

Down with the SALT Hoax! U.S. Out of Guantánamo!

Defend Cuba and Russia!

OCTOBER 9—So after all the huffing and puffing about those Russian troops in Cuba, Jimmy Carter's big speech last week turned out to be a bust. Normally nothing less than the declaration of World War III could justify preempting the sacred Monday Night Football scheduling (where even the pope dared not tread), and Carter's "address" was hardly that. No less an authority than "Tonight" show host Johnny Carson beamed into the nation's bedrooms a few minutes later with the word that it's okay to ridicule the president. How can the Russians be frightened of a man who had "barely survived confrontation with a rabbit?" Carson asked, adding "What do Carter and the pope have in common?" Answer: both will be succeeded by Catholics. Yes, there was the Kennedy connection—it's not Brezhnev, but Teddy that Carter wants to get to withdraw.

The hysteria over the "discovery" of 2,000-3,000 Russian "combat troops" in Cuba was almost universally recognized as an American domestic electoral ploy. After scrambling to outflank vociferous right-wingers and show "decisive leadership" by blustering about the "unacceptability of the status quo," Carter finally had to be hauled out of the corner he had painted himself into by a hastily convened coalition of "Wise Men" (including the 87-year-old Averell Harriman, dragged out of mothballs for the occasion).

The *New York Times* was furious with Carter for inflicting the whole "phony crisis" on the nation and further



Soviet-built tanks in Havana arm Cuban deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism.

Prensa Latina

jeopardizing the SALT II treaty. A *Washington Post* columnist snidely deflated Carter's anti-Kennedy remark that he "doesn't panic in a crisis" by observing that Carter panics when there isn't a crisis. More hawkish ideologues of American Empire promptly condemned the speech as backing down in the face of the "Russian menace." Republican presidential candidate Howard Baker summed up for the "war party": "In a toe-to-toe confrontation, we blinked."

In fact, it was all too obvious by the eve of Carter's ballyhooed speech that the troops had been there for 17 years and were no big deal. The only "evidence" of sinister Soviet designs was an "exclusive" full-color photograph pub-

lished by *Time* magazine of a "Soviet-built intelligence station." This turned out to be (shades of Adlai Stevenson's infamous fake "Cuban B-26 bomber" photos during the Bay of Pigs) an ITT Cuban telephone relay station built in 1957.

Carter's "measures"—Marines charging ashore at Guantánamo, beefing up American Caribbean forces, a unified military "Task Force" at Key West, increased surveillance of Cuba—are intended to harass and humiliate the Castro regime and demonstrate to Latin America that U.S. imperialism has not lost its capacity (or will) to police the Western Hemisphere. However, it is quite clear that the whole affair was aimed primarily at the Soviet Union.

The instant connection and comparison to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was on everyone's mind. Ultimate proof as to how farcical Carter's "Cuban crisis" really was is the fact that this time the Stalinists didn't even have to sell anything out. The Kremlin bureaucrats knew they could simply fold their arms and sit it out, unlike during the 1962 crisis when they pulled out in the face of imperialist nuclear threats.

But Carter's crisis-mongering should not be dismissed as simply the wild flailings of a politically drowning man. Despite the bizarre aspects of his recent anti-Soviet provocations, including his August commando-style hijacking of an Aeroflot jet at Kennedy airport, the threats are real. The whole thrust of his "human rights" policy is an ideological cover for the most vicious anti-communist crusade; meanwhile the American war machine is being ostentatiously geared up to reassert U.S. military dominance, not only in the Caribbean but worldwide. In the face of these threatening war maneuvers, we demand a *real* defense of Cuba against bloodthirsty imperialism—including the use of Soviet troops, planes, missiles and whatever else they can get their hands on! The presence of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo is an outrage. If all the talk of sovereignty had any meaning, so long as the Americans stay in Guantánamo the Cubans should be entitled to a base with a good harbor on the U.S. Gulf Coast, preferably (given all the gusano activity out of Miami) somewhere in south Florida. U.S. troops out of Cuba!

The Good Burghers of Boise and the SALT Treaty

It's election time again, which always produces a lot of hot air and frenetic maneuvering on the American political

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No Pope In This Paper

Instead of the anti-communist pontiff and his traveling anti-sex media crusade, we bring you an old quote from Leon Trotsky:

"But best of all is the papal blessing broadcast to Lourdes by—radio. The paltry miracles of the Gospels side by side with the radiotelephone! And what could be more absurd and disgusting than the union of proud technology with the sorcery of the Roman chief druid? Indeed, the thinking of mankind is bogged down in its own excrement." —Diary in Exile, 1935



WV Photo

Chinese Trotskyist Released After 27 Years in Maoist Jails

Reports have reached the West recently of the release from a Shanghai prison of prominent Chinese Trotskyist Chen Chao-lin. According to a report in the 1 October *Intercontinental Press*, the 78-year-old revolutionary who spent a total of 34 years in jail, first under the Kuomintang (KMT) and then as a prisoner of Mao, was freed last June 5. Chen's case had been taken up earlier this year by Amnesty International as representative of a number of leading Trotskyists who "disappeared" during the Maoists' nationwide round-up of the Chinese Left Opposition in 1952 and were not heard from since. Many were "liquidated," in the Stalinist parlance of the day. As we said in our article, "Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries" (*WT* No. 63, 28 February 1975):

"Taken away to be shot, these militants demanded that they be permitted to wear signs imprinted with the single word, 'Trotskyist.' They were refused that last subversive gesture, and were instead falsely branded 'Kuomintang agents' by the Stalinists. Their executioners shoved cotton in their mouths so that they could not shout out to those watching and wondering why veteran revolutionists were being reviled and butchered."

For years there was a curtain of silence over these persecuted militants. Arne Swabeck, the ex-Trotskyist turned Maoist (and now social democrat), claimed in print that they had been released (*Revolutionary Age*, 1975); this was corroborated, he said, by a letter from Pierre Frank, a member of the



Freed Chinese Trotskyists Cheng Chao-lin, left, and Wu Ching-ju.

fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of the Fourth International. Chen Chao-lin's re-emergence after 27 years in jail proves that all such apologies from the friends of Mao are out-and-out lies. We demand the immediate release of all the imprisoned Chinese Trotskyists, or, if they have died under nearly three decades of Stalinist incarceration in Peking, that their fate be known!

In our 1975 article, we publicized the plight of Chen, a leader of the 1927 revolution in the Wuhan area, and a founding member of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and of the Chinese

Trotskyist movement. A close collaborator of Chou En-lai and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) in Paris after World War I, Chen was invited to Moscow in 1923 to attend the University for the Toilers of the East. Returning to China in 1924 he served as a leading party propagandist and, in 1927, as a member of the Hupei Provincial Committee of the CCP leading the revolutionary struggle in Wuhan. Witnessing the massacre of thousands of their comrades at the hands of their Stalin-imposed "revolutionary ally," Chiang Kai-shek, a significant section of the leading CCP cadre were won early and

hard to Trotskyism. Chen Chao-lin was among the 81 original signers of the manifesto of the Chinese Left Opposition along with such party leaders as CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu and C'Cer Peng Shu-tse.

Arrested by the KMT in 1931, Chen spent the next seven years in jail, participating upon his release in the underground anti-Japanese resistance. According to *Intercontinental Press*, following the Maoists' ascent to power in 1949, CCP leader Li Wei-han, who had known Chen in Paris, contacted him and asked him to compromise with the new regime. But Chen refused to abandon his struggle against Stalinism. He was arrested on 22 December 1952 as the Stalinist bureaucracy began a nationwide wholesale round-up of hundreds of Chinese Trotskyist militants. For his refusal to capitulate, Chen spent the next 27 years in jail, first in the notorious Ward Road Jail in Shanghai, later being transferred to a labor camp. His wife, Wu Ching-ju, a dedicated revolutionary who had earlier been released from prison, voluntarily shared Chen's last seven years of imprisonment; because of failing health, she required constant medical care, which as a political outcast in "People's China" she could obtain only by going to prison.

At a September 9 Stockholm election rally for the KAF, Swedish section of the USec, Ernest Mandel announced the

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SWP Jim Crow Socialists

Jeff Mackler: Racist

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party went one step further in its bid for the title of Jim Crow socialists of the left. On October 5, after formally excluding the Spartacist League from a public forum on Nicaragua, one Jeff Mackler, a national leader of the SWP, started a barrage of racist epithets against Jeff Horne, a black supporter of the Spartacist League.

The insults were vicious and shocking. Mackler pointed to Horne,

saying, "You're smiling. They [the white comrades] aren't giving you permission." To a white SLer: "Can you make him dance?" Then to Horne: "Can you tap dance? Do a little tap dance." There is only one word for this: racist.

The comrades immediately closed ranks to condemn these racial slurs, but neither Mackler nor the other SWPers present made any denials or protests. Indeed, the comments continued and escalated. When an SL comrade protested the exclusion of our black comrades in Detroit (see *WT* 240, "SWP: 'No Black Trotskyists Allowed'"), Mackler cried out, "Yes, Stepin Fetchit is all they are." A heated discussion ensued and Mackler soon after slinked back into the SWP bookstore.

"Stepin Fetchit" is a particularly gross, demeaning and abusive epithet. It comes from a racist stereotype from minstrel shows. It became a household word as the name of an actor who portrayed a slow-moving, dumb, shuffling, ineffectual black man who served as a figure of racist "fun." The SWP is obviously having a hard time selling its policies of anti-communist and racist exclusions of the Spartacist League, and its leaders resort to gross provocations. Not only black socialists but no black person has to stand for this kind of racial slur. If that sounds like a warning, to Mackler or anyone else who pulls this kind of stunt, it is.

The racist slanders by a national leader of the SWP cannot be taken

lightly. Jeff Mackler is a member of the National Committee of the SWP and was at one time the local president of the Hayward teachers union. We wonder how his black colleagues would take to such racist remarks. Does Mackler tell black students to tap dance? Such slurs are not tolerable within the labor movement.

Mackler's remarks have to reflect how the SWP leadership treats and conceives of its black membership. The SWP is notorious for abuse of its own comrades: from bureaucratically expelling 115 members of the International Tendency in 1974, in order to prove to the FBI it was "peaceful/legal," then boasting of this atrocity in court; to hailing the Khomeini regime which today is threatening to kill its Iranian co-thinkers; to hailing the Nicaraguan government's expulsion of its comrades of the Simón Bolívar Brigade last August—the SWP's contempt for its membership and for the working class knows no bounds.

For a black in the SWP it must be very hard to swallow defending the right of fascists to free speech with one hand and with the other excluding black Trotskyists from public forums. It must be hard to know that the black candidate the SWP is running for president is an admitted scab. Indeed, the SWP's cynicism is limitless. When SLers condemned Pulley as a scab, the SWP yelled: "Provocation! You're provoking us." But not one word of protest was

raised to the real provocation of racial slurs voiced by Mackler, a white revisionist, against a black Trotskyist. A decent socialist organization would expel any "leader" who uttered such racist filth.

As for the question of the undemocratic, anti-communist, racist exclusion in Detroit, one younger SWPer thought it funny. "Look," he quipped, "we aren't racist. Why, we're excluding both black and white members of the Spartacist League." For the Spartacist League questions of proletarian morality are no joke. Our comrades, both black and white, serve notice on the SWP that vicious racist slurs and worse will not be tolerated. Jim Crow must go! ■

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Gay Democrats Go to Washington

Upwards of 100,000 people are expected to converge on the Capitol October 14 for a "National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights." Called ostensibly to "end all social, economic, judicial and legal oppression of gay people," the march has dominated the activity of the petty-bourgeois "gay movement" for the past year. According to the executive director of the liberal National Gay Task Force (NGTF), "This will be the national gay rights event of the decade."

Many of those who show up in Washington October 14 may believe that they are there demonstrating for "repeal of all anti-lesbian/gay laws," for "a comprehensive lesbian/gay rights bill," and for the various other planks in the formal program of the march. But, unlike the largely spontaneous outbursts which filled the streets in the wake of Anita Bryant's hate campaign or a demonstration in support of specific anti-discrimination legislation, the real purpose of this march is to herd gays into the Democratic Party to serve as voting cattle for capitalist politicians.

Gay Democrats Leonard Matlovich and Harry Britt will join "straight" Democrats such as New York City congressman Ted Weiss and Washington mayor Marion Barry in exhorting the crowd to elect "pro-gay" politicians such as themselves. A "Presidential Nomination Convention Project for 1980" will be held in conjunction with the march, and the following day will be "Constituency Day," in which delegations from various Congressional districts will lobby their representatives. To top it off, representatives of the National Committee for the March on Washington will meet with Jimmy Carter, who considers homosexuality a "sin," to discuss "gay rights."

The official demonstration leaflet is quite clear about the real aims of the organizers: "A demonstration will support lobbying efforts by showing beyond any doubt that a strong gay constituency exists in this nation, a constituency that is politically active and ready to mobilize." The gay liberals hope through the march on Washington to gain recognition as another respectable Democratic Party constituency alongside such notably impotent pressure groups as the black establishment NAACP and the middle-class professional women of NOW.

Gay Democratic leaders doubtless

watched with eager anticipation the marches and rallies organized this summer for the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall riot. It is of course logical that those whose perspective is limited to sectoralist "gay power" will seek to build a constituency in the framework of capitalist electoral politics. But this is not the road to effective struggle against oppression or even for democratic rights. At best such movements can win only token concessions and fragile



Capitalist parties are no friends of the oppressed.

WV Photo

victories which are quickly wiped out when the bourgeois political climate swings toward increasing reaction. Blacks and women who organized on this basis saw their token gains chopped away by the same Democrats and liberal Republicans they supported at the ballot box. On significant issues like busing and the ERA they have met defeat.

It should be obvious that particularly a socially marginal group like homosexuals can never effectively fight their oppression through sectoralist/Democratic Party politics. The witch-hunt for the deviant is far more influenced by the general state of the struggle between classes than by any assumed "show of strength" by homosexuals. It is only the labor movement which has the social power and class interest to defend democratic rights for all the exploited and oppressed, including homosexuals. Beyond that, individuals who seriously want to fight to end homosexual oppression must confront the need to overturn the entire capitalist social system.

Fake-Left Tags Along

A genuine communist organization is obliged to tell the elementary truth: that this march and the movement it represents are a dead end for the oppressed.

Yet the opportunists of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), who claim that such movements are the road to revolution, will be dutifully tagging along behind the Democrats in Washington. Posturing as the angriest and most militant variant of "gay power," the RSL seeks recognition as the "revolutionary" wing of a movement which cannot transcend liberalism. When RSLers presented a motion at a planning conference for the march in

Houston last June, proposing that Democratic and Republican Party politicians not be allowed to address the demonstration, it was overwhelmingly defeated. In Chicago they were thrown out of the planning committee for the march by a bloc of gay bar owners and Democratic Party politicians. But never mind—the RSL considers itself part of the same "gay movement" as the Democrats and has therefore decided to give the march a left tail. In New York the RSL has established its own organizing committee for the march after roping in some members of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA).

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which used to try to present itself as "the best builders" of the gay movement, has cynically dumped this rhetoric in its recently executed "turn" to the labor bureaucracy. This means that it has sent its members into the unions to act as errand boys for various "progressive" labor fakers. Having decided that winning friends among such elements will be impossible unless it distances itself from all but the most respectable homosexuality, the SWP has abandoned gays in its rush to embrace the Ed Sadlowskis and Arnold Millers. When gay activists at a February planning conference for the October 14 march put forth a proposal for "full

rights for gay youth, including revision of age-of-consent laws," the SWP went berserk and echoed Anita Bryant's "save the children" hysteria by charging that the backers of the proposal were "primarily adult men who believe they should be unrestricted in having sex with children." The SWP terms the existing age-of-consent laws "historic acquisitions of the working class which should be enforced" (*Militant*, 13 April). Only when the age-of-consent provision was eliminated at a second conference in Houston in June did the SWP endorse the march, thus continuing its long-standing tradition of building a platform for Democratic Party politicians.

Build the Trotskyist Party!

Unlike the oppression of blacks and women, the oppression of homosexuals is not central to the economic functioning of American capitalism and hence is not a strategic question for socialist revolution. But for revolutionaries the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals is inseparable from the struggle for democratic rights for all the oppressed. From its inception in 1966 the Spartacist League has demanded full democratic rights for homosexuals. In 1977 we solidarized with the protests against Anita Bryant and warned against the pollyannas who hailed her hate campaign because it drew "attention" to the issue. We sought to mobilize California labor against the Briggs initiative in 1978. As communists we support all legislation aimed at eliminating discrimination against gays, while warning against reliance on capitalist politicians. Above all we seek to mobilize the labor movement as a powerful force for defending the democratic rights of all the oppressed.

In 1977 the SL fused with a group of homosexual communists based in Los Angeles, the Red Flag Union (RFU). The RFU rejected the overtures of the RSL and SWP, who appealed to them with the same "gay liberation" politics the RFUers were leaving behind. These comrades were won to the SL's perspective of building a vanguard party which acts as a tribune of the people—a party like the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, which abolished laws against homosexuality and legalized abortion when it came to power in 1917. It is in that tradition that the Spartacist League fights today for a labor-centered defense of democratic rights for homosexuals. ■

Letter

Roosevelt's Democrats: The Dixiecrat Connection

New York City
30 September 1979
Dear WV,

The article "Andrew Young: Expendable" (*WV* No. 239, 14 September) speaks of "the old black/Jewish/liberal/labor coalition" as "the key to Democratic electoral predominance" since Roosevelt in the 1930s. This is but a partial analysis of the political bases of Roosevelt's Democratic Party, one which might give the false impression that the New Deal involved liberal reforms for black rights.

A key component of the New Deal coalition was the Jim Crow South. Roosevelt transformed the Democrats into the dominant party precisely because he was able to combine the party's traditional solid base in the white-supremacist South with the working-class ethnic groups, including the blacks, in the North.

One of the major changes in American politics in the 1930s was the accession to national political power, especially in Congress, of the Southern Democratic leaders. Roosevelt's vice president from 1933 to 1940 was Texas party boss John Nance Garner, a typical representative of the Jim Crow establishment. It was in the New Deal period that hard-line racists like Sam Rayburn, James Eastland and Strom Thurmond became powers in Congress. Lyndon Johnson always paid homage to FDR, legitimately so, as his political big daddy.

The New Deal did absolutely nothing about institutionalized segregation and racist terror in the South. This is graphically illustrated by the fate of the 1934 anti-lynching bill. This bill was killed in Congress by a Southern filibuster, when Roosevelt refused to put

his weight behind it. In 1935 the NAACP's organ, *Crisis*, wrote that Negroes "ought to realize by now that the powers-that-be in the Roosevelt administration have nothing for them" (quoted in William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* [1963]). In FDR's 13 years in office not a single piece of civil rights legislation was passed.

It was only after World War II that a certain rift opened between the Northern liberal and Southern wings of the Democratic Party, which led to the Dixiecrat (States Rights) secession in 1948. But this difference was soon patched up, as it always is. In 1952 the running mate of liberal darling Adlai Stevenson was a Jim Crow Dixiecrat, John Sparkman of Alabama. Thus, when Teddy Kennedy embraces George Wallace he is not at all betraying or even retreating from the traditions of Rooseveltian liberalism; he is genuinely continuing to uphold them.

Comradely,
J. Seymour

Alice and Jane at City Hall

CHICAGO—When a disgruntled rank and file elected Alice Peurala president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 65 here last April, some may have hoped that they were at last getting a scrappy president who would fight the company. Peurala, long a supporter of the "Steelworkers Fight Back" team of self-proclaimed "rebel" bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, advertised herself during the election as "tougher" than incumbent president John Chico, who enjoyed the support of "Oil Can Eddie" himself. Behind her narrow victory lies a growing dissatisfaction on the part of steel workers in the union's Chicago-Gary District 31 with the incumbent Sadlowski bureaucrats. Their fake-militant posturing has in practice proved no different from the sellout policies of the McBride-led International.

The election of a woman president of the key 8,000-member U.S. Steel Southworks local drew national press attention. The *New York Times* (18 June) wrote favorably of the "51-year-old maverick [who] is still angry and is still fighting...." And the social-democratic *In These Times* (16-22 May) hailed Peurala's election as "pathbreaking for women" and "a victory for tough-minded trade unionism and relentless union democracy." The *ITT* article cited her reputation as a long-time leftist, noting that she drew inspiration from "Farrell Dobbs, the Trotskyist mastermind of Teamster organizing." The new president of USWA Local 65 is indeed a long-time friend of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and supporter of SWP-endorsed causes. But in the April elections these ex-Trotskyist social democrats couldn't make up their minds between Peurala and Chico, labeling both "progressives."

In the plant, Peurala's reputation as an independent militant rested upon such stands as her past support to the right to strike, presently denied to steel workers under the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)



Jim Balanoff

WV Photo



Jane Byrne

Lowenthal/Newsweek



Ed Sadlowski

WV Photo



Alice Peurala

WV Photo

negotiated by the ultra-conservative McBride bureaucracy of the USWA. However, her militancy was never more than skin-deep. She was and is committed to enforcing the ENA "at least" until its expiration, and is unwilling to actually strike over even such vital local issues as a foundry closing at Southworks. Moreover, a recent caper with Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has worn this veneer of verbal militancy so thin that only Peurala's diehard tag-alongs from the reformist left are still cheering.

At issue was a "Mayor's Committee on Collective Bargaining," dreamed up by Byrne ostensibly to draft "impartial" bargaining guidelines for municipal workers. In reality this committee lends support to the no-strike legislation and sub-standard contracts with which the mayor intends to saddle city workers. The weakening of Chicago's notorious patronage system, a development likely to hasten unionization, comes at the same time that Byrne is hot to cut the city budget through layoffs. Thus it is not surprising that, in the words of the committee chairman, her honor "has made it clear that she wants a no-strike provision" in the ordinance. Appointed to the committee in July along with Peurala were two other token "labor

representatives"—William Lee, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Charles Hayes of the United Food and Commercial Workers (formerly Meatcutters)—to sit with a bevy of corporate lawyers, city managers and an Inland Steel executive.

From the War Production Board of World War II to Jimmy Carter's Council on Wage-Price Stability, government-sponsored joint "labor-management boards" are invariably mechanisms for replacing a real labor fight on the picket lines with sell-out deals around the conference tables. But in the case of the mayor's committee the seat got a little too hot when Byrne blabbed to the press about her plans to lay off hundreds of city workers, end payment of "prevailing rate" wages to skilled tradesmen and dictate a no-strike clause. She went on to attack city workers as incorrigible loafers who steal from the taxpayer by "abusing" their three (!) paid sick days per year. So on September 14 Peurala and CFL head Lee stomped off the committee after reading a statement denouncing the mayor's recent actions. Nowhere did the statement mention disagreement with the no-strike provision or principled opposition to collaboration on labor-

management boards. And for good reason. Peurala can't truly stand for the right to strike for city workers without raising this spectre in the USWA, where she is committed to enforcing the no-strike ENA.

Meanwhile, back at Local 65 Peurala's waltz with the anti-union mayor was causing a stir. At the August 8 local meeting members of the Trade Union Action League, a group supported by the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist (CPUSA/M-L), introduced a motion demanding that Peurala withdraw from the mayor's committee. The motion was duly voted down by the Local 65 officialdom and their left toadies. But soon after Peurala's walkout, on September 19 a rank-and-filer put up a motion specifying that "no member or official of Local 65 shall serve on the Mayor's Committee... now or in the future." Local 65 members report that supporters of the SWP, the Communist Party and Communist Labor Party all blocked with Peurala and conservative fans of USWA president McBride to defeat this motion. A vote *against* prohibiting participation in this class-collaborationist committee is clearly a vote *for* the role of the trade-

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Rouge Workers Demand: Fire KKK-Hooded Foremen!

DETROIT—On September 25 two foremen at the Dearborn Assembly Plant at Ford's sprawling River Rouge complex put on KKK hoods and marched up and down their trim line. Outraged at the sight of these racist scum parading around in Klan garb, dozens of workers in the area walked off the line. Subsequently over *one thousand* members of the Rouge United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 demanded in a petition:

"1. That the local union demand the unconditional firing of [general foreman Tim] McKulen and [foreman Fred] Beinke and mobilize to insure these foremen are driven from the plant and the auto industry; and
"2. No reprisals against workers who protested against working under these racists."

The petition was enormously popular. Workers changing shifts waited in line to sign at the table at Gate 5A, while in the plant the petitions were passed eagerly from hand to hand at lunch

tables. Militant workers voiced their sentiments that the issue should be settled "in the parking lot," and many were astonished that these foremen had made it out of the plant at all. The petitions were delivered to the union local hall on Wednesday, October 3, by a delegation of black and white local members, including both skilled tradesmen and production workers.

The Klan hood is the symbol of bloody, night-riding terror against black people and trade unionists. Many older black workers were among those most eager to sign the petition, as many are from the South and bitterly remember the lynchings and cross burnings. But the Klan's terror is not confined to the South. In the 1930s, the Michigan Klan, the Black Legion, went after not only black people and Catholics, but also union organizers. While in the daytime foremen and company goons like Ford's "service men" under that arch anti-labor thug Harry Bennett hunted

down, fired and beat up CIO organizers, at night they were flogged and sometimes killed by the Black Legion. This is what the Klan was organizing for.

Elementary self-defense demands that the labor movement organize to smash the KKK wherever it appears. While the petition explicitly called for the union to reject any deals with the company that would allow these foremen to continue working anywhere in the industry, the union leadership has allowed one foreman, Fred Beinke, to continue to work in the trim area. The general foreman, Tim McKulen, has not dared to set foot in the plant since the incident, but he has not been fired. If these foremen stay, it can only encourage fascist outfits like the KKK to venture out more boldly with acts of intimidation and terror.

Ford management, of course, is filled with racists; every woman in the plant can tell stories about sexual harassment from foremen. Rouge workers should

be under no illusions that firing one or two racists will alter the horrible working conditions, grueling overtime and constant harassment by management in the plants. These conditions can only be addressed by fighting to build a militant, class-struggle leadership in the union. When the UAW traded the right to strike over shop-floor issues for the present grievance procedure, it gave up one of its most powerful weapons against abuse by management. Unquestionably a powerful and vigilant union would have dealt with McKulen and Beinke's provocation right on the spot!

One of the initiators of the petition, Frank Hicks, a member of Local 600 told *WV*: "Only last year the Nazis opened a headquarters just minutes from Rouge in southwest Detroit. They razor-slashed a woman attending a meeting of an anti-Nazi committee set up by our Local; they harassed people in the neighborhood. Just last week it

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Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism!

This fall the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has launched a nationwide forum series, part of a recruitment drive initiated at the SYL national conference last April (see "Let's Go Out and Recruit a Couple Hundred More Members!" *Young Spartacus*, May 1979). Bringing the program of revolutionary Trotskyism to outlying cities and college towns, SYL spokesmen are trailblazing up the Pacific coast and across the Midwest, visiting scores of cities including Eugene, Oregon, Bloomington, Indiana and Pittsburgh, Pa. Kicking off the series in New York September 15, Spartacist League (SL) Central Committee member Joseph Seymour and laid-off Detroit Chrysler worker Mike Adams gave a forum entitled "Hate Carter, Hate Capitalism," focusing on the mounting economic crisis and the tasks facing labor and the communist vanguard.

Comrade Seymour began by pointing out how the ruling class has reacted differently to the present crisis than in the past:

"During the Great Depression of 1929-33, every month hundreds of thousands more workers were unemployed and went on welfare; farmers plowed under food to drive up the prices. And every month Herbert Hoover got on radio and said, 'This is temporary, prosperity is around the corner. Very soon every American will have a car in every pot and a chicken in every garage' [laughter].

"In economically the worst year in American history, Franklin D. Roosevelt is inaugurated as president and says: 'the only thing people have to fear is fear itself.' Now, that doesn't mean anything—but even in so far that it has sort of meaningless meaning, it's wrong. There is a lot to fear in the real world, just the idea that for hundreds of thousands of people their children would grow up malformed because they didn't get enough to eat."

But today, noted the speaker, the rhetoric of the capitalist politicians differs sharply from past recessions, for today the crisis is confronted "by a ruling class which knows that the American dream is in the past."

"What one gets from Carter is that the economic crisis is god's vengeance visited on the American people for the sin of gluttony. This is from Carter's famous July 15 energy crisis speech: 'In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities and our faith in god, many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption.' Now what's wrong with self-indulgence and consumption?"

Relating the current sharp downturn (as well as the 1974-76 crisis) to the loss

SL spokesman Joseph Seymour, left, with UAW militant Mike Adams at New York City forum.



WV Photo

of hegemony of U.S. imperialism, Seymour remarked that the American ruling class had emerged from World War II as the dominant capitalist power but has since frittered that advantage away. Thus today American capitalists re-invest a far smaller percentage of their economic surplus than do Japan or West Germany. He cited the case of U.S. Steel which was planning to build its first new steel plant in 25 years (!) but just canceled out, because of lack of profits and worries that it wouldn't be profitable with the oncoming economic crisis.

In the face of the capitalist attack, Seymour noted the total passivity of the U.S. trade-union bureaucracy, but that American workers were seething with anger particularly over the gas crisis. He characterized last summer's Levittown, Pa. riot where a gas station was burned down as "a contemporary equivalent to an eighteenth century food riot in France or Britain." Much of the left's response has been to turn to the ecology movement, he said. And while standing aghast at the SL's advocacy of technology, they are apparently oblivious that they fit right in with Carter's austerity program. The speaker also pointed to the class bias and hypocrisy of the ecology movement which rails about the possibility of nuclear accidents, but says nothing about the thousands of coal miners who spew their guts out with black-lung disease. And while they weep over seagulls destroyed in oil spills, "they have yet to complain about the significant percentage of Canadian

forest cut down every year to produce the *New York Times*, undoubtedly destroying the habitat of the woodpecker."

Turning to the response of the labor movement, comrade Seymour focused on the situation of the Detroit auto workers, already hit by tens of thousands of layoffs as a result of economic crisis:

"We raised the demand for a sitdown at Dodge Main. It's a militant trade-union demand well within the framework of the UAW's own history. Yet all of the various left groups would have nothing to do with it, because the bureaucracy didn't like it. They realized it was a confrontation with the company, with the government, an attack on private property and therefore potentially explosive."

The response of the union leadership was to ask for a government handout:

"The UAW bureaucracy—sort of crypto-social democrats, in their fantasies they conceive of themselves like the British trade unionists—typically came up with a proposal for the government to give Chrysler a subsidy in exchange for government ownership of some of the shares, in other words partial nationalization."

And in the usual fashion the response of the reformist left was to go the bureaucrats one better and call for full nationalizations.

"It may seem to be a small question," noted the speaker, "but behind that is the difference between revolutionary and reformist socialism." Nationalization of bankrupt companies is not very common in the U.S., but in Britain it is the standard response of Labourite reformists. In fact, he pointed out such demands are popular even with sectors of the capitalists because the owners often get more than if they liquidated. Moreover, as a result of nationalizing the least-efficient competitors, the state-owned companies are often more exploitative than private corporations:

"The end result of a couple of decades of Labourite reformism in Britain is that the British standard of living, at the end of World War II the highest in Western Europe, is now worse than Spain."

Comrade Seymour pointed out that the reformist solution dragged the working class down with the declining bourgeoisie:

"We're not in the business of preserving inefficient industrial operations. At the same time we have a responsibility to the workers who work there to get them the best deal possible. We have an alternative: No government handouts! If the company's going bankrupt, let the workers seize the assets! Take it over, sell them and take the money. Nothing to the banks, nothing to the stockholders—and a rather nice 'severance pay' achieved in a militant, and

within a tactical framework, a revolutionary manner."

The second speaker at the Columbia forum was Mike Adams, a member of UAW Local 140 recently laid off from the Dodge Truck plant in Detroit. Adams pointed out that he belonged to a generation of young auto workers whose only experience of militant labor struggle was the miners' strike of 1978, and which barely knew of the traditions of the Flint sit-down strike. "The consciousness of the UAW has been eroded," he said, "up to the point where even leftist groups talk about 'informational picket lines'—the ones that are supposedly 'okay to cross.' There was a time when you crossed a picket line, you got your legs broken." So how did that situation come to be? Adams pointed to the red purges of the 1940s, where everyone who went up against the company or had a political "record" was kicked out of the union. "And it's the Cold War bureaucracy that's still running the show," he said.

Because the union, which speaks endlessly of "dignity for the members," doesn't defend the workers, Adams noted, the UAW has become known for wildcat strikes:

"The truth is, the wildcat strike is the weapon of last resort, when you fail to get the union to fight for you, you take things into your own hands. But nine out of ten times with wildcat strikes you lose.

"However, in '73 instead of the usual wildcats, they had a few sit-down strikes and they won. The UAW bureaucracy was somewhat shaken. It had to congratulate these people on their initiative [laughter].... And they decided this kind of thing is not going to happen again.

"At Dodge Truck, where I was working, there was a wildcat in '74. There were 1,000 people on the picket line for five days. The judge came in and he sat on the back of a pick-up truck where he held his trials. Court injunction after court injunction, fine after fine—and the whole local leadership was complicit in this. These are the people that are supposed to defend your rights."

Adams called for a class-struggle opposition within the UAW "based on an understanding that this is the companies' government, that the Democratic Party is no friend of labor, that we have to build a workers party":

"It's got to be an opposition that speaks to the special oppression of both blacks and women, that's capable of taking up fights, like one of the fights I waged in my union, to mobilize the union to kick the Nazis out of Detroit."

"What makes a class-struggle opposition different?" he asked. "When the miners strike happened in '78, in Britain or France it would have been spontaneous for other unions to have gone out on strike as soon as the Taft-Hartley Act was invoked. It didn't happen here. And the only people who called for it were people like myself, supporters of *Workers Vanguard*." Adams compared this class-struggle program with the gimmicks of various reformist fake-militants. He pointed out that he had fought for sit-down strikes against layoffs, and got a hearing among his fellow workers:

"I got people to go to union meetings who hadn't been to a meeting in five years.... And it was a real lesson for these guys I work with to see the so-called 'oppositionists' get up and not only *not* be in favor of a sit-down strike, but actively oppose it. They did the work of the bureaucracy for the bureaucracy."

What Program for Chrysler?

The discussion period which followed was marked by a heated exchange over
continued on page 10



WV Photo

Judge issues injunction from pickup truck in 1974 strike at Dodge Truck. 6,000 workers stayed out anyway.

Fake-Lefts Can't Wash Hands of Khomeini's Crimes

OCTOBER 9—It has been more than seven months since Iran's "Islamic Revolution" launched its savage assault on all those who oppose Ayatollah Khomeini's "one party of god." The Iranian left has had its offices wrecked, its press banned, its militants arrested, tortured and shot. The Kurdish rebels have been driven out of the towns and into the hills in the wake of ruthless bombing attacks on the entire Kurdish population.

More than 100 Kurdish prisoners have been executed. Arab nationalists continue to be sent before firing squads. The threat of death still hangs over the 14 members of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party (HKS). Not only were two members of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party executed, but it has been reported that two teenaged sympathizers of the Fedayeen guerrillas were publicly *be-headed* in Teheran on August 26.

Meanwhile, despite all of its ranting and raving about Zionist and American conspiracies, the Islamic regime is resuming the shah's military alliance with U.S. imperialism. In August it was revealed that Teheran was negotiating the delivery of some of the \$5 billion in arms ordered by the shah. On October 5 it was announced that the U.S. was shipping spare parts for Khomeini's F-4 and F-5 jet fighters. Defense Minister Mostafa Chamran even raised the possibility of using foreign military advisors.

Khomeini has not yet administered a decisive defeat to the Iranian working class. Unrest among the oppressed nationalities and massive unemployment stand in the way of the regime's stabilization. On October 2, for example, 1,500 unemployed demonstrated in Teheran, shouting "Death to the fascist regime," and "Death to the Islamic government"—only one of a series of such demonstrations. Khomeini's freikorps, the Revolutionary Guards, opened fire on the protesters.

Yet, facing class battles of life-and-death importance, the Iranian proletariat stands leaderless. The Iranian left was essentially routed in August, hamstrung by six months of capitulation to the "Islamic Revolution." Having hailed Khomeini's victory and supported the mullahs as an "anti-imperialist" force, not one among them made any kind of fight for proletarian opposition to the new regime of clerical medievalism.

Fake Trotskyists Squirm

The ostensibly Trotskyist groups have been caught in the most excruciating contradiction. It hasn't been easy reconciling their opportunist tailing of a Muslim holy war—that announced its Persian chauvinist, anti-communist and socially reactionary program from the very start—with their pretensions to stand for the program of permanent revolution.

The former European majority of the so-called "United Secretariat" (USec) around Ernest Mandel, now decomposing at an awesome rate, initially reacted to the regime's August offensive by acting as if it had never supported Khomeini. The French section, for example, wrote of "a vast white terror campaign against the movement of the national minorities and the workers movement" (*Rouge*, 24-30 August). Even more dramatically, the British International Marxist Group (IMG) proclaimed in a back-page spread that "Khomeini has become the Shah of



Khomeini's "Revolutionary Guards" promise: "We will do to the Kurds what Hitler and Eichmann did to the Jews." This is the "Iranian Revolution" supported by the fake lefts.

Iran" (*Socialist Challenge*, 30 August). What next? Had the bloody massacre in Kurdistan and police-state repression in Teheran finally driven the inveterate impressionists to their senses? Not the IMG.

By their very next issue these miserable centrists had had time to reflect. They had put themselves in an embarrassing contradiction. Hadn't IMG leader Brian Grogan hailed Khomeini and chanted "god is great" during his visit to Iran last spring? By tailing the mullahs they shared some of the responsibility for putting the "new shah" in power. So the IMG wrote a polemic—against itself (although this was coyly left unstated). The 6 September issue of *Socialist Challenge* announced: "Has Khomeini replaced Mohammed Reza Pahlavi as the new Shah of Iran? We think not." In defense of this flip-flop, all of the now-familiar alibis are regurgitated:

"Khomeini...rode to power on the crest of a mass movement unequalled in this century.... He was, to be sure, in the leadership of this movement; but the movement was not Khomeini.... "But the expectations of the masses remain, and these expectations run counter to the type of society which Khomeini/Bazargan want to rebuild—a capitalist society. The dynamic of the movement which led to the fall of the Shah cannot be appeased."

A similar mixture of cynicism and objectivism can be found in the statements of the misnamed "Bolshevik Tendency" led by Nahuel Moreno, currently posturing as the left conscience of the USec. The Morenoites also informed us that "...the destruction of the monarchy and the struggle against American imperialism are the first steps of a great workers and peoples revolution.... It has already won its place among the great revolutions of this century, comparable in importance

to the prolonged Indochinese Revolution" (*Opción*, April 1979).

Of course the Morenoites were quick to add that, in addition to "populist methods," Khomeini also applied "provocation and violence" against the left and the workers. But this was purely a secondary matter, for *Opción* further declares that the "imam" is "closer to the types of 'bonapartism sui generis' regimes typical of Latin America than to the 'Westernism' of the National Front." This bizarre extension of Trotsky's term for bourgeois nationalist regimes in the colonial world which attracted working-class support became in Moreno's hands the theoretical "justification" for political support to various Latin American bourgeois rulers: first Perón, then the Peruvian junta and finally Torrijos of Panama. Now it is used to justify crawling before the clerical-feudalist Khomeini.

Unlike the chaotic centrists of the British IMG, the hardened reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) were not unduly alarmed by Khomeini's bloody offensive—in fact, they said it was actually a good thing. The ayatollah's repression, they tell us, was carried out "from a position of relative weakness. While the regime will surely inflict some setbacks on the workers movement, its repressive moves today are creating the conditions for a major class confrontation and a political break by the working masses from the Khomeini-Bazargan regime" (*Militant*, 7 September).

As Trotsky pointed out to the Stalinist advocates for the Kuomintang, every bourgeois formation with a plebeian base betrays the masses' hopes. The Iranian proletariat has no need of a "vanguard" which "discovers" its enemies *after* they have begun butchering

leftists and workers, and then announces this is really a "victory" because the reactionaries have been unmasked.

The HKS, apt pupils of the SWP's school for social-democratic parliamentary cretins, further demonstrates the political cowardice behind the USec's "the movement is everything—the goal nothing" position. They plead with their executioners that they are not Khomeini's enemies. The 6 September Teheran daily *Ettela'at* contained a summary of an HKS statement:

"The HKS reiterated that its main task has always been to patiently explain its program, which is set forth in its Bill of Rights for Workers and Toilers, a list of proposals for the new constitution. "The HKS is not an armed organization and never has been, nor are its members armed. Moreover, they are completely opposed to violence."

—quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 17 September

There is no room for such a social-democratic "loyal opposition" to Khomeini in Iran today. For Khomeini, the only good Marxist is a dead Marxist. This kind of bowing and scraping will not save the HKSers from the executioner's sword. Defending the lives of the HKS members is sacrificed to defending Khomeini. The USec's defense has been so meager, so legalistic, because it wants to take exception to Khomeini's repression without openly opposing his regime. That is why there has been a systematic exclusion and slander campaign against the only consistent left-wing opponents of the mullahs, the international Spartacist tendency.

In defending its opportunist capitulation to Khomeini the USec is criminally complicit in the possible executions of its own comrades. As the blade descends the USec will not be permitted to use their corpses as shields against our revolutionary criticism. ■

SWP Abandons Wayne State Forum to SL

Iran, They Ran

At Wayne State University in Detroit on September 27 students witnessed the strange sight of Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members running away from their forum. Political cowardice was dramatically demonstrated as the SWP—faced with having to answer for its criminal support to the Iranian "Islamic Revolution" which is murdering national minorities, striking workers, women fighting for their rights, leftists—fled its own meeting.

The forum was part of a tour to publicize the defense of 14 arrested members of the SWP's fraternal group in Iran, the HKS (Socialist Workers Party). Having hailed and tailed the mullah-led movement which put the HKS's jailers in power, the SWP subordinates its defense of the HKS to its defense of the Ayatollah Khomeini. And since the Spartacist League (SL) was unique on the left in warning that the mullahs' victory would produce a regime just as reactionary as the shah's, the SWP has systematically sought to exclude SL supporters from meetings and demonstrations purportedly called to defend the HKS.

The featured speaker for the present

tour, HKS member Farhad Nouri, had come to Wayne State from San Francisco, where the SL had set up a picket line to protest the exclusion of Spartacist supporters from the SWP meeting there (see "Mullah Lovers' Exclusion Backfires," *WV* No. 240, 28 September 1979). Amnesty International's Kay Boyle and Daniel Ellsberg, two featured speakers at the San Francisco meeting, had respected the SL's picket line, touching off a hysterical anti-Spartacist polemic in the SWP's *Militant*.

Liberals have plenty of illusions, but at least they have no illusion that the coming to power of a Persian chauvinist Shi'ite theocracy was a "victory" for the Iranian masses. They do not believe it is a victory that "revolutionary guards" stone unveiled women and shoot adulterers. And they may not agree with the SL's proletarian revolutionary program, but they respect those who told the bitter truth about what the mullahs' victory would mean. The SWP wants to appeal to liberal sentiment in its HKS "defense" campaign, but as the irrefutable evidence of Khomeini's white terror mounts, liberals have no more affection for the "Islamic Republic" than do

Trotskyists. Clearly, the SWP's disarray in Detroit was generated by the growing popularity of the SL's principled line on Iran.

Perhaps the Lester Maddox social democrats who run the Detroit SWP were also belatedly embarrassed over their racist policy of excluding black Spartacist supporters from "public" forums. So this time, no political exclusionism was attempted. Instead another tactic for suppression was tried, with hilarious results. Just as Nouri got out the last word of his speech, the chairman rose to "thank you all for coming" and the SWPers got up to go. The audience, annoyed after having paid for a discussion, demanded one. The SWPers bolted for the door, scrambling over each other. Some 35 people remained in the room after the SWP's headlong flight and the discussion continued for well over an hour. One Iranian woman put it well: "I wanted to ask them if they support Khomeini—it seems like they do but I couldn't be sure."

Three days later in Chicago, it was back to the old tactics, with a goon squad of 30 SWPers blocking all

STOP EXECUTION OF
SOCIALISTS IN IRAN!



WV Photo

Where have all the cowards gone?
SWP flees own forum, Wayne State Univ., September 27.

entrances to the hotel where Nouri was speaking. A statement run off on the back of the forum announcement was filled with the usual slanders of the thief calling the victim thief. But it is the SWP which has "disrupted" its defense rallies through anti-communist exclusionism of the SL. It is the SWP which has placed "factional hatred of another political party above the need for solidarity" with Khomeini's victims by physically barring the SL from demonstrations. The SWP's slanderous charges of "sabotage" and "provocation" are a cynical cover for *SWP sabotage* of defense of the Iranian left and *SWP provocations* against the SL. The only "defense" threatened by the SL is the SWP's political defense of Persian clerical reactionaries!

Class treachery cannot be defended in open political debate. Caught out with the blood of Iranian leftists and minorities on its hands, the SWP must resort to political suppression and physical intimidation. The flip side of the political cowardice shown by the SWP at Wayne State is gangsterism, and the drumbeat that prepares the way for physical violence is slander.

There are plenty of indications that the SWP is looking for a chance to physically confront the SL. At the SWP national convention at Oberlin last August, the SWP's response to our literature sales team was truly a provocation. On the third day of the convention, the SWP initiated "defense" squads lining the entrance to the main conference area. A couple of ex-SLers now in or around the SWP and present at the convention were escorted through the halls by bodyguards. Clearly, the SWP ranks were supposed to get the impression that the SL is an organization of violent crazies apt to maul someone in the heat of political polemic. Most recently, at an SWP forum in New York City on October 6, the audience was told that an intimidating SWP goon squad was required because of the possibility of an SL "disruption." The "disruption," of course, never took place, but the groundwork was laid for the SWP to plead self-defense in any confrontation of the future.

These Stalinist methods only expose the SWP. The SL, whose Marxist analysis of Iran receives daily confirmation, will not be silenced, and the norms of workers democracy, so foreign to Khomeini's American fellow travelers, will be upheld. ■

Echoes of Betrayal

There is nothing new about the fake-Trotskyists' alibis for their hosannas to the bloody-minded "holy man" Khomeini. In particular, they often echo the arguments of J. V. Stalin & Co. justifying the Chinese Communists' subordination to the butcher Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang.

In contrast to the mullahs, who are bringing back the veil, Chiang (despite massive war-lordist corruption and cynicism) at least paid lip service to a bourgeois nationalist democratic pro-

gram. The KMT, after all, was opposed to the binding of women's feet! Nonetheless, the arguments are strikingly similar: the Stalinist ideologues argued that the leadership of the Kuomintang was irrelevant because it was a mass plebeian movement. Sound familiar?

But after their tailist policies lead the masses to slaughter, the opportunists' cynical "explanations" are almost word-for-word identical. Following the Shanghai massacre of thousands of

Chinese Communists and workers in 1927, the Great Organizer of Defeats announced that Chiang had now been unmasked as a bourgeois counterrevolutionary, and that this meant that the revolution had "entered a higher phase of its development." So today the revisionists of the United Secretariat explain that the "dynamic of the Iranian Revolution" cannot go backwards, no matter how many leftists, homosexuals and members of national minorities Khomeini kills.



Khomeini's troops execute Kurds.

Reza/Sipa



Chiang's troops behead Communists in 1927.

UPI

"And what about the Kuomintang masses, are they mere 'cattle'? Since when is the attitude to a mass organization determined by what takes place at the 'high' summit!"

—N. I. Bukharin, "The Present Situation in the Chinese Revolution"

"Khomeini, on the other hand, rode to power on the crest of a mass movement unequalled in this century.... It is to this mass movement that Khomeini owes his present position. He was, to be sure, in the leadership of this movement; but the movement was not Khomeini.... The dynamic of the movement which led to the fall of the Shah cannot be appeased."

—International Marxist Group (Britain), *Socialist Challenge*, 6 September 1979

"Of course, Chiang Kai-shek's coup was bound to result in a partial defeat for the workers in a number of areas. But that is merely a partial and temporary defeat. In point of fact, with Chiang Kai-shek's coup, the revolution as a whole has entered a higher phase of development."

—J. V. Stalin, "Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University" (13 May 1927)

"While the regime will surely inflict some setbacks on the workers movement, its repressive moves today are creating the conditions for a major class confrontation and a political break by the working masses from the Khomeini-Bazargan regime."

—Socialist Workers Party (U.S.), *Militant*, 7 September 1979

CORRECTION

In our last issue (*WV* No. 240, 28 September) the article entitled "Revolution in Nicaragua and the Left" contained an editorial error. On p. 10, the left-Peronist publication of Nahuel Moreno in the 1950s is referred to as *Palabra Socialista*; it should have read *Palabra Obrera*.

Guardian Interview...

(continued from page 12)

not required to offer them first refusal hiring, at such time that we reopen the shop. We offered that. Nobody asked us for that. We offered it. We were not required to say at any time in the future, even though we're trying to build an all-staff shop; if we can't do it and if we need to go to commercial help again, we insist that any commercial help that we rehire will be on the basis of the agreement that we worked out. We offered. Nobody twisted our arm to do that. We thought that was fair. What happened was we closed down an operation that was losing money. One of the reasons it was losing money was that it was too big of an operation in terms of labor costs and

and redo some kind of small commercial business as we develop the staff people with the skills to do it. Now, if your position is that replacing the paid \$8-an-hour employee with \$1.50 staff person—in order to do something that produces a surplus to support a newspaper that serves the interest of the workers movement as a whole, if you say that that's a lockout, that that's an anti-worker action, well, then, I think you've got a very strange perception. Whose interest is being served in that?

WV: The problem is when you start hiring labor, then you put yourself in the position of an employer. And when your employees go and unionize, then that puts you in a difficult situation, which is obviously why you came to this agreement with them in the first place. So what happens is basically you've got the situation here where you decided you weren't making enough money, so you cut your losses and keep the operation

WV: I'll just say one thing. You say in here that one of the things you wanted to learn from this firm that you brought in from the outside was the skills for managing a small business. I would say with regard to what's happened here it sounds like you at least learned the first principle.

DL: Which is?

WV: Which is to cut your labor costs by getting rid of unionized workers. That's pretty clear.

DL: That very crazy rhetoric (unclear). If you were at all interested in the facts, it seems to me that you would think about it before you started making statements like that. Do you know anything at all about what it takes to produce a half-a-million-dollar budget for a newspaper like this?

WV: Quite a bit.

DL: It doesn't take just fancy words. It takes hard work; it means learning how to manage a paper, it means learning how to balance books, it means learning how to deal with estimating and pricing and organizing the whole process so that things come out efficiently. It's not easy. And we're not stupid around here. It takes a particular training and a particular skill. It's not crazy to think that if we're talking about being serious revolutionists and we're talking about, really, seizing state power, it does seem kind of elementary to think that the first thing we're going to have to learn about is how actually are we going to run things? How are we going to run propaganda organs? How are we going to operate communications media? We had better learn how to do these things if we are going to take ourselves seriously, and that's what we have to do.

And that's what this whole thing is about.

WV: Well, I think that any organization that thinks it's going to take state power and thinks that the first thing it has to do is learn how to lock out workers—that picket lines here, as you have it, are "left in form, right in essence," isn't going to get very far towards organizing a working class seizure of power, anyway.

DL: Well, it seems to me that people who dogmatically cling to a word that sounds bad in an effort to discredit an organization that they find themselves in political competition with doesn't seem likely to get real far either. You've got all the facts.

WV: Just one other thing. This "left in form, right in essence," was that conscious on your part to link it to the title of your pamphlet on Trotskyism? In other words, are you trying to say that these people, by throwing up a picket line, are essentially the same thing as Trotskyism?

DL: I think what we mean by that is that an error that is ultra-left and is attacking the left in the name of the left, that it objectively weakens the left. It essentially has the same result as does an attack from the right. What is left in form serves the interest of the right, of the bourgeoisie. And that can apply to Trotskyism; it can apply to anarchists and it can apply to all kinds of leftists.

WV: Well, I guess your workers, they were pretty gullible when they made this agreement with you, because I guess they didn't figure it was going to be ultraleft to protect their jobs. Okay. It seems pretty clear.

DL: I think so.

WV: Good-bye.

But as you know... behind it other than our own numbers—20 workers in New York City and comrades, correspondents and stringer writers scattered throughout the world.

Excerpts from Guardian statement.

If this "left" in form, right in essence action against the Guardian simply takes the form of a peaceful picket and anti-Guardian propaganda within the movement, there will be no problem. Guardian workers regard such a picket as reactionary and would enter their workplace. And the Guardian newspaper is perfectly capable of waging an effective propaganda...

We have reason to be "leftists"—who are masq picketing and propaganda from honest leftists as lies and reactionary slanders and reactionaries in production; that they are financially (when the p as they know); that they help us to produce the place their own small Guardian newspaper.

of their demands. Unfortunately, because ultra-"leftism" is all too and unprincipled alliances still abound in our movement, we fully expect that some "left" forces will join forces with this group, behind a veil of "workers' rights" and are accusing Guardian staff members of being "scabs" by belonging to their own political groups. We are putting out the Guardian as they have done collectively and democratically since 1967. Some honest forces may be temporarily misled.

A picket line is a persuasive symbol on the left. But not all picket lines are progressive, as anyone knows who has been picketed by the JDL or antiabortion forces or racist, anticommunist or anti-gay intended to dismantle the Guardian and its picketing and actions.

equipment rental to be paid for by the small amount of commercial business that it was doing. And one reason it was doing a small amount of commercial business was that there was bad management of the shop, which was due to our ineptness and inexperience in running a business enterprise. We had to close down the shop because it was costing us money—\$20,000 in 1978, \$40,000 in 1979. I mean, there is no surplus that is being expropriated from the workers. Rather the shop is taking money from other Guardian sources in order to keep running.

WV: That's true of any small business that's losing money. It's the same thing that Chrysler says, too.

DL: Most small businesses that are losing money do not have a management that is composed of a staff collective all of whom are making about one-fourth of what is paid employees—that's unlike any small business I have ever heard of.

WV: Look, you got yourself in a difficult position here, but look at it as if you were an Israeli kibbutz and you decide that you're not making money on your cannery and then you decide the wages of your Arab employees are too high and you let them go. The point is if you were just closing down the business, that would be one thing. But what you're doing is, you're still doing the work.

DL: We're still producing the newspaper, that's perfectly right.

WV: And trying to do some outside typesetting if you can develop this other thing to do it.

DL: At this point we're not doing any extra outside typesetting. We have our hands full putting out the newspaper. Period. We would like to re-establish

going with people who are working at less wages. And that's a normal business practice which in any other circumstance, presumably you would oppose.

DL: Roberts and Churcher are not employees of the Guardian. They are a business.

WV: Right, you jobbed it out.

DL: We have a special relationship with them, in that they are willing to produce the Guardian for the price they gave us and in such a way that we can reduce the cost of the Guardian in the proportion that we do the work on it, which seems eminently reasonable. If we provide our own labor, then there is no, I mean what is the cost? I mean the value of the thing is the amount of labor put into it, if we supply the labor, it reduces the price. And that's the basic principle involved here.

WV: Well, it's about the first time that I've ever heard the labor theory of value quoted to justify a lockout. It's pretty funny when you look at it that way. And besides, it terms of what you've done concretely, it's just jobbing out the work to this other unit, and then some of your people are going to be used as trainees at the rate that they get normally. Let me ask just a couple of other things. Are these people going to get any severance pay at all?

DL: They had two weeks notice. They were paid in addition to their final paycheck, the value of accumulated but untaken sick days and accumulated but untaken vacation pay that had been made retroactive to when they first started working here. It amounted to several hundred dollars. In addition, the health benefits that we had agreed to in our agreement was voluntarily extended by the Guardian to cover them all through December 31.

Sub Drive Over the Top! Two Weeks to Go!

The five-week *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive has topped the national quota after three weeks. Local committees which have met their quotas may scale down their sub drive work in the final weeks. This year a gold *chervonetz* will be awarded to the comrade with the highest individual point total. Final figures for the drive will be announced in the next issue.

Area	Quota	Points	Percent	Area	Quota	Points	Percent
Berk./Oak.	460	478	104%	Los Angeles	350	347	99%
Boston	190	163	86%	New York	440	468	106%
Chicago	365	367	101%	San Francisco	400	475	119%
Cleveland	220	221	100%	At-Large	25	21	86%
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USWA Local Calls Rally to Defend Keith Anwar

CHICAGO—Members of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 1010 voted unanimously at a local meeting October 4 to sponsor a rally "to affirm our support for the right of a union member to refuse to cross a picketline." This will be a big boost to the ongoing struggle to win back the job of Keith Anwar, a Local 1010 member fired for honoring a USWA picket line at the plant last spring. With Anwar's arbitration date tentatively set for November 1, the campaign is entering the crucial stage and enthusiasm for this fight to defend militant labor traditions is spreading rapidly.

Anwar was fired from his job at Inland Steel Company in East Chicago last May for honoring the lines of USWA Local 8180 members who work on a contract basis in the plant. Local 1010 represents most of Inland's 18,000-strong workforce. The Anwar case is crucial because the picket line question goes to the heart of defending the union against company attacks. Inland has arrogantly refused to answer protests over Anwar's firing because they rightly fear that other workers will follow his example. Once steel workers honor picket lines, it's only a short step to mounting their own strikes to stop escalating layoffs, arbitrary plant closures and other attacks on the USWA.

The Local 1010 motion, calling for a rally to reaffirm that the union stands behind any member fired for honoring a picket line, highlights long-established union traditions. But the companies want steel workers to think that what's good for the miners is not for them. As



Keith Anwar (left): union militant fired for honoring picket line.

the Keith Anwar Defense Committee stated in an appeal to the membership last July: "In the struggle to get his job back Anwar's not just fighting for his livelihood. He's fighting an attack on the union's strongest weapon, the strike, and for the right of the trade union movement to protect its strikes—to have picket lines no one crosses."

The Local 1010 rally will be the most visible expression so far of the considerable union support which has built up for Anwar. The Inland local also passed a resolution in his defense last summer, as did Local 65 at U.S. Steel Southworks in Chicago, while the USWA District 31 conference unanimously pledged to "defend all union members victimized for honoring picket lines." In addition the Keith Anwar Defense Committee has received endorsements from dozens of union officials, as well

as letters of support for Anwar's reinstatement from Ed Sadlowski and most recently Local 65 president Alice Peurala.

Rank-and-file steel workers have pitched in to build the fight, as shown by the over \$1,200 and more than 350 endorsements collected by the Defense Committee. Also, some 500 postcards addressed to the union, reading "I support Keith Anwar's fight to get his job back and urge the union to do whatever it can to win this case," have been signed by workers from Locals 1010, 65 and 1014 in Gary, Indiana and circulated to the Inland local and District 31 offices.

Unfortunately, reports Anwar, the USWA International has not yet made a firm commitment to take the case to the scheduled arbitration hearing. At the same meeting which voted the defense

rally, Inland steel workers overwhelmingly passed a motion affirming that "Local 1010 urges the International to insure that the picket-line grievance of Keith Anwar is arbitrated." One Local official explained at the meeting, Anwar told *WV*, that this grievance is particularly significant because it sets a precedent regarding the right to honor picket lines.

The Keith Anwar Defense Committee reports that support from trade unionists and *Workers Vanguard* supporters around the country has been more than generous. *WV* urges all its readers to continue to send contributions and statements of support to the Committee at: Box 7914, Chicago, IL 60680. "Now if ever is the time for the ranks to come out in support of my reinstatement and the traditions of militant unionism," Anwar told us. "I invite steel workers to come to the rally at the union hall, and let's get together to beat the company." ■

Steel Workers: Join the Rally

7:00 p.m.

Wednesday, October 17

Germano Hall

(Local 1010 Union Hall)

3703 Euclid Avenue
East Chicago, Indiana

SYL Demo at NYU Drives Moonies Crazy

"War Criminal Bundy Off Campus!"

Chants of "Hey, hey, what do you say, U.S. out of Guantánamo Bay!" and "War criminals off campus!" rang out at New York University October 2 as the Spartacus Youth League mounted a militant protest against the appointment of former national security adviser McGeorge Bundy to an academic post here. The demonstrators also chanted "Bloody Bundy you can't hide, we charge you with genocide!" And as a 50-strong picket line circled in front of NYU's Bobst Library, hundreds of students, drawn by the spirited chanting, looked on and listened to speeches by Professor Bertell Ollman and the SL/SYL. Ollman noted that by NYU's criteria the shah of Iran would be a good candidate for a teaching post.

The NYU administration is honoring Bundy, who masterminded U.S. policy in Vietnam for presidents Kennedy and Johnson, with an appointment in the history department. An SYL leaflet announcing the October 2 demonstration brought to light Bundy's "credentials" for such a post: "Bundy was the No. 1 author of U.S. imperialism's strategy of 'air and naval action' against the North—carpet bombing, napalming villages, the mining of harbors and the bombing of dikes." As one sign at the

demonstration proclaimed, "No Academic Post Can Wipe the Blood Off Bundy's Hands!" Today Bundy is once again in the forefront of U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet bloc, having been appointed to Carter's committee of "wise men" on the "Soviet/Cuban military threat."

Coming on the heels of President Carter's nationally televised speech on Soviet troops in Cuba, the SYL demonstration included signs demanding "Carter/Bundy: Hands Off Cuba!" and "Sink SALT! Defend Cuba and the USSR!" Speakers from the Spartacist League and SYL emphasized the urgent need for unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, while calling for workers political revolution to throw out the parasitic ruling bureaucracies which endanger that defense by banking on the chimera of "détente" with imperialism. SYL speakers also distinguished their protest against U.S. imperialism and its braintrusts from Ollman's argument against Bundy's appointment for his lack of "scholarship." A Spartacist sign proclaimed, "Give Bundy the Kissinger Treatment!", recalling the 1977 campaign led by the SYL which was instrumental in driving the ex-Harvard-



SYL demonstrators give Bundy "the Kissinger treatment" at October 2 protest.

don-cum-war-criminal off Columbia University when he was offered a post there.

For many of the two dozen independent NYU students who joined the picket line it was their first political protest. An occasional tense moment was provided by a squad of 15 professional provocateurs from the "Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles," a front group of Sun Myung Moon's anti-communist cult closely linked with the Korean CIA, which was on hand seeking a "rumble." Burly trade unionists in solidarity with the SL/SYL thwarted their intentions as the picketers drowned out the Moonies' howls of "SYL-KGB" and "Communists off campus" with the chants, "Crazy Moonies, they may pray, but they're running dogs for the CIA!" and "Down with the Moonies! For a united socialist Korea!"

The SYL-led demonstration received front-page treatment in NYU's *Washington Square News* and was also covered by the *Villager*, a local weekly. An editorial in the NYU paper expressed concern that the SYL was endangering "academic freedom." But as SYL spokesman Oliver Stephens pointed out in a broadcast interview over radio station WBAI, the real question is responsibility for imperialist war crimes: "People who like to clothe themselves in academia, like Bundy, serve a function of being the ideological armorers and policy makers and shapers for the American bourgeoisie." WBAI also interviewed passers-by, including one woman who deplored the fact that more students didn't show up and opined of Bundy, "I think he should have his hands and feet bound and be ridden down the river." ■

Spartacus Youth League

**Campus-Wide Meeting
Open Mike
Bundy: War Criminal or
"Asset" to NYU?**

Monday, Oct. 15
NYU Loeb Student Center
4:30 p.m.

**Demonstrate!
Stop Military Recruiters
at NYU!
Drive Bundy Off Campus!**

Tuesday, Oct. 16
NYU Loeb Student Center
12:00 Noon

Hate Carter...

(continued from page 5)

the situation facing Chrysler workers and demands to be raised by class-struggle militants. Several social democrats in the audience argued that nationalization of Chrysler was the key demand. One claimed that seizing the company's assets was "to have the workers act in a petty-bourgeois way, in the words of the first speaker, 'to get a better deal.'" The answer, he said, was "expropriation under trade-union control." To this Comrade Seymour replied:

"What you're proposing is either standard social-democratic reformism, which is the partial nationalization of the losers [Chrysler], or a kind of maximum, idiot social-democratic reformism which is to call on this government to expropriate a major industry—which, moreover, the workers would in some sense manage, in what is obviously a non-revolutionary situation."

Mike Adams followed, noting:

"I've found that the same people who have fought against the sit-down strikes call for nationalization. And my union bureaucracy calls for it—for the government to bail the company out. What they both have in common is to take away any initiative of the workers. What I want to see is the workers seize the plants."

A second opposing speaker from the same reformist group, the Shachtmanite League for a Revolutionary Party, rose to confirm Adams' observation. The sit-down strike, he said, "is a good tactic under certain circumstances," but he didn't know about this "specific circumstance"—and besides a sitdown would be "isolated from the rest of the working class." Adams responded angrily: "When is the last time there's been a major sit-down strike in this country? To think that a sit-down strike at Dodge Main would not tap tremendous solidarity among the rest of the workers in Detroit, who are now affected by mass layoffs...?! To downplay the effect a sitdown would have, especially in Dodge Main, is ludicrous."

SL spokesman Reuben Samuels then took the floor to add:

"We say, 'The factories belong to the workers! Seize the factories!' They say, 'Trade-union control of industries!' That's the classic petty-bourgeois Proudhonist slogan. Ultimately it leads to division along craft lines, because the trade unions are divided along craft lines."

"Let's get down to the concretes of Chrysler. The workers go in. 'We've got Chrysler,' they say. 'Now what are we going to do?' You say: 'We're not going to sell it, because we know that's a shopkeeper demand. So we're going to stay right here and we're going to make Chrysler work. We're going to churn out these cars like the historic Lip strike in France.'

"The problem is that the bosses have looted the company. So workers have to work twice as hard to compete with the other car companies. Then they have to go out and start their own dealerships and so forth."

Samuels summed up the fight with the social democrats. For Marxists, Trotskyists, "human freedom is the struggle to

reduce the labor time to produce the overall social product. Your struggle is the opposite: 'More labor time! Build those pyramids!' You say, 'Go back to slavery!' We say, 'Forward to socialism!' Those are our differences."

In his summary, Comrade Seymour noted that "Chrysler is the first time where, in a serious way, a major U.S. union has proposed partial nationalizations. That's why we get all the heat about Chrysler. There's a social-democratic appetite to stand slightly to the left of the UAW bureaucracy, but to demand what the bureaucracy demands. It's a craft-unionist utopia. Our program is to expropriate all industry and finance on the basis, not of workers 'control,' but of a workers government and a planned, socialist economy." ■

Chinese Trotskyists...

(continued from page 2)

news of Chen Chao-lin's release. Never in his whole life, said Mandel, had he seen such a moving picture as that of Chen and his wife standing outside the prison with their fists clenched. No thanks to you, Ernest. It was this same Mandel, then known as Germain, together with Michel Pablo, then secretary of the Fourth International (FI), who refused to defend the Chinese Trotskyists and suppressed their appeals for aid. In one of the most shameful acts in the course of their political degeneration, the Pabloist liquidators labeled the persecuted Chinese militants "refugees from a revolution." While militarily supporting the Communist Party against the KMT, they refused to bow to the victorious Mao-Stalinist bureaucracy.

As hundreds of their number were being rounded up, imprisoned and many shot, the Chinese Trotskyists smuggled out an appeal which was brought by Peng Shu-tse before the leadership of the Fourth International. The International Secretariat of the FI headed by Pablo suppressed their desperate appeal for aid. And when Peng then submitted to the IS an "Open Letter" to arouse world-wide working-class protest over the persecution of the Chinese Trotskyists, it was Mandel who arrived on his doorstep to announce that the IS would not support it. As Peng wrote in a letter to James P. Cannon dated 30 December 1953:

"...Germain came to talk with me about it. He started by criticizing the form of the letter as completely wrong, and asked that it be written over again. According to their ideas, I should have opened the letter by first expressing a total support for the movement under the leadership of Mao's party, praising its revolutionary achievements, and then at last come to the point of enumerating the facts of their persecutions and made the protest. Secondly, Germain remarked that the views expressed in this letter diverged considerably from the line of the Resolution of the International, and for this reason he denounced me as a 'hopeless sectarian.'

At last he said that the IS could not undertake the responsibility of sending this document to the different sections for publication. If I insisted on having it published, I myself was to be responsible for any step taken concerning it."

Summarizing his experiences with Mandel, Peng noted his "wavering and conciliatorist spirit," adding: "In many respects, especially in his temperament, he resembles Bukharin. He often wavers between revolutionary conscience and the momentary consideration of power." No doubt Peng was reflecting on the steadfastness and courage of a Chen Chao-lin, who was to survive 27 years in Maoist jails, compared to the cowardly capitulator Mandel, who at the slightest threat from Pablo simply threw away the Trotskyist heritage.

The struggle against Pabloist liquidation of the Fourth International was also the struggle for the lives of the valiant Chinese Trotskyist fighters. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) had initially defended the Chinese militants as soon as they knew of their plight. But in unifying with Mandel to form the United Secretariat in 1963, they drew a curtain of silence over the shameful Pabloist betrayals in China, declaring them a matter of simply "historical interest" and banning discussion on China for five years. In contrast to these pseudo-Trotskyists, the international Spartacist tendency has been unique in opposing all wings of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, calling for proletarian political revolution from the very moment of Mao's victory in 1949, and fighting for the rebirth of the Fourth International through political destruction of Pabloism.

A renascent Chinese Trotskyist movement that reappropriates its proud history will neither forgive nor forget the Pabloists' vile betrayal of Chen Chao-lin, Ying Kwan, Chiang Tseng-tung, Ling Hwer-hua, Ho Chi-sen and the rest of the heroic imprisoned Trotskyists. ■

Alice...

(continued from page 4)

union bureaucracy in tying the unions to the capitalist state.

The CPUSA/M-L (formerly Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee) is an ex-Maoist grouplet which has now discovered a perfect socialist society in the backward Albanian deformed workers state. The behavior of its supporters in steel bespeaks a schizophrenic tension between class-struggle instincts and traditional Stalinist class collaboration. Thus the current issue of its Southworks newsletter carries a lucid and generally correct article on Peurala and the mayor's committee. They have also demonstrated basic union solidarity by endorsing the defense of Keith Anwar, a class-struggle militant at Inland Steel fired for refusing to cross a union picket line. Yet this group supported Peurala for election last April, writing that "with her, the workers will be in a better position to make the change themselves." And they have a history of supporting similar reformist groupings like the "Right to Ratify" movement at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

The whole mayor's committee incident has exposed Peurala as no better than other nominal progressives of the Sadlowski/Balanoff ilk. In reporting her walkoff to the Local 65 membership Peurala's main beef was that Byrne refused to turn over the names of policemen to a union-organizing drive. Yet the cops are sworn and paid enemies of the workers movement who break strikes, herd scabs and serve the ruling class against labor. And even though the present incumbent in city hall is a bonafide graduate of Boss Daley's school of machine politics, Peurala moans about her crushed "expectations that Mayor Byrne was serious and sincere." Alice Peurala has shown herself to be a reformist class-collaborator who

would rather rely on "friendly" Democrats, "dialogue" with the companies and the mythical "neutrality" of the bosses' government than fight on the picket lines to defend the USWA.

Instead of settling for a phony "lesser evil" who does not differ on any essential issue from McBride or Sadlowski, steel worker militants must fight to throw out both wings of the USWA bureaucracy and elect a militant leadership to struggle for actual strike action against layoffs, plant closures and company attacks. Steel workers need a fighting leadership which breaks with the Democrats and the policies of class collaboration to get the union off its knees. Labor off all government/company boards! Smash the ENA! Oust the bureaucrats and build a class-struggle USWA! For strike action to reverse city and steel layoffs! For the right to strike for all public employees! Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! ■

Rouge...

(continued from page 4)

came out that Bill Russell, the two-bit ex-fuehrer of the local Nazis, is back with a KKK chapter in Detroit. And now this Klan provocation by these foremen right in the Rouge. Every time the labor movement does not mobilize to smash these scum they come back—bigger and more dangerous than before. We must use our strength, the power of organized labor, to crush the KKK/Nazi vermin in the egg."

Last year, Hicks along with other auto worker militants in the Detroit area called on their local unions to initiate a mass labor-centered mobilization to "smash the Detroit Nazi threat." Instead of attempting to mobilize the tens of thousands of auto workers in the Detroit area, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi initiated a "labor-community interfaith council against the Nazis" with his hand-picked flunkey Paul Boatin as chairman. This committee did little more than allow Rinaldi & Co. to posture as anti-Nazi militants to the press while doing nothing. The committee itself called some ill-organized picket lines and appealed to the courts to evict the Nazis from their headquarters for violating their lease.

The UAW bureaucrats were afraid not of the threat posed by the Nazis but of damaging their relationship with Democratic mayor Coleman Young, whose cops stood guard protecting the Nazi headquarters from the outrage of the community. Boatin saw to it that the committee wasted endless time organizing even more committees while refusing to even vote on a proposal endorsed by 550 Chrysler workers from Local 140 at Dodge Truck calling for "a mass picket line and rally in front of the Nazi headquarters around the slogan 'Smash the Nazi Threat!'" Now, after several evictions, ex-Nazi, now Klansman, Bill Russell and his rat pack are back to recruit more racist thugs and anti-labor vigilantes. This is the fruit of the policy of relying on the capitalist courts, cops and government pursued by the labor bureaucrats and the black misleaders.

With thousands thrown into the streets by the near bankruptcy of Chrysler and the threat of a return to the massive cutbacks and layoffs of the 1974-75 economic crisis, the Nazi/Klan scum scent new opportunities to spread their racist filth. Unlike the liberals and the fake socialists who bleat about the "rights" of the fascists to free speech, the Spartacist League has pointed out that the fight with the fascists is not a battle of words or ideas. For the labor movement, minorities and socialists the fight against the fascists is one of life or death. The outrage of the thousand workers at Rouge who demanded their union act to drive out these racist provocateurs must be organized into a massive labor/black mobilization to smash the Klan and the Nazis. ■

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Defend Cuba!...

(continued from page 1)

scene, including the "Cuban crisis" brouhaha. "Americanologists" in the Kremlin say they're at an absolute loss in trying to figure out what's going on. One high-level Kremlin strategist, Daniel Proektor, told the *Washington Post's* senior diplomatic correspondent that as a Marxist he was totally baffled and frustrated (slowly shaking his head, with more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger amazement) at the "absolutely chaotic movement" over Cuba, the SALT II treaty and even the hoary Monroe Doctrine. American political scientists are fond of accusing the Russians of inability to comprehend our nation's wonderful "electoral process." But after all, it's hard to blame them for wanting to resist the horrid suspicion that Carter is so weak that it's really a bunch of backwoods religious fanatics and run-amok FBI agents who are running U.S. foreign policy.

Of course, that is who's out to get Senator Frank Church, who dropped the "bombshell" about Soviet troops back home in Boise, Idaho on August 30. Trying to shake his "super-liberal" label and back off from the increasingly unpopular SALT II treaty, Church grabbed the "combat troop" story and ran with it, hoping to get off his back the hungry coalition of Republicans, Mormons, intelligence agents (mad at Church for chairing the Senate's hearings into CIA and FBI dirty tricks), General Alexander Haig, et al. who want to bring him down in next year's Senate elections.

The Kremlin's American experts are willing to make allowances for electoral "Russian devil" rhetoric. But Carter's apparently willful rush to self-destruct opens up a period of ominous instability in their view. After all, for "peaceful coexistence" to work, the other side is supposed to at least make a pretense of being "responsible" and "peace-loving"—and it's the phony SALT II treaty to which the Soviets have pinned their hopes in American accommodation. Hence the official "incomprehension" by the "moderate" Russian Stalinists (accompanied by off-the-record darker rumblings about a growing "grand design" of renewed American aggression).

The truth, however much the Kremlin would like to evade it, is that there is indeed a resurgence of American imperialist aggressive designs against the Soviet Union, on which all wings of the currently squabbling bourgeois factions are united. What's going on domestically is essentially a struggle over imperialist tactics vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and secondarily Cuba and Latin America.

SWP: Left Cover for "Enlightened" Bourgeoisie

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) seized on the Soviet troops affair with delight. Its "Hands Off Cuba" headlines are aimed at building the broadest "single-issue" front with dovish Democrats since "Hands Off

Nicaragua" and "Hands Off Angola." Rather than a revolutionary defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states, what the SWP is angling for is a class-collaborationist bloc with "enlightened" bourgeois politicians who merely oppose a stupid, meaningless military adventure.

The SWP makes a peculiar distinction between Castro's supposedly "revolutionary" policies and those of the Moscow bureaucrats ("subservience to détente," etc.) only in order to evade taking up the necessary socialist defense of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Their line on Cuba and Nicaragua is simply that of the liberal Democrats (and even some more sophisticated Republicans): American aid to Nicaragua and "normalize relations" with Cuba. U.S. aid to Nicaragua is precisely Carter's policy, aimed at buying off the Sandinistas and saving Nicaragua for capitalism—a policy which revolutionaries must expose as aimed directly against the perspective of proletarian revolution in Latin America.

As for "normalizing relations" with Cuba, Carter has now had to shelve that perspective as a sop to the right wing. But it was only two years ago that the Carter administration was setting up the deal—lifting travel restrictions, a limited exchange of diplomats. Castro was more than willing to reciprocate, suffering through an insulting Barbara Walters interview with lamb-like humility, and dropping references to the CIA's endless plots to assassinate him in the spirit of "let bygones be bygones." As we pointed out at the time, Castro's appetite for a deal with U.S. imperialism is in no wise different from the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking: "In Castro's Stalinist version, it is the pipedream that by installing a 'progressive' administration in the White House the warmongers at the Pentagon and mad bombers at the CIA will be reined in" ("Castro Soft-Pedals Democrats' Assassination Plots: Behind 'CIA's Secret Army,'" *WV* No. 162, 17 June 1977).

The Cuban Missile Crisis and "Peaceful Coexistence"

Yearning for the "good old days" of U.S. imperialist domination, bourgeois commentators were irresistibly drawn to comparing the Soviet troops hubbub with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, when the U.S. was actually prepared to unleash nuclear holocaust to maintain its unquestioned hegemony in Latin America. The *Washington Post* (1 October) devoted a front-page major article to that American "triumph of the will," and in general, the media's comparisons of Carter's "phony crisis" to "the real thing" had a curiously nostalgic, glowing quality, whose dark meaning is obvious: ultimately American imperialism will stop at nothing to reconquer the deformed workers states for capitalist exploitation.

The fundamental lesson of the missile crisis for revolutionaries is that when the crunch came, the détente-minded Stalinists and all their "progressive" Third World nationalist "friends" had no answer to the threats of a flailing imperialism willing to risk a fiery "Götterdämmerung" in order to pre-

serve its domination. To be sure, Castro was furious when Khrushchev withdrew the Soviet missiles—kicking the wall, swearing and smashing a mirror, according to Che Guevara—but in 1975 he told senator George McGovern, when it looked like a deal with U.S. imperialism was in the works, "Khrushchev was older and wiser... I was wrong." (*Cuban Realities: May 1975*, Report to Committee on Foreign Relations, 94th Congress, 1st Session). For its part the SWP made a cowering apology for Khrushchev. "What else could he have done under the given circumstances?" James P. Cannon asked in a letter to Farrell Dobbs on October 31, 1962 (reprinted in *SWP Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 16, July 1977). But the task of Trotskyist revolutionaries is not to help the Stalinists put a good face on their betrayals. As the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the SWP, forerunner of the Spartacist League, pointed out:

"The Cuban revolution cannot be defended by arms under the control of Kremlin bureaucrats whose only interest is to turn the revolution to the service of Russian foreign policy, including selling it out entirely if the price is right...."

—"Declaration on the Cuban Crisis" (30 November 1962), in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 3, Part I

A real defense of the conquests of the degenerated/deformed workers states rests on international extension of the revolutions and requires the ouster through workers political revolution of the Stalinist ruling bureaucracies that desperately seek to balance between imperialism and the proletariat. Today Castro proclaims (to the applause of the SWP) that the OAS vote against a U.S. motion to send a "peacekeeping" intervention force to Nicaragua is a "great victory" for the people of America and heralds the formation of a "democratic, pro-independence and anti-interventionist front" including the bourgeois governments of Panama, Mexico, Jamaica, etc. This is just a repeat of Castro's attempt in the early 1960s to "defend" the Cuban Revolution through an alliance with liberal regimes such as Goulart's Brazil and Araujo's Ecuador. But as Trotsky pointed out, the bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are inextricably bound to the imperialist system. Thus during the 1962 crisis every single one of those "progressive" Third World stalwarts instantly acceded to U.S. demands (Ben Bella and Sékou Touré refused to allow Russian aircraft transit rights at the U.S.' request; the OAS, the U.S.' "ministry of colonies," unanimously supported Kennedy).

Remember the Bay of Pigs!

There is a "Cuban crisis" which the American bourgeoisie would be all too happy to forget—the April 1961 CIA invasion of the Bay of Pigs. Naturally today all wings of the bourgeoisie dismiss it as an obvious mistake, a youthful aberration, an unfortunate excess of "machismo" and so on. But that's only because it was a fiasco, just as all the soul-searching over Vietnam stemmed from U.S. imperialism's stunning defeat: the only thing the American bourgeoisie really thinks is immoral is failure.

Of course the mad bombers, warmongers and assassins of the American

Empire are still in place and still at work stocking up their arsenal of weapons and refurbished "dirty tricks." Yankee imperialism has not abandoned its appetite to reestablish the Caribbean as a strictly "American lake." Major General Smedley Butler admirably summed up the basic policy of American imperialism some years ago in a fit of outraged patriotism (being deeply insulted at the Liberty League's 1933 proposal to him to launch a coup against Roosevelt). Of his 33-year career in the Marine Corps, covering Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, China, Cuba, etc., he said:

"I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle-man for Big Business... I helped make Mexico—and especially Tampico—safe for American oil interests in 1914. I decided to make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in... Looking back on it, I feel that I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents."

By the time John F. Kennedy took office in 1961 he was taking tips from the Mafia on how to bump off Castro. He also launched the Bay of Pigs invasion—all in all, a truly spectacular disaster at every level, as Peter Wyden's recent book *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story* (Simon and Schuster, 1979) makes clear in deeply satisfying detail.

Even then, in the midst of the blatant, bloody U.S. invasion of Cuba, the SWP revealed its liberal-pacifist appetite. The *Militant* (24 April 1961) called for the U.S. to "End the aggression against Cuba at once!" but did not raise the call for military support to the Cuban army—it posed the question purely as one of national self-determination and not the defense of the anti-capitalist social revolution occurring in the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism. As we have pointed out before (but it's worth repeating) the Revolutionary Tendency took a rather different approach than the rightward-lurching ex-Trotskyist SWP leadership. RT spokesman James Robertson wrote in an urgent 18 April 1961 letter to the *Young Socialist* editorial board:

"So let's have a bold, bloody over-the-masthead headline about Yankee Imperialist Rape or Solidarity With Every Soviet-supplied Bullet Entering the Bodies of CIAists, or similar... Exposure of Soviet diplomatic temporizing, calls for military aid, calls for Concentration Camps in Cuba under workers control, etc."

—SWP *Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 22, No. 16, June 1961

Needless to say, we haven't changed our views since then.

The international Spartacist tendency is the only organization which stands for the unconditional military defense of all the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialism. We called for "Soviet Nuclear Shield to Cover Hanoi" during the Vietnam war, raised the call "China: Don't Be Cat's Paw of U.S. Imperialism" when Peking invaded Vietnam last spring. This is the only policy for revolutionaries: intransigent exposure of the Stalinists' bankrupt counterrevolutionary cowardice in the face of imperialist threats, and the fight for international proletarian revolution to sweep away both the capitalists and their rotten Stalinist collaborators and establish a world socialist order. ■

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed)
Jan Norden,
(editor)

12. For completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual). 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Jan Norden, (editor).

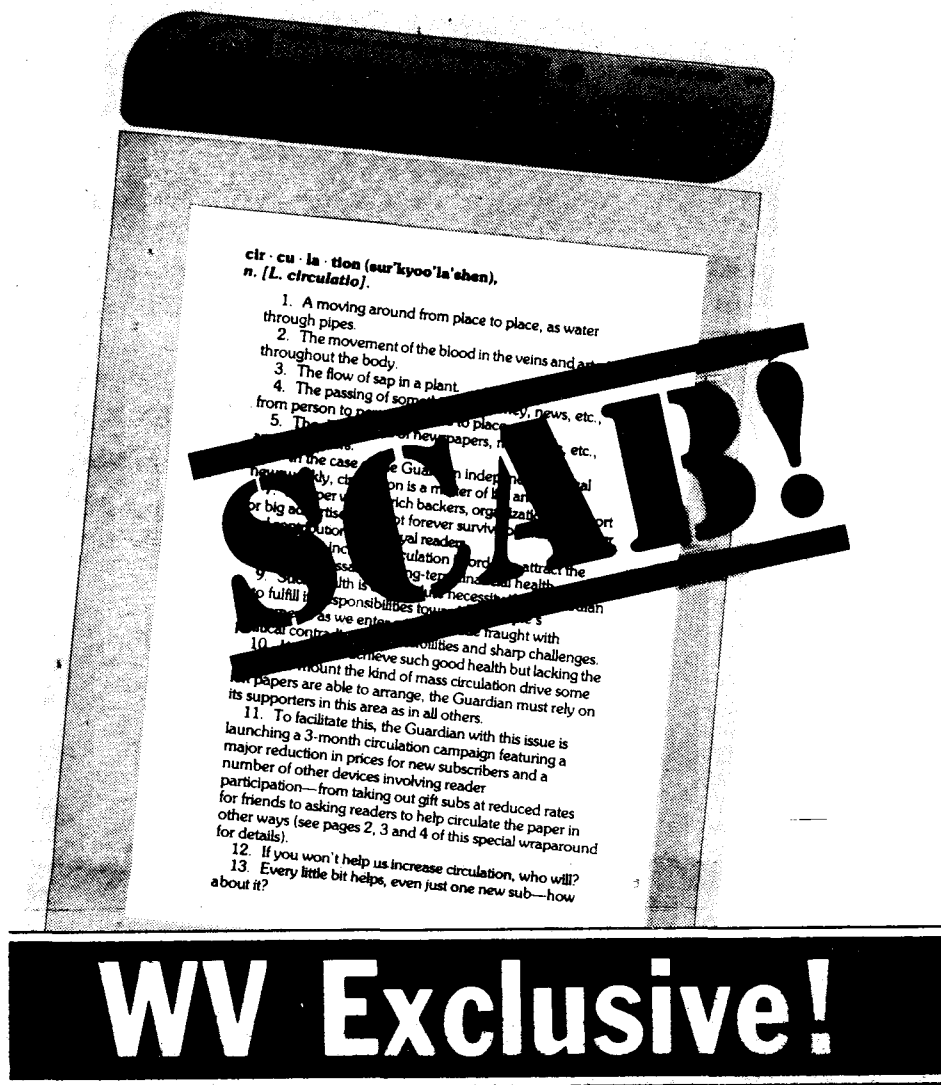
WORKERS VANGUARD

Scab Guardian

"The hours are long, the pay is short. It takes real commitment to work with the *Guardian*..." (want ad for *Guardian* staff, 5 September). But as typesetters in the Guardian Art Room Workers Association (GARWA) found out last month, it takes more than commitment to work for Jack Smith & Co.'s "independent radical newsweekly." You better not form a union or demand enforcement of a contract either. Just a month and a half after the GARWA signed a contract with the *Guardian* staff guaranteeing better pay, health benefits and vacation/sick leave, the typesetters found themselves locked out.

Impassioned fund-raising pitches constantly remind the *Guardian's* readers that the paper is in chronic financial trouble, a problem made worse by the forced departure of well-connected money man Irwin Silber. So *Guardian* honcho Jack Smith decided to cut costs last summer by contracting out the production of the paper to an outfit from Philadelphia called Churcher and Roberts. The GARWA typesetters, who signed their contract in July, were informed on August 15 that their services were no longer required and that no more in-house typesetting would be done, either on the *Guardian* itself or for outside customers. But no sooner had the new regime been instituted than GARWAers discovered that their jobs had simply been transferred to lower-paid non-union *Guardian* personnel.

Double-crossed and locked out, the GARWA threw up a picket line on September 18 at the *Guardian's* New York City offices. A Teamster delivery man honored the GARWA line but *Guardian* writers and editors revealed their real attitude toward the elementary principles of trade unionism by turning scab and trooping across the picket line.



WV Exclusive!

This one action says more about the political program of the *Guardian* than all the articles on "participatory democracy" and "progressive" causes printed in the 31-year history of this petty-bourgeois journal of American radical dilettantism. Born as the voice of Henry Wallace "progressives" and fellow-traveling Stalinophiles, the *Guardian*

matured into a fashionably New Left/Maoist phase in the late 1960s only to become, with the declining popularity of Chinese Stalinism, an "independent" (i.e., non-party) journal of "Third World" cheerleaders. In none of its incarnations has the *Guardian* ever soiled itself by involvement in the actual class struggle. Judging by Smith & Co.'s

attitude toward picket lines this is certainly a service to the labor movement.

The *Guardian* "collective" has made no significant concessions to the GARWA, despite the typesetters' willingness to negotiate a settlement. Smith, in fact, insists that in order to stay afloat the paper needs the "flexibility" to fire its employees for unionism. (Seems to be a good case for a drowning.) With hypocritical exhortations on the need for self-sacrifice worthy of an Israeli kibbutz pink-slipping the hired Arab help, the *Guardian* collective has refused to recognize the GARWA or acknowledge its members' right to their jobs. The *Guardian* has written a hysterical eight-page attack on the GARWA, attacking the group with which they have a signed contract as "ultra-leftists" masquerading behind the guise of being 'union workers...'"

As we go to press GARWA spokesmen are asking "progressive groups and individuals to take any action they can to inform the *Guardian* of their outrage." The GARWA is calling on *Guardian* sustainers to cancel their pledges and on typesetting customers to take their jobs elsewhere, while urging all left-wing activists to give no support to the scab *Guardian*.

We can only add:

Drive Out the Reactionary Ghosts and Poisonous Weeds of W. 17th Street!

Storm the Guardian Headquarters—Down with the Red Bosses!

Wave High the Bright Red Banner of Trade Unionism!

It is Right to Rebel Against Jack Smith! ■

Right in Form, Right in Essence

Guardian Talks to WV

Interview with Donna Lamb, General Manager of the *Guardian*, by Jan Norden, Editor of *Workers Vanguard*, 9 October 1979

DL: My name is Donna Lamb, I'm familiar with the situation, I'm the General Manager here. What do you need to know?

WV: First of all, when I talked with Jack [Smith, editor of the *Guardian*] earlier... In going over this statement ["Statement to Progressive Groups From the *Guardian* Newspaper," 6 October], the main thing that struck us was that, in terms of the facts, everything that we had been told by the Art Room Workers Association seems to be confirmed by your statement. I asked him [Jack] earlier whether, that it seemed to us that this was a lockout. He said that this was ridiculous. On the basis of your statement, it seems to me the facts are pretty clear. They were hired labor, is that correct?

DL: That's correct.

WV: And you did sign a contract with them?

DL: We did not sign anything; we had a working agreement.

WV: Well, you had a formal agreement, you had a meeting with them, and you worked out an agreement, at least as I read the statement that's what it says.

DL: How do you define a lockout?

WV: They [the *Guardian* Art Room Workers Association] have a statement here that's clear—it says that, "In any situation where work that was previously done by a group of workers is still being performed, those workers have a right to keep doing the work." That seems like the classic definition of scabbing. In other words, when struck labor or labor that was performed by

somebody else is being done, that's scabbing. And when somebody has a job and they're told that their job is canceled, that's a lockout. It's pretty straightforward. Especially, when part of it quite clearly here is over the contract agreement, because you bring in...

DL: Roberts and Churcher.

WV: Right.

DL: Do you understand the nature of the *Guardian's* agreement with Roberts and Churcher?

WV: As far as I can tell, it says that it's an independent business that's been brought in to do the typesetting here.

DL: It's been brought in to do the typesetting and to develop a program whereby the staff members are trained, in all aspects of the typesetting business. So that within a one-to-two-year period, the *Guardian* can reopen the type shop that is run completely by all-staff labor, but this time with some skills, so we know what we're doing. You understand that?

WV: Yes, but in terms of the workers that you had hired before, it seems pretty clear that they had a job and they had an agreement with you and then you canceled the agreement and locked them out of their jobs.

DL: We did not cancel the agreement. We fulfilled every iota of that agreement and we went beyond it. In terminating their employment and closing the shop, we were not required to extend health benefits one inch. We did that. We were

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