

Shcharansky Is Guilty As Hell!

Banner headlines proclaiming new "Moscow Trials" behind sinister red and black Kremlin walls (the cover of the 24 July *Newsweek*) and a full-scale press blitz known as "The Anatoly Shcharansky Story" have dominated the Western media for the past weeks. Almost universally, attention has focused on the just concluded trial of Soviet refusenik Shcharansky, found guilty of treason July 15 by a Moscow court, as a fundamental test of just how "tough" the Carter administration is going to get on the USSR.

The Stalinist bureaucracy which runs the USSR has recently been cracking down hard on dissidents in a series of trials: Vladimir Slepak, sentenced to five years in Siberia for hanging the banner, "Let us join our son in Israel," out his window; Yuri Orlov, organizer of the Helsinki Watch Committees, sentenced to a seven-year prison term for "anti-Soviet agitation"; Aleksander Ginzburg, found guilty of setting up a fund for political prisoners' families ("financing criminal elements") with money from exiled author Solzhenitsyn, sentenced to eight years in a labor camp.

While all of these cases have received attention in the imperialist press, the U.S. government has highlighted the Shcharansky trial, making it the cause célèbre in the Carter administration's heaviest "human rights" propaganda barrage yet against the Soviet Union. Carter personally proclaimed the innocence of the Jewish computer programmer on charges of supplying American intelligence agencies with Soviet state secrets. And in response to the trial the U.S. took "reprisals": cancellation of two scientific-cultural missions and of a computer sale.

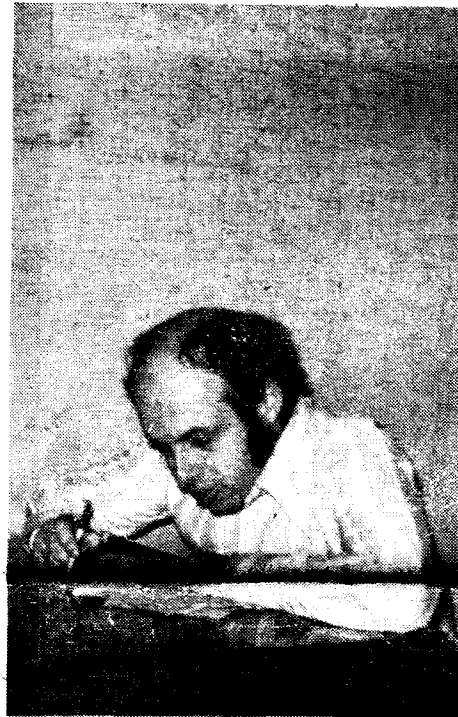
Coming from the murderous "democracy" whose watchword for "undesirables" (Indians, blacks, Communists) is, "The only good one is a dead one"; from the imperialists who dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, firebombed Dresden, launched the Bay of Pigs, casually wiped out entire villages in Vietnam (slaughtering three million Indochinese)—this talk of "human rights" reeks with blood-drenched hypocrisy. Yet in spite of the screaming

headlines, "human interest" sob stories about the "wryly humorous" dissident and his beautiful young wife, the Shcharansky case has been less than a glowing success for Carter.

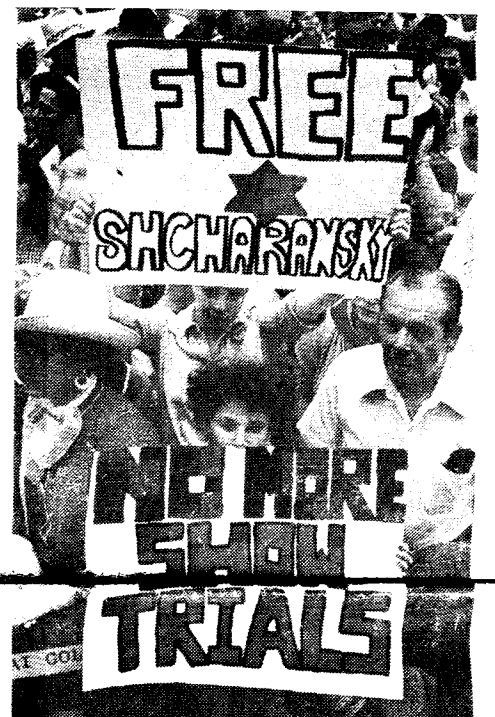
Naturally, the Kremlin is using the latest series of trials to smear the entire Soviet dissident movement as a gang of spies inspired purely by Western intelligence agencies, a time-worn ploy. This is so patently absurd that nobody believes it. Slepak, Orlov and Ginzburg, whatever their anti-communist and/or Zionist views, have committed no known crimes and yet have been outrageously victimized. But it is just as false to pretend that the CIA and other Western agencies are *not* deeply interested in exploiting this movement. They have already been caught trying to get information from dissidents (getting their fingers badly burned when it turned out one source, Shcharansky's roommate, was a KGB plant).

Shcharansky himself was targeted by the Russian secret police for his dissident activities, set up and entrapped. Nevertheless, he clearly was deeply involved in passing information along to the West—the basis for the treason charges against him. For the Kremlin bureaucracy his case was a godsend, enabling them to make the amalgam they have always sought to assert: dissidents are traitors and spies. This time they could get away with it. To put it bluntly, as one State Department official admitted to *Newsweek*, "In Soviet eyes, Shcharansky is guilty as hell."

Not just in Soviet eyes, either—the more responsible U.S. bourgeois press has felt obligated to raise "disturbing questions" about Shcharansky's heavy involvement with the Western press, which, as the *New York Times* and Congressional investigations have extensively documented, has cooperated extensively with the CIA. The *Chicago Sun-Times* (15 July) took this seriously enough to print a guest column asking, "Can We Be Sure Shcharansky Is Innocent?" So Carter has picked a hero whose claim to innocence even sections of the imperialist establishment find



Holland/Time



Ted Cowell

Anatoly Shcharansky. Even the guilty are framed up. Right, Zionists demonstrate in New York City.

hard to swallow. But that was just for openers.

No sooner did Washington decide to use this case as a symbol of the lack of "human rights" in the Soviet Union than Andy "The Lip" Young, Carter's black front man in the United Nations, mouthed off again. Remarking off-handedly in an interview with a Paris newspaper that the U.S. had "hundreds, maybe thousands" of political prisoners of its own, he very nearly lost his job and certainly ruined the American propaganda campaign around the SALT talks in Geneva. The Soviet news agency Tass naturally picked it up immediately. Young's boss Cyrus Vance, who had just lodged a strong protest over the Shcharansky trial with Soviet foreign minister Gromyko, was furious, and Carter had to publicly rebuke the highest-ranking black in the administration ("I'm sure Andy won't do it again"). While conservatives in Congress backed a motion to impeach Young, Carter's hardline "national security adviser" Brzezinski demanded the UN ambassa-

dor's ouster as part of his tug of war with "moderate" Vance.

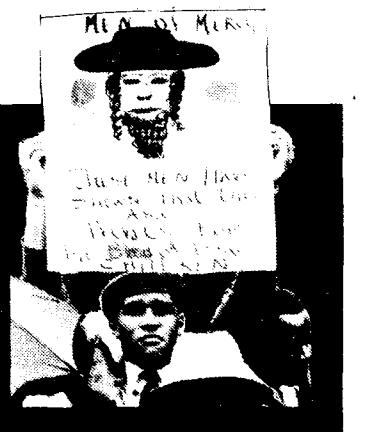
Even the human interest angle has turned out to be fraught with pitfalls. Who could resist the appeal of the beautiful, shy young wife who hasn't seen her husband for four years, tearfully pleading—in interviews, at Zionist demonstrations, on TV, before Congress—just for her Anatoly to be free? The Israeli government certainly couldn't and is paying the bills for her globe-trotting tour. But the "Avital Shcharansky Story" is more complex than that. It turns out that her brother Mikhail (whom she says "spends all his time with me and my problems. He is very close friends with Anatoly") is a big wheel in the ultra-rightist fascistic Gush Emunim movement. Mikhail has been helpfully managing Avital's tours and managing in the process to irritate a lot of more moderate Zionists. Groups like the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the American Jewish Congress are "upset by Avital's affiliations,"

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Abstain on Prop 13?

Oak Park, Illinois
19 June 1978

Dear Comrades,

I do not think that the California Property Tax issue (Prop. 13) is properly analyzed in the *WV* of June 2. You correctly characterize "tax relief" as a "fraud and a diversion, which aims to pit the petty bourgeoisie and better-off workers against the lower-paid workers and unemployed." You correctly state that this and similar measures are intended to benefit "the big-time landlords and industrialists," and to screw everyone else. But you conclude that Trotskyists should abstain from voting "no," and encouraging workers to vote "no," for the following reasons:

(1) The big businessmen oppose property tax ceilings because they are afraid taxes may be shifted onto them, and because they are worried about the stability of municipal bonds. True, but their worries are more general than this: they also fear adverse effects on the weakened economy and a possible collapse of the structure of public services which helps keep the lid on social discontent. (This is a *national* movement we are discussing, and it will be around for some time.) Nevertheless, it already appears that some major interests (e.g., Bank of America) are deciding that there will *not* be a collapse of public services, and that property tax "relief" is a fine way to pretend to satisfy the petty bourgeoisie while whipping up conflict among sectors of the working class, and making a bundle for themselves. You overstate their opposition; Jerry Brown and his ilk seem quite ready to embrace some sort of modified Jarvis-Gann, and in Illinois, the "liberal" Democratic gubernatorial contender, Michael Bakalis, is already running on a "tax relief" platform.

(2) The dispute is, according to *WV*, an intra-bourgeois dispute over "how best to administer *their* tax structure for *their* government," which Engels said is a matter "that interests the bourgeoisie very much but the workers very little." This seems to me an error of interpretation. When Engels wrote "On The Housing Question," there was no welfare state supported by tax dollars (nor did more than half the British workers of his time own their own

homes!). The "tax relief" gimmick is a response to the crises of the capitalist economy and state which is intended to incite the petty bourgeoisie and home-owning workers to protect themselves at the expense of poorer workers and the unemployed. It is no little thing, this diversionary appeal to petty bourgeois insecurity and anger; it is the very stuff of which fascism is made under conditions of acute economic crisis. This future threat is all the more potent because *homeownership provides an economic basis for petty bourgeois illusions among American workers*. Our job, I had thought, was to combat such illusions, not only by exposing frauds like Prop 13, but by fighting them. This is not an issue which concerns "them" rather than "us" since in our world (unlike Engels') standard of living is measured not only by what wages buy, but by what taxes buy. The fate of public schools and public hospitals, for example, is a subject which interests workers very much, and must interest us if we are to defend their standard of living against further attacks. Even a well-justified suspicion of deficit spending should not lead us to abstain from the struggle to defend *all* gains which the class has achieved, especially when, as in this case, a primary target of tax "reform" are the public employees' unions.

(3) *WV* states that to vote "no" is to endorse the tax policies of the bourgeois state. I don't see why, any more than to vote "no" on welfare cuts is to endorse the welfare system, or to vote "no" on Taft-Hartley is to endorse the labor policies of the state. A slogan such as "Workers Revolution, Not Taxpayers Revolt" would make our position perfectly clear.

(4) *WV* states that a "no" vote demonstrates indifference to the crushing tax burdens suffered by small property holders. Why, when a pro-integration position with regard to busing might be said, with equal justice, to show indifference to the desperate state of the urban public schools? To point out that Prop 13 is a fraud does not show indifference to homeowners—quite the contrary. But if we have to choose, I had thought our duty was to solidarize with the most exploited sectors of the proletariat and not with the most bourgeoisified sectors.

Comrades, it seems to me that property tax "relief" is an important issue to the working class, that it is a dangerous issue, and that communists can fight this reactionary petty bourgeois appeal without compromising in

the slightest their opposition to the bourgeois state and its tax structure.

Comradely,
Rich Rubenstein

WV replies: The basic fallacy of comrade Rubenstein's letter is that he equates a reduction in property taxes with a major cutback in government-provided social services. This is, to be sure, how right-wingers like Howard Jarvis present the issue. However, as revolutionaries we do not accept that a reduction in one form of tax revenue must result in a corresponding (or any) cutback of social services; just as in demanding increased social services (e.g., socialized medicine), we are not obliged to stipulate how this is to be financed.

We certainly demand of the government, as the collective representative of the capitalist class, increased social services and other benefits (e.g., unemployment insurance). And, of course, we oppose any cutbacks in social services, insurance benefits, etc., as well as in government employment. However, *in general we are indifferent to the particular fiscal measures* by which the bourgeois state finances its expenditures. In most cases, the apparent redistributionary effects of different tax policies are illusory except in the very short term. For example, increased corporate income taxes are by and large simply "passed through" to the consumer via price increases—thus negating the desired effect of reformist "tax the rich" schemes.

It is true that "tax revolts" are a favorite ploy of reactionary forces to whip up the petty bourgeoisie and better-paid workers against "big government," seen as squandering money on the poor through lavish social programs. (The Poujadist movement in France during the 1950's was an example of how this theme is exploited by right-wing populists.) But this does not mean that socialists should put a minus everywhere the "tax revolters" put a plus. Liberals, who defend the capitalist framework of "welfare state" measures, naturally feel obligated to provide some means of financing them. This gives right-wing demagogues a popular issue: relief from the burden of taxation which weighs heavily on homeowners. Taxes do not "buy" social services, however; irrespective of how they are raised, they are part of the social cost of production, the means by which the capitalists finance their state, including those welfare measures wrested from them by the power and struggle of the working class.

Comrade Rubenstein's argument that the passage of Proposition 13 automatically means cutbacks in social services (particularly for the poor) and in government employment is legalistic. The falseness of this approach can be seen if one looks at the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). It is possible that the ERA will be legally interpreted as abrogating existing protective labor legislation for women. For that reason in the past the trade-union bureaucracy has opposed an equal rights amendment. Certain workerist-reformist groups, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the Shachtmanite International Socialists, today still oppose the ERA in the name of defending protective labor legislation. We, however, support the ERA as a progressive (though largely symbolic) measure, while advocating labor action to defend existing protective standards for women and indeed to extend them to men. Whether the ERA (if passed) will undermine protective labor standards will be decided not in the courts, but in the factories.

The same general principle holds for Proposition 13. We advocate statewide

strike action against any cutbacks and layoffs. In the face of such a mass, militant labor response, the ruling class would undoubtedly manage to disregard, get around or offset Proposition 13, whether by raising various local fees (this is already happening), deficit spending or federal subsidies to localities.

This latter measure would even be progressive in its own right. That the level and quality of social services depends upon local property taxes is clearly inegalitarian. High schools in the wealthier suburbs resemble country clubs; those in the inner city slums are run like reformatories. The complete federalization of expenditures for education, welfare, etc., would reduce the present antagonism between the petty bourgeoisie and better off workers in the suburbs and the largely black and Spanish-speaking poor in the inner cities.

Crown Heights

July 14, 1978
Rahway, N.J.

Dear comrades,

In the article "Death Wish in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July 1978) you mention in passing the SWP's support to Rev. Daughtry's vigilante mongering. That rotten move had a familiar stink. And sure enough when I checked my bound volume of *The Militant* for 1969 I found the neanderthal ancestor to this "socialist" abortion.

In 1969 Leslie Campbell, a teacher in Ocean Hill-Brownsville active in the union busting "community control of the schools" movement, went on WBAI radio and read with approval the following lines from a poem by a 15 year old black student, "Hey Jew boy, yarmulka on your head/You pale faced Jew boy, I wish you were dead."

Writing in the *Militant* (January 31, 1969, page 6) Betsy Barnes (now Betsy Stone) quoted the above lines. In a four column article devoted to the furor this poem had raised in NY, she could not bring herself to once denounce its racist content. Instead *she blamed the Jews* for the "privileged" status they hold in the NY school system and justified the anti-Jewish feeling among blacks as a direct and *legitimate* response to a strike called by Shanker against the community control union-busting hustle.

Giving grist to the Zionist propagandist mill that "Marxism is anti-Semitic" the SWP seems hell-bent on proving anew, as if more proof is needed, that "consistent nationalism" is... genocide. Thank you comrades of the SWP!

Comradely,
A. Greengold

Corrections

In "Stalinists Sabotage Anti-Apartheid Action at Bay Area Union Conference" (*WV* No. 209, 16 June 1978), we cited International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) research director Barry Silverman's statement that most pension funds, including that of ILWU Local 6, are administered solely by the employer to bolster our argument that the proposal for unions to divest their pension funds invested in companies doing business in South Africa is utopian. Actually in the case of Local 6 the funds are administered jointly by the employers and the union. The divestment proposal remains utopian, however, and as the article points out, ultimately reactionary.

Also, in "Fascist Corrida of Death in Pamplona" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July 1978), we stated that the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian co-thinkers of the Spanish Liga Comunista, failed to show up at a Toronto demonstration protesting the bloody Francoist police attack

on their "comrades" called by the Trotskyist League of Canada (section of the international Spartacist tendency). While it is true that the leadership of the sectarian-opportunist RWL did discourage the membership from attending this demonstration of working-class solidarity, it did not absolutely forbid attendance; we have subsequently learned that one RWLer did, in fact, attend.

Earlier, in the article on the Ninth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party ("Spanish CP Goes 'Eurocommunist'"; *WV* No. 205, 12 May 1978), the date of the "Eurocommunist summit" in Madrid was incorrectly given as July 1976; the correct date was March 1977. And in "Neutron Bomb Uproar" (*TV* No. 204, 5 May 1978), we incorrectly referred to the neutron bomb as a fission bomb. It is a fusion bomb.

Finally, in "Historic Compromise Sealed Over Moro's Body" (*WV* No. 206, 19 May 1978), we referred to Ugo La Malfa both as a "frothing Republican Party leader" and as "president of the small Radical party." Actually, he is only a frothing Republican Party leader.

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28 July 1978

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Story of a Government Informer

Gary Rowe: I was a KKK Killer for the FBI

In the early morning hours of Sunday, 15 September 1963 a bomb blast shattered the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four young black girls and seriously wounding 22 others. On Sunday, 15 May 1961 several busloads of freedom riders arriving in Birmingham were brutally assaulted by over 1000 armed Ku Klux Klan members, leaving bus terminals strewn with bodies lying in pools of blood. These horrible Klan atrocities shocked an entire nation, leading to widespread demands for federal action. In the 1961 incident President Kennedy sent in a force of 500 U.S. marshals and called on the Federal Bureau of Investigation to track down the criminals. In 1963 JFK named a blue ribbon committee to investigate the grisly church bombing. Now it turns out that the man who organized these bloody atrocities (and many more) was a paid informant of the most powerful right-wing terrorist organization in the world—the FBI.

In a recent series of articles appearing in the *New York Times* it was revealed that the FBI's top informant in the Klan, Gary Thomas Rowe, whom J. Edgar Hoover reportedly called the best agent "we've ever seen," was responsible for "most major incidents of Klan terrorism that occurred in Alabama while he was on the bureau's payroll" (*New York Times*, 17 July 1978). While the FBI portrays itself as the guarantor of domestic tranquillity by its efforts supposedly directed evenhandedly against "extremists" of both the left and right, the *Times* articles reveal the stark reality: FBI infiltrators always bloody the same victims—the left, labor and black movements.

This latest exposure of the true role of FBI infiltrators—mercenary thugs who willingly brutalize the oppressed in the service of capitalist rule—is a result of a 14-year-delayed state investigation into the 16th Street church bombing. A good deal of the delay was attributable to an FBI and Justice Department campaign to block disclosure of their files to Alabama authorities. And no wonder, for in the process of seeking a conviction against former Klansman Robert Chambliss, Alabama prosecutors questioned Gary Rowe and discovered that the FBI's "best agent" was the chief sadistic organizer of Klan violence. In the course of his atrocities Rowe aided Chambliss in the church bombing and



Gary Rowe: FBI protects his present identity and past murderous activities. Right: Burned out wreckage of Freedom Ride bus attacked by racist mobs.

furthermore actually participated in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway. Rowe, in 1965, had testified against three Klan members convicted for the murder, with both him and the FBI covering up his own role in the affair.

Coming hard on the heels of Griffin Bell's disgusting martyr-posturing, with the U.S. attorney general promising to brave jail rather than expose "innocent" informers in the Socialist Workers Party to "reprisals," the *Times* disclosures explode the charade. The FBI will go to any lengths to cover up the full extent of its murderous infiltrations and protect those who authorized them.

Rowe's five-year FBI/Klan career has proved hard to sanitize. In 1975 Rowe grabbed national headlines by testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Agencies. Wearing a hood to protect his new identity, Rowe described his "accomplishments" in the service of the FBI (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975). These included informing the FBI three weeks in advance of Birmingham Police Department plans to have the Klan beat and slaughter freedom riders as they arrived at bus stations in the city. The FBI's policy on the intended massacre, when finally communicated to Rowe, was to allow him to lead the attack, acting as liaison between the Klan and the racist Birmingham cops.



Birmingham church after the bombing which killed four girls. Rowe failed two lie detector tests about his role in this atrocity.



Library of Congress

But Rowe's testimony before a Senate committee, attempting to show the need for a "reform" of FBI "excesses," was only the tip of the iceberg. Attempting to capitalize on his newly won fame without exposing the true nature of his FBI-approved role, in 1976 Rowe published a book entitled *My Undercover Years With the Ku Klux Klan*. In gory detail Rowe exposed not only his own sadistic racism but also FBI claims that "Rowe had never been told to engage in violence" (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975).

A Birmingham street hood with a reputation for busting up bars and breaking heads, Rowe was approached almost simultaneously by the Klan and the FBI, who both considered him their type of man. As Rowe's former cohort Chambliss once said, "You can trust Rowe to kill a nigger and never talk" (*New York Times*, 9 July 1978). And kill he did, if not silently then certainly with pleasure. Paid by the FBI on the basis of how much "information" he could provide, Rowe satisfied his sadism and his wallet by quickly joining both the Klan "action squads" and the FBI, eventually becoming the head of the murderous gangs.

His undisguised pleasure in his night-riding terrorist activities is crystal clear. Patrolling with police to aid in brutalizing black ghettos is standard Klan practice, and Rowe describes one incident with a victim who attempted to defend himself.

"While I was correcting this behavior the nigger 'fell' to the floor...."

"When reinforcements arrived from the Birmingham [Police] staff, the nigger began to fight again. I guess at one point there were a dozen officers beating him, but I felt this one asked for everything he got."

Breaking up civil-rights "sit-ins" was another Klan activity Rowe thoroughly enjoyed.

"The Klansmen went berserk; they threw the Negroes out the door and whipped out heavy chains; I saw several flying. These chains, cut to about a foot in length are just right for swinging...."

The FBI is not so much in the business of organizing small-scale night riding atrocities. Rowe was paid to provide information such as his advance notice of the state-organized slaughter of the freedom riders. But the FBI's "COIN-TELPRO" campaign to destroy the civil

rights movement was already well under way. The vicious attack that left scores of broken bodies lying in Birmingham bus terminals did not run directly counter to FBI policy. The professional terrorists sat back and watched as the street punks got their hands dirty.

For five years, with full FBI knowledge, Rowe carried out bloody atrocities: setting off shrapnel bombs in a black ghetto; firebombing the home of black millionaire A. G. Gaston, a supporter of Martin Luther King; shooting a black man in cold blood on the streets of Birmingham; and countless beatings and stabbings. And throughout his book Rowe hideously feigns sorrow and surprise at the murders he committed. Describing the 16th Street church bombing, Rowe states, "One Sunday in September, Birmingham awoke to the news of the cruelest bombing in its history.... The tragedy set off an enormous effort by the FBI to find the persons responsible...."

The FBI, however, knew very well who was responsible for this cruel bombing that murdered four young black girls. It was their own man in Birmingham and the hooded gang of murderers he led. And as Rowe leveled his gun at Viola Liuzzo (he claims not to have pulled the trigger), "The most awful expression came over her face that God knows I have ever seen in my life...." To ease his anxieties, Rowe collected monthly checks from the FBI, receiving over \$22,000 (*New York Times*, 17 July 1978).

That Klan terror was condoned and assisted by the FBI is not an accident. Rowe's activities were not atypical. In 1976 a major *Los Angeles Times* exposé disclosed the FBI's role in organizing right-wing terror in southern California. The activities of Howard Godfrey, head of the Minutemen's Secret Army Organization (SAO), included "conducting a reign of terror against the left... including bombings, burglaries and harassment" (*Los Angeles Times*, 26 January 1978). Godfrey, of course, was an FBI paid informant. The *Los Angeles Times* further quoted a second FBI informant as charging that the agency in 1972 instructed him to kill Peter Bohmer, a San Diego economics professor and New Left activist. On 6 January 1972 the SAO, with Godfrey in command, fired

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The Spectre of Spartacism

We reprint below some uncommon examples from the recent press of our opponents, in the hope that WV readers will find them as amusing and edifying as has our membership. The first, "Vanguard in Retreat" (Socialist Press, 31 May), appeared in the paper of the British Workers Socialist League (WSL). It is perhaps the most interesting of a spate of attacks on the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) which have appeared in the fake-Trotskyist press ranging from the obscure organ of the Truth group (23 June) to the better-known Militant (2 June) in this country and as far afield as Direct Action (22 June) in Australia. Their common theme is the prediction, based on our shift in press frequency, that the iSt is finally going under (an event for which the assorted reformists and centrists have been waiting long and impatiently).

The WSL article is significant not in the predictable cheap shots it shares with the other literary productions of the Anti-Spartacist League (such as its claim that our assessment of a "quiescent period" shows our disinterest in intervention into the American miners strike, which was the focus of a vigorous campaign in WV until it was defeated prior to our press cutback) but in that it unintentionally conveys at least a distorted sense of the internationalist considerations underlying our allocation of financial and other resources.

The second selection, "You Have Been Warned" (News Line, 9 May), is taken from the press of one of the WSL's British competitors, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). Though noteworthy as an illustration of the WRP's increasingly bizarre manifestations, such as its Hound of the Baskervilles imagery, we include it primarily because it illuminates the real reason for the WSL's spleen: sour grapes at the iSt's recent fusion with a sizable faction of experienced cadres and newer members from the moribund WSL.

As WV readers (who understand that when we discussed a "limited and orderly retreat" we meant no more and no less than we said) might expect, we are gratified to find such uncommonly frank acknowledgment of our living presence in the minds of our opponents. This egregious celebration of our presumed dire straits in the pages of these left rags, on whose pretenses to a "mass" audience we have commented often enough, is eloquent testimony to our modest but real successes in seeking to make our tendency and its program synonymous with authentic revolutionary Trotskyism. Only the naive would complain that this retreat has induced such a flurry of comment on our press frequency and its purported significance, whereas the sour grapes brigade pretended to pay such scant attention when we launched a regular monthly Workers Vanguard in October 1971, when in April 1973 we expanded to biweekly frequency, and when in September 1975 we inaugurated a weekly and published it for 132 issues.

The WSL has thoughtfully provided lengthy excerpts from our article, where we frankly discussed our temporary press retreat before our own readers ("WV to Go Biweekly," WV No. 206, 19 May). We certainly owe no further explanation to the enemies of Trotskyism.

Vanguard in Retreat

—Reprinted from Socialist Press
31 May 1978

The political, organisational and financial bankruptcy that have lurked behind the grandiose facade presented



by the sectarian International Spartacist Tendency are all openly revealed this week in the announcement that the IST weekly paper Workers Vanguard is to retreat to fortnightly publication.

The paper itself had never really gone beyond the tasks of a theoretical magazine.

Huge, rambling and undisciplined articles combined banal truisms with abstract propaganda for the maximum programme of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In anxiety to stand distinguished from all other groups calling themselves Trotskyist, the Spartacists have filled the columns of Workers Vanguard with open falsification of the Trotskyist position on voting for workers parties in Popular Fronts.

Pro-Imperialist

And in their efforts to avoid capitulation to bourgeois nationalism they have espoused objectively pro-imperialist positions on Ireland and the Middle East.

But while these positions have been revealed, the IST's empirical, sectarian leadership has until now concealed its inability to conduct the daily work of their own movement.

Now the announcement of fortnightly publication, which is signed by the Workers Vanguard editorial board, the Political Bureau of the U.S. Spartacist League, and the "Interim Secretariat" of the International Spartacist Tendency, gives an insight into the complete irresponsibility and incompetence of these "leaders" who have posed as the world's only authentic Trotskyists.

And it also reveals the huge material investment piled in by the International Spartacist Tendency into financing and propping up the 20-strong pro-Spartacist faction that split from the Workers Socialist League at its second annual conference in February.

"Quiescent"

The Spartacists rationalise this decision to drop the weekly paper by pointing to the failure of the working class in the USA and internationally to live up to their requirements:

"The problem is not some absolute overextension of our capacities, but rather one relative to the quiescent

period through which we are passing."

This "quiescent period" (elsewhere described as "current North American political, social and financial realities") is of course the period in which the historic U.S. miners strike has given an impetus to the wages struggle throughout the U.S. labour movement; in which New York City is once again on the brink of a major financial catastrophe; and the period in which the Carter regime faces a worldwide dilemma in its bid to prop up tottering bonapartist regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But for the sectarians of the Spartacist League the period is assessed not on the basis of an objective analysis of the movement of class forces, but on their subjective requirements as a movement.

Incapacity

The statement reveals the complete incapacity of the IST leaders to relate to the actual struggle of the working-class:

"...as the Weekly WV it did not and could not serve its central intended purpose as an agitational organ of intervention into major and continuing social upheavals in America in order to help shape and direct elemental and partial class struggles in accordance with the historic aims and possibilities of the working class."

Crisis

This chronic political failure to present a living programme or conduct any serious intervention into workers daily struggles led inevitably to a political crisis even in the hardened sectarian circles of the IST:

"The continuing discrepancy between intention and realisation brought the few hundreds of the SL/US right to the brink of a major breakdown."

The statement details the appalling shambles of the IST's organisation—which was being hailed by their British agents as a paragon of a Marxist vanguard party:

"Though centred and most grinding on the press, the excessive pressures have been across the board in the organisation.

"It has been felt in all the undermanned Central Office departments, not just the press. Our cadres—typified by the executive committees of too small local committees, the heads of inadequate trade union fractions, those going in spirals [!] trying to forge a black cadre component, the incomplete leadership of the Spartacus Youth League—have

been repetitively faced with urgent tasks hopelessly beyond the means and forces available."

All this confusion and chaos, combined with a static ("stable") membership, and increasing bills for leaders' extravagant programmes of international travel, would obviously disorient any movement.

But the IST points out that the leadership compounded the problem simply standing by, bemused by the whole situation:

"The central party leadership and senior cadre generally were hardly immune to these component disintegrative processes.

"For a couple of years [!] as first human resources then financial ones were exhausted, it had to impotently witness weaknesses as the organisation slowly ulcerated.

"Individual responses drifted towards frenzy or passivity, depending."

Far from this being a temporary financial crisis, then, the IST statement reveals a long-standing political paralysis which has dogged every part of their organisation in the US.

This culminated in a "precipitous break in the WV Editorial Board," followed by "several months of discussion" as to whether and how the mess could be cleaned up.

In the middle of all this muddle and worry and "even sinister threats to our organised existence," the Spartacists discovered the beginnings of a sectarian clique in the Workers Socialist League and began an enormously expensive campaign to build the basis of a faction prior to the WSL conference.

Key figure in this classic exercise in political dishonesty was WSL Birmingham branch member Alastair Green.

According to WV of April 7 Green wrote secretly to Birmingham branch secretary Alan Holford in July 1977 declaring his intention to "fight for the politics of the Spartacists inside the WSL."

Holford, a National Committee member of the WSL, took no steps to inform the national leadership of this move by Green.

He was himself looking for a way out of the inevitable problems of fighting to build a branch of the WSL based on the working class in Birmingham.

Rather than fight Green's lurch to sectarianism, he joined him.

They began to gather around them a circle of critics, defeatists, debaters and dabblers as the basis for a faction.

Green, with subsidies from the IST, began making extensive and repeated factional trips secretly visiting members in various branches of the movement and meeting with the London Spartacists.

The Spartacists began to step up this British intervention. And the costs escalated.

Miserable

But the fruits of these mighty labours were miserable. A mere 22 members were persuaded to split from the WSL at the February conference, despite the investment of hundreds of pounds and months of patient and clandestine factional work.

Among those 22 were all the least reliable and non-contributing members of the movement: only the cynics, sceptics, dilettantes and incurable wooden propagandists had rallied to the Spartacist banner of abstention from the living struggle, leaving the proletarian revolutionary core of the WSL intact.

The cost of this adventure to the IST is only now being counted. In April their leaders launched a fund drive, in which they characteristically once again abstained from giving the slightest direction:

"Since we have never undertaken such an emergency (or any) fund drive

WORKERS VANGUARD

First Time Ever Coast-to-Coast

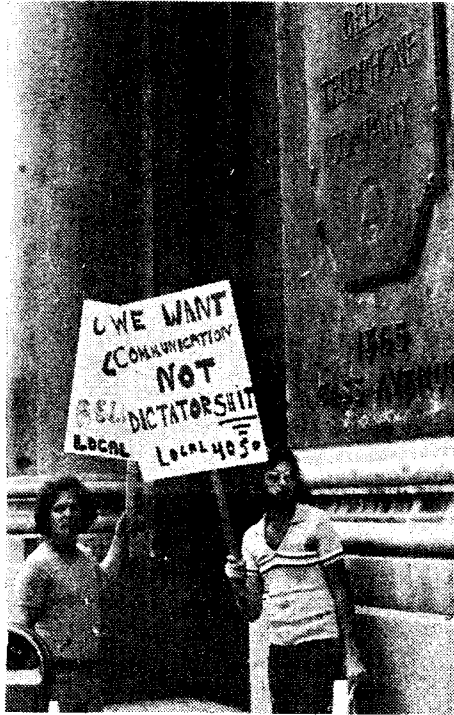
Long Lines Walkout Over AT&T Suspensions

Thousands of phone workers employed by AT&T's Long Lines division walked off the job in the second week of July in response to the suspension of nine members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Nashville, Tennessee for honoring a picket line.

In a remarkable display of solidarity Long Lines operators, craftsmen and administrative workers, who handle all international calls and maintain some national telecommunications equipment, hit the bricks from Sacramento to Boston, Minneapolis to Jacksonville. Though precise figures are not yet available, CWA officials estimated that between half and two thirds of the company's 20,000 employees were involved, with 31 out of the 40 CWA Long Lines locals out.

This is the first time in the history of the CWA that an "unauthorized" work stoppage has spread across the country. Indeed, outside the ranks of the militant coal miners, such solidarity is a rare occurrence in the American labor movement. To the disgust of thousands of phone workers, however, the CWA International leadership headed by president Glenn Watts cut the action short just as it was gaining momentum, declaring the walkout a wildcat and ordering it ended.

The work stoppage was sparked when South Central Bell operators in Nashville set up picket lines on July 8



WV Photo



WV Photo

Long Lines pickets in Detroit (left) and Cleveland.

demanding a halt to forced overtime and six-day scheduling. The picket lines came down the next day under Bell threats of firing. Though none of the operators was immediately disciplined, nine Long Lines craftsmen who had respected the picket lines were slapped with five-day suspensions. By the evening of July 10, Long Lines workers

in seven southern and midwestern cities had walked out in protest, and the next day local presidents and stewards had spread the strike from coast to coast.

The eruption of the strike and its rapid extension are a gauge of the deep anger felt by the CWA ranks toward the phone company, one of the most arrogant and authoritarian employers

in the U.S. Like fellow union members at AT&T's Bell companies and Western Electric division (who manufacture phone equipment), Long Lines workers have been hard hit by a cost-cutting offensive that has slashed over 100,000 jobs in the phone industry over the last four years.

As part of its drive to divide and beat down the workforce, AT&T has increasingly reserved its harshest discipline for those workers who respect picket lines, frequently giving longer suspensions to workers who honor them than to those who set them up. This tactic is designed not only to encourage Western Electric, Long Lines and Bell System workers to scab on each other but also to further destroy the right to strike by attacking its most effective tool: the picket line. In the highly automated phone industry, really solid picket lines and militant building occupations, keeping out management scabs, would cripple the company's current ability to maintain phone service even during major walkouts. By curbing the right to picket and to respect picket lines, the phone company hopes to stiffen the "no-strike" clause it regularly secures in CWA contracts with the eager cooperation of the Watts regime.

This company attack on the CWA's most elementary trade-union rights has been mounting steadily. A number of

continued on page 11

before, we do not know how much to expect from it [?]. Five thousand dollars would be poor; twenty thousand dollars would be good. Your leadership has let us drift into this mess; maybe the membership can help us out."

But even though Spartacists rallied round with some £28,000, this was not enough to refloat the leaking *Workers Vanguard* tub.

This gives some measure of the rate of overspending carried out by IST leaders with their jet-setting "international consultations."

Conned

The message, for those who have been naive enough to fall for the lies, the posturing and the pretensions of the Spartacists during the very period in which this financial disaster was occurring, is simple:

"You have been conned, by some of the most cynical tricksters in the labour movement!"

A leadership which for years on end is incapable of administering the day-to-day political and financial workings of the movement is self-evidently an incompetent and irresponsible leadership.

There is no likelihood that such a leading cadre—which, on its own admission, cannot even function the SL's much-vaunted trade union fractions—can arrive at a correct political analysis of the much more complicated problems of the international class struggle.

Unfortunately there is equally little chance that the seasoned sectarians in the IST ranks will draw the obvious political conclusions from this state of affairs.

By John Lister

You Have Been Warned

—Reprinted from *The News Line*
9 May 1978

Be Warned. A mangy political hound has been spawned in the wierd and wild realms of revisionism.

It happened last month when the full moon hung in the sky over Hampstead Heath and Oxford marshes.

In the special jargon of such transcendental experiences, it was solemnly declared that the TF of the WSL, after furious infighting, has fused with the LSG to produce SL/B as a section of iSt.

To the uninitiated this alphabetical reshuffle means that the so-called "Trotskyist Faction" of the Thornett clique, known grandly as the Workers Socialist League, has merged with the London Spartacist Group which will in future be known as Spartacist League/Britain.

Hound-dog

To the *initiated* it means something else. The Spartacists, a hound-dog group led by American James Robertson, has ambushed the Thornett clique and blown it up from within.

The Spartacists' delirium knows no bounds. An article proclaiming the foundation of the sect in Britain says:

This fusion is one of the largest and most important in the 15-year history of the Spartacist tendency. (*Why stop at 15 years—why not the most important event since the birth of Christ through the immaculate conception?*)

"The new organisation already has close on 50 members and a presence both in London and the Midlands."

On the basis of "close on 50 members" and a mysterious "presence" in London and the Midlands, the Spartacists have proclaimed, "The Rebirth of British Trotskyism."

Occurred

Just how this occurred is presented in No. 1 of the "Spartacist" in many thousands of words starting on page 1, turning to page 6, continued on page 12 and finishing on page 13.

The paper is great slabs of words piled on top of more words. The "New York Times"—"The Old Grey Ghost"—looks positively lively besides this awesome production.

Glimpse

A glimpse of the founding membership—handily printed inside—explains all. Alongside each name is a short political biography which helps to demonstrate the complete political instability of this grouping. Some examples:

"ALAN HOLFORD—IS 1971-1973 (expelled); Revolutionary Opposition (ex-IS) 1973-1974; founder member RCG, Political Committee RCG, 1974-1975; founder member WSL 1975-1978, WSL National Committee, Birmingham branch secretary, West Midlands Area chairman, convener of WSL's Women's Commission."

This means that in five years Brother Holford has been in no less than five groups: IS, Revolutionary Opposition, RCG, WSL and now SL/B.

One better is JOE QUIGLEY. His political repertoire is even more varied: "Communist Party of Great Britain 1969-1970; IS 1970-1974 (expelled); Left Faction (IS), Left Opposition (ex-IS) 1974; RCG 1975; founder member WSL

1975-1978, North West Area secretary, Manchester branch secretary, WSL National Committee, WSL Irish Commission."

These two are representative of the political malcontents and congenial factionalists who comprise Mr James Robertson's grouping.

Beset

It would be fine if they simply beset each other with internal (*eternal*) bulletins and interminable discussion, but in fact they play a provocative and

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4,000 Blacks March on Crown Heights Synagogue

Black Leaders Go After Jews Instead of Killer Cops

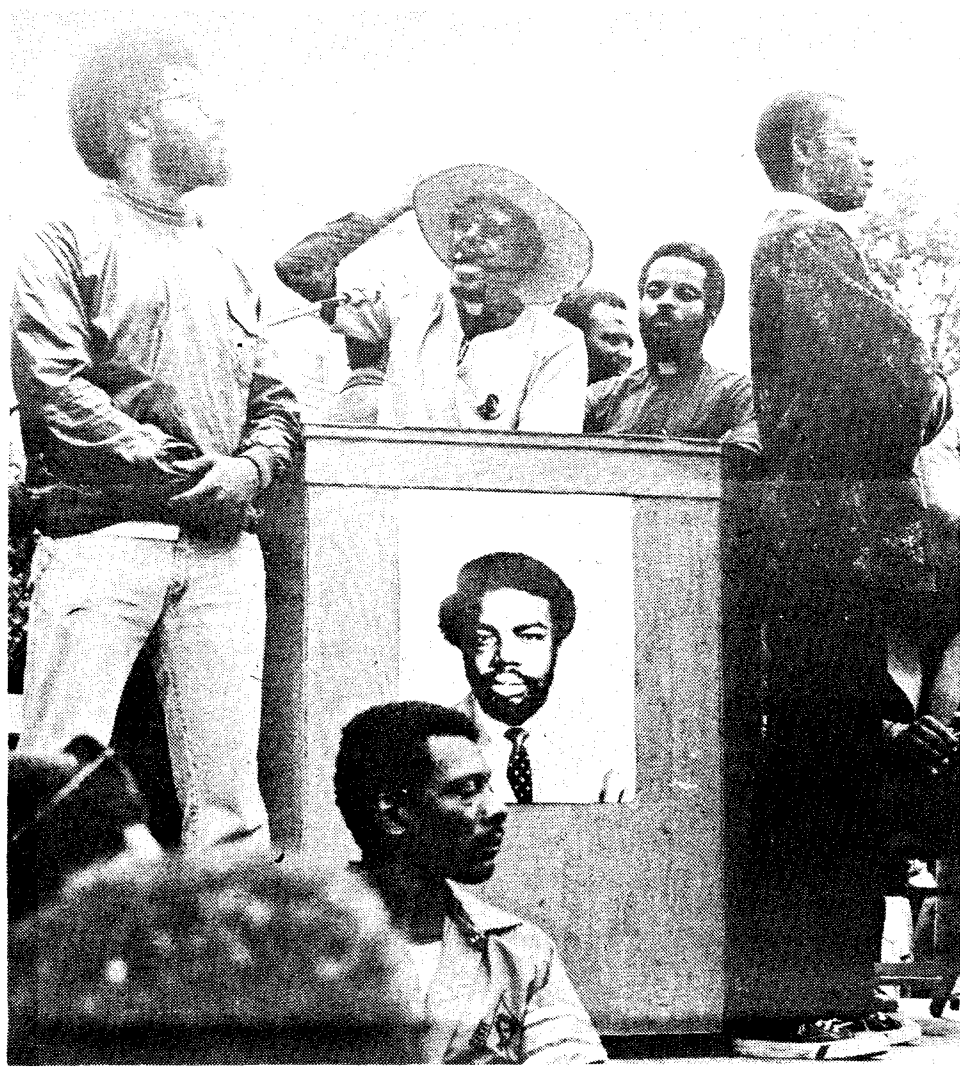
Stop the Cycle of Ethnic Violence

On July 16, organizers of the Brooklyn-based Black United Front (BUF), flanked by green-jacketed squads of their newly formed Black Community Citizens Patrol, led a march of some 4,000 jeering blacks through the Hasidic blocks of Crown Heights. According to its organizers, the march was called to jointly protest the police murder of black community leader Arthur Miller and the subsequent brutal beating of a 16-year-old black youth, Victor Rhodes, by a Hasidic vigilante squad. However, the focal point of the march was not a precinct station but the world headquarters of the United Lubavicher Hasidic sect. The choice of targets was deliberate.

While a cluster of Hasidim looked on from the synagogue roof, BUF leaders spent two hours railing against the "strange people in strange clothes," alternately whipping up the crowd for a charge on the temple, then pulling back at the last moment with vague warnings about provocateurs. But the July 16 march was itself a *criminal provocation* from beginning to end! Already ethnic tensions in Crown Heights were continually at the flashpoint in a vicious cycle of black lumpen crime and Hasidic vigilantism. And in this tinderbox the Black United Front demagogues responded to the murder of Arthur Miller not with demonstrations demanding the killer cops be jailed but with an openly anti-Semitic mobilization.

Throughout Sunday afternoon BUF sound trucks cruised the streets of Crown Heights exhorting the black population to come out and link arms against "Jewish aggression." Leaflets circulated demanding federal investigations to "curb the reckless use of Hasidic influence and power." "We're standing in the shadow of the yeshiva, the symbol of our oppression," harangued Black United Front leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry, ending up by demanding that the cops surrounding the synagogue move away so that the crowd, inflamed by racialist diatribes, could "just go on over" and storm the building. In a chilling final hour, the crowd marched through the deathly quiet Hasidic neighborhood, shaking their fists at Jewish stores. To the Hasidim it must have looked like the Black Hundreds mobs who regularly staged bloody pogroms in the eastern Russian Pale from which the Lubavicher fled.

The liberal media, always afraid of being labeled racist, described the overwhelming anti-Semitism of the BUF march in mealy-mouthed euphemisms. *New York Times* reporter Peter Kihss quoted a Lubavicher rabbi stating the rally speeches were anti-Jewish, although Kihss was there and could hear for himself. Various left groups tailing after the BUF hucksters deliberately suppressed any mention of the ugly ethnic hatred spewed out by Daughtry et al. But the *Amsterdam News* (22 July): the largest black weekly in the country, didn't try to cover up. "B'klyn Blacks Warn Jews" read its banner front-page headline, and the article reported threats by BUF leaders to take an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth in future incidents with the Hasidim.



Demagogue Rev. Herbert Daughtry at July 16 rally in Crown Heights. Speakers' platform displays portrait of Arthur Miller, earlier slain by NYC cops. Daughtry calls on those same cops to get Hasidic Jews.

The July 16 demonstration marked a dangerous new stage in the rapidly developing communal clashes in Crown Heights, where an enclave of some 35,000 Lubavicher Hasidim live sandwiched among some 125,000 predominantly West Indian blacks as the once largely Jewish neighborhood became absorbed into the bordering Bedford-Stuyvesant black ghetto. Elderly, pacific Hasidim had long been easy prey for muggings by black lumpen youth, but when a few years ago the Hasidic vigilante patrols began "identity checks" they naturally resulted in racist abuses against innocent blacks. That is the logic of vigilantism. Now, following two grisly attacks on Crown Heights blacks last month, the BUF wants to reply in kind, escalating the spiral of ethnic violence and bringing closer the ominous threats of race riots.

When black businessman Arthur Miller—who headed the anti-police brutality "Save Our Children" coalition—was strangled to death June 14 by more than a dozen cops in broad daylight on a crowded street, it sparked a wave of outrage in the black population of Crown Heights. It also touched off a scramble for succession as head of the community groups and government-financed poverty projects he ran. But the Lubavicher, a rung or two higher economically than their black neighbors and well organized politically, had the corner on anti-poverty funds in the area. This was long a sore point with aspiring black bureaucrats seeking to build a political career through dispensing patronage. So when Victor Rhodes was jumped by a Hasidic block patrol two days later, the BUF leaders sought to turn the community anger into a

campaign against "special treatment" of Hasidic Jews by the Jewish mayor.

The Spartacist League has been unique on the left in warning against these criminal maneuvers by Daughtry & Co., whose purpose is to deliberately take the heat off the racist cops. Characterizing plans for the July 16 march as a "provocation which could lead to a bloody communal riot," we warned against it in our article, "Death Wish in Crown Heights" (*WF* No. 211, 14 July):

"Tragically, in the Crown Heights events, what should have become united protest against a classic case of police brutality and ethnic vigilantism is now being diverted by rival poverty-program-funded ministers and rabbis into a fight of blacks against Jews, a vicious battle over who will get the most from a shrinking pork barrel."

The July 16 march hideously confirmed our warning.

An Anti-Semitic Provocation

As the date of the BUF demonstration drew closer, each day new elements were added bringing the situation ever closer to a racial conflagration. Originally there was to be a march of the Black United Front from the 77th police precinct (headquarters of Arthur Miller's murderers) to the 71st precinct (dominated, according to Daughtry, by the Hasidim in conjunction with Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin), stopping for a rally in front of the Lubavicher synagogue. To this was added the persistent report that the Jewish Defense League (JDL) planned a counter-demonstration on the steps of the temple to confront the BUF march when it arrived. Then in an incredible

provocation, the Policemen's Benevolent Association (PBA) announced they were meeting a few blocks away at the Brooklyn Museum to hold a "memorial service" for cops killed by blacks, while Crown Heights blacks were protesting the murder of Arthur Miller by the cops! The stage was set for a deadly blow-up.

The confrontation was set for 3 p.m. in front of the synagogue at 770 Eastern Parkway, and by noon Crown Heights looked like an armed camp. A sizeable section of the cop demo marched from their "memorial service" to the temple to confront the black demonstration. Squad cars lined the parkway bumper-to-bumper for a five-block stretch; paddy wagons, police horse trailers and communications vans dotted the area. A handful of helmeted JDL members ostentatiously guarded the synagogue door. Meanwhile about 500 people set off from the 77th precinct in the BUF march, a substantial part of the initial core made up by Maoists of the Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) and National Fight Back (front group of the Peking-endorsed Communist Party Marxist-Leninist [CP-ML]). Along the way the crowd swelled so that by the time the rally began there were over 4,000.

For the next two hours they booed each time the word "Hasidim" was uttered while the sordid collection of right-wing nationalists turned Democratic Party hacks and foam-flecked preachers denounced the Lubavicher for endless crimes. The least of these was the beating of Victor Rhodes, however. Instead they were reviled for grabbing up poverty funds, for rabbis outbidding Baptist ministers on property sales, for their strange clothes, for celebrating the sabbath on Saturday, for speaking a foreign language. The cops were criticized, not so much for killing Arthur Miller but for "doing the bidding" of the Hasidim. Warning the Lubavicher that they would see what black power meant if they tried to buy property across Eastern Parkway, BUF leaders declared that "Hasidic domination of the 71st precinct" must be ended by "the ballot or the bullet."

The rabid Daughtry whipped the crowd into a frenzy against the Hasidim, screaming: "They don't want them in Russia, they don't want them in Israel, even their own people don't want them." As he called for the cops to step aside so the crowd could besiege the synagogue, Hasidic youth beckoned from the rooftop daring them to come over. One wrong move could have touched off an explosion. Finally the BUF leaders turned around and led an eerie procession through the normally bustling Hasidic section, deserted that afternoon on orders from the rabbis. Arriving at the 71st precinct they declared the stationhouse "liberated" from "Hasidic domination."

From Vigilantism to Ethnic War

The Black United Front rally was a declaration of war on the Hasidic community. No longer is it a question of lumpen criminal attacks; no longer is it limited to brutal vigilante patrols against "suspicious outsiders" in their respective communities. Now we have come to the stage of racist mob incursions into the opposing communi-

ty, which could easily touch off a bloody communal brawl. The next logical step would be a JDL-led counter-march of thousands of Zionist fanatics on a Crown Heights black church, a provocation against which the black community would have the same right to defend itself as the Hasidim had last week. In perpetrating this anti-Jewish attack the BUF leaders have proven themselves dangerous enemies of the Crown Heights blacks. For the reality of life in racist, capitalist America is that *in a race war black people can only lose.*

Moreover, the demagogic black misleaders are diverting the struggle away from the real enemy. While the Hasidim are somewhat better off than the surrounding blacks (though still far from affluent by American standards), they are not the exploiters and direct oppressors of the black population of Crown Heights. Their vigilante squads are not lynch mobs of Southern whites terrorizing the Negro shantytowns in the service of the plantation owners, but more akin to youth gangs in adjacent ethnic communities. And meanwhile the real killers, the racist cops who daily run roughshod over black youth and enforce the law and order of capitalist exploitation, who during the blackout riots last summer drove their cars careening through crowds and locked up thousands in hell holes like the Tombs, get off scot-free!

The BUF leaders' criminal tactics only isolate Crown Heights blacks from potential allies. The ruling-class press has already noted this. In an article entitled "Crown Heights Residents Block Leftist Protesters" the *New York Times* (16 July) reported that on the day before the Black United Front rally Daughtry's lieutenants had run the Maoist National United Workers Organization (a front for the Revolutionary Communist Party [RCP]) out of the neighborhood for trying to hold a rally against police brutality. Screaming, "Get out, get out, we don't want your struggle," the nationalist Democratic Party honchos of the BUF showed they are only interested in being number one in their small piece of turf. The *Times*, of course, gloated at the anti-communist exclusion.

The Hasidic leaders must have been pleased as well, for they too know that New York City is one of the few places in the U.S. where there is a real Jewish power structure. At the first signs of military organization in the black ghetto aimed at driving out the Hasidic community, an occupation army of cops would smash it and subject the black population to a brutal rule. This, and not the "liberation" of the police from "Jewish domination," is the logical outcome of the ethnic confrontation so provocatively being sought by Daughtry and his gang.

These criminal self-defeating tactics should come as no surprise, however,

for the phony black militants who marched on the Lubavicher synagogue are the same people who ten years ago sought to mobilize Brooklyn blacks against the predominantly Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT). At that time they had the backing of the Lindsay administration and the Ford Foundation who were interested in beating down the UFT for their own reasons. Thus a recent self-serving "Profile of an Activist" in the Black United Front/Save Our Children paper, *People's Press*, stresses Daughtry's despicable role as a scabherder in the 1968 teachers' strike.

Al Vann, another featured speaker at the July 16 rally, was right-hand man to

experience the day before—crawled up to the Lubavicher synagogue to join the hooting, fist-shaking crowd. Clearly stung by the July 15 clash, the RCP responded in its *New York/New Jersey Worker* (22 July) that it had regrouped after being run off by "certain gentlemen in the Black United Front" and had finished the march. But the same article revealed the true character of the July 16 BUF march, characterizing Daughtry's keynote speech there as "pure Hitler demagoguery" and criticizing the BUF for "aim[ing] the spearhead at the Jews and away from the cops." Thus the RCP admits that it participated in a march led by a racist demagogue and intended to divert the struggle toward

all, blacks are oppressed and a good source of recruits, and the Hasidim are effectively sealed off from the left—so what do the Peking and Moscow Stalinists and the ex-Trotskyist social democrats care if there is a communal bloodbath? But this vile and criminal attitude should not be surprising. During the 1968 UFT strike, when the same black nationalist phonies were trying to break the teachers' union, these reformists all advocated *scabbing*. From union-busting it is only a short step to apologizing for ethnic vigilantism and pogromist provocations.

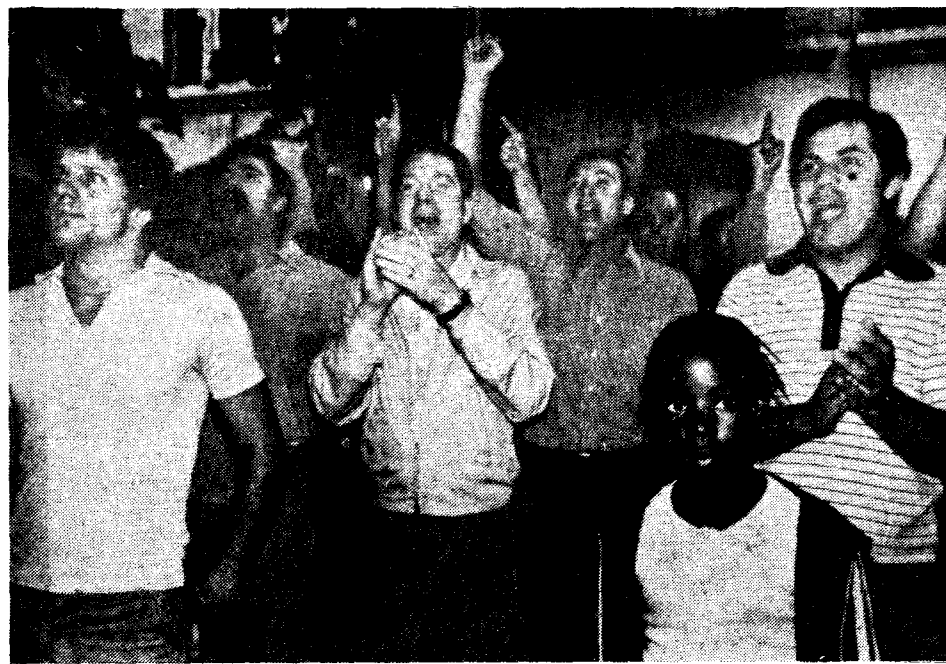
The reformists' participation in this anti-Semitic outrage reflects their common support to black nationalism and anti-proletarian ethnic politics. Communists give no quarter to racist mobilizations of any kind, whether anti-black or anti-Jewish, *much less actively build them*. Given that the July 16 march could well have provoked a major race riot in New York City, if the Spartacist League had sufficient working-class support *we would have attempted to prevent it*. In this situation of increasing inter-communal hostility and violence, communists must demand an immediate disengagement on both sides.

In the present Crown Heights situation the blacks tend to see the Hasidic vigilantes as akin to Klan night riders, while the Hasidic Jews undoubtedly viewed the BUF march as a reincarnation of the tsarist Black Hundreds on a pogromist rampage. But unlike the Nazi-led mobilizations in Chicago's Marquette Park or of the South Boston Marshals against busing, the Hasidic vigilantes are *not* based on a program to deny blacks their democratic rights. Rather they are a communalist response to black lumpen crime and are not essentially different from the Italian and Puerto Rican street gangs which also prevent black youth from wandering through "their turf" elsewhere in the city. The Hasidic vigilantes, of course, inevitably commit racist abuses in their identity checks, and also atrocities like the vicious attack on Victor Rhodes. We are utterly opposed to the Hasidic "anti-crime" squads no less than we are to those of the Black United Front.

Because the ethnic polarization in Crown Heights has escalated so sharply (despite Alice-in-Wonderland stories in the *New York Times* about black and Hasidic neighbors peacefully coexisting except for the bad influence of "outsiders"), it is difficult for communists to shift the axis of struggle by their intervention. This is not to say that the situation is generally hopeless; if there had been at the beginning a strong communist presence with roots in the community and a multi-racial base in the NYC working class, it could have been possible to mount a citywide campaign against the killer cops and thus head off the subsequent escalation of ethnic tensions.

In situations of communal clashes, the positive communist policy is for bi- or multi-racial defense squads—which must be *programmatically* committed to proletarian unity if they are not to have a shootout over the first incident that occurs to forcibly impose a ceasefire among the peoples involved. Only in this way can we further the cause of class struggle against the real oppressors and exploiters, not by supporting the ethnic vigilantes of one or the other group involved. As an urgent minimum, agitation must center on opposing willful or demonstrative incursions, whether mass or individual, into the opposing neighborhood by both the Hasidic Jews and Crown Heights blacks.

Stay out of each other's neighborhood before there are dead bodies in the street! Stop the cycle of ethnic violence! No to communal vigilantism! Jail the killer cops who murdered Arthur Miller! ■



Hamilton/Village Voice

Racist cops jeered Black United Front marchers and vowed to support the killers of Arthur Miller.

Rhody McCoy, the anti-union black careerist superintendent of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community-control school district who provoked that strike. Vann is now Democratic state assemblyman from the 56th district, and another speaker, Sam Pinn, the head of Brooklyn CORE, is using this exposure to build his campaign as Democratic candidate for the same body. And BUF leader Andy Gill, who at the rally stressed his close working relationship with the martyred Arthur Miller, last week announced his candidacy for the 53rd assembly district.

"Left" Cover for Anti-Semitic Provocation

While the black Democrats and poverty program hustlers are trying to line their pockets and increase their political clout out of the uproar over Miller's murder, cynically fanning ethnic hatreds in order to "up the ante," most of the left has criminally tailed after this anti-Jewish mobilization. Not only the WVO and CP-ML marched with Daughtry, but even the RCP—afraid to show up at first after their

the false target of the Hasidim!

For its part the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) initially cheered on the formation of the black vigilante squads. The 30 June *Militant* selectively edited Daughtry's anti-Jewish speeches at planning meetings and even defended this self-serving, adventurist bigot against charges of anti-Semitism! Once it became clear that the purpose of the black patrols was to attack Hasidic Jews, the SWP suddenly dropped this demand. However, it continues to cover for the Black United Front by editing out all their racist remarks from *Militant* accounts of the Crown Heights events. Most shameful of all was the Communist Party (CP), whose *Daily World* reported Daughtry's notorious speech in front of the synagogue where he said Crown Heights blacks were "sandwiched between the 71st precinct and the 77th, in the shadow of the Yeshiva." The CP simply deleted the last phrase, replacing it with an ellipsis.

Offering themselves up as a "left" cover for an anti-Jewish mobilization, these fake-revolutionaries and "socialists" show that they will stop at nothing in their search for easy popularity. After



Tannenbaum/Soho Weekly

Sign in BUF demonstration reads: "These men have shown that they are thirsty for the blood of black children."



Call Out UMWA Convoys to Save Stearns Strike!

WHITLEY CITY, Kentucky, July 17—Two years ago unorganized coal miners at the Justus pit in Stearns, Kentucky voted 126 to 57 to join the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). On 17 July 1976 they voted 152 to 1 to strike the Blue Diamond Coal Company for a UMWA contract. Today, with their numbers slowly dwindling, the strike drags on, a victim of the no-win policies of union president Arnold Miller.

Despite torrential rain, 350 strike supporters turned out today at the 4-H Club here for the strike's second anniversary gathering. While striker Darrell Vanover began the rally by declaring that "they ain't beat us yet" and denied rumors that the UMWA intended to pull out of Stearns, there is widespread and well-founded concern among the strikers over the fate of their protracted struggle. Of the 183 Justus miners who voted in the 1976 certification election, only 136 still receive the \$100 weekly strike benefits from the International. Thirty-four former strikers are now scabbing and others have simply moved out of town. Just last week a half-dozen strikers left Stearns for western Kentucky in hopes of finding jobs in union mines there. One miner told *WV*: "They just said 'the International's not going to help us and we're not going to win.'" But most of the strikers remained determined to fight.

The International's current strategy in Stearns is to wait for the results of a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) hearing on the newly established company union, the "Justus Employees Association" (JEA). In late May, Blue Diamond canceled the first scheduled bargaining session in months and at the same time announced the formation of the JEA. "It was sort of a

blitzkrieg move," UMWA attorney John Woodrum told reporters. "They formed another union and negotiated a contract with them in a matter of a day or two." The JEA "contract" contains no safety provisions and the company promises an insurance program "at a later date," according to UMWA organizer Lee Potter.

On June 5 the UMWA filed an unfair labor practices suit against Blue Diamond, charging that the company had contributed financial and legal support to the JEA. The Union also charged the company with failure to bargain in good faith with the strikers' chosen bargaining agent. If the UMWA suit is defeated the JEA will be free to seek NLRB certification as the legitimate bargaining agent in the Justus mine.

Similar to numerous other Stearns support rallies held in the last two years, the crowd today consisted mainly of local supporters and representatives of several leftist organizations. Local picket captain Mahan Vanover told *WV* that every UMWA district was informed of the event. But outside of District 19, which includes Stearns, representation from outlying UMWA districts was shamefully low, indicating the failure of District bureaucrats throughout the Appalachian coalfields to organize support or even publicize the event.

Rather than use the rally to call for the massive UMWA reinforcements which are required to stop the daily strikebreaking of over 100 Blue Diamond bosses, thugs and scab miners, International director of organizing Ken Varney instead sermonized to the beleaguered militants that "good things don't come easy," adding "keep the faith, we are behind you." Varney

apologized for the absence of Arnold Miller, who had received a personal invitation to attend from the Stearns Women's Club. Claiming that his boss is "not a figurehead," Varney told the crowd that a death threat kept the UMWA president away.

This excuse was ridiculed by many strikers. During the bitter 110-day 1977-78 national coal strike Miller rarely ventured outside of the union's Washington headquarters without an army of bodyguards and packing a .38. Most of the time he stayed holed up in the Heart O'Town Hotel in Charleston rather than confront the membership he pretends to lead. Likewise today, Miller has no stomach for a meeting with the union stalwarts whom he has left to rot on the picket line. But the Stearns miners have his number. "It is a sickening situation," one active picketer stated. "If something doesn't change and change quick, it'll be driven under. And all because of a guy named Arnold Miller."

In over a year of *WV* coverage on Stearns the Spartacist League has repeatedly stressed the indispensability of militant UMWA solidarity action to bring Blue Diamond to terms. As one striker on the picket line told *WV* after the rally this afternoon, "It's not the money, hell we can get the money. It's men [we need]." Yet the previous national agreement expired without Miller using even a single one of the ten contractually allowed "memorial period" days to shut down coal production in solidarity with the Stearns strikers.

In 1974 a five-day UMWA memorial period was finally called to close every U.S. mine and win a contract in Brookside, Kentucky after 13 months of striking. Now Blue Diamond claims to be producing coal on a limited basis at

the Justus pit "with a market for all the coal that comes out of the mine" (*McCreary County Record*, 6 June 1978). Even Miller acknowledges that the company's five other operating mines have hamstrung the strike, yet his advice for the Stearns miners is to wait for the NLRB ruling.

During the two years since this strike began, local and state cops have jailed, beaten and harassed the strikers while courts have leveled fines and injunctions limiting picketing on the union. The Stearns miners are restricted to a total of six pickets and were stripped of the means for self-defense while Blue Diamond is allowed to protect its property with 28 well-armed gun thugs at a time—a number which the union maintains is regularly exceeded.

Victory at Stearns is crucial for all UMWA miners. Almost 50 percent of U.S. coal production is non-union. The outcome of this battle will have an enormous impact on the success of future organizing drives. If the bosses are allowed to succeed here, it will make it doubly difficult to bring non-union miners into the UMWA, and it will undoubtedly trigger new efforts by the companies to break the union in areas where it is weakest.

Miners must have no confidence in Miller's reliance on the NLRB. The capitalist courts and government have already demonstrated which side they are on. UMWA militants must demand that the union organize rallies and demonstrations throughout the coalfields to assemble mass convoys of pickets to shut down the Justus mine and the other Blue Diamond pits. Militant action by the ranks of the UMWA can still win this battle. Victory to the Stearns strike! ■

"Democratic" Miller Lovers Exclude SL

SWP: Reformists for Hire

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) likes to posture as the most consistent guardian of "democracy" on the left: being the hardest fighter for the "free speech" of fascists and tireless tailists after Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign. But the bureaucratic core beneath its super-democratic facade is revealed when the SWP is confronted by criticism from its left. Last weekend's physical exclusion of the Spartacist League (SL) from a publicly advertised Bay Area class series is only the latest proof that the SWP fears above all open political debate which would expose its reformist politics.

The exclusion occurred July 22 when SL supporters and several local trade unionists tried to attend an SF class series the SWP was holding to build support for its upcoming Oberlin active workers conference. The series—"How the Unions were Built and How They Can Survive Today, Class Struggle Versus Class Collaboration"—was advertised in the 21 July *Militant*, but when the SLers arrived they were given the flimsy excuse the class was "private."

Two SL supporters had already been allowed to pay their admission fees and were taking their seats when they were suddenly ordered out of the room. One phone worker, a member of the CWA Local 9410 Militant Action Caucus who

protested the exclusion, was also told to leave. Milton Chee, an SWP supporter in the MUNI union, told her, "You have an ax to grind. You only want to prove that the SWP is wrong."

Leading the exclusion was Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for California governor, as well as an SWP goon squad, who pushed the SL supporters and CWA militant out of the room. Several unionists from UAW Local 1364, who had rushed forward to protest, walked out in solidarity when Halstead defended his blatantly anti-democratic action.

Why was the SWP afraid of the Spartacist League? Outside the meeting an SL sales team was selling our latest issue containing the article, "Hate Miller, Hate the SWP" (*WV* No. 211, 14 July), a response to Shelley Kramer's inept *Militant* polemic attacking *WV*'s coverage of the recent United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike. All the other reformists who once hailed the election of Labor Department-backed Arnold Miller for UMWA president today try to hide their treachery as Miller's suppression of the health-care wildcats and sabotage of last spring's 110-day strike have made him a hated man throughout the coalfields. But not the SWP.

Instead, during the strike the *Militant* suppressed news of the miners' anti-

Miller rallies and published polemics against all those who attacked his sellouts. In the Bay Area the SWP played a particularly sordid role in sabotaging the fight to implement a motion of the International Executive Board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for a 24-hour sympathy strike against the Taft-Hartley act. In Los Angeles Tom Kerry, long-time SWP trade unionist, speaking at a June 16 forum went so far as to label the SL "strikebreakers" for daring to criticize Miller during the strike. Referring to Steelworkers "reform" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, Kerry added, "I spent many years of my life supporting men worse than Sadlowski!"

The SWP is being so shamelessly aggressive in its support to the universally despised Arnold Miller because it wants its appeal to the labor traitors heard loud and clear: "Reformists for Hire!" While others are fickle, the Millers and the Sadlowskis can rest assured the SWP will remain their faithful bootlickers through thick and thin.

Last weekend's expulsion was one more indication that the SWP emulates not only Miller's sellout politics, but his bureaucratic methods as well. While Miller packs a pistol in fear of the angry

UMWA ranks he betrayed, his small-time supporters in the SWP defend themselves and *their* role in the strike from the SL's revolutionary criticisms with goon squads and slanderous accusations. But just as Sadlowski and Miller cannot escape the SL's criticisms, neither shall the penny-ante reformists of the SWP. Wherever they go the SL will see to it that those who "hate Miller" will also learn to "hate the SWP." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Shcharansky...

(continued from page 1)

reports Washington columnist Sally Quinn (*New York Post*, 22 July).

Framing Up the Guilty

Given the mass of explosive issues involved in the Shcharansky case—the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin's bureaucratic suppression of dissent, the dangers of Carter's anti-Soviet crusade, Zionist anti-communism, CIA spying, charges of treason, etc.—a meticulous examination of the facts is necessary in order to arrive at a position.

As Trotskyists, we are irreconcilable opponents of the brutal counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. The same charges of treason were used to imprison, exile and murder our comrades in Stalin's purges. (What, by the way, was the attitude of the American rulers to those Moscow Trials? In those days they had nothing but respect for "Uncle Joe" and his "housecleaning," expressing conscious class hatred for the persecuted Trotskyist revolutionists.)

The cynical KGB necessarily runs all its trials as frame-ups, knowing no other techniques but mindless intimidation, anti-Semitic slander and other sledgehammer techniques of a despotic bureaucracy. (In this respect it is not all that different from its capitalist counterparts in, say, the New York City police: lazy and corrupt, why should they bother with evidence, even in the case of the guilty: it is much easier simply to frame up their powerless victims.) The Soviet people fiercely and quite rightly hate collaborators with the imperialist West—the Solzhenitsyns, Sakharovs and Shcharanskys. We, too, stand on the defense of the USSR against counterrevolution, but our consideration of the question of Shcharansky's guilt or innocence is conditioned by the understanding that the parasitic bureaucracy is the worst danger to a real defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

Was Shcharansky simply framed up—is he innocent of the charges? The Soviet indictment charged he had "betrayed his homeland" and engaged in "activities detrimental to the state independence and military might of the USSR." Specifically he was charged with supplying state secrets, from 1974 to 1977, to "Western diplomats, intelligence officers, as well as to an agent of a foreign military-intelligence service who worked under the cover of a journalist in Moscow." The journalist is one Robert Toth of the *Los Angeles Times*, who was arrested and questioned by the KGB for three days before leaving the country at the end of his tour of duty last year.

It is acknowledged by all concerned that Shcharansky was a key contact man between Soviet dissidents and Western newsmen in Moscow and did have extensive contact with Toth. In particular he supplied the correspondent with information for articles on Soviet "refuseniks"—Jews denied permission to emigrate to Israel on the grounds that their work gave them access to state secrets. Toth vehemently denies he published any "secrets," but one of the articles he wrote based on Shcharansky's information was entitled "Clues in Denials of Jewish Visas: Russ Indirectly Reveal 'State Secrets'" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1976). The article details various scientific operations which he argues are actually secret defense establishments.

Toth argues the Soviet authorities exposed themselves by refusing visas. Whether or not this is true, Shcharansky put this material together, found people for Toth to talk to and handed it all over. As a U.S. official explained to *Newsweek*: "What Shcharansky did, in effect, was give Toth a list of secret defense plants." And what of the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent—was he an agent? The Soviet prosecutor intro-

duced as evidence a letter found in Toth's garbage ("How stupid I was not to have eaten that goddamn letter," Toth now says) from the U.S. military attaché in Moscow, Major Robert Watters, Jr., thanking Toth for his "cooperation" and passing on praise for the correspondent's good work from Lieutenant General Samuel Wilson, then head of the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency.

That American newsmen act as CIA or military intelligence agents, sources or "assets" is nothing new. Whether or not Shcharansky knew what he was doing, the fact remains that he passed on state secrets to what was likely a Western intelligence conduit. A *New York Times* investigation last year revealed that since World War II at least 100 newsmen had acted as paid CIA agents, while literally thousands of foreign newsmen, editors and news organizations have been CIA conduits of one sort or another. While in most cases there was reportedly a "gentlemen's agreement" to pass on hot tips, in some cases (and particularly in Moscow) American journalists had considerable value as actual operatives. "He [the reporter] could identify and talk with Soviets, could travel places we couldn't," said an ex-CIA official. "It was considered much too risky to have deep cover men there" (*New York Times*, 27 December 1977).

What about the CIA? Carter's vehement denial last year of any U.S. intelligence connections with Shcharansky was badly undercut by revelations that the dissident's roommate, Dr. Sanya Lipavsky, had worked for the CIA for some months in 1975-76—a fact known to Carter at the time he made his



Yuri Orlov

defense. Answering charges that the CIA tried to penetrate the dissident movement Washington replied that Lipavsky was only "used for routine intelligence, on the activities of the Soviet scientific community with whom he was in touch—but not in connection with the dissidents" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 16 July). Of course, most of the dissidents are from scientific-intellectual backgrounds, and Lipavsky's main contact with this community was through Shcharansky.

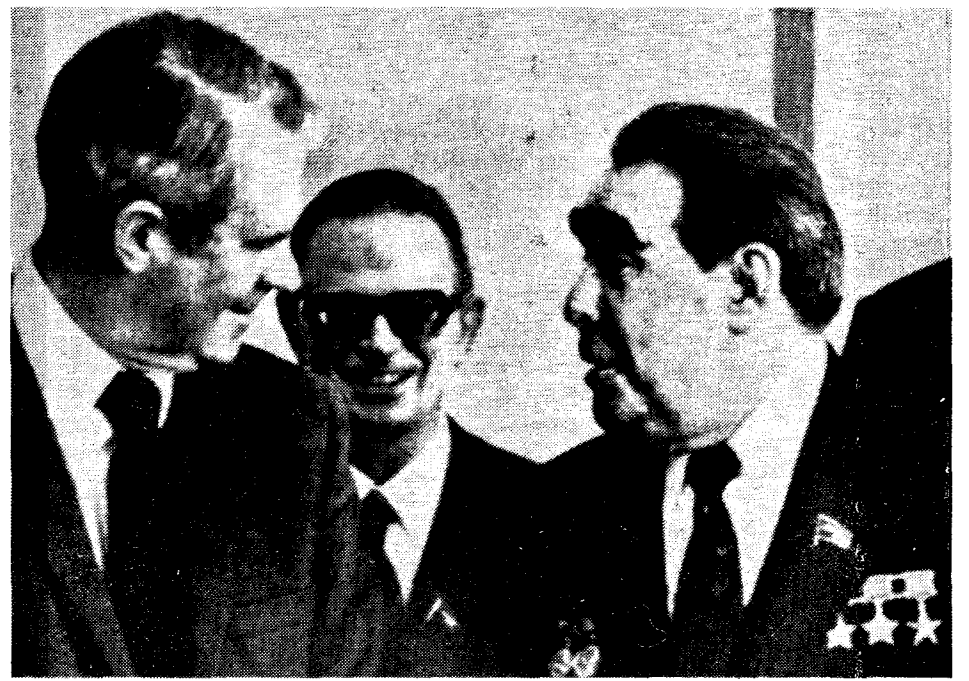
The evidence is circumstantial, but in its mass quite damning. At best Shcharansky was incredibly stupid, and more likely he knew what the destination of his information would be.

In the face of the bureaucracy's total suppression of legal means of communication to the dissident movement the latter are forced to go to the bourgeois media. But to rely on these agents of imperialist propaganda becomes a program, and it is no accident that many dissidents support such imperialist blackmail as the Jackson amendment, which seeks to promote "human rights" in the USSR by threatening to cut off grain shipments.

Most of the dissident movement today in the USSR, and particularly its Zionist component, appeals directly to

the West to use them as pawns in its pressure on the degenerated Soviet workers state. As long as they and their associates can get out to earn royalties on anti-Communist tracts they do not care a whit for the military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism; for the most part they are actively opposed to it. (Similarly many dissidents accuse the U.S. of selling out to "Soviet totalitarianism" by "abandoning" Vietnam, and even side with the butcher Pinochet against the left.)

Given Shcharansky's right-wing Zionist beliefs, it is probable that he would inform Western imperialist governments of whatever he knows about Soviet military defense. In any case, this



Vance with Brezhnev in Moscow.

time the Stalinists had a good case. Shcharansky clearly did pass on the information he is accused of transmitting and he has expressed no regret that he revealed secret Soviet military establishments to Western governments. However, we have no trust whatsoever that the bureaucratic thugs of the KGB can judge Shcharansky's culpability and apply proletarian justice accordingly. These are the people who massacred thousands of Trotskyists and Old Bolsheviks following the Moscow Trials of the 1930's, all on fabricated charges of treason and acting as imperialist agents; today they lock up any opponent of the ruling clique in psychiatric hospitals, corner their targets with agents provocateurs, etc.

Soviet Dissidents and Political Revolution

The dissidents in the Soviet Union are a heterogeneous lot, encompassing everything from tsar-loving reactionary mystics such as Solzhenitsyn to ardent Zionists like Shcharansky, pro-Western liberal intelligentsia (Sakharov), Stalinist reformers (Medvedev), vague social-democratic "neo-Marxists" (Plyushch), defenders of oppressed national minorities, and even possibly a few genuine proletarian revolutionary oppositionists—although unfortunately the latter are presently hard to find. We have deep political differences with many of the "dissidents"—indeed, we often stand on the opposite side of the class line—but against the Kremlin's crushing censorship we defend the freedom of speech for all whose political activity is not aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Soviet bureaucracy has dragged the democratic traditions and liberating goals of Marxism through the mud.

Marxism and the National Question in North America

Speaker: **Joseph Seymour**
Central Committee of
the Spartacist League
Editorial Board of
Workers Vanguard

Hillberry A
Student Center Building
Wayne State University

DETROIT
July 30, Sunday

generating such cynicism and hatred for the proud name of "communist," that it is not surprising that the dominant dissident trends today are openly pro-imperialist. The battle for political revolution in the USSR to oust the bureaucracy and restore workers democracy requires intransigent struggle against such tendencies. But the pro-Western and Zionist dissidents must be politically defeated by proletarian revolutionaries in the USSR, and this requires an equally intransigent struggle for full soviet liberties through workers political revolution to oust the bureaucracy.

In this context it is particularly disgusting to see the European Commu-

nist parties—French, Spanish and Italian—lining up with Western imperialism in defending Shcharansky. In the U.S., the reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), long a most enthusiastic supporter of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" campaigns, has hailed each new pro-Western dissident as a heroic fighter against oppression. The SWP's defense of Shcharansky is particularly revolting. The 21 July *Militant* lays out its main theme: "Like the French Captain Alfred Dreyfuss in 1894, and the Americans Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953, Shcharansky is the victim of an anti-Semitic political frame-up."

Certainly it is true that the Stalinist bureaucracy encourages anti-Semitism, and the labeling of dissidents as "discontented Jews" has historically been used to discredit them in the eyes of backward Russian workers and peasants. However, the Rosenbergs were witch-hunted primarily as Communists and on charges of allegedly passing military secrets to the USSR, while Shcharansky is accused of passing Soviet defense secrets to the West. There is a class difference involved here which the SWP totally ignores. The *Militant* goes so far as to claim that "the charges against Shcharansky are absurd on their face" so "absurd" that Washington sources have confirmed them!

Anatoly Shcharansky is guilty of a crime against the world proletariat—transmitting military secrets of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, to the imperialists. Given the record of other dissidents who as soon as they set one foot in the West become rabid running dogs of imperialism, there is no reason to believe that Shcharansky, as soon as he is one inch off Soviet soil, will not do the same. So why not dump him out of the country, which is what he wants in any case—but with one proviso. Since this Zionist friend of the CIA is so eager to spend "next year in Jerusalem," have him sign a statement to serve his sentence in Israel, preferably in some border area kibbutz!

Anatoly Shcharansky is guilty as hell! Let the punishment fit the crime: 13 years in Israel. ■

Post Office...

(continued from page 12)

and updated every year since, calls for the occupation of the post offices by more than 96,000 troops of the Army and federalized National Guard and, if necessary, units of the Marines, Navy and Air Force.

Carter is determined to enforce the dictum of every capitalist administration, "You can't strike against the government." In that, he is acting no differently from other so-called "friend of labor" politicians. Franklin Roosevelt employed this slogan when he throttled the strike of WPA workers in the 1930's and later when he unsuccessfully attempted to break the UMWA strike in 1943 after the government had seized the mines. Government strike-breaking, of course, has also been directed extensively against employees of private industry as well, most recently by Carter himself with the vicious Taft-Hartley injunction slapped on the

Laborers' Union and American Postal Workers Union are denouncing the strikers. Biller has sat on his hands. At a rally in Washington July 12, Biller told demonstrating postal workers: "If there's no decent contract by midnight July 20, then there's no work." But when the sellout deal came down, Biller did nothing. And although the Jersey City wildcatters repeatedly set up picket lines in front of the Main Post Office in NYC, Biller has refused to demand that these lines be respected.

Now, under the pressure of mass discontent of postal workers, Biller has come out in favor of renegotiating the contract. Last night a New York Metro APWU stewards' meeting voted to support amnesty for the victimized strikers and to demand a new contract. But instead of calling an immediate mass membership meeting to sanction a strike, Biller pledged only to take a strike poll within the next few days, thereby keeping his options open. Grooming himself for higher office in

running at double-digit rates, the cost-of-living allowance cap at 9.5 percent total over three years will mean an actual pay cut by 1981. The "no layoff" clause was retained, but nothing was done to stop Postal Service's automation/attrition drive which will eliminate jobs just as surely and steadily as direct layoffs. Injuries, which are up 300 percent over the 1975 contract, will continue to escalate as workers are driven at an ever more frantic pace.

The default of both the postal union tops and established "opposition" leaders so far has left the door open to supporters of various "Marxist-Leninist" groups to tap the anger of the postal workers. At both the New Jersey and California BMCs, supporters of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (which recently split from the RCP), along with assorted other Mao-Stalinist sects, have played a major role in leading the picketing and seeking to spread the strike.

The Maoist grouplets have intersected the real anger of the postal workers. Yet they have consistently failed to organize postal workers around a political program distinguishable from the "dissident" union bureaucrats'. Their economist policies are in fact not qualitatively different from those of militant business unionists like Biller himself, who won his spurs in the 1970 wildcat. Indeed, the major plea of the wildcat organizers is that Biller take over the leadership of the struggle. By failing to construct a class-struggle opposition in the unions, linking the day-to-day struggles of workers to the need to smash capitalism and calling for a workers party based on the unions to oppose the capitalist parties which now seek to crush the postal workers, the Maoists can only exercise temporary influence on militants but can never build a viable alternative to the sellouts and opportunists. They end up being base-builders for a slicker breed of labor fakers.

Defend the Postal Workers!

Though the postal union leaderships have handed the ranks a disaster contract and the BMC walkouts are winding down, the situation is still volatile. The widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks could still be propelled into a massive strike, either by more local walkouts or, more likely, by a strike in New York. To combat the inevitable attempts of their misleaders to shove together an equally unsatisfactory "sweetened" pact, postal workers must elect strike committees *now* to organize a solid, nationwide strike to fight for: a big pay boost with full cost-of-living protection; an end to forced overtime, speedup and job-stealing attrition—create jobs through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay; union control over health and safety with the right to shut down unsafe operations; full union rights and benefits for all postal employees; the unrestricted right to strike over all grievances; no victimizations for any strikers.

Should the postal workers embark on a national strike, they will face the combined wrath of the administration, courts and armed forces. By confronting the Carter government's wage cutting and asserting their right to strike, postal workers would be launching a fight on behalf of all workers and would require immediate support of the *entire* labor movement. In the event of a mass postal strike, all unions must immediately dispatch mass pickets to bolster the postal workers' lines and demand that the U.S. government and courts keep their hands off the strike!

If the government follows through on its threats to deploy troops to break a postal walkout, the elementary defense of their fellow unionists demands that all U.S. trade unions launch a general protest strike. Victory to the postal workers! Shut down the Post Office! ■

Spectre of Spartacism...

(continued from page 5)

disruptive role in the workers' movement.

No one will shed any tears for the Thornett clique for the way the Spartacists smashed up the London branches of the WSL.

Indeed, members of the Workers Revolutionary Party will find it deeply ironic.

Thornett and his camp-followers let out a hue and cry at the end of 1974 trying to claim the "right" to run a party within the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The overwhelming majority of the leadership and the membership said, "No," and came down firmly for the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism.

The WRP could not permit outside political forces, namely Robin Blick, Mark Jenkins etc. to run an anti-party clique whose sole purpose was to disrupt and sabotage the work of the WRP.

Thornett was thrown out when he persisted and took it upon himself to influence others to refuse party instructions.

Among those anti-Trotskyists who vigorously applauded Thornett was none other than the Spartacist group. As they cheered, they also came through the door and set up shop for themselves inside Thornett's group.

They debated whether to take over the WSL, lock, stock and barrel, or to smash it up. When they discovered there was *no* lock, stock nor barrel, they decided on the latter course.

Dwindling

Crestfallen members of Thornett's dwindling entourage are now to be heard bitterly complaining about the "destructive" actions of the Spartacists.

Since neither the Thornett clique nor the Robertson-ites have a political principle between them, no one need get wildly excited about their cavortings. It is a simple case of when thieves fall out.

By Alex Mitchell



WV Photo

Postal workers at July 19 official union demonstration in front of Main Post Office in Manhattan called for an end to layoffs and mandatory overtime.

miners. This underlines again the necessity for the trade unions to cease their support of the capitalist parties, Democratic as well as Republican, and build a workers party to fight for a workers government.

You Can Strike Against the Government!

The reality is that workers can strike—and win—against the government. This was shown not only in the coal miners' most recent defiance of Taft-Hartley, but by the postal workers themselves in 1970. The 1970 strike began as a wildcat in New York. Ironically, it was led by some of the same bureaucrats—Moe Biller of the American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and the Letter Carriers' New York chief Vince Sombrotto—who have so far kept their members on the job this time around. It quickly spread to encompass over 200,000 postmen in major eastern and midwestern cities. The unskilled soldiers deployed by Nixon proved incapable of moving the mails to any appreciable extent, and postal workers won wage increases of over ten percent plus no reprisals for their "illegal" action. A powerful nationwide postal strike today not only can win, but can serve to break apart the cozy ties of the trade-union bureaucrats with the bosses and the government, impelling a genuine upsurge of class struggle.

The key to victory lies with New York. As one West Coast striker told *WV*, "Everybody in the country will know this is a serious strike when they go out at 33rd Street in Manhattan [New York's General Post Office]." If the New York Metro APWU and Letter Carriers Branch 36—who spearheaded the dramatic weeklong strike in 1970—go out, so will hundreds of thousands of other postal workers.

While the treacherous top leaders of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Mailhandlers division of the

the APWU and reluctant to force a real confrontation with the Democratic Party, Biller cannot be trusted to wage a vigorous campaign for, and to implement, a real strike that will meet the needs of postal workers.

Mounting Attacks on Postal Workers

Since 1970 conditions have drastically deteriorated at the Post Office. After the creation of the quasi-public corporation, USPS, postal workers were given significant wage increases to placate discontent with the outrageously low pay levels, which forced thousands of postal employees to find second jobs. But the drive to make the Postal Service "profitable" has meant slashing tens of thousands of jobs. An annual attrition rate of 5.5 percent cut 24,000 jobs last year alone, although the volume of mail rose by 2.5 billion pieces. U.S. postal workers now handle more mail per worker than any other postal service in the world.

It is not surprising that postal worker discontent has erupted first at the BMCs. These sprawling, highly mechanized, factory-like complexes were the USPS answer to commercial competitors like United Parcel Service. Twenty-one such centers process millions of packages and letters, often on ten-hour shifts, with the increasingly common employment of casuals and "flexies" who do not enjoy full union benefits and protection. Staffed with a high proportion of Vietnam veterans and minority workers, the BMCs have become seething sources of postal worker discontent.

The just concluded contract did nothing to resolve the grievances of BMC or any other postal workers. The postal unions had gone into negotiations last April demanding 26 percent wage increases over a two-year contract. They settled instead for a three-year pact with ridiculous annual pay hikes of 2, 3 and 5 percent. With inflation

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Long Lines...

(continued from page 5)

Local 1150 members in New York told a *WV* reporter outside a membership meeting held during the walkout that they had been suspended for respecting Western Electric workers' pickets. Jim Stokes, head of the CWA's Nashville area office, said that there had been several walkouts by South Central Bell, Long Lines and Western Electric employees in the last few months in Nashville alone where workers simply respecting other CWA members' picket lines were given five-day suspensions.

The issue has recently grown to such acute proportions that at a caucus of Long Lines delegates at the CWA national convention held in San Francisco in June it was decided that a dramatic nationwide response was needed to stop AT&T from picking off locals one by one. Several CWA officials reported that it was decided at the caucus that the next time the company suspended any Long Lines workers for respecting a picket line, a national walkout would be the union's response. This decision was reached with the evident approval of CWA president Watts and the union's director for the Long Lines division, Fred Fischer.

But when, only a few weeks after the convention, the battle was launched and thousands of CWA workers were out on the streets, the Watts bureaucracy proved incapable and unwilling to fight the showdown through to a conclusive victory. Frightened by AT&T's threats to fire every CWA local president where workers were out and by the company's rush to the courts to obtain injunctions against the picket lines set up in many cities, Watts & Co. backed down. The International refused point blank to call out the rest of the CWA membership in defense of the Long Lines workers, declared the walkout "unauthorized" and began pressuring for a return to work by Wednesday, July 12, knowing full well that AT&T had pledged to suspend for five additional days all the workers who had walked out.

Though some CWA locals reportedly kept picket lines up until Friday, most Long Lines workers and local CWA officials felt that they could not win reversal of the suspensions without the backing of their International officers and called off the walkout. Atlanta Local 3250 president H.B. Pierson (whose local includes the Nashville Long Lines workers) estimated the number of workers subsequently suspended at 10,000-15,000.

Strikers in New York, Detroit, Chicago and elsewhere told *WV* of their anger at the CWA leadership's sabotage of the strike. "Why send us back now, just to get five days off?" they asked repeatedly. But though Long Lines workers did not win the goal of rescinding all the suspensions, their action represents an important development within the CWA, where Glenn Watts is facing mounting opposition to the legacy he has carried on from former president Joe Beirne: repressing the ranks hand-in-hand with the rate-gouging AT&T exploiters who run the world's largest corporate monopoly.

In a leaflet distributed to Bay Area phone workers, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of CWA Local 9410 (San Francisco) pointed out the importance of the Long Lines workers strike for all CWA members. MAC is the only class-struggle group in the CWA actively organizing phone workers in opposition to Watts' pro-company program. At the CWA convention, MAC initiated a proposal to grant all CWA locals the unrestricted right to strike. Endorsed by over 30 local presidents and chief stewards, this constitutional amendment was ruled "out of order" by the high-handed Watts. Pointing to the integral link between the right to strike and the Long Lines walkout in defense

of the right to respect picket lines, the Caucus stated:

"These 10,000 Long Lines workers who struck to defend the rights of our union members to respect picket lines deserve a lot of credit. A union which respects the principle of the picket line is a strong effective union....

"At bottom the right to respect picket lines is the right to strike. Glenn Watts doesn't want to defend the principle of the picket line because he is opposed to giving our locals the right to strike, and he is opposed to the union principle that 'an injury to one is an injury to all'....

"The Long Lines strike shows Glenn Watts and his cronies in the CWA leadership must be kicked out and replaced with a leadership that is willing to fight. A union which kowtowed to strike-breaking court injunctions which AT&T can command with a snap of its fingers will always be on its knees. We in MAC seek to change the CWA into a militant union fighting in the interests of its members and those of the entire labor movement."

S.F. Longshore...

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someone illegally [as steady men] they will now have to hire someone legally, by seniority"! A chorus of boos almost brought the house down.

Trying to intimidate the membership, Herman snapped, "To hit the bricks is a suicide course"—which brought spontaneous challenges from the floor such as "You never ask us" and "Try it!" Getting desperate, Herman tried scaring the ranks by relating threats of federal intervention: a "Mr. Bosworth" had called from President Carter's office to say that the new contract contributes to inflation and Herman's presence is requested at the White House. Then Herman remarked, "Look at all the unions—the strong unions—which are losing things—including the miners—who had their health and welfare taken away." Herman concluded by remarking: "This is the best contract anywhere in the country in industrywide bargaining in the last ten years." The scattered applause was drowned out by a roar of boos.

The contract is so unpopular that even long-time International flunkies like Tom Lupher have momentarily deserted Herman. Lupher denounced the contract as "divisive" since it means different contracts for the major container ports. He also objected to the provision that new steady men will work out of a "Special Equipment Board" which will absorb most of the skilled jobs left for hall men. While Herman tried to answer this by referring to a "letter of understanding" between him and the PMA, Lupher noted that as a former business agent he knew that "all the verbal assurances don't mean a damn thing," and his call for a no vote was met by wide applause.

It now appears likely that the contract will be rejected on the first round of voting, since rejection by any major port will automatically veto the pact unless Herman can muster a two-thirds vote coastwide. (This latter provision is a change in voting procedure, quietly made by the International in an attempt to override the large, more militant ports.) The recommendation of the recently concluded Coast Caucus was indicative of the deepening fracture within the bureaucracy: San Francisco delegates voted seven to four against the pact; Los Angeles voted seven to three against it; Seattle split three to two in favor.

The revolt against the contract has gained such momentum that the standard trick of intimidating the ranks with the threat of a strike—for which the bureaucrats have made no preparations—is backfiring as the ranks are beginning to demand a strike. Thus, for instance, when a Local 10 dispatcher tried to sell the contract by arguing, "Is anyone ready for a strike?" he was met by a loud chorus of "Yes!" The Local

bureaucrats who all along have been playing Herman's game by keeping the ranks in the dark during negotiations have shifted their tack, now arguing against the contract, but opposing a strike. The Local 10 bulletin of July 20, for instance, announces that "the officers of Local 10 unanimously recommend a No vote on the contract." But the bulletin carefully avoids calling for a strike, noting that a no vote would be "for the purpose of vetoing the proposed agreement in order to renegotiate an acceptable solution to our problem regarding steady 9.43 men."

With this fake-militant talk, officers like Local 10 president Larry Wing and secretary-treasurer Herb Mills hope to wear down the ranks as they did in 1975 when they called for a no vote but backed away from Bridges' challenge to call for a strike. (It took three coastwide votes before Bridges finally got his rotten contract in 1975.) Officers of Local 13 (Los Angeles/Long Beach) are clearly playing the same game. Local president Lou Loveridge and secretary-treasurer Tony Salcido issued a bulletin on July 21 which also called for a no vote but made no mention of strike preparations.

At the SF meeting, Bill Proctor, well-known CP supporter, was quite explicit. He noted that there was "a lot of talk here that a no vote means a strike.... I differ with that." A leaflet issued by Proctor and his friends on July 22 called for a no vote to "place pressure on the PMA to get back to the bargaining table." The possibility that the PMA might be tempted to force a lockout in the face of a no vote is not mentioned by these fakers. The employers have made much more extensive preparation for a strike than they did in 1971. Reports from the Coast Caucus indicated that important sections of the PMA are looking for a fight. They are ready to use the so-called land bridge system to divert cargo around the strike, through Canadian, Mexican and East and Gulf Coast U.S. ports.

The treacherous role of the Communist Party in tailing the bureaucracy is almost an exact repeat of the 1975 contract struggle, when Archie Brown, then CP dock leader, urged a no vote but had no answer when Bridges challenged him to call a strike. For the first two weeks after Herman announced the latest pact on July 1, the CP had absolutely nothing to say to longshoremen. The first "analysis" in the CP's *People's World* on July 15 merely noted that there was "sharp debate" in the Coast Caucus on the various defects in the pact. The article did not even say to vote no!

Only in the face of the angry ranks has the CP now started to oppose the contract, while avoiding a strike call. Presumably if Herman does call a strike the CP will then echo this, while avoiding the necessary call for elected strike committees to take the leadership out of Herman's hands. The CP's "leadership" amounts to tailing after the frightened Local bureaucrats, while trying to cover for the International.

The ranks must have no illusions in the labor fakers and reformists, who time and again have crawled before the employers and the government. They have administered the worst aspects of the job-slashing M&M contracts and those which followed. They abandoned the solidarity strike in defense of the ILA last fall at the first sign of government strikebreaking and they sabotaged the call for the 24-hour solidarity strike with the miners against Carter's use of Taft-Hartley.

It is time for the membership to prepare for strike action: Recall the Coast Caucus! Dump the negotiating committee! Elect strike committees! The demands of the "Longshore Militant" group must become the basis for a counteroffensive against the PMA. For a militant coastwide strike, Canada through Mexico! Fight for a shorter workshift at no loss in pay; 100 percent COLA on wages and pensions; full

manning scales on all operations; abolition of the steady man system and all other attacks on the hiring hall; smash the no-strike clause! Implement the July 22 motion—vote no and strike within 72 hours of rejection! ■

Gary Rowe...

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shots at Bohmer, wounding his secretary.

The murderous hired guns of the capitalist state are the first enemy of the left, labor and black movements. While these badge-toting terrorists dress up their counterrevolutionary efforts in the guise of "protecting" the capitalist state from "extremists," the charade fails utterly. In both the Rowe and Godfrey affairs, FBI-directed right-wing terror ended only when the agent was exposed by a murder attempt. Were it not for "accidents" such as the death of Viola Liuzzo and the attempt on the life of Peter Bohmer, the FBI would be able to continue its brutal business unhindered. The chief terrorists in the service of capital have no qualms about the victims of their efforts. An FBI agent smugly noted that Rowe "couldn't be an angel and be a good informant" (*New York Times*, 3 December 1975). How many other crimes against the working class and oppressed have been committed by "good" informants for the FBI? The left and labor movements must demand the immediate publication of all FBI files on Rowe and others of his ilk.

While "good" FBI informants in right-wing terror organizations act as the best murderers of leftists and the oppressed, informants in left organizations arrange for the assassination of left activists. The similarity between FBI infiltrators of the left and right is the color of the corpses they leave behind: almost invariably black. Rowe, acting as Klan head Bobby Shelton's personal bodyguard recounts numerous efforts on his part to save Shelton's life. Yet Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Bobby Clark were murdered in their beds by an FBI-directed Chicago police raid. The murder was set up by Hampton's personal bodyguard, William O'Neal, a paid FBI informant.

Gary Rowe's terrifying account of his undercover years in the Klan describes far more than his joyful bloodletting. His actions starkly detail the role of the capitalist state as a brutal weapon of class oppression. It is a lesson that reformists and black liberal-pacifists desperately sought to keep victimized black ghetto residents from ever learning. Throughout Gary Rowe's FBI-sanctioned reign of terror, black misleaders from King's SCLC to the NAACP were united in demanding the intervention of the federal government to protect southern blacks. Yet this is precisely what they had. While federal marshals stood by and watched as racists beat black students entering integrated schools, the FBI's "best agent" was in the crowd, swinging his chain.

Why is this murderer on the loose? While the victims of capitalist "justice"—mainly poor and black—overflow Alabama's barbaric death row, this paid killer is given immunity for his crimes and protected by the government. Jail Rowe—Convict him for murder!

Revolutionary Marxists understand that fascist action groups—together with their protective "Godfather," the FBI—must be smashed before there will be an end to the murders, assaults and harassment of the oppressed. Capitalist "justice" provides for rewarding murderous hoodlums such as Gary Thomas Rowe for their crimes with thousands of dollars. But proletarian justice, meted out by the victorious socialist revolution, will reward these scum in a far different manner. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down the Post Office!

JULY 25 - Outraged postal workers at strategic East and West Coast facilities hit the bricks last week in revolt against the across-the-board sellout contract negotiated by their union leaders with the United States Postal Service.

Angered at pay increases so meager that they will not even keep up with inflation, a toothless "no layoff" clause that has done nothing to stem the loss of nearly 100,000 jobs over the last seven years through automation and attrition, and no action at all on grueling forced overtime, speedup and hazardous working conditions, workers at the huge Bulk Mail Centers (BMC) in Jersey City, New Jersey; Richmond, California and Washington, D.C. walked off the job calling for a nationwide postal strike. There were work actions as well at the Baltimore BMC and Kearny, New Jersey processing center.

In response, the Carter government has initiated a massive strikebreaking assault. Nearly 100 strikers have been fired at the Jersey City and Richmond BMCs, some as they attempted to return to work (!), and many more firings are expected. Postal workers on both coasts report that postal inspectors, the agency's private police, have been coming to their homes in the middle of the night to serve termination and court papers. Last night a contingent of these strikebreaking goons reportedly tried to shove their way into an emergency meeting of the East Bay Postal Workers Union in search of "suspects," but they were ejected by union sergeants at arms.

A federal district court in New York yesterday issued a sweeping injunction banning picketing at *any* post office in the country and local cops are on the lines to enforce it, keeping strikers off "government property" and access roads.

The government's vicious strikebreaking, the firings and widespread disgust with the contract have produced broad sentiment for a strike among thousands of postal workers. This must be acted on now—Shut Down the Postal Service Nationwide!

The hardline stance by the Carter



Postal workers shut down Jersey City Bulk Mail Center, July 21.

UPI

government demonstrates once again the reactionary, anti-labor character of the Democratic Party. Carter made clear in the months of contract negotiations that he regarded the postal contract as a key test of his wage-slashing, "anti-inflation" program. His chief anti-inflation jawboner, Robert Strauss, has been addressing meetings of businessmen across the country saying it would be an "outrage" if the postal workers got a hefty wage boost, particularly with Teamster and United Auto Workers contracts up next year.

With a rash of public employee strikes during the last month (transit workers wildcatting in Washington, D.C., 20,000 Philadelphia city workers on

strike, San Antonio sanitation workers walking out and firemen in St. Louis, Memphis and Louisville hitting the bricks), the government is clearly worried about its ability to successfully stifle labor unrest. Council on Wage and Price Stability chairman Barry Bosworth, grouching that the president's anti-inflation wage curbing had made "absolutely no progress at all with labor," has repeatedly stressed that the success of the administration's plans hinged on the postal contracts.

Carter has on hand a massive arsenal of weapons to smash a postal strike. Federal law makes striking against the government a crime punishable by a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine, in addition

to firing, a fact that U.S. Postmaster General William Bolger reminded postal employees of in intimidating letters to all workers during the contract talks. Postal workers are virtually the only unionists in the U.S. who negotiate their contracts under the threat of almost immediate use of troops as strikebreakers (in addition to mass firings and jailings).

Though the government is not usually prone to revealing its military contingency plans, the U.S. Army released details of its "Operation Graphic Hand" during the postal negotiations. The plan, first worked out when Nixon sent 17,000 troops against the 1970 strike

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ILWU Ranks Boo Herman Over Sellout Pact

S.F. Longshoremen Demand Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, July 23—Last night's internal meeting of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) resoundingly supported the following motion put forward by Howard Keylor, a member of the "Longshore Militant" group and a member of the Local Executive Board: "It is the consensus of the Local 10 membership that we should vote this contract down and that the coast should strike PMA [Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' association] within 72 hours of rejection."

With several hundred longshoremen in attendance, the membership, clearly believing they were voting for this motion, approved it on a voice vote,

reflecting the revolt spreading in the ranks. But moments earlier a dangerous amendment was slipped through. The amendment read "vote no and continue to work" and was accepted as a "friendly amendment" by the chair (Local president Larry Wing) in a desperate sleight-of-hand designed to derail strike sentiment. The amendment was ruled as having passed by about 20 to 15, with about 700 confused members not voting on it! The 20 pro votes were cast almost exclusively by a bloc led by Communist Party (CP) supporter Bill Proctor. Thus the basis was laid for possible future sabotage of strike action by the Local leadership.

The call made by Keylor must be implemented by the ranks immediately:

Recall the Coast Caucus! Dump the negotiating committee! Elect a strike committee now!

West Coast longshoremen have reacted to the leadership's rotten proposal by going into open revolt, practically booing International president Jimmy Herman off the podium in San Francisco Local 10's contract meeting and in an earlier meeting of L.A. Local 13. In addition to the continued erosion of jobs, the bosses have launched an attack on the guts of the union—the traditional coastwide contract and the union hiring hall, crucial union gains which historically have distinguished the ILWU from the East Coast ILA. The assault is contained in the provision for *separate* port agreements on the steady man

category. The "steady-man" system is designed to create a more docile workforce, as jobs are no longer dispatched on an equalized basis out of the hiring hall but are assigned on a permanent basis by the employers.

Up to 1,000 men attended the five-hour SF meeting as Herman desperately tried to sell the rotten contract. Obliquely attacking the criticisms from even his own flunkies in the Local on such issues as manning scales, steady men, Pay Guarantee, etc., Herman threw out a challenge: "No one said that we will take a strike on these issues." Then putting his foot in his mouth, Herman stupidly boasted that with a new agreement "any time they hire

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