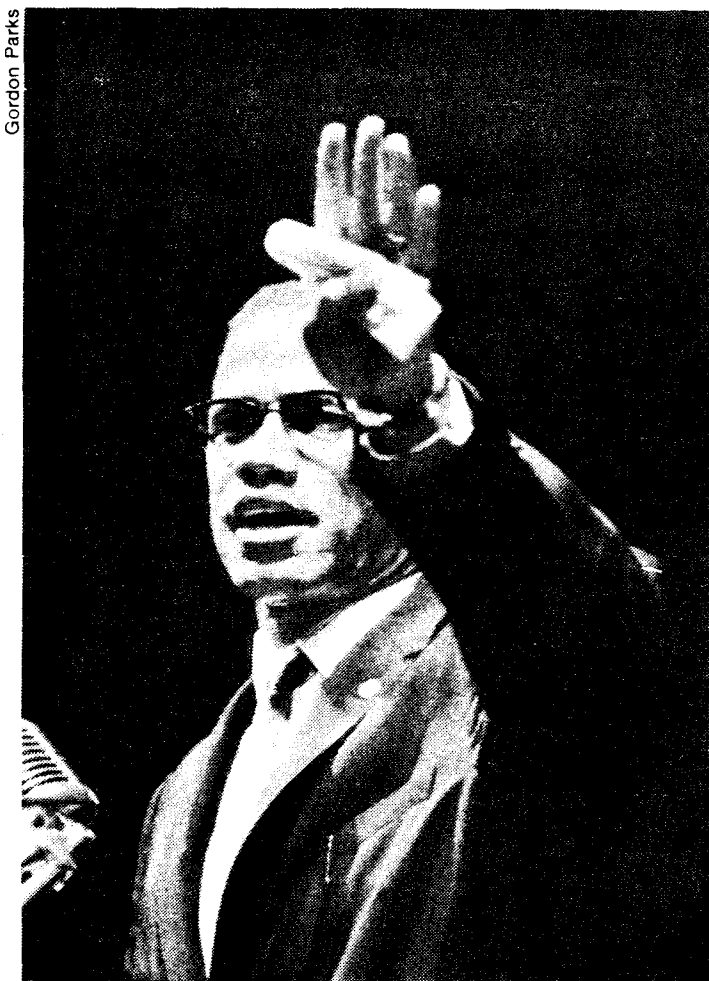
On a tour of racist South Africa in 1979, Jackson infuriated black power militants when he met with Chief Buthelezi, government-appointed head of the Zulu "bantustan" (those desolate concentration camps for dispossessed blacks which are a principal institution of apartheid). Jackson also praised Pieter Kornhof, South Africa's minister for "Black Affairs" (equivalent to Hitler's minister of "Jewish Affairs," Adolph Eichmann) as a "courageous man" for some cosmetic "reforms" of apartheid. A leader of the Soweto black ghetto denounced Jackson as a "diabolical Western agent"; another militant remarked that what was needed was "a Black Panther, not a black preacher."

Most importantly, Jackson shares fundamental political agreement with both capitalist parties on the central question of this period: the anti-Soviet war drive. Recently grandstanding at the Berlin Wall, Jackson sounded for all the world like a PR man for NATO headquarters. He told black GIs on Reagan's front lines in Germany, "If the American conventional forces were to pull out of Europe, that wall would begin to walk. The Iron Curtain would begin to shift" (*Village Voice*, 4 October). Many blacks do not weep for Reagan's and Mondale's and Jackson's favorite union, Solidarność, in part because they see that Polish workers eat a lot more meat than Harlem residents. Quite a few believe that if "the wall" did move to the west of the Newark ghetto or Chicago's South Side they'd be a lot better off.

In the 1960s even the right wing of the civil rights movement felt compelled to pay lip service to the struggle of black workers. Martin Luther King was assassinated in Memphis where he was leading demonstrations of striking black sanitation workers. Today BEOs from Andrew Young to Harold Washington are the black face of a Democratic machine that pretends to be a "friend of labor" on the campaign trail and delivers takebacks and strikebreaking when elected. But Jackson represents a

"When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power."

—Malcolm X, 1964



more sinister kind of black politician exemplified also by Brooklyn's Albert Vann and Rev. Herbert Daughtry, demagogues who led a capitalist onslaught against the unions in the 1968 NYC teachers strike. They exploit the dangerous racial polarization engendered by massive black poverty and unemployment combined with the indifference and discriminating job-trusting on the part of the American labor bureaucracy. It's the same game Nazi-lover Henry Ford played in conjunction with Detroit black preachers: using blacks as scabs to break the unions.

In the "Rainbow Coalition" there is no room for unions as Jesse Jackson sells himself to the Henry Fords of today's corporate America. During the 1980 Chicago firemen's strike, Jackson tried to lead a strikebreaking back-to-work movement; when that fizzled he went to work for then-mayor Jane Byrne as negotiator for the city. Jackson attacks organized labor for not providing jobs for blacks. But his main target has been the 55 percent black Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). His enemy is the integrated labor movement. In both the 1976 and 1983 CTU strikes, Jackson attempted to organize "alternate" scab schools and sued the union, claiming the strike was against the black community. Fortunately, these racially explosive union-busting antics flopped. Had they not, in the streets of Chicago blacks and labor would have drowned in the ensuing bloodshed.

Jackson even attacks the lowest paid and therefore mostly black workers. Echoing Reagan, Jackson told "Meet the Press" in 1978 that extending the

minimum wage to teenagers meant "for many millions of young black and brown teenagers in small marginal businesses they simply missed job opportunities." But there are some folks who draw a government paycheck that Jackson does have sympathy for: prison guards! When the screws at Cook County Jail got the "blue flu" in 1980, Jackson acted as their negotiator, helping them organize picket lines and turning PUSH headquarters over for their meeting hall.

There is one issue that Jackson does see eye-to-eye with the AFL-CIO tops as well as Mondale and George Wallace: protectionism. When Jackson was down at the Alabama state house praising "Jeff" Davis, he also played to racist protectionist sentiments (which find support not only among whites but even among many black workers), railing at "Honda and Toyota, Suzuki and Yamaha, Sony and Panasonic, being unloaded at the docks and replacing Buick and Chrysler in the American market" (*Washington Post*, 25 May). Protectionism breeds imperialist war abroad and race war at home. For American workers, black and white, the main enemy is right here in the U.S. of A.

### "Black Power" and the Black Mayors

"Voting: The New Black Power" reads the front page of the *New York Times Magazine* (27 November). The talk of "black power" at the voting booth has become deafening especially since the election of Harold Washington in Chicago. But blacks swing almost no weight in the Democratic Party, and these days mainstream Democrats don't even bother to make promises. Even in purely parliamentary terms, blacks are virtually unrepresented. More than a century after the Civil War there are no black senators, no black governors; there's not about to be a black president and everybody knows it. Not since the period of radical Reconstruction after the Civil War have black Americans wielded any real power in government.

What has the election of the BEOs done for the black masses? Just look at America's "inner cities." From Atlanta to Los Angeles these black Democrats preside over the murderous work of the racist cops who terrorize ghetto streets. Richard Hatcher, one of the first black mayors, oversees Gary, Indiana—one-time U.S. Steeltown, now practically a ghost town. What about Newark, which has had a black mayor for almost a decade and a half? Ever since he got into office (with the aid of Prudential Insurance Co.) and tried to break the

1970 teachers strike, Mayor Kenneth Gibson has administered the devastation of Newark, now officially the poorest big city in the country. Or Detroit, where Coleman Young broke the strike of the mainly black sanitation workers in order to welcome the 1980 Republican convention that nominated Ronald Reagan; where this black traitor rubs elbows with Henry Ford II and cynically proclaims a "Renaissance" while the auto plants are bulldozed. Is that "black power"?

Jackson's campaign was launched from the successful voter registration drive which helped elect Harold Washington in Chicago. Unlike Washington, Jackson isn't running to win. In part because Washington had a chance to get elected, his campaign and election were met with a fierce racist backlash. When this racist mobilization threatened to prevent him from assuming the normal prerogatives of elective office, we defended his democratic rights. But amid the euphoria and illusions generated by his campaign and electoral victory, we told the truth: "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago," was the headline in *Workers Vanguard*. And that betrayal of black aspirations in Chicago has started already. Layoffs of black and white city workers have taken place with more to come. Washington has made his pact with the rulers of Segregation City: there will be no busing, no attempt to desegregate housing. Racist cops terrorize the South Side ghetto just as before.

The BEOs are making it on the backs of the black masses. The creation of a somewhat wider petty bourgeoisie since the civil rights movement and the devastating attacks on the vast majority of black people go hand in hand. No wonder this totally phony "New Black Power" is hailed by the capitalist class, even its most conservative voices. The *Wall Street Journal* (28 November) met the Jackson campaign with a lead editorial titled "Je\$\$e for Pre\$ident," opining that:

"...Mr. Jackson's candidacy is another sign of the black community moving into the political mainstream. And this, as we noted recently in discussing the rise of black mayors, bodes well not only for blacks but for the society generally."

### Jesse and the Left: On the Road to Mondale

Unlike the black masses, the reformist left has no illusions about Jackson—they're building illusions. They are cynically supporting him and other black Democrats (Harold Washington in Chicago) as the easiest road into the anti-Reagan popular front. And for that they're more than willing to do the hustle with Jesse, peddling this "black capitalist" operator as a "challenge" to the capitalist system.

The most fervent builders of a "1984 all people's electoral front to defeat Reagan and all the anti-labor, racist anti-people Reaganites" are, of course, the ultra-reformist Stalinists of the Communist Party (CP). At its recent convention in Cleveland, CP superstar Angela Davis talked of "the historic candidacy of Rev. Jesse Jackson," while the party announced it would not field its own candidates until after the Democratic primaries. But the CP, which is so craven that it even chases after the likes of Mondale, worries:

"Some progressives are opposed to the Rev. Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the Democratic Party's nomination for the presidency because they fear such a candidacy might split the anti-Reagan front."

Not to worry, argues the CP, "it will strengthen, not detract from, the anti-Reagan front" because "his base of support, the Black community, represents a crucial component of the emerging independent political front." Translated into English, the CP is saying, truthfully, that Jackson is a stalking horse for Mondale.

The Communist Party has been

continued on page 8



Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982—5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated and principally organized by the Spartacist League, stops KKK from marching in the nation's capital.

# Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 7)

playing, and losing, this shell game for a long time—ever since FDR's New Deal in the 1930s. For the sake of unity with the "anti-fascist people's front" (read, the racist Democratic Party) in the Second World War the CP even opposed the struggle against Jim Crow—for example, sabotaging the 1941 March on Washington movement against segregation in the armed forces and war industries. Despite its all-out support to U.S. imperialism in WWII (including cheering the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), during the Cold War witchhunt under the liberal Democrat Truman its members were purged, hounded and imprisoned. But these Stalinists never learn. Today they are embracing Mondale, protégé of the vicious witchhunter Hubert Humphrey. And they push Jesse Jackson, who says integration is unimportant as he embraces George Wallace.

While the CP and Michael Harrington's social democrats (DSA) come right out and say that Jackson is a Mondale vote-getter, no less cynical fake-lefts like Jerry Tung's ex-Maoist CWP have gone whole-hog for the Jackson candidacy pretending that "the movement" is somehow a challenge to "the system" from within. Nonsense. The "Rainbow Coalition" is what the Democratic Party has been about since Roosevelt's New Deal coalition. The Democrats have been the predominant party of American capitalism in the modern era precisely because they have been able to tie organized labor, the ethnic minorities and various middle-class liberal constituencies to imperialism and the existing social order. Historically it has been the war party of American capitalism because it can mobilize broader popular support than the Republicans, widely recognized as a party of big business interests. Jackson's function is to help restore the Democratic Party to its accustomed position by winning back blacks disaffected during the wretched Carter/Mondale years.

The ex-Trotskyist and now explicitly anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), meanwhile, is trying to get as close to the Jackson campaign as it can without formally endorsing it. While publishing some critical material on Jackson for the record and entering a formal disclaimer, the SWP advocates "intervening in the movement he seeks to use to renovate the Democratic Party" (*Militant*, 11 November [emphasis in original]). Not opposing Jackson's candidacy, mind you, just "intervening" in it, calling on Jackson to "break with the Democratic party and run as an independent." The SWP would like to use as the vehicle for this charade the National Black Independent Political

**Jackson hustles the black vote for the Democrats at August 27 rally in Washington, D.C.**



Party (NBIPP), a stillborn coalition of "black unelected officials" which has never run a candidate independent of the twin capitalist parties and which will no doubt end up supporting Jackson just as they did Harold Washington.

Marxists, who fight for the revolutionary independence of the working class and oppressed minorities from the capitalist parties, can sometimes use the tactic of *critical support*, calling for votes to a candidate who on key issues echoes the demands and interests of the workers and ghetto masses. When SNCC militants formed the Lowndes County, Alabama Black Panther Party in 1965-66, the Spartacist League greeted this as "a step forward inasmuch as it was consciously organized in opposition to the Democratic Party" ("Black and Red," *Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). The better-known Black Panther Party based in Oakland, California was another expression of black militancy, and when the Panthers ran Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Kathleen Cleaver as candidates in 1968 California elections, the SL called for votes to them (but *not* to their running mates of the petty-bourgeois Peace and Freedom Party). However, just to list such examples of independent black political action vividly counterposes them to Jesse Jackson—yesterday's Mr. Black Capitalist and today's doormat for Mondale who is running *against* black struggle and *for* the racist Democrats.

For the past several years the American left has been moving to the right, especially under the pressure of the anti-Soviet war drive. The Jackson campaign is a further and important shift toward the reintegration of the left into the historically dominant party of American imperialism. Twenty years ago under the impact of the mass civil rights struggles and escalating imperialist war in Vietnam, a generation of young radicals, black and white, broke with the party of John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace. Unfortunately most of those who talked of building a "Marxist-Leninist" party were trapped in the dead ends of Maoism-Stalinism and black nationalism. Today many of these same radicals, long become cynical, have returned to the party of Teddy Kennedy, Walter Mondale and Wallace.

## "A Booker T. Washington in Bell-Bottoms"

Jesse Jackson is widely known among blacks—including many who support his campaign—as a hustler. Racists like Chicago's Democratic alderman "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak say the same. Vrdolyak no doubt prefers the big-time swindlers—white capitalist politicians like the "independently wealthy" Rockefellers and Kennedys, who made their fortunes by starving and exploiting whole continents and thus don't depend on handouts. But capitalism in the United States is white racist to the core. There aren't going to be any black Rockefellers. That is why "Mr. Black Capitalism" isn't even a bona fide capitalist, he's a *broker* for white capitalist corporations in their exploitation of the ghetto. A critical mid-'70s biography of Jackson remarked:

"To the establishment press he served a functional purpose. After the 1968 rioting, there were people dying, and even more impressive, \$10 million worth of white property had been destroyed.... The white establishment needed a neutralizer for the ardent rhetoric of burn, baby, burn. What they needed was a Booker T. Washington in bell-bottoms... who could out rap H. Rap Brown, but someone with more orderly oratory who could lead the militants away from the onslaught of property to another front. If Jackson wanted to boycott forty A&P stores in the ghetto, so what? There were 400 of them in and around the Chicago area.... Jackson offered an alternative the whites could live with."

—Barbara Reynolds, *Jesse Jackson: The Man, the Movement, the Myth* (1975)

The comparison to Booker T. Washington is an important and revealing one. For Jesse Jackson is not the first "Mr. Black Capitalism." That title belongs to Booker T. Washington who emerged as the most influential proponent of black accommodation to the racist *status quo* in the late nineteenth century. His movement was born in the wreckage of the political counterrevolution which defeated Reconstruction. With the Compromise of 1877, the Democrats and Republicans stripped black Americans of all the rights they had won under Reconstruction while the Ku Klux Klan emerged as the terrorist arm to keep them down. Yet Booker T. Washington and the tiny elite stratum of black middle-class professional men responded to the enforcement of vicious Jim Crow segregation as though it were a positive, exploitable development for black people.

At the heart of Booker T. Washington's movement was the idea of a separate black capitalist development in America. His National Negro Business League filled convention rooms across the land extolling the great opportunities and successes of black business. By supplying the needs of the ghetto, they argued, the black businessmen would get rich and the black masses would achieve equality, despite the evident barriers of racism. Useful to the segregationists and the capitalist establishment, Washington sat on the podium with Teddy Roosevelt himself. Capitalism, Washington claimed, knew no color line. Of course the truth was quite the opposite. From Booker T. to Jesse J., black business has been utterly insignificant in the American economy.

These fantasies of black capitalist success in America are the product of a black middle-class elite which is trapped in racist America. This small but visible group tries to escape identification with the black masses in order to identify with the white capitalist class. In the words of black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, these "black bourgeois" live in a "world of make believe." In his trenchant analysis, *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957), Frazier rips through the pretensions, lies, delusions, escapism and desperate futile craving for bourgeois acceptance by this black middle-class elite which lives off crumbs and philanthropy while it spits upon the aspirations of the black masses.

Booker T. Washington preached a brand of social and economic moral uplift for the black masses. And Jesse Jackson is indeed the continuation and degeneration of that miserable tradition of accommodationist make-believe. One hears the echoes of Booker T. Washington set to a rap beat as Jackson tours the ghetto schools of this country. "Up with hope—down with dope." "Learn, baby, learn" not "Burn, baby, burn"—Jackson's self-help message, like Washington's a century ago, is that through individual effort blacks can overcome the barriers of racism. This denies the fundamentally social character of racism and capitalism, and in effect blames blacks for the lack of opportunity in this racist land, for everything from drugs to crime to illiteracy.

Jackson's answer to the lousy schools which don't teach, the hospitals which don't cure, the unlivable housing? You can be a big success just like me. Like Booker T. Washington, Jackson offers himself as the example of up-from-civil-rights bootstrap moralism: "From the outhouse to the state house!" "I am somebody!" chants Jackson. "Always respect me, never neglect me! Give me mine!" Me, me, me. Just as the National Negro Business League pushed the lie that blacks could become successful black Rockefellers if they just tried hard enough, Jackson tells them they can be president. The real message, then and now, is: the system works, why don't you?

But the myth of "black capitalism" can't be sold in the ghettos today, so

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# Coca-Cola's Man in the Ghetto

## I Have a Scheme

Jesse Jackson first came to public prominence in 1966 when Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) came to Chicago to campaign for integrated housing. "Segregation City" was to be the test case for bringing the civil rights movement North. Instead it turned out to be the death of the movement, which had no answer to the mass unemployment, desperate poverty and *de facto* segregation of the Northern ghettos—conditions deeply rooted in American capitalism which could not be solved with a new civil rights bill.

With the racists in the streets of Cicero and Marquette Park and entrenched in Boss Daley's Democratic city hall, King signed the toothless Palmer House agreement and called off a scheduled open housing march. With a paper accord in his pocket, the liberal black preachers left town. As Andrew Young explained, "None of us wanted to spend another day in Chicago. We wanted to go home to the South to familiar terrain." Jackson was left in charge of SCLC's Operation Breadbasket.

Jesse Jackson's conclusion from the defeat of the liberal-led movement was to abandon the struggle for integration and equality. Instead he sought to get his "cut" together with the rest of the parasites who live off the ghetto. His slogan then was not black power but "green power." And since then Jackson has spent most of the past decade and a half organizing various "black capitalism" scams. While his People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) has collected millions of dollars over the years, the main beneficiaries of his schemes have not been the black masses, but those who grease Jackson's palm.

Jackson is Coca-Cola's man in the ghetto, and just about every other multi-billion multinational's. For the right price J.J. pushes black people to buy everything from Kentucky Fried Chicken to Avon cosmetics to Quaker oatmeal. "Burger King is helping business take on a new complexion," boasts the hamburger chain of its new "relationship" with Jackson. These



Jesse Jackson celebrates 1982 "covenant" with Uncola (Seven-Up) boss Edward Frantel.

loudly publicized multi-million dollar "covenants" or "trade agreements" with giant corporations, like the \$34 million PUSH deal with Coca-Cola in 1981, or the \$10 million deal with Heublein/Kentucky Fried Chicken in 1982 are the core of Jackson's economic program.

"Cut us in," Jackson demanded of A&P executives back in the '60s when as head of Operation Breadbasket he first began to boycott supermarkets, demanding the owners stock goods of black producers on the shelves. And "cut us in" is what Jackson and PUSH are all about—"us" being the black businessmen who lead a parasitical existence feeding off the ghettos. For the \$500 a year they kick into PUSH's "International Trade Bureau" these black auto dealers, insurance agents, undertakers, advertising firms, radio stations, etc., get their "cut" of the

"covenants" Jackson brokers for. What blacks *don't* get through PUSH is jobs or housing or integrated schools.

Although he started out pushing "black products," Jesse Jackson soon stepped up from small-time outfits such as Johnson beauty products or Joe Louis Milk to brokering the big deals such as "convincing" Coke (under threat of boycott) to increase its black bottling franchisers and black-owned distributors and put more of its profits in black-owned banks. For the Coca-Cola capitalists, of course, it's plain good business. And the poverty pimps get taken care of too. For instance, the \$250,000 Coke promised to various black organizations as part of the deal (*Chicago Daily Defender*, 10 August 1981).

Putting the arm on the "private sector" has become more important

for Jackson of late, since federal funding of poverty operations like his Chicago-based PUSH have been drying up. This summer, no doubt linked to Reagan's own electoral purposes, the U.S. government began a politically motivated audit of the nearly \$4 million worth of federal grants to PUSH over the years. Meanwhile the giant St. Louis-based Anheuser-Busch brewery decided it could face down Jackson's publicity barrage. When Jackson came to town to put the squeeze on Bud, the black *St. Louis Sentinel* wrote that his "kickback approach" amounted to a "shakedown." Jackson slapped them with a \$3 million libel suit, but withdrew it when asked to produce PUSH's financial records in court. After a year of boycott, he and Anheuser-Busch reached an informal "compromise."

In all of the "covenants" Jackson has brokered (which, if you believe his figures, amounts to many millions of dollars and dozens of agreements with leading corporations), the number of jobs for black working people is minuscule. It's like playing three-card monte. Noah Robinson, Jackson's half-brother and former associate at Breadbasket described the Operation fairly honestly:

"We used to throw out figures like we got 400 jobs worth \$4 million or something like that, but it's a safe bet nobody could vouch for more than 100 jobs because we were moving too fast to check."

And as Jackson's critical biographer, Barbara Reynolds, described PUSH, "either as an oversight or intentionally, jobs for the black worker are being deemphasized, a pattern traceable in pacts from 1968 to the present. Dollar value for jobs in the General Foods pact is about 1/100th in comparison to benefits for black firms" (*Jesse Jackson: The Man, The Movement, The Myth* [1975]).

Just as for years Jackson has brokered the black dollar for the white capitalist, today he brokers the black vote for the racist capitalist Democratic Party.

Jackson is selling the myth of "black power" through the Democratic Party. And just as the black accommodationists of Booker T. Washington's day accepted and presumed a market exclusively of blacks to exploit for black entrepreneurship, Jackson's brand of political accommodation embraces segregation to broker the black vote. And it is on this issue that Jackson helps to disorganize the most basic struggles of the black masses for equality. That is one reason why Jackson has no problem embracing the arch-segregationist George Wallace, or going down to a Norfolk, Virginia busing march last May to proclaim, "I am not in town marching for desegregation. I am marching for the voter registration boost."

Jesse Jackson combines the worst aspects of the tradition of petty-bourgeois accommodationism. E. Franklin Frazier describes the accommodationist black politician who "may even mobilize the masses to vote against their economic interests":

"In his role as leader, the Negro politician attempts to accommodate the demands of the Negro masses to his personal interests which are tied up with the political machines. He may secure the appointment of a few middle-class Negroes to positions in the municipal government. But when it comes to the fundamental interests of the Negro masses as regards employment, housing, and health, his position is determined by the political machine which represents the propertied classes of the white community."

—Black Bourgeoisie

At bottom it is unfair to the man from Tuskegee to compare him to the PUSHer. Both Washington and Jack-

son responded to important defeats: the demise of radical Reconstruction and the defeat of the civil rights movement. Both drew pessimistic conclusions. But in Washington's day the black population was overwhelmingly rural, still lorded over by the old plantation masters of the antebellum South. Today it is located in the heart of the Northern cities, at the center of American industry.

The same capitalist forces which created enough of a black ghetto market for Jesse Jackson to broker for Coca-Cola and Burger King, also created a black proletariat. This provides the basis for united class struggle, for *revolutionary integrationism*, which is key in the fight for black liberation. Jesse Jackson's so-called "Freedom Train" for the Democrats diverts the black masses from their tremendous potential power in the class struggle.

### American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

Never before has the choice facing black America been more sharply posed between struggle and accommodation. The path of accommodation, Jackson-style, runs through Democratic Party electoralism. And it is directly counterposed to the militant labor and black struggle which is so desperately needed.

The horror of conditions for black people today makes it absolutely clear that Jackson's electoral small change is a cruel hoax. It is actually worse for the black masses today than at the height of the Great Depression. Look at the ghettos. Look at the way blacks live and die. Infant mortality rates rival Third

World countries. A black male in American cities has only a three-out-of-five chance to make it to age 25. This gives him less chance than a combat soldier in World War II. The impotent BEOs couldn't begin to crack this oppression even if they wanted to, which they don't.

The lack of jobs and continued slashing of even minimal social services continue to rip away at the social fabric in the ghetto. Over the past 20 years more and more black families have been driven below the poverty line. Expensive studies are done to "prove" that the meager welfare system has eroded the "work ethic" among black people. And from Daniel Moynihan to Jesse Jackson, the bourgeois politicians blame the black family itself for the ravages of ghetto poverty. No wonder there are so many one-parent black families headed by women: the *New York Times* (20 November) cites the catastrophic statistic that "fewer than half of adult black men in the country have jobs" (our emphasis).

Nothing short of socialist revolution can end the misery thrust upon capitalism's reserve army of the unemployed, which in the U.S. is overwhelmingly black and increasingly Latin. The fight against massive layoffs must be met with massive labor action which brings the ghetto unemployed into the struggle. Organize the unorganized! For sit-downs not soup lines!

Separate but equal will never be equal in this racist capitalist society. Ghetto schools are turning out functionally illiterate black youth at an alarming rate. While chanting "learn, baby,

learn" to black kids in prison-like schools, Jesse Jackson has turned his back on struggles for integration and quality education. The Trotskyists fight for labor/black defense to defend busing against racist mobs! Extend busing into the suburbs!

Rising Klan terror, just like cutbacks on social programs and takebacks for the unions, are a reflection of the economic crisis and the anti-Soviet war drive. The racist killers must be met with the power of labor/black mobilizations. What we need is the kind of action that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27 last year. The Spartacist League initiated and was the principal organizer of the 5,000-strong overwhelmingly black and working-class Labor/Black Mobilization which prevented the racist terrorists from marching through the capital. That successful mobilization—which was opposed by the BEOs—saved black lives from the firebombers and cross-burners and lynchers. Jackson on the other hand is the candidate of the August 27 "answer" to such struggle: an empty celebration of defeat whose "I Have a Dream" rhetoric was for a Democrat in the White House in '84.

Whenever and wherever blacks need to struggle for their own survival the BEOs are there to tell them: don't fight, register Democratic. When Jackson went to the cradle of the Confederacy to embrace racist George Wallace, he deliberately ignored Montgomery's racist frame-up of the courageous Taylor family. "Now is not the time to explode" was his stock answer. But the

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# Give Black D.C. the Vote!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“So much for democracy in D.C.” That was a 22 November *Washington Post* editorial comment on recent Reagan administration moves to eliminate any shred of “home rule” for the nation’s capital. The White House is working hand in glove with Congress to keep basic voting rights out of the hands of D.C.’s 70 percent black population. In particular the administration is claiming that proposed D.C. legislation lowering minimum prison sentences would threaten the safety of government executives, foreign officials, tourists and U.S. property in Washington. Ronald Reagan wants some of that old plantation justice down on the Potomac River.

On September 6 the Washington city council voted unanimously to prohibit city investments in corporations doing business with racist South Africa. Although dozens of city and state governments as well as universities have adopted this liberal moralistic measure, which does nothing to concretely aid the struggle of blacks to smash the murderous apartheid state, the city council vote immediately brought “strong warnings from Capitol Hill that passage of the measure could open up a Pandora’s Box

of controversy over [D.C.] home rule itself” (*Washington Post*, 7 September). The American ruling class does not like black Washington “talking back” to U.S. allies like white supremacist South Africa.

This outrageous bit of blackmail shows the government’s historic contempt for the people of this black city, who do the real work—at miserably low wages—to keep the capital (and the tourist attractions) running. As far back as 1831, the city council approved White House architect James Hoban’s resolution to abolish the slave trade in the District, only to be struck down by the courts the following year. “One man, one vote” has never applied to the center of the “free world.” According to a 1978 Library of Congress study, out of 115 countries with elected national legislatures, the U.S. is *alone* in denying representation to the citizens of its capital city. Only since 1961 have D.C. voters been able to vote for president. Ten years later, D.C. got *one, non-voting* “delegate” in Congress. In 1973 came the phony “Home Rule Act.” While the new charter created an elected mayor and city council, it made their every act, from

legislation to the budget and taxation, subject to Congressional veto. Now, since a Supreme Court ruling in June striking down Congressional vetoes, the Justice Department has sought to increase White House control over its fiefdom by proposing that any changes in the District’s criminal code be affirmatively approved by both Houses, as well as by the president.

Of course, when Mayor Marion Barry sets his cops on black workers and youth mobilized against the KKK, his masters on Pennsylvania Avenue nod their approval. But when the city council makes even a gesture against the U.S. “free world” allies in white-ruled South Africa, then down comes the hammer. As revolutionaries, we do not support liberal divestment schemes. To divest the securities of firms doing business with South Africa has no effect at all on the fight against apartheid, while it serves to prettify U.S. capitalist imperialism. Reagan’s America is a far greater enemy of mankind than its junior partner in the anti-Soviet war drive, Botha’s South Africa. However, black people in D.C. and elsewhere have the right to express their hatred for the apartheid police

state, even if they choose a misguided way to do so.

We oppose the blatantly undemocratic denial of voting rights in D.C. The Spartacist League supports the D.C. Voting Rights Amendment, which would give Washington two senators and one Congressman, with votes. It’s no surprise that the amendment seems headed for defeat like the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women. In this period of right-wing reaction, voting rights for blacks are under attack, from D.C. to the Deep South.

But we warn Washington blacks that Democrats like D.C. delegate Walter Fauntroy, who faithfully serve in Reagan’s war on the urban poor, are the enemies within of black liberation. It was Fauntroy who took the lead in attacking the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization which brought out the best black militants in Washington and stopped the Klan from marching in the capital on 27 November 1982. In contrast to the August 27 crawl for the Democrats, this successful action showed the way forward in D.C. and throughout the country. Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

## Jesse Jackson...

(continued from page 9)

defense of the Taylors—who disarmed racist nightriders attacking their home—helps to defend every black in the South against racist terror. And that defense demands massive labor/black mobilizations from Detroit to Montgomery.

The black question in the U.S. is the question of revolution. The liberal integrationism of the civil rights movement was doomed to failure as soon as it went North and came smack up against the economic reality of black oppression in capitalist America. Today black defeatism is represented by Jesse Jackson and the BEOs as “black power.” When the call for “black power” was first sounded by young SNCC civil rights activists in the mid-’60s, it was raised against the liberalism and accommodationism then represented by Martin Luther King, but it quickly degenerated into black nationalist utopianism. What was needed then and now was a leadership which could mobilize real power, organizing the struggle against black oppression on a *class* basis. It would have meant enlisting the unions to bring the fight for black equality to the Northern cities, but that required a struggle against the pro-capitalist pro-Democratic Party misleaders of labor who blocked the struggle against racism.

The black ghetto masses can get power only as part of a struggle for workers revolution in the U.S. When 200,000 blacks took up arms in the Civil War which ended slavery, that was black power. And the promise of black equality for which blacks fought in the Civil War must not be betrayed, as it was when radical Reconstruction was killed. A proletarian revolution is necessary to make good on the debt of black equality. Finish the Civil War—Forward to a workers state!

Because black America can only answer its problems with revolutionary solutions, the future black leaders will not be Democratic BEOs or ghetto hustlers like Jesse Jackson. They will be socialist revolutionaries, forged in the political fight against the Jesse Jacksons and his reformist “left” cheerleaders. **The American workers revolution needs black leadership! Join the Spartacist League! ■**

## Martin Luther King’s Blood on His Shirt? Jesse Jackson’s Disgusting Lie

When Jesse Jackson sat down to iced tea and pecan rolls with George Wallace, the man who stood on the Alabama capitol steps vowing “Segregation Forever,” it turned the stomach of every race-conscious black person in America. Jackson was the man whom *Playboy* (November 1969) had proclaimed “the fiery heir apparent to Martin Luther King.” But as King’s closest associates will tell you, vividly remembering how Jackson capitalized on the racist murder, J.J. is capable of *anything*.

On April 4, 1968 King was assassinated by a sniper’s bullet as he stood on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, where he had gone to support a sanitation men’s strike. As an article in the *Washington Post* (31 July) recounted:

“Within a few days of King’s assassination, reports began circulating that Jesse Jackson said he was on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel with King when he was shot, that he held the dying man, that he wore his blood on his shirt.

“The Chicago Defender, a black newspaper, reported on April 8, 1968, that Jackson, whose face appeared drawn, talked briefly with newsmen about the moments just before and after the shooting occurred. He said he rushed to Dr. King’s side immediately, but got no response when he asked ‘Doc, can you hear me?’”

“A year later, in an interview with Jackson, *Playboy* magazine said: ‘He was talking to King on the porch of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis when the fatal shot was fired and cradled the dying man in his arms.’”

“The *Washington Post* reported: ‘He was the man standing next to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. when Dr. King was gunned down on a Memphis balcony in 1968.’”

“Those who were present do not recall the events that way.

“‘I never saw him near the balcony,’ says Hosea Williams, then a voter registration project director for King, and now a Georgia state legislator. ‘The first person who got to King was Ralph Abernathy, the second was Andy Young, the third was an African journalist. I was the fourth person. Dr. King was taken to the hospital and then came the announcement that he was dead. Jesse was out there in the



Wide World

Jesse Jackson, Martin Luther King, Ralph Abernathy in Memphis on the eve of King’s assassination.

yard telling the press. ‘I was the last man in the world to be with Rev. King before he was shot and I spoke to him last.’ I just jumped on Jess physically because he was telling lies. I lost my cool. I started beating on him.’”

“‘That evening we called a meeting, to pledge our support to Dr. King. Jesse claimed he was sick. The next morning he showed up on the ‘Today’ show telling the same story. He used the death of Dr. King to suit himself.’”

Barbara Reynolds, Jesse Jackson’s critical biographer, noted that “Jackson had returned to Chicago in flames.” On the west side ghetto buildings, street lights, businesses went up in smoke as angry blacks vented their outrage at the hideous assassination of America’s best known black leader. Mayor Richard Daley ordered the police to “shoot to kill” any rioter. That night Jackson attended a King

“memorial session” of the city council (the racist bourgeois politicians who had blocked MLK’s every effort to achieve open housing in “Segregation City” and who practically ran the liberal civil rights leader out of town) to plead for calm: “I am calling for nonviolence... put your rocks down, put your bottles down” (Barbara Reynolds, *Jesse Jackson: The Man, the Movement, the Myth* [1975]).

Jesse Jackson is always looking out for Number One. He wants to cover himself with the blood of King’s martyrdom and the mantle of the civil rights movement, in order to oppose struggle today. As Chauncey Eskridge, King’s attorney, remarked, “Jackson’s appearance at Chicago’s City Council with that blood on his shirt was not only deception but sacrilege.”

# Class Struggle Sharpens...

(continued from page 2)

ington, D.C.—and we stopped them. We stopped them by building mass labor/black mobilizations against their race-hate parades.

Not everything we touch turns to gold. We've lost a few. There's the Keith Anwar case, a steel worker brother in Chicago's Inland plant who respected the lines of another striking local [and was fired for it]. There was a broad layer of support for that case; they raised thousands of dollars to take it to the NLRB. And the NLRB, in fact, came up with the decision that they had wrongly fired this man. But because the company and government were both fighting this case, a U.S. Appeals Court overturned that decision.

To revive the traditions of the labor movement, that picket lines mean don't cross, that's basically what our campaign in the transit union has been. There's a certain opening there now because Arnold Cherry, who formerly ran as an opponent of [TWU Local 100 president] John Lawe, has now caved in. He wanted a post. What Cherry has done is a lot of redbaiting and anti-communism. But everybody knows that the Transport Workers Union was built by the Communist Party. The main thing that guy has done, just like the

main thing Lawe has done, is to go out and hustle votes for the Democratic Party. This is the party of Koch, the racist strikebreaker who loves to hate us. This is the party of Cuomo who has brought us CIA spymaster Kiley to run the subways. What these people in the unions [Lawe and Cherry] represent is that kind of politics.

We don't think this is going to be settled by an election. It's going to be settled by struggles. Reagan is bringing the war home and he's got a big stick for everybody, whether it's the ATU or the people in El Salvador or the Palestinians.

## Defend the Soviet Union!

They are tripping on their "Grenada high" now. The problem is that while they're tripping, they might just get us into a war that blows us all sky-high. We just had a trip by [Israeli prime minister] Shamir to this country, which was basically a green light to Israel to go ahead in the Middle East. They signed a U.S.-Israel strategic pact, which was explicitly stated as an alliance against Soviet interests in the Near East. You have joint war plans against Syria by Israel and the United States. So the Near East is one of the trip-wire places for World War III right now.

We believe the Soviet Union should be defended because it embodies the gains of the first successful workers revolution. It's the industrial and military powerhouse which holds impe-

rialist countries like the United States at bay. Cuba wouldn't be here today if the Soviets weren't there and had nuclear armaments. Vietnam wouldn't be here today.

Contrary to all the things you read in the papers, the problem with the Stalinist leadership [of the Soviet Union] is *not* that they foment "red revolution" all over the globe. The problem is they conciliate the imperialists, thinking that we can all live happily together, meanwhile sacrificing everybody else's revolution for their own little interests.

But there is something in Russia despite this fact—the gains of that revolution, the collectivized economy—that has to be defended by workers there and workers in this country. Basically, it's the same problem you've got with the unions. We want to get rid of the leaders over in the Soviet Union just like we want to get rid of the [union] leaders in this country. But you don't throw the baby out with the bath water.

Everybody saw "The Day After" or heard about it. They scared the hell out of people, rightly so, because while you're watching it on TV, they're putting the missiles in Britain and Germany. And these guys will do it. These characters in the Reagan administration really think you can win a limited nuclear war.

Everybody's talking about the "Vietnam syndrome." One of the reasons why is because the U.S. lost. So they can be

beaten. The Vietnamese beat the U.S. on the battlefield. What was important about Vietnam within this country was that you saw wide layers of the population go into opposition to the war. It started with the students, but it happened in the armed forces, too, and in the end many of the unions. At the same time you had tremendous inflation and big strike waves. One of the things the Spartacist League fought for at the time was labor political strikes against the war. And had that dragged on longer, you would have seen the possibility for labor political strikes against the war in this country.

It's better to get them from within. If we end up in a nuclear war, it's curtains. You have to have a workers party that can organize the opposition that exists out there to war. We're not talking about paper resolutions and windbag speeches. When they want to send military goods to Lebanon, the transport workers don't load them. When they want to send military goods to El Salvador, they don't move. That's the kind of *actions* that labor unions can take that can actually help deter war.

What you need is a party to organize that working-class opposition. It's got to be an integrated party and it's got to fight around the kind of issues we've talked about here tonight—defense against racist terror, defense of the picket line—on an anti-capitalist program. And that's what the Spartacist League—though few in number—has shown itself dedicated to doing. ■

# Ray Phillips: Labor Martyr...

(continued from page 5)

Drivers from as far away as Richmond, Chattanooga and even San Francisco signed the register and filled the small church to overflowing, packing the aisles, an auxiliary room and even the vestibule. Hundreds of proletarian voices joined in the singing of the hymn "Amazing Grace." Although a purely religious ceremony, it was a dignified workers' memorial to a comrade fallen in combat. The ATU had sent a letter to Greyhound warning them against any hypocritical shows of concern at the funeral. Over a hundred baskets of flowers were received from all over the country and even Toronto. There were so many flowers that the overflow was dumped in front of the Greyhound terminal here—put on the doorstep as a reminder of who was responsible for the murder.

On the heels of this brutal murder, Peter Stone, an official from Ray's Local 1043, went on TV to denounce the atrocity. He called on organized labor to "shut this country down." Mobilizing to

bring victory to the cause Ray Phillips died for would be the only fitting tribute to this man. Years ago the martyred IWW hero Joe Hill, facing death at the hands of the labor haters, told his followers: "Don't mourn—Organize!" For Ray Phillips; for Bay Area picket line militants Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, facing years in jail; for thousands of others targeted in the class war, vindication will come only when labor arouses and mobilizes its

millions to militant and victorious struggle. Striking workers throughout this country defending their picket lines will not forget the murder of Ray Phillips! Down with the sellout contract! For a nationwide transport strike! Bust the union-busters! Victory to the ATU! ■

# Beat Greyhound...

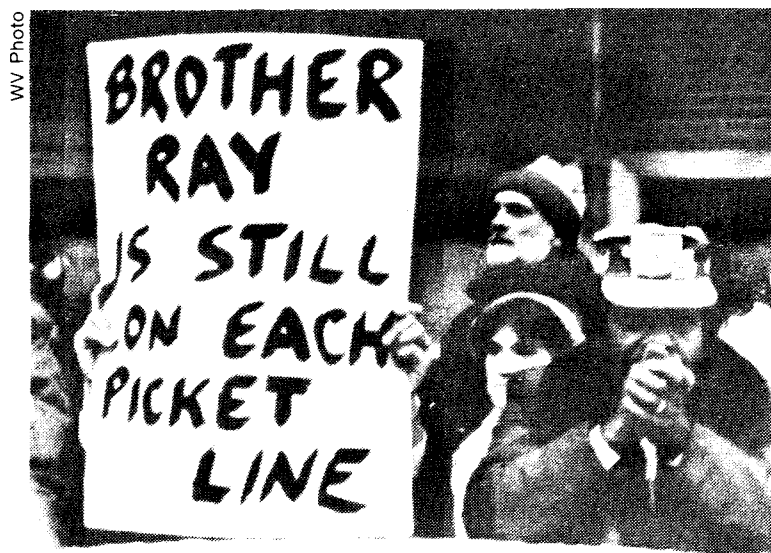
(continued from page 5)

Caucus in the CWA and the Militant Caucus in the ILWU. Our slogans—"On Strike, Shut It Down!" and "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"—were hand-

scrawled on the back of official ATU signs and taken up in chants by the marchers on December 3.

The bureaucrats have enlisted the support of the fake "left" in setting up a phony strike support committee. Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and its endless string of expellees, the Communist Party, the Workers World Party and others collect food and money, parrot the bureaucrats' line for a consumer boycott, etc.—*anything but* enforce the picket line and stop the scabs! At the meeting prior to the December 3 rally, for instance, SWP supporter Don Harmon of Department Store Clerks Local 1100 made the main proposal for a "peaceful" rally and march. Needless to say, no floor discussion was allowed.

The bureaucrats' waterboys were clearly upset that the December 3 march got "out of hand," so at the December 5 strike support meeting Seymour Kramer, an official in the UTU, called for more "monitors" to police the pickets at the upcoming rallies. Meanwhile Harmon officially put off considering the general strike idea until January! At the next rally on December 10, ex-SWP supporter Jeff Mackler (now a supporter of "Socialist Action") helped police the crowd for the cops and bureaucrats as a line of goons kept the crowd well away from the terminal. Striking workers afterwards told *WV* that bureaucrats were smearing the SL and its supporters as "rabble rousers." Well, we're proud that we are recognized as the fighters for class-struggle action. We say: Picket lines mean don't cross! Shut down transport—Not one bus! Not one train! Not one plane! ■



Cleveland Greyhound workers remember Ray Phillips.

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• This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1983, from issue No. 321 (14 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 344 (16 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.

• The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (\*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.

• Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

U.S. Hands Off Grenada!, #334, 15 July (12, 10)

means the headline of the article, issue No. 334, 15 July 1983, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 10.

• No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

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means that articles on Cold War can be found by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **International Relations** and **Military Action** and by going to the subject head **WEST GERMANY**.

• Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.

• Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.

• Specific defense cases (e.g., Dennis Brutus) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases**. Articles pertaining to the civil liberties of the Spartacist League will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: SL**. Articles which deal with the intersection of American blacks with the U.S. legal system (e.g., the Taylor family defense) are listed under **CIVIL RIGHTS**, while general articles on the black question are listed under **BLACK QUESTION**.

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**TONI RANDELL**

8 November 1943—12 February 1982

This volume of *Workers Vanguard* is dedicated to the memory of our comrade Toni Randell, who died of cancer on 12 February 1982. A ten-year cadre of the Spartacist League, she was a founder of the Partisan Defense Committee and member of the Central Control Commission. Toni compiled the index for the first two volumes of *WV*, taking as a general guide Hal Draper's index of *Labor Action* (newspaper of the Independent Socialist League).

In 1980 the indexing of *WV* was resumed by comrades Elizabeth Kendall and Joel Salant, with the assistance of the *WV* comp department. The indexes of the next 12 volumes of *WV* and the first volume of our theoretical journal *Spartacist* were all modeled on comrade Toni's initial work.

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