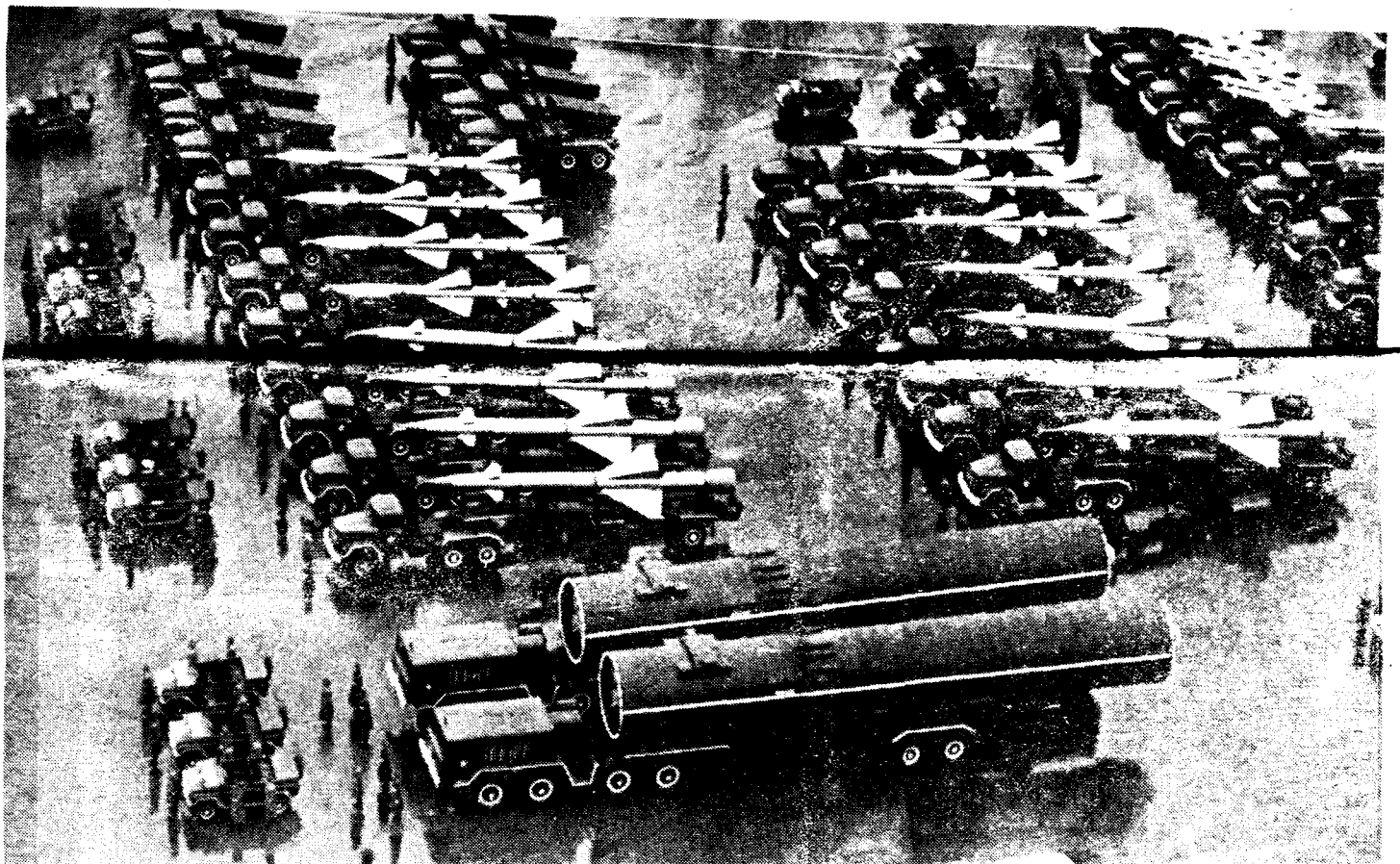


Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

Don't Mess With the Russians!

The Reaganites' constant talk of "protracted nuclear war," "limited nuclear war," any kind of nuclear war against the "evil empire" of the Soviet Union has a lot of people worried, especially in Washington's West European allies. Over 70 percent of all West Germans now oppose the planned deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles scheduled for this December, because they know that these weapons, which are only six to eight minutes flight time from their targets in the USSR, could trigger a holocaust in which Central Europe would be the main battlefield (slaughterfield in German). So the U.S. and its NATO allies are concerned about a "hot autumn" of mass protest against the Euromissiles, whose deployment will indeed bring the world a large step closer to nuclear holocaust.

Then comes the Korean Air Lines Flight 007 provocation, so convenient as a means to whip up the level of anti-Soviet hysteria and, in both the U.S. and West Europe, necessary to push through the Pentagon's war plans. With bipartisan support Congress duly passed Reagan's military budget, including the MX missile as well as the B-1 bomber and nerve gas. The MX, called the "peacemaker" by Reagan in a touch borrowed from George Orwell's 1984, is the Pentagon's premier first-strike weapon. This fact was openly stated by then Democratic president Jimmy Carter, who promoted its development: "With the MX deployed in substantial numbers, in addition to the Minuteman, the US would have acquired the capability to destroy most of the Soviet silo-based ICBM force in a first strike"



Missiles parade through Red Square. Soviet nuclear arsenal keeps U.S. imperialism at bay.

TASS

(quoted in Robert C. Aldridge, *First Strike!* [1983]). Some liberals like former *New York Times* senior editor John Oakes deplore the fact that "the Administration is using the [KAL 007] incident to reinforce its argument for the MX missile and other nuclear arms that are destabilizers and first-strike threats

more than they are deterrents" (*New York Times*, 29 September). But this was in fact a central purpose of this flagrant military provocation against the Soviet Union.

In the aftermath, however, the KAL 007 provocation has not worked out exactly according to the Reaganites'

plans. As more and more facts about the ill-fated flight come out, fewer and fewer people believe it was an innocent commercial flight which just happened to stray 300 miles off course over some of the most militarily sensitive areas of the USSR. Last week the *New York Times* *continued on page 10*

Union-Busting Serves Racist Backlash

Victory to Chicago Teachers Strike!

CHICAGO, October 4—The new Harold Washington administration is facing its first serious labor challenge. The 27,000-strong Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) has gone out on strike. Black Democratic mayor Washington and black school superintendent Ruth Love, a Byrne holdover, have pushed the teachers—roughly half of whom are black—to the wall. Victory to the school strike! For militant mass picketing! No one goes back until

every union settles!

The campaign and election of Harold Washington as Chicago's first black mayor was met with a dangerous racist backlash, while many blacks felt for the first time that city hall was theirs. Now the Board of Education and Washington supporters like the *Chicago Defender* are trying to turn black sentiment against the integrated teachers union, implying or stating that the strike itself is racist! This is a

total sham. But if the city can get away with strikebreaking, it will fuel the racist backlash on all fronts. The only force which can break through the racial polarization in this country is an integrated and class-conscious labor movement. That is why a victory for the teachers is of vital interest for Chicago's black workers, poor and youth. And it is urgent that black teachers play an active and prominent role in this strike.

For the teachers to defend their livelihoods—in order to make any progress toward decent education for black children in Segregation City, U.S.A.—it's necessary to go beyond narrow nicker-and-dime trade unionism. Better schools cost money, big money, yet Reagan (with the connivance of the Democrats) slashes hundreds of millions from school lunches, desegregation programs, etc., to pay *continued on page 12*

Atlanta Civil Rights Worker Framed Up

KKK-Style "Justice" in Georgia

ATLANTA—The white racists of Dooly County, Georgia, were out to get Tom Shaw because he stood up to the racist terror and degradation that has been a part of daily life for blacks in this rural backwater for more than 150 years. Last August 22 they succeeded. And they didn't need their white sheets and lynch rope this time because "the law" was doing their dirty job for them. In his *third* trial since 1981, 36-year-old black construction worker and civil rights activist Tom Shaw was convicted on frame-up charges of assault on a deputy sheriff and sentenced to 15 years in prison and five years probation.

Gloating about the verdict as if he were standing beside the lynching tree, white District Attorney Gary Christy argued that, "It marks the end of an era in this part of the South about the perceptions a lot of people have about race relations here." The racists want to go back in time, not to 1960 but to 1860, and put blacks back "in their place." But to do that they have to make an example of "uppity" blacks like Tom Shaw who dare to stand up.

Tom Shaw Is a Symbol of Resistance

Tom Shaw fought Jim Crow. He is a big man and unafraid, someone "who doesn't take no jive, no mess," as his cousin said of him (*Atlanta Journal/Constitution*, 2 May 1981). In 1980 Shaw was one of two plaintiffs in an ACLU-filed federal lawsuit which challenged the county's "at-large" voting system, a system which virtually had disenfranchised blacks in Dooly County. Later that year Shaw sought to halt funds from the U.S. Office of Revenue Sharing to the county because of discrimination in hiring and the paving of roads. And in 1981 he helped a group of black women cafeteria workers, who were paid less than their white counterparts, file a complaint asking for back pay. Shaw was becoming a thorn in the side of the white racist government of Dooly County.

On 21 March 1981 came the incident which the white racists were looking for. Close to 100 blacks had gathered for a party that night in the tiny hamlet of

Dooling, a small cluster of houses around a railroad crossing. A complaint from a white neighbor about the noise sent 19-year-old white deputy sheriff Terry Wright over to the party in his patrol car. Shaw testified that he tried to get the deputy to leave, pulling his arm and saying, "You should know better to come into a party like this by yourself." Wright pulled his arm away and drew his gun. At this point Shaw said he realized "someone was going to get killed" (*Atlanta Constitution*, 11 August 1983).

Indeed, a deputy drawing his gun to get black party-goers to lower the volume on their record player was an extreme racist provocation, and it is likely that Shaw actually saved his life. There was a scuffle, and Wright was disarmed and beaten up. After someone fired a shotgun blast over the heads of those fighting, Shaw led Wright over to his patrol car where he radioed for assistance and then drove himself to the hospital for some stitches. Hearing the news, a racist mob quickly assembled and reacted according to the traditions of the slavocracy and ritualized by the original Ku Klux Klan. A posse of sheriff's deputies and shotgun-wielding white farmers came after Shaw and arrested him several hours later while he was driving back home from the hospital with a friend. The legal lynching of Tom Shaw had begun.

They went after Shaw in earnest over the deputy sheriff's beating. The state went to incredible lengths to convict him in particular (only one other man was convicted of the beating and he was given a year's sentence). In the first trial District Attorney Christy called Shaw the leader "of a band of terrorists" who used the "politics of fear." An armed guard was placed atop the courthouse, Shaw was searched when he arrived at the courthouse, and the jury was kept sequestered in order to "protect" them from "common criminal" Shaw and his "band of terrorists." Despite the theatrics, one lone black juror held out for acquittal, resulting in a hung jury. The mistrial was announced to a segregated courtroom.

For his second trial Shaw tried to get a new lawyer and requested a postponement of his court date so his newly hired lawyer could make it, but the judge outrageously refused. Instead the judge tried to make Shaw accept the appointment of a public defender who was a former FBI agent. Shaw rejected this, and so was effectively denied his right to counsel and promptly sentenced to 30 years in prison! The ACLU took it to the

him to 30 years. This time two witnesses came forward and testified that the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) had offered to bribe them to testify that Shaw had beaten deputy Wright and taken his gun. In addition, prosecutor Christy attempted to subpoena the names and contributors of the NAACP and the ACLU in Dooly County. Furthermore, he attempted to subpoena well-known black legislator Tyrone Brooks, who had organized rallies in Shaw's behalf in Dooly, in order to remove him from the courtroom. Meanwhile, a defense witness for Shaw in the first trial suddenly reversed his testimony in the third trial. Under the pressure of this witchhunt atmosphere, the jury of nine blacks and three whites convicted Shaw.



Ross/Atlanta Constitution

Tom Shaw

Georgia Supreme Court, which threw out the verdict. But Dooly County was not satisfied.

White Dooly County is on a vendetta against Tom Shaw. After the second trial, Eugene Mothvin, a senior editor of *Reader's Digest*, that arch-conservative manual of disinformation, himself born and raised in Dooly, wrote a piece in the *Atlanta Constitution*, obscenely likening the beating of deputy Wright to the lynchings of blacks. Shaw's third trial was presided over by the same judge who had denied him his right to counsel in his second trial, and had sentenced

Finish the Civil War!

Shaw's case clearly demonstrates that looking to "the law of the land" will not free blacks from racist oppression. In Dooly County "the law" is the white racist courthouse gang, whose allies go straight up to the White House, whether it is in the grips of Reagan racism or the Democrats, such as Jimmy Carter, former lieutenant governor of Georgia under ax-handle-wielding Lester Maddox. Indeed, the treacherous role of the GBI in this case shows that Tyrone Brooks' "anti-terrorist" bill, which would give the GBI more latitude supposedly to prosecute terrorists such as the KKK, in fact will end up being used against blacks. And Dooly County is the norm, not the exception, for rural backwaters in the South: there are no unions, per capita income is less than \$5,000 a year, there is a history of Klan activity and lynchings, and the real seats of power are all white.

It took Sherman's army marching through Georgia to break the back of the Confederacy. It will take the power of an integrated workers movement with a class-struggle leadership, marching at the head of the black masses in the fight to free all the oppressed, to finish the job. Finish the Civil War—forward to a workers state that will sweep away the petty racist tyrants of all the Dooly Counties! Free Tom Shaw! ■

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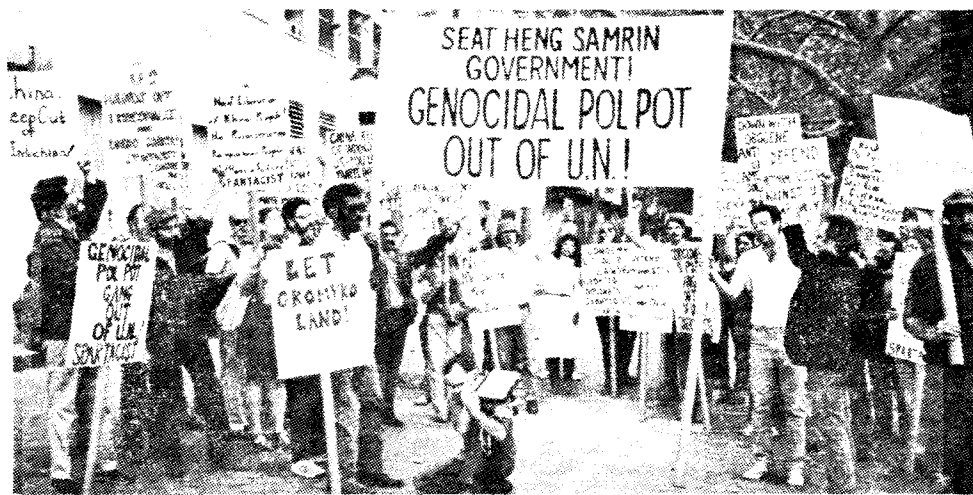
Spartacist Demos Demand:

"Genocidal Pol Pot Out of UN!"

On September 27, simultaneous protests were held in six countries, organized by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), to oppose continued recognition of the genocidal Pol Pot/leng Sary forces as United Nations representatives of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Protesters denounced the obscene spectacle of the United States, authors of the My Lai massacre and the secret bombing of Cambodia, prating about human rights while backing the phony "government of Democratic Kampuchea"—now existing only in CIA safe houses in Thailand—which murdered *more than two million* of its own people. Demonstrations took place in Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza outside the UN in New York, at the State Department in Washington, at UN Plaza in San Francisco and in Paris, London, Bonn, Toronto and Sydney and Melbourne, Australia.

A Spartacist League spokesman stated at the New York rally: "The miserable Pol Pot/Sihanouk/Son Sann forces, whose pathetic armies lurk on the border of Cambodia and Thailand waging guerrilla war against the Kampuchean people, are attempting to make a fake alliance, under the pressure of imperialism, largely for the purpose of keeping their UN seat. We say: 'Oust the genocidal Pol Pot gang from the UN! Seat the real government of Cambodia—the People's Republic of Kampuchea!'" Demonstrators also protested the U.S. atrocity against Soviet foreign minister Gromyko and other Soviet diplomats in refusing them the right to land in New York aboard an Aeroflot airliner. Signs at the UN demo declared: "Mission 007 Was a Cold War Provocation! Reagan's Story Stinks!" and "Let Gromyko Land!"

Every year since 1979 the UN has voted, on orders from Washington, to seat the universally despised Pol Pot gang instead of the Heng Samrin government of Kampuchea backed by Vietnam. The American imperialists have never accepted the humiliating defeat they suffered in their dirtiest war. What Johnson and Nixon failed to do with B-52s and napalm—crush the Vietnamese Revolution—Reagan is now trying to accomplish with rear-



Spartacist demonstrations protest UN seat for Pol Pot at United Nations (left), State Department in Washington, D.C. and in front of UNESCO headquarters in Paris (below).

guard actions like an economic blockade and arming Cambodian counterrevolutionary mercenaries. Meanwhile, the USS *New Jersey* steams from war "games" off Kampuchea to gunboat "diplomacy" against Nicaragua to shelling Lebanon. From one quagmire to the next. Protesters in New York drove the point home with the chant: "U.S. bombed Cambodia—U.S. backs Pol Pot! U.S. get out of Southeast Asia—U.S., you lost!" Other chants included: "Pol Pot killed real Khmer Communists, Pol Pot killed two million Kampuchean!" and "Defend the Indochinese social revolution!"

In London and Toronto the demonstrations were joined by Tamil militants who had also participated in emergency protests called by the iSt in late July and August against the bloody anti-Tamil massacre unleashed by Ronald Reagan's Sri Lankan satrap, President J.R. Jayewardene. Both protests denounced U.S. designs on military facilities at Trincomalee, to become part of a string of bases ringing the USSR from the Indian Ocean to the North Pacific.

Outside UN headquarters in Paris the Ligue Trotskyiste de France carried signs declaring, "Sihanouk Stay on the Riviera! Capitalist Restoration, Never!" Without imperialist diplomatic sponsorship and military aid, the lash-up of



WV Photos

Le Bolchevick

Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge with ex-prince Sihanouk and the quasi-fascist Son Sann would not even exist—much less have any hope of overturning the Phnom Penh regime. The playboy-pimp admitted as much in a 1981 interview: "We cannot defeat the Vietnamese army," Sihanouk said. "Let's face it. And my people will never tolerate a return of the Khmer Rouge. Life is better under the Vietnamese occupation than it was under Pol Pot." Other Spartacist signs proclaimed: "Hail Reconstruction! Khmer People Now Have a Future!" (something even bourgeois observers admit) and "Forward to a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Southeast Asia!"

As shown by the insane 007 war provocation, in the U.S. militarists' mad rush toward thermonuclear World War III against the Russians, anything goes. One of the most exposed outposts of the Soviet bloc, Indochina is particularly threatened by a war drive whose ultimate aim is the destruction of the conquests of the October Revolution. The narrow nationalism of the Stalinist misrulers, their dreams of "détente" with the imperialists, threatens the very survival of the revolutions on which they rest. The Peking bureaucracy goes even further, criminally serving as cat's paw for the U.S.' anti-Soviet onslaught through its attacks on Vietnam and sponsorship of Pol Pot. Guided by Marxism/Leninism/Trotskyism, the workers must sweep away the parasitic bureaucracies to place the resources of the degenerated and deformed workers states, from Peking to Moscow to Hanoi, fully in the service of world revolution. For the rebirth of an authentic communist Fourth International! ■

"We're All Hostages of Madmen in Washington!"

We print below remarks by Mark Lance, a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, at the September 27 NYC protest against the seating of the Pol Pot gang as Kampuchean representatives in the UN.

All of labor should be out here today. This cutthroat Pol Pot is one of the greatest mass murderers in history. And over there in the UN they're treating him like some kind of a statesman. A million Vietnamese and probably double that number of Kampuchean were killed struggling to throw out the U.S. and French imperialists. They're never coming back—not if the Vietnamese army has anything to say about it. And neither are their capitalist, royalist and fascist puppets.

So what are they doing over there? They're another tool for Reagan's worldwide war drive, and I'm not talking about diplomacy. Reagan has gunboats and troops all over Central America aimed at Nicaragua and

Cuba. In Sri Lanka the U.S. is aiming for a base on Trincomalee. They've already got one in the Indian Ocean on Diego Garcia. It's all aimed at World War III against Russia.

Now what does this mean for labor? The National Maritime Union leadership, the union to which I belong, backed Reagan. They said he'd give us jobs. What kind of jobs? Jobs delivering weapons to the death squads in El Salvador and Honduras, on low-wage ships with semi-militarized working conditions. They sell these special Diego Garcia T-shirts you can get. They call it the "footprint of freedom." Well, ask the Tamils: they ought to call that the footprint of death.

Let me tell you something about that 007 Korean spy plane. Those innocent passengers were set up. And it could happen to seamen. I just sailed with a guy who was on a U.S. oceanographic ship. Supposedly they do scientific charts—well you can bet they do charts all right. My buddy said it was a spy ship and it went in close to Cuba. Well, you can bet if those Cubans blew it out of the water there'd

be a hue and cry about all the innocent scientists and maybe a tear for the sailors. My buddy got off at the next port. So this goes on all the time. We're all being held hostage by these madmen in Washington.

The sellout labor leaders say that we're weak, that all we can do is vote Democratic, bring back the party that dropped the A-bomb, that started the Vietnam War. Well we're *not* weak. Without labor Reagan's war materiel doesn't leave the docks. *Those weapons and ammo are hot—too hot to handle!* What we need is leaders with the guts and a program to fight. To fight against race-terror and unemployment at home and against the bosses' bloodthirsty allies abroad. And this *can* happen.

The heroic Vietnamese showed us that we in the belly of the beast have a long and bitter struggle ahead. And like the Vietnamese—we *shall triumph!* And when the workers run this country we'll know what to do with scumbags like Mr. Pol Pot over there in the UN. We'll dump him in the bilges where he belongs.

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How "Koreagate" Exposed the Moonies

The U.S. Congressional investigation of the Moonies grew out of what became known as "Koreagate." The scandal of massive Korean influence-peddling first came to light in Washington, D.C. on 10 June 1975 during the hearings of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee. The Subcommittee chairman, Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, was investigating the Park Chung Hee regime's "human rights" record of torture, mass arrests and brutal, widespread repression by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA).

Fraser had invited a witness who was a former South Korean embassy official, at that time teaching at the University of Western Illinois, Lee Jai Hyon. Lee blew the whistle on a multifaceted, secret KCIA operation in the U.S. meant to advance the goals of General Park's dictatorship. The Fraser Subcommittee was thus propelled toward a new investigation into the conspiracy to buy political support in high places for funneling U.S. government funds into the South Korean military arsenal.

The investigation into Koreagate brought the Fraser Subcommittee in short order to the organization of Sun Myung Moon. It became clear to the investigators that the KCIA operation involved not only moneybags Tongsun Park, but also an entire organization which purported to be a religion—Moon's Unification Church. Fraser and the Subcommittee were confronted with the strange cult—its myriad fronts and businesses with their duplicitous "heavenly deception"—and its drive to gain political power and influence for its "messiah" and his sinister designs for worldwide theocracy.

For three years the Fraser Subcommittee studied the KCIA operation in the U.S., including the Moonies' involvement. As is stated in the Subcommittee report published 31 October 1978: "Between April 4, 1977, and October 31, 1978, 1,563 interviews were conducted in 28 States and 11 countries; 123 subpoenas were issued; thousands of documents were examined from Government agencies, private organizations, and individuals; and 20 hearings were held at which 37 witnesses testified, all under oath." The Moon organization is woven through the report, at times the central focus of the Subcommittee's investigation.

The Subcommittee heard Lee Jai Hyon describe "a curious working relationship" between the Korean government and the Unification Church in which Moon's right-hand man, Bo Hi Pak, had used the secret cable channel to Seoul at the embassy in Washington. A former president of Moon's front group, the Freedom Leadership Foundation, told how Moon wanted to

acquire enough influence to "dictate policy on major issues" in the U.S. and asserted that the political goals of the Unification Church and the KCIA "overlap so thoroughly as to display no difference at all." The Fraser Subcommittee also learned of Moon's attempts to buy controlling interest in the Diplomat National Bank. And they confirmed that it was Moon who owned

with the scope and character of the Moon operation:

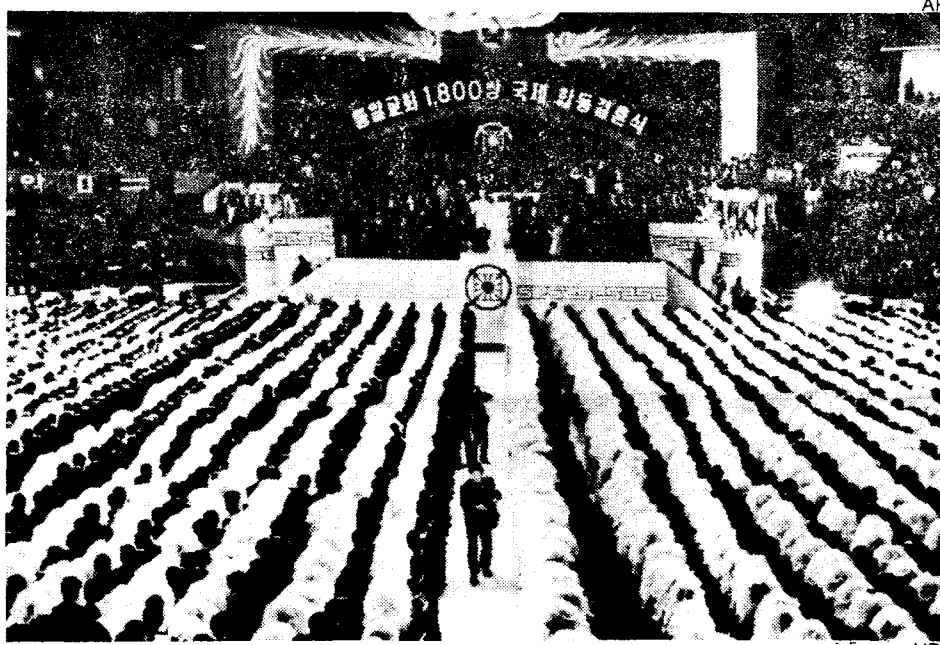
"In the non-Moon world, Fraser conducts an investigation. He wants to find out if the Moon organization's political and business activities are part of the Korean influence campaign. At first, he has only allegations that the Moonies acted as unregistered agents of a foreign intelligence service, the KCIA. The Moonies can believe in God as they

ton minion, Bo Hi Pak, were listed for lobbying at President Park's Blue House planning meetings in 1970. He planted 'PR sisters' in Congressmen's offices. His agents promoted Korean interests in Congress. He organized a political demonstration for the KCIA in 1974. A component of the Moon organization was included in the KCIA's written plan for operations in the United States in 1976."

While Sun Myung Moon survived the Koreagate scandal, he emerged from the proceedings damaged. The findings and conclusions of the Subcommittee detailed the interlocking organizations, the devious methods and the sinister purposes of the Moon cult. Charges which were previously brought against the Moonies by their victims—often distraught parents of his young followers and ex-Moonies—were now powerfully advanced by a Congressional Subcommittee. That's why the Moonies tried to obstruct the investigation. Moon skipped the country to avoid testifying. (He flew to London, saying he would only accept the subpoena under one condition: that Fraser subpoena Pope Paul, Billy Graham, Oral Roberts and the heads of the Baptists, Jews, Methodists and others.)

The vindictive Moonies have made Donald Fraser and Robert Boettcher targets for continued harassment. In this vendetta the Moonies labeled Fraser an "agent of influence" for Soviet intelligence. They hit Fraser and two members of his investigative staff with a \$30 million lawsuit. Fraser still has lawsuits pending against him and Boettcher has been the victim of a Moonie harassment libel suit over his exposure of the Moonies in *Gifts of Deceit*. When Fraser (who is currently mayor of Minneapolis) ran in a primary for U.S. Senate in 1978, the Moonies organized to campaign against him and he was narrowly defeated. Moon said it was the will of god.

The Moonie hit list is widely drawn and their drive for political influence in America is ambitious. Before the Spartacist League was libeled by the Moonies' *Washington Times* newspaper on 30 November 1982, we had only vague knowledge of the Moonies and their far-flung operations. But the Moonies targeted the SL as the principal organizers of the November 27 Labor/Black Mobilization which stopped the KKK in Washington. Since then we have initiated a libel suit (see "Moonie Libel That Kills," *WV* No. 332, 17 June) and necessarily have come to know more about this dangerous cult. The Fraser Subcommittee report has been quite useful in this regard. We reprint below a small portion of the Subcommittee's report which examines the character and purpose of the sinister Moon organization. In future issues of *WV* we plan to publish excerpts from the report and hearings on other aspects of the Moonie investigation.



Sun Myung Moon and wife (above). Would-be world theocratic dictator arranges mass marriages for thousands of victims/followers (below, in South Korea in 1975).

and operated a munitions plant in South Korea which had an exclusive deal to produce M-16s for the Korean government.

The investigation of the Fraser Subcommittee revealed that the Moonies were up to their necks not only in the Korean government's influence-buying scandal, but a lot more. Robert Boettcher, staff director of the House Subcommittee and author of *Gifts of Deceit* (1980), which presents a compelling account of Koreagate and Moon's operation, notes the amazement of Subcommittee chairman Donald Fraser

choose, but they ought not to violate the law in the process, he thinks. He is amazed at what he finds: evidence that the Moon organization has violated laws on banking, immigration, taxes, currency control, charity fraud, arms export control, and foreign agents registration."

Boettcher states that the investigation showed that Moon and his organization were part of a three-pronged attack:

"That Moon was a part of the Korean government's influence campaign is a point well established. He was one of its three main elements along with the KCIA and Tongsun's operation in Congress. His Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation and his Washing-

Excerpts from U.S. Congressional Hearings

We print below excerpts from the report on "Investigation of Korean-American Relations" of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, dated 31 October 1978.

Use of the Term "Moon Organization"

By April 1977, when the Investigation of Korean-American Relations began, although the subcommittee had received a wide variety of specific allegations concerning Moon and the organizations associated with him, the

subcommittee had little understanding of the scope and nature of his movement. It soon became apparent that he was the key figure in an international network of organizations engaged in economic and political as well as religious activities. The numerous churches, businesses, committees, foundations, and other groups associated with Sun Myung Moon emerged as parts of what is essentially one worldwide organization, under the centralized direction and control of Moon. This organization began as a small movement started by Moon in Korea in 1954. In the diversity of its functions and basic organizational structure it now resem-

bles a multinational corporation, involved in manufacturing, international trade, defense contracting, finance, and other business activities. However, it goes beyond that in that it encompasses religious, educational, cultural, ideological, and political enterprises as well. In the training and use of lower ranking members, it resembles a paramilitary organization, while in other respects it has the characteristics of a tightly disciplined international political party.

Among the many organizations there is continuous and close interaction, principally in the form of personnel moving back and forth among organizations, intermixed finances, use of one

component or another component as if both were one and the same, and, of course, the figure of Moon. Because of the close interrelationship of the various organizations, the subcommittee came to view them as one unit and refers to them in the aggregate as the Moon Organization in this report.

Goals of Moon

Before reviewing the components and activities of the Moon Organization, it is useful to look at various writings and speeches of Moon in which he discusses the goals of his movement and the means required to achieve them. Within

Help Fight Moonie Libel

The Moonies are a highly dangerous, ultrarightist political cult with global ambitions. According to the 23 August *Washington Post*, "CAUSA," an arm of Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, is pumping millions of dollars into the most right-wing, blood-drenched dictatorships of Central and South America. CAUSA operates in more than 21 countries including Honduras (where it is supported by the minister of defense and military commander and chief Gustavo Alvarez Martinez), El Salvador, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. In Uruguay CAUSA owns industrial plants, newspapers, casinos and hotels, and controls the country's third largest bank. These facts underline the conclusion of the U.S. Congressional Subcommittee headed by Donald Fraser which investigated

"Koreagate": "Among the goals of the Moon Organization is the establishment of a worldwide government in which the separation of church and state would be abolished and which would be governed by Moon and his followers."

The Moonies have targeted the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth League (SYL) for their role as initiators and principal organizers of the 5,000-strong Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the KKK in Washington, D.C. on November 27. In their article on this successful and important mass protest the Moonies' *Washington Times* falsely and maliciously portrays the Spartacists as would-be cop killers and as a "violent" criminal organization, thus setting us up for state repression. The Moonie lies attempt not merely to discredit the

most successful and powerful blow against racist terror in decades, but to set up the SL and SYL for victimization, suppression and murder. The SL and SYL have been compelled to initiate a libel lawsuit against the Moonies' publishing arm, the Times-Tribune Corporation which publishes the *Washington Times*, because this is *libel that kills*.

But you don't have to be a Marxist to be on the Moonie hit list. This multimillionaire with his South Korean munitions plant who rips children away from their families and turns them into brainwashed, flower-peddling zombies, has big sick ideas for America. And Moon has already gone further than most people would care to know. That is why we ask: Are you a target of the Moonies? That is why this case deserves your careful

attention and support.

As their first legal maneuver the Moonies have attempted to remove the libel lawsuit from Washington, D.C. where the issues are posed. Since truth is not on their side, they will no doubt seek to make this case as difficult and expensive as possible. And the Moonies have a seemingly bottomless well of cash. The SL and SYL are determined to pursue this case with all the resources they can mobilize. You do not have to support the Marxist aims of the Spartacists to support this fight against the Moonie libel that kills. The Moonies are not only trying to wipe out the Spartacist League but values and liberties we all cherish. That is why our fight against the Moonie libel is also yours. And that is why we call on you to give this case your financial support and endorsement, urgently needed to win this lawsuit. Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

that context, the Moon Organization becomes more comprehensible.

In many public statements and in applications for tax-exempt status, the goals of the Moon movement are said to be religious. Actions which appeared to be clearly political or economic to outsiders were explained as necessary means to achieve religious goals. The apparent contradictions in many of the activities of the Moon Organization are explained by Moon's overriding religious goal—to establish a worldwide "theocracy," that is, a world order which would abolish separation of church and state and be governed by the immediate direction of God. As Moon explained to his followers:

"... In the Medieval Ages, they had to separate from the cities—statesmanship from the religious field—because people were corrupted at that time. But when it comes to our age, we must have an automatic theocracy to rule the world. So, we cannot separate the political field from the religious. ... Separation between religion and politics is what Satan likes most." (Italics added.)²³⁴

At the center of such a state would be Moon and his organization, based in Korea. In another speech, delivered to a crowd of over a million at an anti-Communist rally in Korea, Moon visualized the establishment of a "unified civilization" of the whole world, to be centered in Korea and "corresponding to that of the Roman Empire."²³⁵

Moon teaches American UC [Unification Church] members to regard Korea with great reverence and he foresees the day when the Korean language will be spoken throughout the world:

"In order to set up one culture, we must unify the languages into one. ... In the ideal world centered upon God, everyone will speak only Korean, so no interpreter will be necessary."²³⁶

Moon promises to use his trained followers from around the world on behalf of South Korea in case of war, as he proclaimed at a public rally near Seoul:

"... in case North Korea provokes a war against the South Korean people, they [UC members] believe it is God's will to protect their religious fatherland to the last, to organize the Unification Crusade Army, and to take part in the war as a supporting force to defend both Korea and the free World."²³⁷

Anti-communism is one key reason for Moon's espousal of a worldwide theocracy and rejection of some of the most fundamental tenets of American democracy. Moon finds "American-style democracy" to be "a good nursery for the growth of Communism."²³⁸ In a speech in Seoul, Moon proclaimed that God was helping to set up a final battle involving the United States, Russia, China, North Korea, South Korea, and Japan. Illustrative of the stridency of his ideology, he said: "We should defeat Kim Il Sung [President of North

Korea], smash Mao Tse-tung, and crush the Soviet Union in the name of God."²³⁹

To achieve his theocracy, Moon has mapped out strategies for gaining control and influence over economic, political, cultural, academic, media, and religious institutions. The efforts of the Moon Organization are to be concentrated on key nations.

"If we can manipulate seven nations at least, then we can get hold of the whole world: the United States, England, France, Germany, Soviet Russia, and maybe Korea and Japan. On God's side, Korea, Japan, America, England, France, Germany, and Italy, are the nations I count on in order to gain the whole world."²⁴⁰

Moon's strategy is designed to influence a wide range of institutions. "We must approach from every angle of life; otherwise, we cannot absorb the whole population of the world. We must besiege them."²⁴¹

In the economic sphere, Moon foresees the emergence of a system which would respond to centralized control:

"This system should eventually prevail so overwhelmingly, that even in Japan and Germany, the people will not buy products from their own country, but will buy according to centralized instructions. What kind of system of thought or economy can function to give these centralized instructions? Religion is the only system that can do that. So in the future, this system of thought or system of economy will have

a close relationship with religious organizations. Our master is going to prepare for this system of economy."²⁴²

In the political field, Moon has spoken of using a variety of techniques to achieve world influence. He hopes to found a political party: "My dream is to organize a Christian political party including the Protestant denominations and Catholics and all the religious sects."²⁴³ Activities in cultural, academic, and other fields are ultimately designed to create political influence and temporal power. Cultural and educational projects are part of his organization's overall goal of controlling major institutions in the U.S. and other key nations and influencing political decisions and policies. In a January 1973 speech, Moon spoke of the necessity of establishing universities in seven key nations, including the U.S., and of organizing international conferences at which cultural groups like the Little Angels would perform.²⁴⁴ He made it clear that influencing professors, scientists, and economists would be followed by direct influencing of political figures:

"After that, beyond what the professors will be able to do by influencing the policies of the country, we will work directly with those people who, under every government now, make the policies—the congressmen, senators and parliament members—by organizing the World Congressmen's Association. For that purpose we are working hard in Japan."²⁴⁵

Moon has often told his followers to expect opposition to the goals he sets for them, but he assured them of ultimate "victory." In one 1974 speech, he noted that up to that time, opposition to his movement had gone unpunished. This, he promised, would change:

"... so far the world can be against us and nothing happened. Now when they are against us then they are going to get the punishment. So from this time... every person or every organization that goes against the Unification Church will gradually come down or drastically come down and die. Many people will die—those who go against our movement."²⁴⁶

Moon based his movement on a church because it provides the greatest opportunity for reaching his goals. A UC publication discussed a change in the American organization's name from "United Family" to "Unification Church," noting that "The reason for the change is that we must ultimately have our effect on the institutions of society."²⁴⁷ It is important to Moon's strategy to have his movement recognized as a religious one. An ex-UC member stated:

"The teachings of Sun Myung Moon were often referred to by other members as an 'ideology' that would change the political systems of the world. It was made clear to me that so long as the church-related aspects of the group were emphasized, Moon's followers would be in a protected position as far as first amendment religious freedom was concerned, and be able to take advantage of tax laws as well."²⁴⁸

Conclusions and Recommendations

The subcommittee findings regarding the Moon Organization may be summarized as follows:

(1) The UC and numerous other religious and secular organizations headed by Sun Myung Moon constitute

continued on page 13

²³⁴ *Master Speaks*, May 17, 1973, p. 12. The *Master Speaks* is an internal publication of the Unification Church, containing verbatim translations of numerous speeches by Moon.

²³⁵ *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 6.

²³⁶ *Master Speaks*, Nov. 17, 1974, p. 6.

²³⁷ *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 6.

²³⁸ *New Hope News*, Mar. 10, 1975, p. 7. The *New Hope News* is an internal publication of the Unification Church.

²³⁹ *Master Speaks*, June 7, 1975, p. 5.

²⁴⁰ *Master Speaks*, June 9, 1974, p. 9.

²⁴¹ *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, p. 7.

²⁴² *Master Speaks*, Jan. 2, 1972, p. 4. In many speeches Moon is referred to in the third person by the translator, and is at various times called "Master," "Father," and "Our Leader."

²⁴³ *Master Speaks*, May 17, 1973, p. 12.

²⁴⁴ *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, pp. 5-6.

²⁴⁵ *Master Speaks*, Jan. 30, 1973, pp. 5-6.

²⁴⁶ *Master Speaks*, Feb. 14, 1974, p. 15.

²⁴⁷ *New Age Frontiers*, January 1971, p. 17. *New Age Frontiers* was an early publication of the Unification Church.

²⁴⁸ Statement of Linda Anthenian, p. 1.

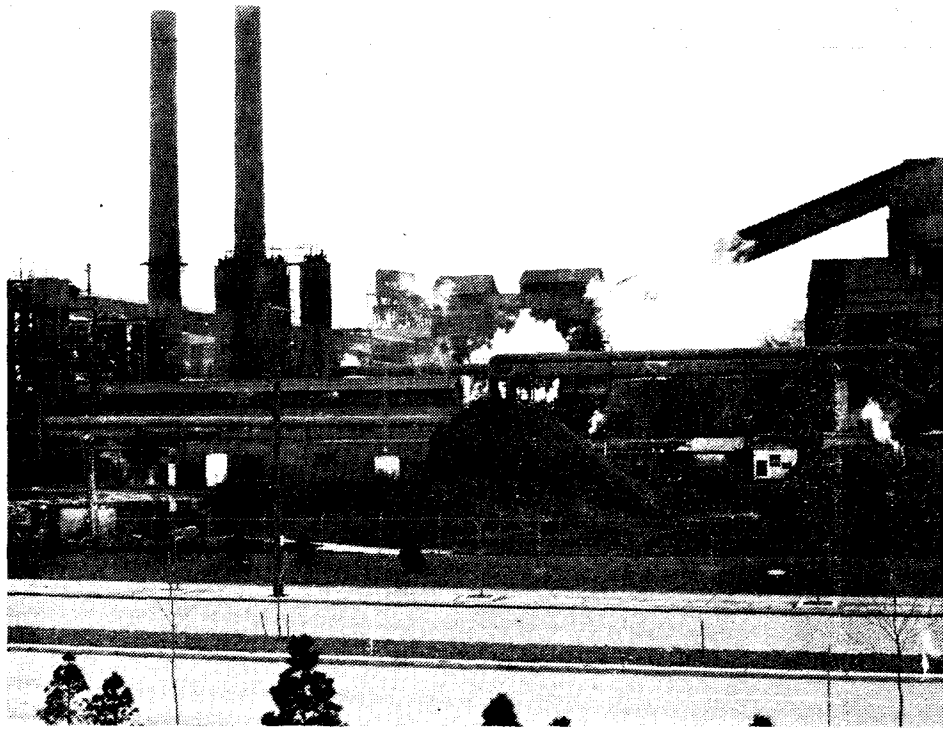
The Rouge Steel Steal

DETROIT—"What we asked for frankly was the largest reduction any union has ever attempted to achieve from its workers." That's how Ford Motor Company VP Thomas Page described it to the ranks of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600. Threatening to close the 63-year-old Rouge Steel subsidiary, part of the Rouge plant and eighth largest steel producer in the U.S., Ford enlisted the aid of its lieutenants in the Local 600 bureaucracy to ram through pay and benefit cuts amounting to almost \$4.50/hour. Even in the face of a vicious joint company/bureaucracy offensive, two units and fully a third of Rouge workers voted "no."

Rouge Steel workers, like their Chrysler brothers, know the "concessions save jobs" tune is a lie, that it will only embolden Ford to come back for more. With the company trying to sell the same fraud for the third time in three years at Rouge, when 60 percent of the workforce has been laid off and workers with ten years seniority are on the street from almost every unit, the UAW bureaucrats had to hammer away at the membership repeatedly over the last six months. These traitors have relieved Ford of the need to hire the goons and professional union-busters used by Henry Ford I and Harry Bennett to battle the UAW-CIO 45 years ago.

In June, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi offered the company \$4.50 in givebacks. But Ford "broke off negotiations" because they didn't think their buddies on the UAW bargaining committee could deliver. Then in August and September, Ford/Rinaldi heated up their offensive, announcing the layoff of 1,200 workers in steel, reducing the mill to 30 percent of capacity. Threatening steel workers with a total plant shutdown if they didn't bow to the givebacks, the Local 600 bureaucrats announced the terms of their deal with Ford: COLA frozen, two weeks vacation and holidays cut, a 30 percent cut in incentive pay, loss of part of shift and overtime premium—near Rinaldi's offer of \$4.50/hour made two months earlier.

But the centerpiece of the bureaucrats' strategy was to pit Rouge Steel workers against the rest of the units, threatening mass layoffs with the mostly high-seniority steel workers bumping into other units if givebacks were voted down. Nick Nestico, head UAW honcho in the rolling mills, declared that the pact would establish a separate expiration date for Rouge Steel. Nestico also told steel workers he would order them



River Rouge steel plant. A sit-down strike is needed to stop Ford's union-busting scheme.

to cross their brothers' picket lines if the rest of the Rouge struck next year!

The class-struggle Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) in Local 600 fought the bureaucracy's attempt to whip workers into line. In a September 19 leaflet the RMC called for a two-day sit-down demonstration in the plant:

"If we don't fight, we're guaranteed to lose. The Rouge Militant Caucus says: Rip this shit up, vote it down, and organize a fight—for a two day sitdown demonstration in the Rouge!... The bosses' cops and courts can print all the injunctions they want—we'll hold the plant and we'll tell Ford's managers and lackeys like Rinaldi and Nestico when they can come back. When we call on them, tens of thousands of restless, unemployed victims of plant closings, city workers, and our hungry Chrysler brothers would pour into Miller Road in support of a militant and bold sitdown demonstration. IT'LL BE THE BOSSES' TURN TO GIVEBACK: Not one nickel, not one layoff! For unlimited unemployment compensation at union wages for every laid off worker, retiree, and single mother with children on welfare—financed by the federal government. Reagan's got the money. He spends our tax dollars to finance segregated schools, with hundreds of billions for his anti-Soviet war budget."

The bureaucrats went all out to squelch the Rouge militants. RMC member Nowell Davis told *WV*: "At the Rolling Mill meeting chairman Nestico finally recognized my hand but only after several workers had boisterously made mention of the fact that he had called on some workers two and three times but 'that guy in the front who had so much to say at the last meeting still hasn't been recognized.' I went to the front of the hall and got less than three words out of my mouth when Nestico interrupted me. I continued to talk and he called on the sergeant at arms to throw me out. The goon committeeman charged at me. We wrangled in front of 450 workers and he didn't move one inch. Five or six more of Nestico's lackeys attacked me and [RMCer Frank] Hicks but they were beaten back when a dozen sympathetic and angry workers rose to the defense of their class brothers. The bureaucracy lost that battle. They tried to throw me out but couldn't." Later the frustrated Rinaldi organized a goon squad of 20 staff rep flunkies, who punched and shoved Davis and Hicks, ejecting them from their own local hall after they had leafletted steel workers attending afternoon meetings.

Helping Ford/Rinaldi grease the skids are fakers like General Baker, a supporter of the Communist Labor Party and years ago a well-known militant in the League of Revolution-

ary Black Workers. Until he lost his easy chair due to layoffs, Baker was a committeeman in the Coke Oven/Blast Furnace unit and served as a loyal adviser to liberal president Rick Martin. In the past Martin has openly backed concessions in steel. This time around both Baker and Martin kept conspicuously silent in front of the largely black and militant coke workers. These two are a lot more concerned about what Mike Rinaldi thinks of them than in leading a desperately needed fight against Ford.

The United Front Caucus, politically supported by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), called for a "no" vote on concessions but *opposed* sit-down strikes. They're against *any* class struggle unless it's authorized by Rinaldi and UAW International president Owen Bieber. Fat chance! But in a desperate attempt to "prove" their dead-end strategy of pressuring the bureaucrats can work, a United Front Caucus leaflet of September 19 announced to Rouge workers that the "Sacrifice House" gang had won a victory against Chrysler: "Iacocca stopped crying and came up with some cash as soon as he saw a strike coming in January." Of course, Bieber never had the slightest intention of striking Chrysler. And it was the stockholders and government who made out like bandits over the Chrysler deal—billion dollar profits to the company, hundreds of millions to the U.S. Treasury—by stealing over \$1 billion from Chrysler workers, who are now saddled with another substandard contract.

What ties the fake militants to the UAW bureaucrats is their shared anti-communism. Justifying the Rinaldi gang's goon assault, RWL supporter Judy Wraight gloated to the RMC: "The bureaucrats are just doing what you wanted the Russians to do to Solidarity in Poland." From UAW "Sacrifice House" to the RWL, "solidarity with Solidarność"—Reagan's favorite "union"—is the rallying cry for Cold War witchhunting in the unions. And many Polish workers would soon lose their illusions in pro-Western Solidarność if they ever got a look at the incredible devastation, poverty and hunger of Detroit.

The Rouge steel plant, built in 1920 and with some sections of coke ovens and blast furnaces unchanged in 63 years, mirrors the decrepit state of the American steel industry. Ford has raped its mills of value, taken the money and run. Now with a major worldwide contraction in steel production, and competing with Japanese and German mills half the age of those here, the American steel bosses are abandoning their losers and investing elsewhere. Or else considering joint ventures like the GM/Toyota deal in Fremont with its open shop conditions. In fact, Ford has been trying to unload Rouge Steel, and Nippon KoKan announced earlier it would be "interested if the labor situation changes" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 June). Well, Rinaldi & Co. are sure doing their best to change the "labor situation" to suit the bosses!

Committed to the defense of their masters' profits, the American labor bureaucracy has rushed to the capitalists' rescue, enforcing massive givebacks and layoffs, coupled with rabid protectionism to "save American jobs." But the only thing these traitors have "saved" is the bosses' bank accounts. Their racist anti-Japanese protectionism has already claimed one victim—Chinese American Vincent Chin, murdered by a Chrysler foreman in the streets of Detroit—and feeds the drive toward imperialist war.

As the Rouge Militant Caucus leaflet concluded:

"We have the right to live and work in dignity. But capitalism offers nothing but a death sentence: setting us at each others' throats over fewer and fewer jobs, rising Klan/Nazi racist terror, and nothing in our future but wars to defend dying industries that even the capitalists don't pretend to want to save. There is no answer to the destruction of Detroit, from Dodge Main to Rouge Steel, under capitalism. The Rouge Militant Caucus call for a two day sitdown strike can crack open labor/black struggle in Detroit to put the bosses on the run and bring Reagan down.

"The only answer, the only future for us, lies in forging a class-struggle workers party to fight for a workers government, to rip industry out of the hands of its incompetent, corrupt owners. Then with workers control of production, under a workers government, we can rebuild the plants and mills in a planned economy, with jobs for all! This is the future that the Rouge Militant Caucus is fighting for! Join us!" ■

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At Fremont GM:

UAW Tops Hail Union-Busting

OAKLAND, September 28—In a massive public disinformation campaign designed to defuse opposition to the first ever all-out bid to bust the established union in an American auto assembly plant, the UAW International held a press conference in Detroit September 22 and a meeting for laid-off General Motors workers in Fremont, California today to announce an "agreement" with GM-Toyota. The substance of the "agreement" is this: the UAW abandons any claim to seniority rehire or contract rights for the laid-off union members and in fact openly invites open shop working conditions in the reopened plant, while GM and Toyota agree to "consider experience" and then hire whomever they want.

In addition, GM-Toyota agree to "recognize" the UAW, which boils down to entering into a "letter of intent" with the union... until production starts up! All the International has "negotiated" is the right to then run in a union certification election—against any other union and the choice of "no union"—and then try to negotiate a contract *after* the companies hire a workforce and *after* production begins.

This is not a "deal," it is complete, groveling, abject surrender by the International, which moreover revoked the Fremont workers' union charter and declared Local 1364 defunct precisely in order to pave the way for this union-busting joint venture. There is no contract, no dues checkoff, no seniority, no pension transfer, no nothing!

Yet this is being sold to the desperate and disowned Fremont workers as "complete recognition of the UAW as Collective Bargaining Agent" and as promising rehire of a "majority" of the laid-off workers! What a cynical and cruel lie to prevent a fight to win seniority rehire and save the union! It will allow the company to throw on the scrap heap workers who put in 10, 20 and 30 years of their lives in that plant.

Ominously, the "letter of intent" provides for an arbitrator to rule on

contested firings and disciplines, suggesting that both the company and the union expect a lot of firings and disciplines. Another provision gives the lie to the International's claim to have basically won rehire rights: an appeal body of one company rep, one union rep and one "independent" to decide on

at the reopened plant, whoever those workers may be; and they promise to enforce any wage-cutting, speed-up work rules the bosses desire. As the International's associate general counsel told the *Detroit News* (16 September), "This is not a collective bargaining agreement.... There is no membership,

Solidarity House to squelch any struggle against the bosses. But now he's been left high and dry by the companies, the UAW International and the courts—"free" to take his 20 years seniority and apply as a new hire to GM-Toyota... if they'll take him on. So now Nano is spilling the dirt. Nano told *People's World* (1 October): "What this interim agreement really means is not jobs for all of us, but that we have to stand at the gate, hat in hand and they will choose who they will hire and at what wages they want and, at least \$5 an hour less...." Also there will be no classifications on jobs, seniority is not to be recognized and no COLA will be paid."

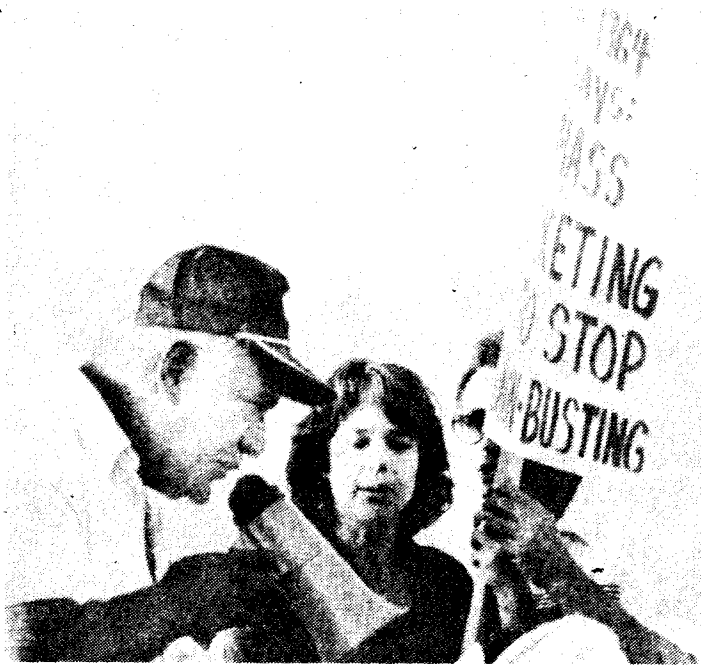
Members of the UAW Militant Caucus, two ten-year oppositionists in the union, spoke at the Fremont meeting and were quoted by local TV and newspapers denouncing the union-busting "agreement" for what it is. Deleted by the bourgeois press was their call for mass picketing at the plant gate to stop scab hiring and win seniority rehire for the union members.

Such action by the Fremont workers would surely win support from the rest of the Bay Area labor movement and could spark sympathy action in the other UAW assembly plant locals who must understand that if union-busting succeeds at Fremont it will be tried elsewhere. Airline workers at Continental were hit with the consequences of their union tops standing by while PATCO was being killed and have been forced out on strike in their own defense. The labor movement desperately needs some fights and some victories to reverse the tide of concessions and givebacks which have only encouraged union-busting attacks like the one at Fremont.

The main obstacle in the way of these fights is the backstabbing union bureaucracy. Their treachery is nowhere clearer than in the Fremont case. *It is necessary to oust the labor traitors in order to bust the union busters!* ■

Auto militants confronted UAW Fremont bureaucrats at August 16 rally with call for mass picketing.

Burda/San Jose Mercury



cases where a seniority worker protests being refused a job.

As UAW Militant Caucus member Ruth Ryan told International reps, despite interruptions by the chair, before the 400-plus workers at Wednesday's meeting, "How can you claim to have negotiated seniority rehire when if you had negotiated seniority there wouldn't have to be any appeal board or arbitration, and you wouldn't have had to dissolve our union local! We are still UAW Local 1364... and the only way we'll win seniority is by mass picketing to keep that plant down till we get it!"

Solidarity House is blowing an enormous amount of smoke to cover up the fact that they are refusing to lead a fight to save the union at Fremont; they are only *hoping* to represent the workers

no workforce to submit that agreement for ratification until the joint venture begins hiring...."

According to William J. Usery, "We must understand that GM closed the Fremont facility permanently. Those people were laid off.... There are no contractual rights with the new venture. We are hiring a new workforce" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 September). In response to queries about the many high-seniority workers near retirement, UAW vice president Donald Ephlin said, "[GM-Toyota is] a new, a separate corporate identity" that has nothing to do with GM benefits (*Detroit News*, 23 September).

Take it from someone who knows. As Local 1364 shop chairman, George Nano worked hand-in-glove with GM and

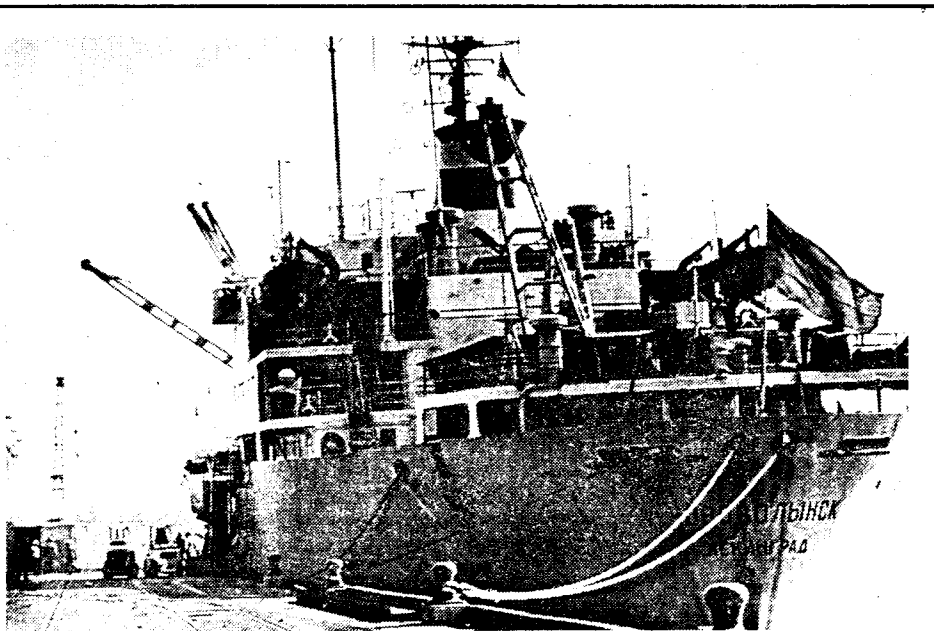
New Orleans Black Longshoremens: We'll Load Ships For Russia

Officials of the so-called "progressive" West Coast longshoremen's union, the ILWU, last month did their bit for the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive by refusing to work a Russian freighter. Over the pretext of the 007 Cold War provocation, the misleaders of ILWU Local 13 in Los Angeles, in cahoots with Jimmy Herman's International, kept the Soviet freighter *Novokuibyshevsk* in the harbor for eight days without unloading it. The West Coast cargo was eventually unloaded by Mexican longshoremen, and when the ship subsequently reached New Orleans it was worked by members of the East and Gulf Coast dock union, the ILA.

Irvin Joseph, president of the heavily black New Orleans ILA Local 3000, told *WT* that he personally was in favor of a boycott but, "The men wanted to work it." The *WT* reporter

noted that black workers were less affected by Reagan's anti-Soviet harangues. "That's my problem," Joseph said. He reported that black longshoremen told him, "Well, we work ships going to [South] Africa. Why not a ship from Russia?"

The brothers and sisters of ILA Local 3000 are to be commended for loading the ship in the face of the much publicized anti-Soviet stunt by the ILWU. And the New Orleans longshoremen sure hit the nail on the head when they noted that union officials who are eager to stop Russian ships don't lift a finger to stop death cargo destined for Reagan's allies. As we stated in our last issue ("The Shame of the ILWU," *WT* No. 338, 23 September): "...the bureaucrats are willing enough to shut down shipping if it benefits the State Department; but if you fight to do it on behalf of blacks in



Port of New Orleans, September 15: Longshoremen work Russian freighter, despite anti-Soviet boycotts. UPI

South Africa or the working masses of El Salvador, then the Herman gang goes for your throat."

And now there's confirmation that the State Department was directly involved. According to the 20 September *Daily World*, a State Department official was urging longshore locals up and down the West Coast not to unload Soviet ships. The *Daily World* quoted the response of Dave Lomax, vice president of the Western Canada ILWU region: "This attempt to involve us in a

cold war action we just are not buying. We figured this was a kneejerk action and our answer was to tell the U.S. State Department to go to hell!"

When the *Novokuibyshevsk* lay in L.A. Harbor, ILWU Local 13 officials tried to claim that the ranks made the decision not to work the ship. The International claimed they were only "respecting" the decision of Local 13. Baloney! The ILWU officials were doing the bidding of their political masters in Washington.

UNPOPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

When on the evening of 10 May 1981 it was announced that François Mitterrand had been elected the first Socialist president of the Fifth French Republic, thousands of his followers streamed into the Place de la Bastille singing the "Marseillaise," the "Internationale" and "La vie en rose," celebrating far into the night. "Not since Liberation have we seen anything like this," one police official said. Even those workers less than euphoric about Mitterrand's entrance into the Elysée Palace welcomed the new popular-front government and believed it would carry out radical reforms benefiting the working masses. The bourgeois press the world over presented the replacement of a quarter century of right-wing rule by the Socialist-led coalition as a kind of "revolution" through the ballot box, the most important change in French political life in the postwar era.

Yet a scant two years later the Mitterrand popular front has become universally unpopular. Opinion polls give Mitterrand the lowest rating of any president of the Fifth Republic. A

PART ONE

government which promised to cure recession through public spending is now imposing an austerity program *more severe* than anything the previous right-wing Giscard/Barre regime ever attempted. A government which promised to create 200,000 new jobs in the public sector is now projecting half a million more unemployed in the next year and a half. Meanwhile the franc is tumbling ever downward in world money markets as France suffers massive capital flight. The former Gaullist Michel Jobert, who served in the Mitterrand government as its first minister of trade, resigned recently in protest and is now denouncing the social democrats for bringing the country to the brink of the economic equivalent of the fall of France in 1940.

Last spring witnessed a massive right-wing mobilization against the Mitterrand government with frenzied petty-bourgeois mobs chanting, "We got Allende, we'll get you." A group of ultraright policemen, led by the fascist Le Pen, marched symbolically on the Elysée Palace. Violent attacks on foreign workers, who have been in the forefront in resisting Mitterrand's austerity, are on the rise. Behind the violent rightist demonstrations of students, peasants, shopkeepers and police stands the bourgeoisie which wants a "strong state" regime to break the power of the working class. When the demonstrations began former interior minister Michel Poniatowski, who played the hard cop in the Giscard regime, declared: "We are entering a period where anything might happen" (*Le Monde*, 28 April). Hit hard by the world economic crisis, French capitalism—far weaker than its West German, American and Japanese competitors—cannot afford the Mitterrand "experiment."

We are now seeing a classic example of how popular frontism demoralizes the working class and fuels the forces of reaction. As the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote



Poissy, France, July 21—Foreign auto workers at Peugeot in the vanguard against Mitterrand's austerity program.



Frenzied right-wing petty-bourgeois mobs riot in streets of Paris against Mitterrand's popular front government in May.

last spring during the right-wing mobilization:

"What pushes the petty bourgeoisie into the fascists' arms is the basic policy of the popular front—a class-collaborationist policy of loyally administering capitalism. The government's anti-working-class austerity measures, required by the capitalist crisis, also hit the petty bourgeoisie, which will follow the anti-Mitterrand demagoguery of a Le Pen or other would-be *Führers*, unless a powerful workers movement shows its determination to fight for power, winning the confidence of layers of the petty bourgeoisie in struggle. Only the working class can provide a radical solution to the crisis of decaying capitalism by seizing power, expropriating the bourgeoisie and installing a planned economy."

—"The Working Class Has the Power to Repulse the Reactionary Mobilizations!" (10 May 1983), reprinted in *WT* No. 334, 15 July

From Gaullist *Dirigisme* to Giscardian "Neo-Liberalism"

Mitterrand's spectacular electoral victory in 1981 and his no less spectacular failure two years later both have their roots in the contradiction between the relative weakness of French capitalism and its bourgeoisie's ambitions to play an independent role in world politics. Already in the late 19th century Fried-

rich Engels observed that France's role in world politics was out of keeping with its real economic weight. France emerged from World War II with an antiquated industrial plant and lagged well behind West Germany and Japan in postwar reconstruction. Also a conservative peasantry has been artificially maintained through agricultural protectionism. For France, this is the main benefit and purpose of the Common Market.

To compensate for its economic weakness, the French ruling class has historically had recourse to a degree of government control over economic activity (known as *dirigisme* or *étatisme*) unusual for an advanced bourgeois democracy. Eighty percent of French banking was nationalized under the so-called tripartite (Gaullist-Socialist-Communist) popular-front government of 1944-47. Uniquely among the major advanced capitalist countries, France maintained comprehensive price controls throughout the postwar period until they were abolished in 1978 by the "neo-liberal" Giscard/Barre regime. Also uniquely among the major advanced capitalist countries, France boasts of an "indicative" economic Plan, a comprehensive projection which is supposed to (but, of course, doesn't in practice) guide the

decisions of government authorities and businessmen.

Dirigisme was reinforced by the semi-bonapartist Gaullist regime which ruled the country from 1958 to 1974. Whereas conventional bourgeois ideology exalted individual interest and initiative, for de Gaulle the purpose of economic activity was above all to secure and enhance the grandeur of France. As the General put it in one of his last writings:

"It is my task to demand that the common interest rise above the routines and claims of particular social categories and to show that the object of our striving for prosperity is not so much to make life easier for certain Frenchmen but, rather, to build the security, the power, and the grandeur of France."

—*Mémoires d'espoir*
(*Memoirs of Hope*, 1970)

Gaullism's posture of national paternalism—its claim to represent the general interest of French society against all selfish interests—had a certain appeal for more backward workers, who nonetheless remained hostile to the traditional right. De Gaulle could always count on almost half the working-class vote and even his successor, Pompidou, received 30 percent of the working-class vote in the 1969 presidential elections.

The electoral revival of French social democracy in the 1970s was in large measure simply the inverse of Gaullism's decline. Most workers who voted for the Gaullist candidate Chaban-Delmas in the first round of the 1974 presidential elections switched to Mitterrand on the second round against the *haut bourgeois* Giscard. This shift was not quite enough to give Mitterrand the edge. However, in 1981 the same electoral shift, this time given backhand support by the Gaullist party boss Jacques Chirac, put Mitterrand into the Elysée.

While Valéry Giscard d'Estaing served as finance minister under de Gaulle and Pompidou, he had his own small party, the Independent Republicans, which had differences with the Gaullists. In economic policy Giscard was much more a conventional rightist in the sense of Milton Friedman. In 1973 he declared, "Planning means inflation," an aphorism encapsulating his economic philosophy. His 1976 tract, *Towards a New Democracy*, is in good part a polemic against traditional French *étatisme*:

"Competition and the market-place are often viewed negatively by the French. They see in them a kind of disorganization and anarchy. A long-standing leaning toward Statism, going back to Colbert and to the period of the Revolution and Empire... explain this attitude of mind...."

"But a modern economy is an extraordinarily complex system, in which every day hundreds of thousands of items of information and decisions play a part. No collective centralization can make such a system work correctly. It can only operate with the help of powerful automatic mechanisms."

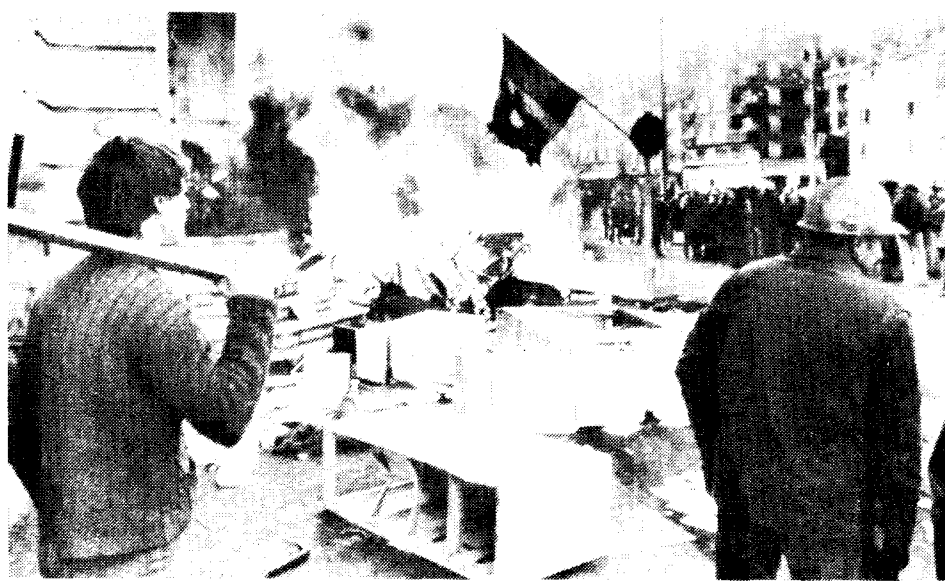
While espousing "free market" capitalism, Giscard adopted a somewhat more liberal posture than the Gaullists on social issues (e.g., abortion, divorce), civil liberties and the like. In foreign policy the Giscardians were more "Atlanticist," less prone than the Gaullists to flaunt France's independence of Washington.

The governing coalition between Giscard and the Gaullists broke down in 1976 when the president dumped Chirac as his prime minister. His place was taken by Raymond Barre, a right-wing professor of economics and former Common Market commissioner. Even more so than the haughty Giscard (who looked down on everyone), Barre flaunted his intimate ties to big business. He was a close friend of François Ceyrac, head of the employers association, with whom he dined regularly. The Giscard/Barre government was the purest representative of French finance capital in the modern era. It was free of both the strong bonapartist element of the Gaullist regime and the parliamentary horse trading of the Fourth Republic's musical-chairs ministries.

Shortly after he was appointed prime minister, Barre announced the so-called Blois Program to counter the inflationary impact of the OPEC "oil shock" (France imported 75 percent of its energy supplies). The Barre program had two basic elements. One was the usual deflationary package of fiscal austerity and tight money designed to increase unemployment and weaken the bargaining power of the labor movement. While the rest of the advanced capitalist world was recovering more or less from the 1974-75 slump, the French government was deliberately holding down the economy to defend the value of the franc. The unemployment rate in West Germany declined from 4.2 percent in 1975 to 3.4 percent in 1979; in France during the same period it rose from 3.9 to 6.0 percent, the highest level in a generation, as half a million more jobless became victims of Barre's "stabilization" plan (OECD, *Main Economic Indicators*, 1960-1979).

The second element of the Giscard/Barre program was the restructuring of French industry to make it more competitive in the world market. Older, backward sectors, like the steel mills of Lorraine, were to be scrapped, while capitalists, foreign as well as French, were encouraged to expand into the new, modern sectors like telecommunications and nuclear power. A quasi-official exposition of the government's grand design was Christian Stoffaes' 1978 *La Grande menace industrielle* (*The Great Industrial Threat*). For Stoffaes and the Giscardians in general: "Making full employment at a national and regional level the priority in industrial policy is the best way to lead industry down the road to underdevelopment."

Giscard/Barre's "open frontiers" policies did not result in industrial modernization, but they did spur the international movement of capital in both directions. Multinational firms (especially American) bought up French businesses—always the great fear of the Gaullists—assured that the "neo-liberal" government would not discriminate against foreign investors. Of the



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Longwy steel workers take to the streets in early 1979 against Giscard/Barre's mass layoffs. Sharp class battles damaged Giscard regime's authority leading to popular front to contain working-class struggle.

top 50 foreign investors in France, 24 are American corporations. At the same time, French monopoly capital was investing much of its profits abroad, since the domestic market was growing at a snail's pace. In 1980, for example, Rhône Poulenc (chemicals and textiles) and Pechiney (aluminum) spent almost a third of all investment money abroad. Saint Gobain (construction materials and glass) nearly half. All three firms were nationalized by Mitterrand as part of his campaign to "reconquer the domestic market."

By 1979 it was clear that Giscard/Barre's "neo-liberal" program had failed, even in its own terms. Despite increasing unemployment of half a million, inflation remained stuck at around 10 percent, twice the rate of West Germany. Nor did "neo-liberalism" stimulate French capitalists to invest, at any rate within France. The conservative London *Economist* (25 August 1979) observed: "Employers have not responded to Mr. Barre's goading and incentives for new investment: private-sector productive investment has been almost stagnant for five years...."

In the late 1970s the Gaullists, no less than Mitterrand's social democrats and Marchais' Communists, were denouncing Giscard/Barre for sacrificing the French economy to the interests of Wall Street, the Frankfurt Börse and the multinationals. Chirac contemptuously dubbed the Giscardians a "party of a foreign country."

From Autogestion to Barrisme de gauche

Interestingly, the division between Gaullist *dirigisme* and Giscardian "neo-liberalism" during the 1970s was paralleled in a way within the reformist left. One of the aftereffects of the potentially revolutionary explosion of May '68 was a revival of syndicalist prejudices in the French left under the rubric of *autoges-*

tion (self-management). In part this was a misguided *gauchiste* response to the outright counterrevolutionary role of the Communist Party (CP) in liquidating the general strike in return for a hefty wage increase (which was soon eaten up by inflation).

What is now called *autogestion* actually has a very long tradition on the French left, going back to Proudhonism in the mid-19th century. Proudhon projected a society based on autonomous enterprises owned by their workers which necessarily related to one another through the market. Proudhon and his followers were die-hard opponents of Marxist collectivism.

In the late 1960s-early 1970s *autogestion* was all the rage in the *gauchiste* milieu, hailed as the very emanation of the "spirit of May '68." Its main organizational standard-bearers were the left-reformist Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) of Michel Rocard and the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT) led by Edmond Maire. Minor prophets in the *anti-Marxist* cult of *autogestion* were two renegades from Trotskyism: Michel Pablo, who worked within the PSU, and Pablo's former disciple Ernest Mandel, theoretician-leader of the United Secretariat.

Shortly after Rocard brought the main body of the PSU into Mitterrand's Socialist Party in 1974, the latter adopted *autogestion* as part of its official program. In the mid-late 1970s the Mitterrand social democrats used *autogestion* primarily as an ideological shibboleth against communism. Rocard, in particular, condemned state ownership of the means of production and centralized planning as part of the "authoritarian" tradition of Jacobinism and Bolshevism. To this, he counterposed the "autonomy of collectives." He also insisted that the market must remain an instrument for the measurement of results.

Today the leading *autogestionnaires*, Rocard and Maire, stand on the far right wing of the Mitterrand popular front as the hard-line advocates of austerity. Last February Maire announced that the government's austerity program was inadequate and more severe measures would have to be taken. A few months later they were. Superficially, it may seem paradoxical that the wing of French reformism which identified itself with the "spirit of May '68" has become the champion of *Barrisme de gauche*. But, in fact, it is inherent in the logic of *autogestion* to accept the discipline of the capitalist market.

This was explained over 80 years ago by the Marxist Rosa Luxemburg in her famous polemic, *Social Reform or Revolution*, against Eduard Bernstein, the granddaddy of all revisionists. Bernstein, it should be recalled, advocated producer cooperatives (the 19th-century term for *autogestion*) as the road to socialism. Of this reactionary utopian notion, Luxemburg wrote:

"The domination of capital over the process of production expresses itself practically in the necessity of making

labor as intensive as possible, lengthening or shortening the working day according to the situation of the market and, depending on the requirements of the market, employing or throwing labor-power back onto the street. In a word, all methods that enable an enterprise to stand up against its competitors are practiced. The workers forming a production cooperative are thus faced with the contradictory necessity of governing themselves with the utmost absolutism, of playing the role of capitalist entrepreneur against themselves. This contradiction accounts for the failure of production cooperatives which either become pure capitalist enterprises or, if the workers' interests continue to predominate, end by dissolving."

—Rosa Luxemburg, *Selected Political Writings* (1971)

Just as the cult of *autogestion* has led to *Barrisme de gauche*, it likewise provided an ideological bridge between the *gauchisme* of the post-May '68 period and the Cold War anti-Sovietism of Mitterrand's social democracy. During the 1970s the leading *autogestionnaires* condemned the Soviet Union not for its bureaucratic deformations and mismanagement but for the very *existence* of state ownership and centralized economic planning. If statism and centralism are identified as the *main* enemy, then even Reagan's America becomes preferable to Brezhnev/Andropov's Russia. In the United States one speaks of "State Department socialists"; in France one can speak of "NATO *autogestionnaires*."

Redéploiement and the 1979 Battle of Lorraine

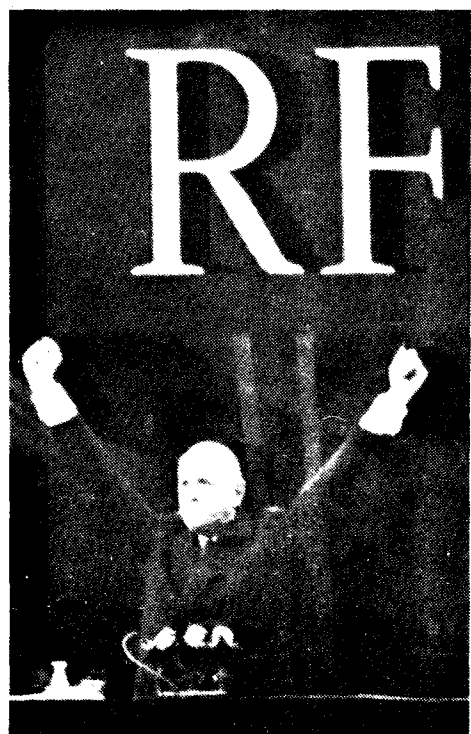
Encouraged by its victory in the March 1978 parliamentary elections, the Giscard/Barre regime pushed ahead with its *redéploiement* schemes. Shortly before Christmas the government announced 30,000 layoffs in steel as part of the Common Market's Davignon plan to reduce overcapacity in the West European steel industry. The workers' response produced something like a civil war in the old, depressed steel towns of Lorraine—Longwy, Denain, Valenciennes—in the early months of the new year.

In Longwy militants from the Usinor steel mill not only occupied management offices but also the Crédit Lyonnais bank and took over a television transmitter, demanding that the state network broadcast the truth about the situation instead of the usual lies. And on February 23, two hundred steel workers rigged a battering ram to a bulldozer and tried to break into the Longwy police commissariat. There followed a two-hour battle with the besieged cops firing tear-gas cannisters, while the steel workers bombarded the building with pins, bolts, ball bearings, ingots and a few molotov cocktails. Alarmed by this militancy, the local CP deputy and representative of the Stalinist-led trade union, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), finally managed to deflect the siege by calling for an assault on the offices of the Union Patronal (management association). The building was totally sacked: furniture, files, everything thrown out of the window and burned on the spot.

Throughout France public sympathy was with the desperate steel workers. A group from Longwy traveled to the neighboring city of Metz, where the rock singer Johnny Halliday was on tour, and whisked the pop star back for a tour of the Usinor plant, which was scheduled to lay off 5,900 workers. The surprised Halliday said he was "delighted" if his presence could aid the workers' cause.

If the presence of rock star Halliday added a light touch to the events at Longwy, there was nothing light about the situation in the grimy steel town of Denain, the setting in which Emile Zola wrote his great novel of a coal miners strike, *Germinal*. On March 7 a group of workers from the Usinor mill took buses to the border to stop trains and trucks bringing foreign steel (part of the CP's

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Wide World



Der Spiegel

Two faces of French nationalism: de Gaulle (left), Mitterrand (right).

Don't Mess With Russia...

(continued from page 1)

Times (26 September) published a roundup article by Pentagon official Leslie Gelb on "Korean Jet: Points Still to Be Settled," which lists the many inconsistencies of the U.S. story. And a widow of one of the passengers, Columbia University physicist John Lim, has filed a \$1 billion federal lawsuit saying that KAL Flight 007 entered Soviet airspace "at the direction and order of the Governments of South Korea and/or the United States of America for the purpose of engaging in sophisticated intelligence surveillance."

In other developments, the Soviet press reported that *Richard Nixon* canceled a reservation on the doomed jetliner at the last minute "because the CIA 'did not dare send a former president to his death' and alerted him" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 25 September). The West German magazine *Quick* had reported in its 8 September issue that Nixon had been booked on KAL 007 in seat B-2, in the row next to ultra-conservative U.S. Congressman Larry McDonald, traveling to an anti-Communist celebration in Seoul. And the *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle* (2 October) reports that American officials are now crowing that, "Analysis of the KAL incident gives U.S. intelligence what one source called 'a bonanza' of new information about Soviet radar gaps, communications capabilities and chains of command."

The Reaganites' wild anti-Soviet bellicosity in the past few weeks has to some degree backfired. Three weeks after the KAL 007 provocation and also after the sight of U.S. warships bombarding Lebanon a *New York Times*/CBS poll showed that for the first time significantly more Americans disapproved of Reagan's conduct of foreign affairs than approved of it. The Reagan gang itself realized that their unrestrained warmongering rhetoric was getting them into trouble. According to a senior White House official, there was concern that "we were beating the drum too loudly and that it was time for Ronald Reagan, the peacemaker, to consolidate his image" (*New York Times*, 30 September).

So speaking before the UN on September 26 Reagan offered a new "disarmament" proposal. The U.S. would deploy fewer Pershing 2s than now planned if the Russians would dismantle and destroy some of their SS-20 missiles already deployed in Europe. In other words, Reagan demanded, as usual, the unilateral disarmament of the USSR combined with a buildup of the NATO nuclear arsenal, which already includes the French and British medium-range missiles and U.S. submarine-launched missiles in European waters. The Russians naturally rejected out of hand this "peace move" intended to radically alter the nuclear balance of forces in favor of U.S. imperialism. Andropov reminded the world in his reply to Reagan, "The Soviet state has successfully overcome many trials, including crucial ones, during the six and a half decades of its existence," and he went on to affirm:

"The Soviet people can rest assured that our country's defense capability is being maintained at such a level that it would not be advisable for anyone to stage a trial of strength."

But the Reagan gang is looking for precisely such a trial of strength with the Soviet Union. As one of them put it a few weeks ago: "We need a win somewhere, whether it's Latin America, the Middle East or with the Russians" (*New York Times*, 18 September). The U.S. ruling class wants to restore the short-lived "American century" of the late 1940s and '50s when it could and did

practice nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union. But today the USSR has rough nuclear parity and is not about to allow Reagan & Co. to attain their declared goal of military "superiority." Washington's global search for a trial of strength with the Soviet Union leads straight to World War III. *Don't Mess With the Russians!*

The acute danger of World War III is not caused, as American liberal "freezers" and European anti-missile protesters believe, by an "insane arms race" of the "two superpowers." The drive toward nuclear war is the drive of capitalist imperialism to destroy the land of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the world working class in history. Six decades of Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration have certainly dimmed the glow of October; the USSR today is a far cry from the international revolutionary beacon it was under Lenin and Trotsky. But the historic conquests of the Bolshevik Revolution still remain—the socialized property and planned economy—and these must be defended! It is the Soviet nuclear arsenal which up to now has kept U.S. imperialism at bay, which kept it from invading Cuba and overthrowing Castro, from using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Soviet military strength, even in the hands of a nationalistic bureaucratic caste, has bought the world proletariat precious time to resolve the question of socialism or nuclear annihilation.

Bipartisan War-Making in Washington

The past few weeks have clearly demonstrated—if such a demonstration was needed—the bipartisan nature of U.S. imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive. First, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives voted a military budget in which, as the liberal *Washington Post* (16 September) observed, Reagan "got almost all the new weaponry he wanted for next year." Then the House voted a "compromise" resolution authorizing the Marines to remain in Lebanon for 18 months.

Certainly, the commander in chief of U.S. imperialism has no intention of letting Congress curb his war-making powers. Secretary of State George Shultz informed Congress that the administration refused to guarantee that the Marines would be pulled out in 18 months or that the size of the contingent or its mission would not be changed. So much for the War Powers Resolution! This Congress is even more craven than the one which passed the 1964 Tonkin Gulf resolution legitimizing the war in Vietnam. These bourgeois parliamentarians will yak forever, but when their capitalist masters want action, they'll declare war in 24 hours. And so they have. "We are, in a quasi-way, declaring war with this resolution," Pennsylvania Republican Congressman Robert Walker told his colleagues.

U.S. imperialism has gotten itself into a real quagmire in Lebanon. Boy, is this one unwinnable. The Marines have a mission impossible in trying to prop up the government of Phalange gangsters—the mass murderers of Shatila/Sabra, in collusion with the Zionist army—who are hated by 90-plus percent of the Lebanese population. But behind the U.S. military intervention on behalf of the Gemayel mafiosi in Lebanon is the global anti-Soviet war drive. Syria, whose army controls eastern Lebanon, is the principal Soviet client state in the Near East. And the borders of the USSR itself are only a few hundred miles to the north. The liberal Republican head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Percy, who voted for the War Powers Resolution, nonetheless recognized: "I don't think any of us know where this is leading. It could lead to direct conflict with Syria or direct conflict with the Soviet Union" (*New York Times*, 24 September). The Marines in Lebanon

are yet another tripwire for World War III.

Stop First-Strike Missiles in Germany!

The 1979 NATO decision to place a new generation of medium-range missiles had two purposes: 1) the Pershing 2s are intended to increase the imperialists' first-strike capability against Russia; and 2) they are part of the Pentagon's strategy for an anti-Soviet war to be fought out in the European "theater." The West Germans, already frightened by American scenarios for "limited" nuclear war on *Schlachtfeld Deutschland* were "aghast" last week when the U.S. armed forces paper, *Stars and Stripes*, reported that an American army unit was practicing mass burial procedures. Accompanying photographs showed bulldozed graves similar to those the Nazis used for the victims of the Holocaust. A television commentator asked, "Doesn't the American military realize... that with such macabre practices they are suggesting that nuclear war is increasingly likely?" An Army spokesman replied, not to worry, "mass burials would be resorted to only in case of massive loss of life."

The fear of being sacrificed as pawns in a war between the "superpowers" has fed into resurgent German nationalism, this time clothed in "left" colors. Naturally, the German masses don't want to be annihilated. But behind the nationalism of the "peace movement" stands the revanchist appetites of German imperialism to reconquer East Europe. Thus Rudolf Bahro, former East German Stalinist turned anti-Communist Green, actually welcomes Reagan's unrestrained warmongering because "it can only advance our aims—to withdraw both parts of Germany and Europe from the two military blocs and to neutralize Europe" (*New York Times*, 30 September). This thinly disguised call for capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR (East Germany) is really a call for a "Fourth Reich" to dominate Europe, this time under the rule of "democratic" German capitalism. As in two previous world wars, the fundamental military obstacle will be Russia.

German imperialism is no more pacific than its American and French allies. It merely has a rather different strategy than the Reaganite first-strikers for reconquering the Soviet bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states. As the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, wrote last year:

"The German bankers do not want a third world war now, whether fought with nuclear or conventional weapons, because they would lose it now. Thus, the German bourgeoisie is striving to undermine the planned economies through credits, commodities and joint projects and at the same time to penetrate these with bourgeois ideology in social-democratic colors with the support of the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy."

—"The Ominous Resurgence of German Nationalism," *Spartacist* (English edition) No. 35, Autumn 1983

But the legitimate fear of nuclear annihilation and national sentiments of the German masses can be mobilized on a communist program. The TLD calls for the revolutionary reunification of Germany as the motor for a United Socialist States of Europe.

And the missiles can be stopped, though not by human daisy chains and civil disobedience, popular referenda and similar petty-bourgeois pipe-dreams. What is necessary is the mobilization of the powerful German proletariat against the anti-Soviet war drive. While the "peace movement" is going through the motions with impotent mass demonstrations against the Pershing and cruise missiles scheduled for the end of the month, the German Trotskyists demand: "Stop NATO First-Strike Weapons with Workers' Strikes!" (*Spartakist*, October 1983).

The call for labor action against the missiles is not a cry in the wilderness, moreover. Thus for the upcoming congress of the Metal Workers Union, some 58 resolutions have been proposed on the issue of the rockets, including several advocating work stoppages. (The union tops' response is for a 5-minute "warning strike"! In response the TLD has raised the demand for a two-day general strike against the deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles. Linked to recent sit-down strikes at shipyards in Bremen and Hamburg, this could prepare a really "hot autumn" for the German bourgeoisie and bring down the Kohl government through strike action.

Not Détente Illusions But Workers Revolution!

Stalin's successors in the Kremlin are once again seeking a deal with resurgent German nationalism, hoping in their usual short-sighted way to divide the West European imperialists from Reagan's America. While the Reaganites are certainly consumed with first-strike madness, the notion that Margaret Thatcher, François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl are "peace-loving" is a dangerous illusion indeed. Defending his nuclear arsenal before the UN, social-democratic Cold Warrior Mitterrand proclaimed that "my country is independent," that France would "not be exposed to the risk of seeing the modernization of its defense come under the control of the two superpowers." Yet there is no doubt that it is the Russians who would be the target of France's "independent" *force de frappe*! As for the Americans, Reagan has made it clear that it is not the policies of the Soviets, the Vietnamese, Cuban and Polish deformed workers states and the Nicaraguan Sandinista petty-bourgeois nationalist regime that the U.S. opposes, but their very existence.

Military preparedness and a determination to match the imperialists through developing advanced nuclear weapons are crucial to defending the revolutionary conquests inherited from the Russian October Revolution. This has been acutely understood by Soviet leaders ever since the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, though the petty-bourgeois pacifists willfully ignore this basic truth. Yet the counterrevolutionary danger cannot be eliminated simply through military action. In his *Pravda* statement, Andropov replied to Reagan: "Those who encroached on the integrity of our state, its independence and our system found themselves on the garbage heap of history" (*New York Times*, 29 September). This was true of Hitler, but today the USSR faces a resurgent German imperialism. In fact, the leaders of today's Japan and West Germany, many of whom have direct ties to the previous fascist regimes, were installed by Moscow's erstwhile "democratic" ally, Washington, as soon as the U.S. had crushed its imperialist rivals in World War II.

Speaking before the Seventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), held in March 1918, Lenin emphatically declared:

"International imperialism, with the entire might of its capital, with its highly organized war machine... could not, under any circumstances, under any conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic... This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem—the need to solve international problems, the need to evoke a world revolution, to effect the transition from our strictly national revolution to the world revolution."

Today, the Soviets are threatened not just with sabre-rattling but actual war plans. A class-conscious proletariat, led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, must unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc against imperialist attack, must oust the Stalinist bureaucrats who seek an impossible "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, must take power from the capitalists before it is too late. And time is getting short. ■

Mandelites Fly 007 to "Third Camp"

Ernest Mandel, you remember him: the with-it "Marxist economist" who discovered "neocapitalism" where Lenin and Trotsky spoke of the death agony of capitalism; the pseudo-Trotskyist who latched onto every petty-bourgeois fad—student power, the guerrilla road, Portuguese "revolutionary" generals, anything but the proletariat led by a communist vanguard party. "A centrist for all seasons," we called him. But in fervently championing Polish Solidarność—the favorite "free trade union" of Ronald Reagan, the pope and the Wall Street bankers—Mandel and his followers locked into the orbit of NATO-loyal social democrats like French president Mitterrand. And now the Mandelites' descent into "Third Camp" anti-Sovietism has been clearly revealed over the flight of Korean Air Lines 007.

A recent issue of *International Viewpoint* (19 September), English-language organ of Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), printed excerpts from an article by the USec's French section on this Cold War provocation. According to the Mandelites, shooting down this plane which penetrated Soviet airspace for over two and a half hours, overflying some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations while refusing to obey instructions from Soviet interceptors, was "an unjustifiable action" with "terrible and revolting consequences." Not only did this provide "an excellent pretext for launching a wave of anti-Communism," it even "gave aid and comfort to the imperialists"! Working himself into a real frenzy, the writer, one Christian Picquet, declares:

"The shooting down of the South Korean airliner is a stab in the backs of all those who are fighting the imperialists' super arms buildup."

This is dirty stuff. The "stab in the back"—the *Dolchstoß* Hitler called it, accusing the Social Democrats of betraying the German war effort in WW I. Now the Russian Communists are accused of sabotaging the "peace

effort" as WW III looms. Oh, they talk of the "Japan Sea tragedy," but then so does the U.S.-sponsored UN Security Council resolution against the Soviets. (If they were consistent the Mandelites would vote for that, as did Mitterrand's France.) What about the cold-blooded provocation of sending KAL Flight 007 over Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin island in the first place? The USec article has no word of criticism of this.

Now Reagan is using his 007 atrocity to push through his first-strike weapons, the MX, Pershing and cruise missiles. All the fault of those backstabbing Russians, says the USec magazine. "The Western governments are going to take advantage of this brutal action to justify their aggressive orientations." Moreover, "The Soviet response to the perspective of the installation of Pershings was to threaten to deploy intermediate-range missiles on the borders of Western Europe. And they have supported the anti-war movement that has developed on this side of the Iron Curtain only to the extent that it suited their immediate objectives." The only thing missing was references to a drive for "world domination" (and of course "warm water ports") by the "evil empire." And what about "yellow rain"?

The article is infused with oh-so-evenhanded concern about the "race into the abyss," references to the "propaganda services of both blocs" and the like. "The peoples themselves" must "force universal disarmament" by "building an independent mass movement both East and West," you see. Yet it's notable that all the "Third Camp" claptrap comes down to "critical

support for your "own" imperialism. In 1940 Max Shachtman broke from the Trotskyist movement refusing to support the Soviets against "poor little Finland." In 1950 Shachtman refused to defend North Korea and the Chinese Revolution against the direct military assault of U.S. imperialism, and a decade later he was backing the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. Now Mandel & Co. join the imperialist chorus against Soviet "brutality" over KAL 007.

The Mandelites' descent into the crudest anti-Sovietism didn't just fall from the sky. The "Eurotrotskyists" are tailing after the Europacifist movement led by the "left" social democrats. And if the Soviets make the imperialist "peace movement" uncomfortable, they must be wrong. Already the USec opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1980 where the Red Army beat back CIA-aided counterrevolutionaries. The Soviet action "serves as a pretext for imperialism to justify its policy of rearmament," wrote the USec (*Inprecor*, May 1981). The actual threat to the military security of the Soviet Union, to the social gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution, is dismissed out of hand. Speaking in Australia earlier this year, Mandel asserted:

"The immediate target of the present rearmament drive is the Salvadoran revolution, is the Nicaraguan revolution, is the Palestinian revolution, is the Arab revolution, and not the Soviet Union."

Tell that to Muscovites soon to be only eight minutes away from nuclear annihilation by European-based Pershing 2 missiles.

While Ernest Mandel lustily sings along in the anti-Soviet chorus, his erstwhile "fraternal" associates in the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have done their best to disappear the 007 affair. Unable to duck the issue altogether, Jack Barnes & Co. have resorted to their old standby of posing "unanswered questions" and pointing to Reagan's "hypocrisy" without providing any answers themselves. More than three weeks after the South Korean intruder plane was shot down, the SWP ventured to criticize the rad-lib *Guardian* for its disgusting condemnation of the Soviets. But while rejecting the "two superpowers" line which says that nuclear war is threatened by a reciprocal "arms race," the SWP never explicitly defends the Soviet Union or the revolutionary gains it embodies.

While the Mandelites howled with the Reaganite wolves against "Soviet barbarism," and the SWP ran its mealy-mouthed stories about "doubts" and "questions," the Spartacists, Trotskyists, proclaimed "Reagan's Story Stinks!" and "KAL 007: Cold War Provocation." With a communist program to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, we told the unvarnished truth. In contrast Mandel, who looks to the Mitterrand social democracy, and Barnes, torn between liberal "doves" and Fidel Castro, can only squirm. Liberal Congressman Les Aspin summed up the Democrats' dilemma over the 007 affair, which is also that of both wings of the USec: "The Soviets sure do make it tough to be a liberal in this country." Ay, there's the rub. ■

KAL and the KCIA

For the interest of our readers we print below excerpts from a report by Alan Berlow, aired over the National Public Radio network on 26 September, documenting the extensive ties between Korean Air Lines and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency. For the considerable body of evidence indicating that KAL Flight 007 was likely on a spy mission, see our last two issues (*WV* Nos. 337 and 338, 9 and 23 September) and *Young Spartacus* No. 111, September 1983.

Berlow: The downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 7 has left a lot of unanswered questions about how one of the most highly sophisticated planes in the world could have unintentionally ended up so far off course. But while there is some speculation about a possible spy mission there is no concrete evidence to support such theories. There is, however, a considerable amount of evidence linking the Korean Air Lines Company, or KAL, to the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, or KCIA. While this does not mean that Flight 007 or any other Korean Air Lines passenger flight was engaged in spying, it nonetheless suggests one reason the Soviets may have been suspicious of a KAL jet that had intruded far into Russian airspace. Korean Air Lines was established in 1962 by the Korean government which

took over the privately owned Korean National Airlines. According to a KAL spokesman, in 1969 the government asked two private businessmen to take control of the company. The two businessmen, who had previously been involved in other aspects of South Korea's transportation industry, were the Cho brothers: Cho Choong Hoon and Cho Choong Kun. Philip Litke was a specialist in Asian affairs for the Central Intelligence Agency. He worked for the CIA in South Korea between 1969 and 1974.

Litke: The Cho brothers were very close to the late president Park Chung Hee, who was assassinated a few years ago. At the time the Park military clique was in control of South Korea, the Cho brothers were members of this inner circle.

Berlow: Lee [Jai Hyon, former South Korean information officer in the U.S.], who served 20 years in the Korean government and now teaches at Western Illinois University, says Korean Air Lines was sold to the Cho brothers at a bargain basement price. The airline was subsequently financed and operated with government loans. According to Lee, while not directly operated by Korean intelligence agencies, KAL is indirectly controlled by these agencies. When they need something done by

KAL, Lee said, it's done. I asked Lee if KCIA officers ever fly on KAL jets.

Lee: Oh, yes. I know that out of my own personal experience. Yes. There are always KCIA agents flying in the Korean Air Lines planes.

Berlow: Lee said these agents are present not to prevent hijackings but as part of an extensive program of surveillance of Korean nationals. Lee and other sources said KCIA involvement in private Korean businesses is not limited to the airline but that it's rather typical of the KCIA's involvement in some 20-odd other major Korean businesses. And they said the KCIA's presence in South Korean society pervades almost every institution. Ex-CIA agent Litke also says KAL has been used as a cover for KCIA operatives working abroad and that the airline was used routinely for other KCIA operations.

Berlow: It is of course not surprising that KAL pilots have close ties to the Korean military. According to Philip Litke most of the senior officials and pilots of KAL are ex-Korean air force officers or pilots who have close ties to the ruling government. But Litke also says the crews on KAL planes have regular and frequent contact with Korean intelligence agents. According to a report in the *Boston Globe*, Korean Air Lines is also involved in assembling military aircraft for the Korean air force, including U.S.-built helicopters and fighter jets. During the Vietnam War the airline serviced the Korean military by moving equipment and

supplies to Vietnam. Sources familiar with the KCIA's role in Korea confirm that the agency has lost some of its clout in recent years. They attribute this to the fact that the KCIA was directly responsible for the assassination of President Park Chung Hee. These sources say Korean military intelligence became much more powerful when some 300 KCIA officers were removed following the assassination. Nevertheless all of these sources agree that the KCIA and military intelligence continue to play a major role in the operation of large Korean businesses, including Korean Air Lines. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago

Tues.: 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S. Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City

Tues.: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
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Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto

Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

Chicago Teachers...

(continued from page 1)

for the anti-Soviet war drive. The CTU must become the vanguard of a struggle for real integration, to unite factory workers facing layoffs with the masses of unemployed, to demand big pay increases for all city workers and free mass transit.

Harold Washington is presiding over the increasing decay of a city that *never* worked for blacks and the poor. The only hope for black Chicago is a class-struggle fight against the racist capitalist system which turns ghetto schools into prisons and offers no future to its graduates but permanent unemployment. The teachers must mobilize all Chicago labor and the black masses to stop the austerity/cutbacks drive which affects every area of city life, leading all the oppressed in a fight for survival.

The Teachers Walk

Early yesterday morning the picket lines went up and hundreds of schools shut down as 27,000 teachers were joined by 11,000 maintenance and service workers in a joint strike against the Chicago Board of Education. CTU members have gone for two years without a pay raise, and they opened their first paychecks this September only to find their pension payments cut off as well. School Superintendent Love is claiming any pay increases must be offset by teacher layoffs and larger class sizes, and the administration is cynically trying to portray the strike as "anti-integration." The strikers are rightfully fed up with being made the scapegoats for the city's declining school system—the 19 striking unions deserve a big pay boost and they know it.

The city's campaign to break the strike began before the picket signs were printed up. While Mayor Washington hypocritically maintains a public posture of "neutrality," his backers have gone all out to line up the oppressed black population of Chicago against the teachers. Thus the black newspaper *Chicago Defender* (6 September) portrayed the impending strike as a blow

against the school system's newly-implemented "voluntary desegregation plan," going so far as to quote a "source close to the school board" labeling the approximately half-black CTU "racist"! And today's *Defender* headlined "Mayor's Allies See Strike Plot," trying to claim that Washington's racist opponent, City Council leader Vrdolyak, was behind it. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson's PUSH announced tonight a "walk-in" at the negotiations to demand the schools open up; if that doesn't work, they say they're going to court to seek a back-to-work order.

The school strike comes in the context of a general attack on Chicago city labor. Last week Washington won in the courts the "right" to lay off more than 700 city employees after a bitter fight against "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak's racist bloc of 29 in the City Council. The "29" wanted to shift the overwhelming burden of Chicago's austerity budget onto the shoulders of blacks and Hispanics. The Vrdolyak forces have played up the race issue to the hilt, with ex-cop Ed Burke even demagogically hinting at a "general strike" of white workers, i.e., a race war.

And now the layoff campaign has significantly broadened to include the heavily black work force of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). Last Tuesday CHA chairman Renault Robinson, a Washington appointee who was formerly head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, fired 259 unionized craft workers and suggested the retired CHA residents might do much of the maintenance themselves! On Thursday Robinson slashed the payroll again, this time discharging some 700 union janitors who, claimed Robinson, "are just not giving us a day's work for a day's pay." Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) workers may well be the next victims of the budget-cutting ax, in line with the capitalists' program of letting mass transit, public housing, and education—services that blacks and the working poor urgently need—go to hell.

What is needed is a united, fighting labor offensive to win the allegiance of all the oppressed in Chicago and put a stop to the austerity drive. Remember Jane Byrne's "salami tactics" of 1980, when she sliced off the teachers, firemen and transit workers one at a time. City workers must not let this happen again.

The CTU, with its integrated membership and its history of combativity, is in a good position to spark a wider battle by city workers, cutting across the racial polarization. A massive labor demonstration for "Victory to the teachers strike" could spark a broad *class struggle*, uniting black and white workers to smash the city's austerity moves.

Washington's Chicago: Strikebreaking and Segregation

When Washington ran for mayor last spring, we refused to politically support this Democratic Machine politician. When he won the primary, to be the first black mayor of Chicago, he was greeted by a racist backlash that posed a threat to every black in the city. At that time, the Spartacist League asserted that "Washington has as much right to be mayor and exercise the prerogatives of his office as any other capitalist politician." At the same time, we warned:

"As a Democratic Party mayor of Chicago [Washington] has to maintain capitalist law and order. That means, just like Coleman Young in Detroit, he's going to break strikes. He's going to slash social services. He's going to lay off city workers. And he's going to have the racist cops break up protests by trade unionists, blacks and others who can't take it any longer. That's Harold Washington's job."

—Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago.
WV No. 328, 22 April

That's what "responsible" and "statesmanlike" black politicians are supposed to do.

There's a larger picture to the Harold Washington election than the initial shock of local white Democrats who looked to the perennial Daley machine. They couldn't stand it, but the national party was behind Washington in a big way, in order to win the 1984 election by deceiving blacks into voting once again, for the hundredth time, for the Democrats. If you want to know what a Democratic victory in '84 would look like, take a look at this strike and who's carrying the burden now in Chicago.

Washington and his Democratic Party friends have started to carry out that job with a vengeance. In a repeat performance of his strikebreaking role in the 1973 teachers strike and the 1981 firefighters strike, Washington ally Jesse Jackson and his Operation PUSH are currently organizing scab schools. J.J. is clearly trying to prove he'd make a decent strikebreaking American president.

For 20 years the Chicago Board of Education and Daley's Democratic Party which ran it blocked every effort to integrate the schools. Now, as a strikebreaking ploy, Washington allies try to defeat the teachers by waving around a sham "desegregation" program that will leave more than three quarters of the schools segregated and 82 percent of black elementary school children in all-black schools!

Taking their cue from the old "community control" black nationalist demagogues in the 1968 New York City and '71 Newark teachers strikes, Chicago black pols try to portray the teachers strike as an action *against* the black children. This is classic union-busting demagoguery. But, although the CTU has a paper position for desegregation, neither they nor the rest of the labor bureaucracy has done a thing to mobilize labor to fight for black democratic rights, including centrally integrating the schools. For this to have any meaning at all in Chicago, it requires busing black students to the ring of lily-white suburbs which surround the city and vice versa. And that means being prepared to form labor/black defense guards to protect the kids and stop the racists.

The CTU supported Harold Washington for mayor—now the city tries to break the strike. Likewise, virtually the entire reformist left fell all over themselves trying to climb on the Washington bandwagon last spring. The Com-

munist Party, ever on the prowl for a populist Democrat to lead its "anti-monopoly coalition," called Washington's election a "great people's victory." Sam Marcy's Workers World Party termed it a "victory against racism," while the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party virtually deep-sixed its own mayoral candidate Ed Warren, and lauded Washington's election as a sign of "the striving of working people... to get some political power." Progressive Labor, which simultaneously calls Washington a "black social fascist" and sucks up to him through its front group InCAR, recently accused the teachers union in Los Angeles, in very similar circumstances, of fomenting a "racist strike." Which side will these reformists take as the Washington administration goes after the workers, both black and white? Certainly none of them have any serious scruples against open strikebreaking: they all scabbed on the New York City teachers strike in '68.

American Workers Revolution Needs Black Leadership

The Chicago school board's strikebreaking is part of the whole municipal austerity cutback offensive which began in New York under the Democrats in the mid-1970s and became national policy under Reagan. A decade after the ghetto explosions of the '60s, the ruling class has long since run out of token civil rights reforms and pork barrel poverty programs. Instead it has cultivated a layer of black overseers to police the city unions and keep the lid on the inner cities. From Richard Hatcher's Gary, an industrial ghost town, to Coleman Young's Detroit, where hundreds of thousands of auto workers will never see the inside of a plant again, the black mayors of America (see accompanying box by Cliff Carter) are presiding over the wholesale dismantling of U.S. industry. The Chicago steel industry is devastated, with Wisconsin Steel gone and South Works on the chopping block while the announced merger of Republic Steel and LTV threatens even more mass layoffs.

Meanwhile cop terror against minorities has continued unabated since Washington took office: a black jogger shot in Hyde Park, a Puerto Rican stomped to death in Pilsen, a CTA driver arrested and charged with a felony for the "crime" of being beaten by a gang of racist white youth celebrating the Sox pennant.

Black people know that for them the "American dream" is a nightmare. They hate this rotten, racist system, and whenever they have a chance to win something, blacks are the most militant, the most combative. The white capitalist ruling class fears the revolutionary potential of blacks and reds. They gunned down and locked up the most militant fighters for black liberation of the '60s, and pieced off a tiny minority with poverty programs and elected offices. But a few "black faces in high places" won't free the black masses; on the contrary, from Newark to Chicago, they're used to rip up what few gains are left. A victory for the Chicago teachers strike is vital to other black Chicago workers; Transit Authority workers may be next under the gun, along with Housing Authority employees.

The Spartacist League fights for a workers party, to break the workers and oppressed from the black Democratic Party front men—the Jesse Jacksons, Coleman Youngs and Harold Washingtons—who tie impoverished South Side blacks to the party of La Salle Street bankers... and racist wardheelers like Vrdolyak. With 75 percent unemployment among ghetto youth, with tens of thousands of industrial workers thrown out of their jobs, with hundreds of thousands living in tenement firetraps—the only solution for American blacks is socialist revolution. And the American revolution needs black leadership. ■

Concerning the Black Mayors of America "House Negroes" in City Hall

By Cliff Carter

A great while ago all the American cities got into trouble politically and financially. The cities have hit "rock bottom"—they are in a mess from bottom to top and have no direction to go in a positive way.

The approach that the ruling class is taking is the same as the slave masters took when their plantations were in trouble; they would dress the house Negro with a new suit of clothes (or rather one of his hand-me-down suits) and put him in charge of a certain portion of his business. Tell his house Negro what to do, how to do it and who to work and where to work them.

But the minute this house Negro faltered or couldn't control the plantation, he was dropped like a hot potato and sent to work in the field. They would call another Negro, dress him in a suit of clothes, top hat and all, and place him in charge.

This Harold Washington was placed in charge of Chicago because the city is in trouble and the capitalist system needs a "scapegoat" to blame all the financial problems upon because all the profits have been misused by the city bosses from

sometime ago up until now. And with Washington, a black man, in charge, the capitalist rulers could tell the workers everything was good before this house Negro was put in charge and just about everybody besides a "thinker" will really believe Washington did mess up the Chicago business.

Now you may say Harold Washington was voted in legally, but who campaigned for votes for Washington? None other than Jesse Jackson and Company. And who finances Jackson? None other than the rich rulers. If you then say it was the Democratic Party who pushes Jackson, then stop and think who dictates to the Democratic Party (and Republican Party too)—none other than the ruling class.

When Harold Washington is taken out of charge of the Chicago Plantation, it will be controlled by another house Tom. This goes for all the other City Plantation Rulers, for they are just fronts for the Slave Masters' Children. Remember the Civil War was never finished, for the slave masters are still in charge of the plantations.

LET'S ORGANIZE AND WITH A PROGRAM, FINISH THE CIVIL WAR.

Killer Cop Gets Bounty for Murder of Patrick Mason Racist Outrage!

A GROTESQUE RACIST OUTRAGE! For murdering a five-year-old black child, Patrick Mason, Orange County cop Anthony Sperl has been awarded \$35,000 from a Worker's Compensation Appeals Board for "psychological damage" he claimed as a consequence of the shooting! It was the most abominable and heartrending racist murder since the Birmingham church bombings. Mason's mother, Patricia Ridge, was at work when the white cop busted into the apartment and shot her little boy to death in his bedroom. In an obscene racist version of the criminal accusing the victim she was hounded for months by a grand jury for "neglect" and "murder." An innocent black child gets a .357 bullet in the chest, his devoted and grief-stricken mother is subjected to a vicious witchhunt and Sperl, the child-killer cop, gets a \$35,000 bounty, a price that hangs like a lynch rope over the head of every black person in racist America.

Sperl got his blood money on July 29, but this racist atrocity was not made public until it appeared on October 1 in

the bourgeois press. If this outrage were not enough, *in addition* to the worker's comp award the Stanton police department gave Sperl (because, they said, his "medical problem is job related") medical retirement at the age of 24 with 50 percent pay! Of course, when workers are maimed or killed on the job, the hundreds of thousands of victims of industrial hazards and accidents, the worker's comp system provides fixed "compensation" to the victims (or their survivors)—a couple of thousand dollars for a lost limb, a little more for loss of eyesight, etc. In exchange for this pathetic pittance, the worker loses the right to sue his boss for real compensation. But for the racist cops it's different. The bourgeois state looks out for its own and racist killer cops like Sperl get settlements for "psychic injuries" in the "line of duty."

Take the case of the L.A. cop, killer of black woman Eulia Love, shot eight times in her home in 1979. Like Sperl he was awarded a "stress related" pension of 50 percent of his regular pay. Now he has filed a \$1 million damage suit for

other weapons.

(9) Moon Organization agents attempted to obtain permission from an American corporation to export M-16's manufactured in Korea. The M-16's are manufactured under a coproduction agreement approved by the U.S. Government, which puts M-16 production under the exclusive control of the Korean Government. Despite this, Moon Organization representatives appeared—apparently on behalf of the Korean Government—to negotiate an extension of the agreement. . . .

* * * * *

The Moon Organization has self-proclaimed goals of controlling political and secular institutions and a strident ideology which envisions the formation of a "Unification Crusade Army." Moon's speeches foresee an apocalyptic confrontation involving the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and North and South Korea, in which the Moon Organization would play a key role. Under these circumstances, the subcommittee believes it is in the interest of the United States to know what control Moon and his followers have over instruments of war and to what extent they are in a position to influence Korean defense policies. ■

Taylor...

(continued from page 16)

workers who came out from the Ford River Rouge plant, UAW Local 600, site of an earlier plant gate rally in defense of the Taylors. Mobilized by the RMC, these workers carried signs for "Labor/Black Defense of the Taylor Family" and "Labor/Black Mobilizations to Stop Klan/Nazi Terror." This stands in sharp contrast to the UAW International, which has not lifted a finger to mobilize auto workers in defense of the Taylors.

Speakers included Don Andrews for the Spartacist League and the LBSL, Charles DuBois from the Rouge Militant Caucus, Topaz DuBois for the SYL, and Marty Freedman, a member of CWA Local 4001 in Detroit. The rally was endorsed by the WSU Democratic Socialists of America, which sent one member who spoke. Brother DuBois stressed that the defense of the Taylors is the defense of us all: "They're stealing

Emergency Demonstrations!

Stop This Racist Outrage!

- Down with the State's \$35,000 Bounty to Killer Cop for Cold-Blooded Murder of 5-Year-Old Black Child!
- \$20 Million for Patricia Ridge!
- Life Behind Bars Must Be Only Reward for Anthony Sperl!
- Vengeance for Patrick Mason!

Thursday, October 6

5:00 p.m.
California State Building
1111 Jackson Street
OAKLAND

5:30 p.m.
State Office Building
First Street & Broadway
LOS ANGELES

"severe emotional distress" for the "criticism" he received over this racist murder. What next? Will the Nazi "Butcher of Lyons" Klaus Barbie sue the French government for defamation of character? The gestapo police forces of Los Angeles and Orange County, trained in the My Lais of Vietnam, know they are paid to terrorize and murder black people and the victims had better not squawk about it.

The grand jury witchhunt was launched against Patricia Ridge because she did not simply shut up about the brutal racist murder of her son. Instead she courageously filed a \$20 million "wrongful death" claim which the

Stanton City Council rejected while Sperl was collecting his bounty and pension. It is going to take a lot more than first steps like mass labor/black mobilizations to stop this racist outrage. The 5,000-strong November 27 demonstration that stopped the Ku Klux Klan racist killers in Washington, D.C. showed the way forward to a world where "worker's compensation" isn't bounty for racist killers and where black people can live without fear of the nightriders' lynch rope or the killer cop's .357. Vengeance for Patrick Mason! Life behind bars must be the only "reward" for Anthony Sperl! \$20 million for Patricia Ridge! ■

Moonies...

(continued from page 5)

essentially one international organization. This organization depends heavily upon the interchangeability of its components and upon its ability to move personnel and financial assets freely across international boundaries and between businesses and nonprofit organizations.

(2) The Moon Organization attempts to achieve goals outlined by Sun Myung Moon, who has substantial control over the economic, political, and spiritual activities undertaken by the organization in pursuit of those goals.

(3) Among the goals of the Moon Organization is the establishment of a worldwide government in which the separation of church and state would be abolished and which would be governed by Moon and his followers.

(4) In pursuit of this and other goals, the Moon Organization has attempted, with varying degrees of success, to gain control over or establish business and other secular institutions in the United States and elsewhere, and has engaged in political activities in the United States. Some of these activities were undertaken to benefit the ROK Government or otherwise to influence U.S. foreign policy.

(5) While pursuing its own goals, the Moon Organization promoted the interests of the ROK Government, and at times did so in cooperation with, or at the direction of, ROK agencies and officials. The Moon Organization maintained mutually beneficial ties with a number of Korean officials.

(6) The Moon Organization established the KCFF ostensibly as a nonprofit foundation to promote Korean-American relations, but used the KCFF to promote its own political and economic interests and those of the ROK Government.

(7) The Moon Organization extensively used the names of Senators, Congressmen, U.S. Presidents, and other prominent Americans to raise funds and to create political influence for itself and the ROK Government.

(8) A Moon Organization business is an important defense contractor in Korea. It is involved in the production of M-16 rifles, antiaircraft guns, and

our jobs, stealing our welfare and snatching families like the Taylors from their jobs and putting them in jail. Every decent worker has got to take a stand on this issue, because if they get away with it, no one will be safe."

Detroit's black television station, Channel 62, gave extensive and accurate coverage of the demonstration on its evening news. But the *Detroit News* and the *WSU South End* want to make criminals out of the victims of Southern lynch law. The *News* made the incredible claim that the cops had been murdered, headlining its 24 September article: "2 Pontiac Men Face Trial in Alabama Cop's Killing." The *South End* articles on the rally twice asserted the Alabama grand jury's frame-up charges as *fact*, describing the Taylors as "five blacks who shot and beat two white plainclothes police officers who allegedly burst in on the group at a funeral wake" (*South End*, 23 September).

Don Andrews stressed the urgency of building on the demonstration to bring out the power of labor and blacks: "The monstrous, racist frame-up of the Taylor family, who went down South to bury a relative and now face the State of Alabama's lynch rope, can and must be stopped! We are here to defend this courageous family, whose salvation lies in mass labor/black rallies, demonstrations and protests, North and South!" ■

France...

(continued from page 9)

campaign to turn the steel workers' protests in the direction of national chauvinism). On the way back one of the buses was ambushed by the hated CRS riot police. The CRS thugs smashed the windows, fired tear gas into the bus and wouldn't let the workers—now blinded and retching—out.

The next day thousands of angry steel workers surrounded the Denain police commissariat and battled the CRS with iron bars and bolts for 13 hours! At midday a truce was called to allow children to leave the school building unharmed. The CRS used this truce to fire tear-gas cannisters at the workers among whom the schoolchildren were now mingled. Some cannisters were even found in the school. Absolutely enraged, the workers returned to the fight, which lasted far into the night. In

the end the CRS cops resorted to gunfire and were answered by small arms from the workers. Both sides suffered casualties, though no one was killed. The CGT bureaucrats finally restored calm by making a deal with the authorities. The CRS forces would be withdrawn from Denain and the workers would leave the center of the city alone.

The battle of Lorraine marked the highest level of class struggle in France since May '68. In fact, everyone in France was asking: would the dramatic events in Longwy and Denain spark a nationwide general strike against the despised Giscard/Barre regime? A march on Paris reluctantly called by the CGT and CFDT tops on March 23 clearly demonstrated this explosive potential. Carrying red flags and singing the *Internationale*, tens of thousands of workers chanted, "Giscard, if you stay we'll kick you in the ass!" and "Everything for us, nothing for them!" We wrote at the time:

"Trotskyist revolutionaries would seek to reach the demonstrators with the demand that a genuine 'march on Paris' be built to muster forces for an unlimited general strike for expropriation of the steel trusts and against the capitalist government's austerity policies and layoffs—for full employment and protection against inflation by a sliding scale of wages and hours. It was necessary to combat popular-front illusions that this could be solved simply by putting the reformists and their bourgeois bloc partners in the ministerial chairs—for a 'new '68' that goes all the way, workers to power!"

—"Steel Workers Rock France,"
WV No. 228, 30 March 1979

However, the CGT and CFDT bureaucrats refused to extend the industrial actions beyond the steel towns of Lorraine, and the Giscard regime helped defuse the crisis by postponing the layoffs for a year.

The events in Lorraine in early 1979 had an effect on the Giscard regime somewhat similar to that of May '68 on the Gaullist regime. It shattered the Giscardians' claim to be the "party of order" and exposed the danger of further social explosions inherent in their "neo-liberal" economic program. The steel workers' missiles which demolished the police commissariat in Longwy fatally damaged the authority of the Giscard regime. It would survive only another two years.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Endorsers of the Demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee

"I/my union endorse the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, that 1) Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay; 2) Amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers; 3) All charges against Lauren Mozee, Ray Palmiero and all other phone strikers be dropped."

List of Endorsers (Partial)

AFGE Local 1666, Martinez, CA
J.C. Apperson, Executive Vice President, CWA Local 11574, Los Angeles, CA
Manja Argue-Haggard, Executive Board, CWA Local 9415, Oakland, CA
Susana Atwood, Executive Board, OPEIU Local 3, San Francisco, CA
Kathy Babbot, Secretary, Federal Employees Metal Trades Council (Mare Island), Vallejo, CA
M.E. Ballesteros, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Phil Baptista, Chapter President, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Erwin Barrett, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Marjorie Baur, Past President, UAW Local 306, Detroit, MI
Willie Lee Bell, Recording Secretary, IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
Al Belmontez, Past President, UAW Local 216, South Gate, CA; Executive Board, California State Democratic Party and Vice President, Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA)
Harvey Birch, Business Manager, Plumbers Local 343, Vallejo, CA
Michael Black, Community Services Chairman, CWA Local 4008, East Detroit, MI
David Blackburn, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Harry Blanks, Shop Committee, UAW Local 22, Detroit, MI
Helen Bowden, Union Representative, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
John Bowers, Research, SEIU Joint Council No. 2, San Francisco, CA
Allan Brill, Director, San Francisco Interns and Residents Association, San Francisco, CA
Steve Bull, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
David A. Bundy, Shop Steward, NALC Branch 214, San Leandro, CA
Bill Burke, Retired Business Agent, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Jerry Butler, Member, District Council, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Mike Campbell, Business Agent, SEIU Local 614, Napa, CA
John Campos, President, AFSCME Local 3239, North Hollywood, CA
Clara Carlini, Chief Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
F.U. Celona, Grand Lodge Representative, IAM Local 597, Los Angeles, CA
Millie Cleveland, Member, Negotiating Team, UAW Local 76, Oakland, CA
Margaret Clouser, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
Ann Coughlin, President, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
David Creaque, Vice President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Frank Dannel, President, Central Labor Council, Napa/Solano County
Bill D'Arcy, Business Agent, Engineers and Scientists of California, MEBA, AFL-CIO
John Davidson, Recording Secretary/Business Representative, Painters Union Local 4, San Francisco, CA
Ignacio De La Fuente, Business Manager, Molders Local 164, Oakland, CA
Manuel Delgado, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
William Dow, Member, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Tom Duffy, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Corky Duke, Secretary, Local 343, Member, OPEIU Local 29, Vallejo, CA
I. Duran, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Jan Eakles, Union Representative, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Dale L. Earnest, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Dave Ebert, Recording Secretary, Millwrights Local 102, Fairfield, CA
Jim Edwards, Business Representative, IAM Local 1546, Oakland, CA
Jim Eggleston, Labor Attorney, Moccine, Plotz & Eggleston, Oakland, CA
Kay Eisenhower, Executive Board, SEIU Local 616, Oakland, CA
Phyllis N. Fall, Vice Chairperson, Unit Meetings, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Marcella Farinha, Secretary-Treasurer, OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Tim Fernandez, Vice President, Painters Local 376, Vallejo, CA
Roland B. Galahol, Chief Shop Steward, NALC Branch 214, San Francisco, CA
Loree Gaskill, Executive Board, Women's Committee Chair, CWA Local 11586, Santa Fe Springs, CA

John George, Chairman, Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Oakland, CA
Kenneth Gibbons, Recording Secretary, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Tom Gibbons, President, IAM Local Lodge 79, Seattle, WA
Earl Gilman, Chief Steward, SEIU Local 535, San Francisco, CA
Myles Goldfein, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Dow H. Gothard, President, IBEW Local 551, Santa Rosa, CA
Stanley R. Gow, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Walter Green, District Committeeman, UAW Local 22, Detroit, MI
Frank Grinnon, District Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Bruce Groulx, Union Representative, SEIU Local 250, Oakland, CA
Jack W. Hammond, Jr., Representative, Union of Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers, District Council No. 3, Victorville, CA
Bob Henderson, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Ed Hernandez, Member, one of 18 arrested, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Los Angeles, CA
Ernest Higgins, Secretary-Treasurer, Laborers Local 1165, Grand Rapids, MI
IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
IAM Local Lodge 739, Oakland, CA
IBEW Local 551, Santa Rosa, CA
Kathy Ikegami, Executive Board, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Irene Irving, Steward, Hospital Workers Local 250, Richmond, CA
Dolores J. Jackson, Executive Board, AFSCME Local 1652, Detroit, MI
Randy Johnese, Senior Field Representative, SEIU Local 535, Oakland, CA
Al Johnson, President, ATU Local 192, Oakland, CA
Roland M. Katz, Business Agent, PEU Local 1, Martinez, CA
Leo Kormis, Association for Union Democracy, Oakland, CA
Annie Kuykendall, Secretary-Treasurer, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
Dan Kyle, International Representative, OCAW Region 9, La Mirada, CA
Labor/Black League for Social Defense, Oakland, CA
Bernice Lathen, Past President OPEIU Local 86, Vallejo, CA
Stanley Lathen, Past Secretary-Treasurer and Business Manager, UFCW Local 373, Vallejo, CA
Bill Leach, Secretary-Treasurer, CWA Local 11510, Santa Ana, CA
Elwin Learnel, President, IAM Local 824, Richmond, CA
Timothy Ligosky, Steward, Executive Board, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Ronald Lind, Director of Organizing, UFCW Local 428, San Jose, CA
Tom Linebarger, Recording Secretary, Painters and Tapers Local 15, Redwood City, CA
Ed Logue, Jr., Union Representative, IAM Local 824, Richmond, CA
Fred Lonidler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFT Local 2034, San Diego, CA
Cassie Lopez, North Oakland Chairperson, Oakland Progressive Political Associations, Member, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
Francis J. Marino, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Linda C. Marks, Treasurer, AFGE Local 2795, Detroit, MI
Ray Martinez, Steward, CWA Local 9410, San Francisco, CA
Liona McDaniel, Vice President, NALC Branch 705, Vallejo, CA
Stan P. McIntosh, President, Black and Minorities Employees Association, Member, AFSCME Local 444, Oakland, CA
Ken B. McLean, National Organizer, AFGE, 12th District, Rohnert Park, CA
K.V. McPherson, Vice President, UAW Local 76, Oakland, CA
Wally Medeiros, Executive Board, IAM Local 1546, San Leandro, CA
Fernando Medina, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
R.W. Meyers, District Representative, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Millwrights Local 102, Oakland, CA
Manuel Morales, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
D.E. Morris, Member, one of 18 arrested, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Jerry R. Morris, Chief Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
William Moultrie, Past President, CWA Local 4016, Detroit, MI
OPEIU Local 29, Emeryville, CA
Victor Pamiroyan, Business Agent, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Partisan Defense Committee

Keith A. Phelps, Business Manager, Laborers Local 1165, Grand Rapids, MI
Floyd B. Phillips, District Representative, Union of Cement, Lime, Gypsum and Allied Workers, Victorville, CA
Barbara Pierco, Steward, CWA Local 11550, Los Angeles, CA
Carolyn Pittman, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Plumbers Local 127, Vallejo, CA
Plumbers Local 343, Vallejo, CA
Dave Probstfeld, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Geraldine Ramsey, Steward, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
John Reimann, Recording Secretary, Carpenters Local 36, Oakland, CA
Flo Reynolds, Area Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Frank J. Rivera, Steward, IAM Local 685, San Diego, CA
Jim Robinson, Committeeman, Glassworkers Local 418, Tracy, CA
Leo L. Robinson, Executive Board, ILWU Local 10, San Francisco, CA
Jose V. Rodriguez, Grand Lodge Representative, IAM Local 1546, Union City, CA
Paul D. Roose, President, NALC 1111, Oakland, CA
Ronald Rose, Central Labor Council, Delegate, IAM Local 284, Oakland, CA
Al Rossi, President, United Teachers of Oakland, AFT Local 771, Oakland, CA
Jerry Schmidt, Former CIO organizer, 1937, Los Angeles, CA
Ellen Shaffer, President, AFSCME Local 1650, San Francisco, CA
Charles H. Shaibe, President, Berkeley campus AFT Local 1795, Berkeley, CA
Jim Shoch, Western Regional Coordinator, Democratic Socialists of America, Berkeley, CA
Jose Silva, Coordinator, Keep General Motors Van Nuys Open, UAW Local 645, Van Nuys, CA
John Silver, Media Director, AFSCME, U.C. Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA
Ken Sirois, Vice President, International Association of Fire Fighters Local 1186, Vallejo, CA
Bernard Smallwood, Chief Steward, Executive Board, IAM Local 1518, Oakland, CA
Charles C. Smith, President, AFSCME Local 2920, Detroit, MI
Joyce Smith, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Michael J. Smith, Business Representative, Hospital Workers Local 250, Sonoma, CA
Rusty Smith, Steward, Editor of local paper, SEIU Local 715, San Jose, CA
Yvonne A. Smith, Chief Steward, ORTT/IBEW Local 1011, Oakland, CA
Clyde J. Spearman, President, AFGE Local 1666, Martinez, CA
James Steward, Steward, AFSCME Local 1659, Detroit, MI
Thomas Sullivan, President, USWA Local 1304, Emeryville, CA
Ray Talavera, President, Teamsters Local 85, San Francisco, CA
Ron Tenilly, Business Agent, Teamsters Local 315, Contra Costa County, CA
Don Torrey, International Representative, United Electrical Workers, Boston, MA
Stuart H. Trepp, Steward, CWA Local 11502, Los Angeles, CA
Bill Twohey, Business Representative, IBEW Local 1245, Walnut Creek, CA
Ben Vandnoll, Business Manager, Engineers and Scientists of California, MEBA, AFL-CIO
Brian Wallace, Member, House of Representatives, United Teachers, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA
Myron M. Waters, Shop Steward, Hospital Workers Local 250, Richmond, CA
Tony Weatherspoon, Steward, AFSCME Local 2733, Ypsilanti, MI
Jack Weintraub, Past President, Teamsters Local 85, Pacifica, CA
Stan Weir, Publisher, Singlejack Books, San Pedro, CA
T.J. Whalen, International Staff Representative, UAW, Bell, CA
Ben White, Delegate, East Los Angeles College Labor Coalition, Member, Carpenters Local 2231, Los Angeles, CA
Paul Wong, Trustee, IAM Local 1546, Oakland, CA
Peter Woolston, General Executive Board, ILWU Local 6, Oakland, CA
Ted Zuur, Steward, Hotel Workers Local 2, San Francisco, CA

*No endorsement of any organization implied

Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

Lauren & Ray...

(continued from page 16)

arrested an entire picket line of 18 people during the strike, supporters of the Defense Committee in CWA Local 11502 collected 150 signatures in two days for a motion they presented to a union meeting endorsing the Committee and its demands. As a result of this rank-and-file action, all three locals, the biggest CWA units in California, have passed motions defending Lauren and Ray.

A statement by the Phone Strikers Defense Committee noted:

"PT&T has singled out Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero to cover for its own violent strikebreaking. . . . The company was particularly enraged at the spirited picket line built by operators—mainly women, largely black and Latin—who the company expects to 'stay in their place' and who instead took a strong stand for unionism."

Mozee and Palmiero are militants with years of active participation in the labor and black movements. They are both members of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA, which has fought for solid union action to stop impending layoffs that threaten tens of thousands of phone workers' jobs. And they are a racially integrated couple, making them particular targets for the racist bosses and the government. So the vindictive phone company and the Alameda County D.A.'s office (which has high-level connections to the Reagan administration) have ganged up to railroad these unionists to prison. As the Defense Committee statement said:

"It is the duty of every good union man and woman to stand with victimized union members—Don't let Ma Bell give Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero the PATCO treatment!"

WV recently interviewed Lauren and Ray about their fight against this vicious frame-up:

WV: Why do you think the phone

company and the district attorney's office have picked you out for firing and prosecution?

Ray: Well, first of all, it's a result of a very bitter strike that was forced on the union. The phone company is going through with this so-called "divestiture" and reorganization. They're looking to lay off thousands of phone workers and, in the process, tear up the national contract and get rid of the CWA as a national union representing phone workers from coast to coast.

The strike also took place in the context of Reagan's war on the unions in general. Everybody knows that since PATCO was destroyed, there's a green light from the Reagan administration to bust unions. There was violence in this strike, all right, from the company's side. Pickets were hit by scab trucks racing through picket lines. Strikers were beat up by management scabs. Entire picket lines were carted off in paddy wagons to clear the way for scabbing.

So the phone company went after union members who were trying to make the strike successful. Lauren and I were among those advocating mass picketing to stop the scabbing and really shut the phone company down. And the phone company was very aware of that. Phone company security was all over the place with cameras, videotape, spies. We feel like they went after us to intimidate not only our union members, but as an example to the labor movement as a whole, that if you defend your picket lines and attempt to make your strike a successful one, this is the kind of treatment you will receive.

Lauren: I also feel that because we were militants in the company before the strike, the company was looking to railroad us out of the system. Ray and I are both in the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA and we were very active in union activities and very active on the picket lines. The company did not like



WV Photo

Pickets confront trucks at Doolittle Drive in San Leandro.

us organizing, did not like our militancy. So we were singled out.

We were also singled out by the San Leandro D.A.'s office because they're racist. The police are, in particular, quite racist. Ray is white and I'm black and they hate seeing black and white together, fighting on the same side. There has been Klan activity in San Leandro for at least the last five years. It's also pretty much a non-union city. Several big unionized companies have been put out of business and lots of people have been put out of work recently.

At the time of Ray's arrest, I didn't even know about any warrant out on me until that evening watching television. They plastered my picture all over TV, as far as being wanted. They put me out to be dangerous, "still at large." This was mainly due to the San Leandro police department. They had to have dug this picture up from one of my old Panther days, when I was active in the Black Panther movement.

WV: Could you tell our readers something about your background that

led you to be active union members?

Lauren: I'd been active in the Black Panther Party since its inception in 1966. From 1966 to 1976, ten years. At that time, the Panthers were on their way out. The district attorney's office and the police departments around the country had either killed them all or jailed them all. I had two kids to raise and started looking for work and ended up at the phone company.

I'd been there maybe two and a half years before I met members of MAC. I liked what they said. I liked their politics, I liked what they were doing as far as telling us what the company was doing and what was going on in the union. I started working with them and eventually joined the MAC. The company got wind of this and that's when they started to harass me. The last of '82 until now, they have been on my case for one minor incident after another. It was evident that they were trying to railroad me one way or the other.

I and my family have been active in union work for as far back as I can remember. My mother's brothers, aunts, uncles were all members of the postal workers union and the UAW. They have a Chrysler plant in Missouri and most of my family, my mother, my father and his family, were mainly all union members. We were just all union families struggling to make a decent living.

I also learned about racism and the cops early in my life. My mother was married to a Caucasian for 15 years before he died. He was a member of the Teamsters, driving an 18-wheeler, and he was constantly harassed by members of the Illinois and Missouri police departments for being married to a black woman. He would be dragged out of his truck and beaten when he would take my mother on trips. I remember a particular incident where we were all with him and the police dragged him out of the truck and beat him because he was

Union seeks support at pickets' hearing

The Daily Review

Tuesday, September 13, 1983

...ent was a relatively minor one, as
...scuffles go.'

right eye stemming from the inci-
dent.

Kleeman said Palmiero was
charged to go

The Daily Review

Wednesday, September 14, 1983

Phone strikers face 'frame-up' charges

By RHONDA FINDLING

SAN LEANDRO — Lauren Mozee never thought self-defense resulted in charges of assault and battery — until she had to defend herself against an angry manager from Pacific Telephone.

Mozee, an installer for Pacific Telephone for four and a half years and a member of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415, has become a victim of the recent heated national strike battle that lasted three weeks between unions and the corporate giant AT&T.

After throwing racially tainted verbal insults at Mozee on a picketline Aug. 10 in front of the San Leandro Directory Assistance office, Pacific Telephone manager, Michelle Rose Hansen struck her, breaking Mozee's lip. Mozee struck Hansen back and then turned around and walked away.

Pacific Telephone is now bringing two counts of felony assault against Mozee, one with a deadly weapon (Mozee's fist) and a battery charge with intent to produce great bodily injury.

Pacific Telephone is also charging Ray Palmiero a direc-

Mozee and Palmiero were suspended from their jobs Aug. 29 pending investigation for dismissal for alleged violation of a Pacific Telephone conduct code. They were fired the next day.

"These firings followed the frame-up of Ray and Lauren on trumped-up felony charges for defending the picket line against attack by a manager-scab who struck Lauren," read a statement from the Phone Strikers Defense Committee. "The purpose of these charges and firings along with many other arrests around the country, is to intimidate CWA members. Pacific Telephone has singled out Mozee and Palmiero to cover for its own violent strikebreaking."

"We were fired without any investigation based on Hansen's testimony," said Mozee. "I didn't say anything at all to her," Mozee continued. "She approached me and hit me."

Hundreds of phoneworkers, trade unionists, and others have rallied to Mozee's and Palmiero's defense. Already over 90 labor officials have endorsed the defense committee's demands which state that Mozee and Palmiero be reinstated at their full back pay, that be granted to all victims strikers, and that all be dropped against Palmiero and all other

committee is gearing up for what they feel is "high level collusion between the phone company and the District Attorney, John Jay Meehan's office."

Meehan, who slapped the heavy, multiple felony charges on Mozee and Palmiero was appointed by outgoing District Attorney Lowell Jensen, who left office to work for Reagan.

The attorney representing the victimized strikers, Rick Simmons, claims there must have been pressure on Meehan from high levels of the phone company because of the "speed with which the charges went through."

To further add to the "frame-up" appearance of the charges, "Pacific Telephone aired wild stories about Mozee and Palmiero on the network news, complete with 'mug shot' photos describing them as wild desperados on the loose."

"This whole thing is being blown out of proportion," said Palmiero. "The phone company is trying to show that if you stand up for yourself, this is what will happen to you."

The phone strikers defense committee is urging people to endorse the demands of the defense committee, make a contribution to the committee, and send letters and telegrams to Alameda County District Attorney John J. Meehan and Pacific Telephone president Ted Sanger demanding that all charges against Mozee and Palmiero be dropped.

"An injury to one is an injury to all," said Mozee. "We know that if the company gets away with this frame-up, any union member can be victimized."

PacTel strikers plead not guilty in assault case

By Karen Franklin
Staff writer

HAYWARD — As about 30 supporters filled up half the courtroom, two fired phone company workers pleaded not guilty Tuesday to felony assault charges stemming from an incident on a San Leandro picket line during last month's nationwide phone strike.

Union activists say they expect at least as many supporters to show up in Municipal Court each time Ray Palmiero, 30, and Lauren Mozee, 36, have to appear. The next court date for the two is Oct. 7.

evidence — it's in their hands," she said.

Palmiero was a directory assistance officer at the 530 E. 14th St. office in San Leandro — where the Aug. 10 incident occurred — for four years. Ms. Mozee was a phone installer in Oakland for 4½ years.

Palmiero said that he and Ms. Mozee are being targeted, while non-union workers who injured strikers have not been prosecuted. He said one picket had her foot run over by a non-union worker, while a man's kneecap was shattered when a van roared through the picket line

The Mercury News

Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1983

Two deny picket-line assault on phone worker

Two former phone workers who claim they are being framed pleaded innocent Tuesday to charges of assaulting a management supervisor during a picket-line scuffle.

Lauren Mozee, 36, and Ray Palmiero, 30, both of Oakland, will return to Hayward Municipal Court on Oct. 7 for a pretrial hearing.

The two Pacific Telephone Co. workers are accused of assaulting Michelle Rose Hansen on Aug. 10 outside the San Leandro Directory Assistance Center on East 14th Street.

They were fired on Aug. 30. Hansen, a supervisor, was returning from lunch when she allegedly was attacked by a spirited group of striking phone workers.

Defense attorneys claim, however, that Hansen started the scuffle when

she knocked a can of soda out of Mozee's hand.

On Tuesday, about 30 members of "The Phone Strikers Defense Committee," organized by members of the Communications Workers of America, crowded into the courtroom of Municipal Judge Joseph Carson in Hayward to show their solidarity with Mozee and Palmiero.

The committee, in a statement handed out Tuesday, claims that Mozee and Palmiero are the only phone workers in the country to face felony charges as a result of the three-week nationwide strike against the telephone company. "PT&T has fabricated charges against Lauren and Ray because of their defense of the picket line at San Leandro Directory Assistance, against attack by a manager-scab who struck Lauren," the statement reads.

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tried to get in-
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ed to what nor-
ally happens on a picket line...
It was a very spirited picket line."

has no comment on the rehiring
demand. "The courts have the

PEOPLE'S WORLD
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CENTRAL EDITION
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1983

Hansen. Palmiero says he never touched Hansen.

"They (Pacific Telephone) are fabricating this whole thing," said Palmiero. "They are trying to show CWA that they should stay in line."

Mozee and Palmiero both face seven and eight years in jail if convicted of the felony charges. A pre-trial hearing is scheduled for Oct. 7 at the Hayward Municipal court.

The phone strikers defense

with a black family. And when the police found out that this was his wife and stepkids, they became even more violent, banging his head up against the truck.

After that my mother was sort of blackballed in a lot of factories around Missouri, she could only get jobs in sweatshops, pressing slacks for five cents a pair. It took her years of working in sweatshops, non-union places, before she could build herself back up. Now she works for General Motors and she's still active in the union. But the situation is not as right-wing as it was back in the late '50s and early '60s.

My son Shawn, he's 17, and my daughter Olaywa, 13, are finding just how our system works because they're experiencing firsthand not being able to get the clothes they want or even a record. We turn off the TV early at night because I no longer can afford to pay the PG&E [Pacific Gas & Electric] bills. They're feeling the pressure of the system as it's been forced upon us. They're suffering, even though I try to make the burden lighter for them. They know the issues, the problems we're having. They're bearing with us.

Ray: Both my parents were workers who emigrated from Italy and settled in Cleveland. My dad was a laborer and my mother was a seamstress. My first experience in being involved in a strike was on a visit to Italy, in the spring of 1977. There was a regional general strike in the Lazio region, which includes Rome, where I was working. I respected the strike and was fired for that. It's a tremendous awakening to see that kind of labor power in action, to see everything shut down because everything is run by workers. It's an educational experience and one I learned a great deal from.

I've been with the phone company for four years now, all of them as a directory assistance operator, and that in itself leads one to draw certain conclusions about your employer and employers in general, because there is constant harassment, constant monitoring. I mean, you have to wait your turn even to go to the bathroom. It's very oppressive. But I might add, the reason I was working there was it was the first job I could find after a six-month search, after moving to California from Cleveland, where I was born and raised.

WV: Lauren, could you tell us so far what's happened in terms of your defense?

Lauren: Upon my arrest, the CWA made the bail of \$3,000, which I might add, the D.A. originally wanted set at \$10,000! The union also made Ray's bail and retained attorneys for us. Both San Francisco and Oakland CWA Locals 9410 and 9415, and also Los Angeles Local 11502, have passed motions demanding that we be reinstated and that the charges be dropped. At our arraignment on September 13, over 30 people showed up to support us in the courtroom and we got press coverage in three local papers. We also just got a big write-up in the *People's World*.

People have just been real supportive in a whole lot of ways. A group of operators at San Leandro Directory Assistance, where Ray worked and where the incident took place on the picket line, take up a collection for food every payday. They go to the store and deposit big bags of groceries on us. Two weekends ago, the Defense Committee organized a rent party for us. Between advanced ticket sales and people who just showed up, the Committee raised more than \$1,200. That helped a lot!

During the strike, we had T-shirts

made up that say "FULL AMNESTY FOR ALL STRIKERS!" on the front and "SCABS MUST GO!" on the back. The Defense Committee is selling them and at last count I think we'd sold more than 70 of those. And, on November 14, a local blues club, "Your Place," has agreed to let us hold a benefit. A number of blues musicians, including Sonny Rhodes and Maxine Howard, have already agreed to play and we hope that this will be a big success.

Ray: The Phone Strikers Defense Committee was started up by friends and supporters of ours within the CWA in order to build support not only within our union but throughout the labor movement. We feel that the question of defending the right to strike, the right to picket, the right to defend yourself from scab violence, is not one which involves just our union, but the entire labor movement. The Defense Committee has

been very successful in its early efforts. We've gotten support not only from the CWA locals Lauren mentioned, but from a lot of other unions. To date, over 90 union officials and ten local unions have endorsed the Defense Committee demands. We feel this is very important. We need as much support as possible and as much pressure to be brought on the district attorney and the phone company as we can get to expose and defeat this frame-up.

Lauren: The different responses that Ray and I have received from all sorts of different people have been sort of an up for us at a time when we've been denied quite a bit—our jobs, we've been denied unemployment, we're facing pretty stiff charges. These are trying times, we have family, we have bills to pay, court appearances that sometimes get to us, and so contributions are important, but just a word of support helps, too. ■

Lauren and Ray Need Your Help!

- The Phone Strikers Defense Committee desperately needs money to mobilize support behind and publicize the fight to defend phone unionists Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero. In addition to frame-up felony charges, both Lauren and Ray have been fired from their jobs and have been denied unemployment benefits. They are the providers for three children.
- Endorse the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee, that:
 - a) Lauren and Ray be reinstated at their jobs with full back pay;
 - b) Amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers;
 - c) All charges be dropped against Lauren and Ray and all other phone strikers.
- Send a telegram to support the demands of the Phone Strikers Defense Committee (plus a copy to the Committee) to: John J. Meehan, Alameda County District Attorney, 1225 Fallon St., Oakland, CA 94612; and Ted Saenger, President PT&T, 140 New Montgomery St., San Francisco, CA 94605.

Contact/send contributions to:
Phone Strikers Defense Committee
P.O. Box 24152
Oakland, CA 94623

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bay Area Phone Workers Face Prison for Picket Duty

Labor Support Rolls In for Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero

OAKLAND, October 1—In the wake of the three-week nationwide strike against AT&T this summer, two Bay Area phone workers, Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero, have been fired and face up to *eight years* in state prison on outrageous trumped-up multiple felony charges. In the course of the strike, Mozee and Palmiero were picketing the San Leandro Directory Assistance (SLDA) facility when a Pacific Telephone (PT&T) manager/scab called Lauren a "black nigger bitch" and then struck her, breaking Mozee's lip. PT&T is now trying to frame up Lauren Mozee and Ray Palmiero for felonious assault and battery, including "assault with a deadly weapon," for their defense of the union picket line and themselves against this *violent company assault*.

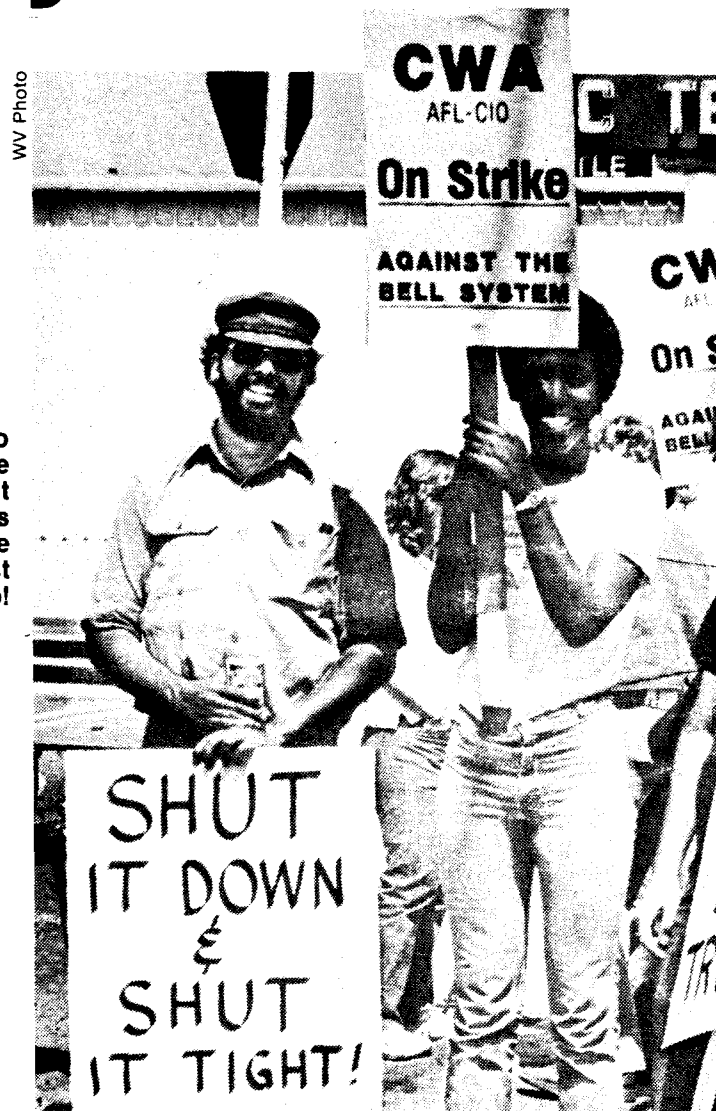
This incident was part of Ma Bell's campaign of massive scabberding and violence during the strike, particularly vicious in the notoriously anti-union East Bay suburb of San Leandro. Twice during the strike men drove by SLDA threatening pickets with guns. At a nearby phone location a supervisor drove into a picket with his truck, to which the cops responded by warning the *victim* that filing "false" charges was a crime! Yet the brutal jail terms hanging over the heads of Mozee and Palmiero are the only felony prosecutions of which *WV* is aware. The charges as well as the outrageous bail and TV

blitz, complete with a mugshot of Mozee designed to portray her as a "dangerous criminal," point to one of the most vicious labor frame-ups in years.

This attack is a threat to all labor. They want to bring back the days when California unionists Mooney and Billings were framed for the bombing of a 1916 "preparedness" war parade in San Francisco. If strikers can be fired and put away for years in the state pen for doing picket duty, then every union member's right to strike is threatened. And many unionists are realizing this. A Phone Strikers Defense Committee has been formed whose demands have received endorsements from more than 100 union officials and locals, along with at least another 100 rank-and-filers, demanding that Lauren and Ray be reinstated with full back pay, all charges against them and other strikers be dropped and amnesty be granted to all victimized phone strikers.

In the Communications Workers union itself support is growing. In Lauren's Local 9415 almost a hundred members endorsed a statement defending Mozee and Palmiero; 54 of these were workers at San Leandro, where the manager/scab attack took place. Across the bay in San Francisco, several dozen members in Ray's Local 9410 signed support statements. And in Los Angeles, where the LAPD labor squad

continued on page 14



Ray Palmiero and Lauren Mozee at the CWA picket line. All labor has a stake in the fight against their frame-up!

Detroit Rally Demands: Save the Taylors!

DETROIT—"For labor/black defense of the Taylor family!" chanted students and auto workers, black and white, at Wayne State University on September 22. Initiated by the Labor/Black Struggle League (LBSL), the Spartacus Youth League and the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC), the emergency demonstration was held to protest indictments handed down by a Montgomery, Alabama grand jury. The targets of this attempted legal lynching are a black family of auto workers from Pontiac, Michigan and Warren, Ohio.

Last February the Taylors, including five United Auto Workers (UAW) brothers from Pontiac, gathered in Montgomery to mourn the death of their mother. When two white racist Klan-style marauders armed with guns burst in on the mourning family, the Taylors disarmed the racists and called the police for aid. But now five members of this brave family face up to life imprisonment in the racist hellhole prisons of Alabama, because the marauders Spivey and Brown were them-

selves plainclothes cops! What's driven the Alabama cops and court into a frenzy is that Northern black auto workers heroically *defended themselves* against racist terror. The State of Alabama smells blood—they have made the frame-up of the Taylors a test case on the road to making the lynch rope the law of the land!

In the militant picket, over 50 demonstrators, including many black WSU students, chanted "Stop the racist police spree, the Taylor family must go free!" and "Down with Jim Crow justice, free the Taylors now!" Expressing outrage at the bludgeoning to death of a Chinese American by a racist Chrysler foreman, the demonstrators demanded, "Vengeance for Vincent Chin—Racist killers in Jackson pen!" LBSL and SL/SYL placards demanded "Down with the Grand Jury Indictments! Jail Spivey and Brown!" and "Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive Is Killing Blacks and Labor at Home."

Particularly important were the

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September 22 Detroit rally demands: Drop the charges against the Taylor family! Jail the murderous cops! \$1 million in compensation!