

James Callaghan—A Would-Be Ramsay MacDonald

Break the Liberal/Labour Coalition in Britain!

LONDON, April 1—Britain came close to its third general election in as many years last week when Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan was forced to conclude a last-minute pact with the small bourgeois Liberal Party to avert defeat in a Conservative no-confidence motion. The significance of this formal parliamentary bloc was summed up by Liberal leader David Steel, who commented that "Socialism is the one thing this country will not get so long as this agreement lasts..." (*Guardian* [London], 25 March 1977).

Steel has a point. Not that anyone in Britain believes that the Labour government was headed toward socialism—but the long-standing allegiance of the British working class to the Labour Party is primarily due to its claim to somehow stand for the class interests of the proletariat, and its vague rhetorical commitment to some sort of "socialism." The Labour cabinet's precarious parliamentary position meant that it was forced to conclude an agreement with the Liberals in order to cling to power. The price was to give up the claim to represent key working-class interests or "socialism," at least for the duration of the bloc.

Of course, Labour would much prefer to retain the fig leaf of socialist rhetoric as a cover for its nakedly anti-working-class Social Contract (wage restraint). Callaghan's parliamentary predicament results from the loss of a string of supposedly "safe" Labour seats to the Tories [Conservatives] in recent by-elections. This in itself provides an index to the deep dissatisfaction of masses of Labour Party supporters with the Callaghan government and its plans to "save" the economy by further attacking the workers' pathetic living standards.

The by-election losses combined with the defection of two Scottish Labour MP's [Members of Parliament] has changed Labour's slim majority with which it was elected in 1974 into a minority, and has meant that for the past several months the government has been depending on the votes of at least some of the 41 MP's who belong to the minor parties in order to stave off a vote of no-confidence. Until recently the government had been able to count on the 16 votes of the Scots and Welsh nationalists. However, Labour's failure to secure passage in parliament last February of its Devolution Bill (providing for federal institutions in Scotland and Wales under the rubric of "home rule") due to the refusal of hard-core Labour "unionists"—opponents of devolution—to support the government's proposal has meant that the nationalists are now bending all their efforts to bring down the cabinet and thus precipitate an early election.

In its search for support in the House of Commons, the Labour Party was

conducting parallel negotiations with the ten MP's of the United Ulster Unionists, the reactionary parliamentary representatives of the Protestant ascendancy in Northern Ireland. Among their number are the fanatical Rev. Ian Paisley, and the notorious racist Enoch Powell. The bargaining with the Ulster Unionists was over more MP's from the province and also doubtless on demands for more British army units to suppress the Irish Catholic minority. But apparently Callaghan wasn't able to negotiate a satisfactory deal with the Unionist MP's and seven of them voted with Margaret Thatcher's Tories.

Labour's Deal with the Liberals

The terms of the parliamentary coalition with the Liberals were carefully outlined in a joint statement issued just before the debate on the no-confidence motion. Essentially the agreement establishes a "joint consultative committee" (presided over by Michael Foot, prominent Labour "left") to review bills proposed by both Liberals and Labour before they are presented in Parliament, and pledges the cabinet ministers to regular consultations with their Liberal counterparts. The agreement also pledges the government to support Liberal proposals for direct elections to the European Economic Community (Common Market) parliament, and to support a Liberal Housing (Homeless Persons) Bill, both relatively unimportant measures. The joint statement specifies that "this arrangement between us should last until the end of the present parliamentary session when both parties would consider whether the experiment has been of sufficient benefit to the country to be continued" (*Guardian*, 24 March).

The most revealing aspect of the whole squalid affair is the lack of serious opposition to the deal from within the ranks of the parliamentary Labour Party. The most that the kept "lefts" of the Tribune group have done is to make a few objections to the deal for the record. As part of their token "protest" some of the Tribunes issued a statement on the agreement with the Liberals which cravenly pledged to "support the Government because of the possible danger of the most reactionary Tory government of this century." They made only a perfunctory effort to cover their left flank by stating that, "we categorically reserve our right to vote against such a deal in whole or in part" (*Tribune*, 25 March).

Having reserved the "right" to oppose the policy of formal cooperation with the Liberals, the "leftists" of the Tribune group are now happy to go ahead and support it. As the bourgeois press has repeatedly pointed out, there is a good



Socialist Worker

Workers at British Leyland protest Labour government's wage restraints.

reason why most Tribunes actually favoured the arrangement with the Liberals—it postpones the next general election. Many Tribunes hold marginal seats and given the present pronounced swing away from Labour (recent opinion polls show the Tories leading Labour by 20 percent), an election in the near future would certainly mean a Tory landslide and a scramble among Tribune ex-MP's for places in the dole queues [unemployment lines]. As the *London Times* (20 March) noted in analysing the lack of opposition to the coalition from Labour "lefts": "The prospect of a Thatcher Era, not to mention the loss of his own seat, concentrates the mind of a Tribune wonderfully."

Callaghan's deal with Steel has also been met on the whole with the approval of the trade-union bureaucracy. The general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Len Murray, was quoted in *Socialist Press* (25 March) as saying that he found the "prospect of keeping a

Labour government in power a very agreeable thought."

The Liberals, of course, have their own reasons for entering a coalition with Labour at this time. In the event of an early general election and the probable Tory landslide, knowledgeable bourgeois political commentators are predicting that the Liberals would stand to lose up to ten of their present total of 13 seats, thereby obliterating them as an appreciable factor in British politics. Thus the Liberals are happy to assume the role of co-partners in the government and postpone an election, seeking in the longer run a path to permanent, direct involvement in the cabinet.

Labour's pact with the Liberals has been well-received by the bourgeois establishment. When the Lib-Lab deal was announced the *Financial Times* stock index jumped 19 points! A few days before the agreement, the influential *Sunday Times* (20 March) advised

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Wanted!—The Search for Nazis in
America, by Howard Blum**

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Letters

27 February 1977

To the Editor:

In defending your trade union line (*WV* [No. 145], 18 February 1977) you come up with a quotation from A.J. Muste. You are entitled to him if you insist, but the quotation discloses that Muste's line towards the nascent CIO is closer to Third Period Stalinism than to Leninism. Muste characterizes the fight of the industrial union bureaucrats in the AFL against the craft union bureaucrats as fake ("a mock battle"). He then tells us that "the conservative forces in the A.F. of L. today are the Lewis-Hillman forces, the more dangerous because they masquerade as progressive...." Notice, I do not say Muste's line here is exactly a Third Period line; it isn't—he doesn't call Lewis and Hillman social-fascists. But if the Trotskyists had followed Muste's line, they would have played no part whatever in the organization of the CIO in the auto, rubber and steel industries.

Muste was a splendid organizer but should not be regarded as a reliable expositor of Leninist trade union tactics. His line in the quoted passage is abstentionist. When he wrote it Muste was the leader of the sectarian faction in the Workers Party which wanted to keep out of the factional turmoil which gripped the Socialist Party. His view of the struggle within the AFL which led to the CIO and his view of the struggle within the SP which led to the split between the Militant and the Old Guard

are in harmony. Six months after identifying Lewis and Hillman as "more dangerous" than Green and Woll, Muste abandoned secular sectarianism and returned to Christian pacifism, the ultimate form of abstention from all struggle with a violent component. You should ask yourselves why you found this particular quotation from Muste impressive.

You should also become less fundamentalist in your use of the bound volumes of the Trotskyist press. Not everything printed in the 1935 *New Militant* is pure gospel. You have to consider the political character and evolution of a given writer and whether what he writes makes sense. You also have to compare what was said with what was actually done. If you read the old documents in this spirit you will get more out of them. Older and grayer (though not necessarily wiser) heads than yours can also be of use in the effort to understand and preserve what can be learned from the past.

I must ask you not to impute to me the view that the SWP had a policy of "generalized support, however critical, of the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy." It's true that Trotsky was for Lewis running for President of the United States and that Cannon in 1941 referred to A.D. Lewis of District 50 of the United Mine Workers as "our son of a bitch." All this is not generalized support, though it is miles away from the Muste line you cited so uncritically.

David Herreshoff

WV replies: Comrade Herreshoff's previous letter on this matter (referred to above) was written to solidarize with another correspondent who sought to justify the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) support to United Steelworkers out-bureaucrat candidate Ed Sadlowski in recent elections in that union. Thus what is really at issue is the attitude to take in squabbles between putatively progressive and reactionary wings of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

In our original polemic (see "Should Revolutionists 'Walk with Sadlowski'?" *WV* No. 142, 28 January 1977) we carefully distinguished between blocs with bureaucratic elements to achieve specific and common aims of the working class, and electoral support to dissident bureaucrats (and their programs) in union elections. Herreshoff confuses these questions and, in his final paragraph, throws in the question of support to a union leader against candidates of the capitalist parties in general elections. He argues, if not for "generalized support," then at least for a generalized "tilt" toward the "progressive" bureaucrats.

WV insisted that Trotskyists—while they would bloc with John L. Lewis, for example, on industrial unionism or in an organizing drive—cannot give support to candidates in union elections in the absence of a break with the class collaborationism of the bureaucracy on at least one key issue. We pointed to the sorry experience of the United Mine Workers under "reformer" Arnold Miller to demonstrate the bankruptcy of the SWP policy of backing aspiring bureaucrats whose only program is cheap talk of union "democracy."

But the Spartacist League (SL) believes that the goal is to forge a cohesive opposition to *all* wings of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, and this can be done only by standing on a consistent record of class-struggle politics. The working class will not recognize as its revolutionary leaders charlatans like the SWP which supported I. W. Abel in 1965 and Arnold Miller in 1972 and backed Sadlowski who pledged in advance to enforce Abel's ENA no-strike deal until 1980!

Herreshoff does more than disagree with the SL's class-struggle trade-union policies. By amalgamating critical support and various united-front tactics he ends up, perhaps unconsciously, misrepresenting the history of Trotskyist work in the unions. His earlier letter argued that revolutionists should have supported John L. Lewis against old-line craft-union autocrat William Green at the 1935 AFL convention. We replied by pointing out that the SWP's forerunner, the Workers Party (WP), blocked with Lewis on industrial unionism but did *not* give political support to Lewis against Green.

Comrade Herreshoff's answer is to deny that this was party policy, attributing it to alleged "abstentionism" on the part of the author of the *New Militant* article on the convention, A. J. Muste. But as we show below, first, this was the policy of the WP leadership as a whole; and second, Muste was far from being an abstentionist.

The Trotskyists did indeed deny that Lewis and Hillman were qualitatively more "progressive" than Green & Co., and considered the basic class stance of the two wings of the labor bureaucracy to be identical. For example, the *New Militant* of 14 December 1935, reporting a speech by WP leader James P. Cannon on the AFL, quoted him as saying: "The difference between Lewis and Green is one of intelligence and not of radicalism." Or Arne Swabeck, writing in the 30 November 1935 *New Militant*: "It would be absurd to assume that there is a real distinction between

the Lewis forces and the Green forces in questions of basic class ideology." So much for the view that Muste's article was an individual aberration.

We also take exception to Herreshoff's rather selective view of the Trotskyist press. The *New Militant* utilized signed articles in a different way than does *Workers Vanguard*. But the fact that an article was signed did not, in general, mean that the party refused to take political responsibility for its line, and if the *New Militant* had consisted instead of a potpourri of articles with counterposed political lines—some of which didn't "make sense" and were at variance with "what was actually done"—then it would have been a social-democratic, Menshevik press and not a Leninist press. This would have made it impossible for most party members and close supporters, let alone the general non-party readership, to derive any coherent political line from the paper.

In particular, there is no reason to question the authority of Muste's articles on the AFL convention. Following the fusion of the Communist League of America (CLA) with the American Workers Party (AWP) in December 1934, Muste (together with Cannon) was one of the two top leaders of the Workers Party. Not only was Muste national secretary of the WP, but at the time he had probably the greatest stature in the organized labor movement of any party member. His articles obviously carried the full authority of the party.

To say that A. J. Muste was sectarian and abstentionist is far from the mark; indeed, the reverse is closer to the truth. He was essentially an activist who plunged himself with great energy into various causes. As for the accusation of "Third Period" abstentionism, Muste earned the enmity of the Stalinists for fighting *within* the AFL (on a program of amalgamation, industrial unionism, a labor party and recognition of the Soviet Union) at a time when the Communist Party (CP) was urging workers to desert the AFL.

CP bigwig William Z. Foster published a blistering attack on Muste's Conference for Progressive Labor Action in 1931 entitled "Little Brothers of the Big Labor Fakers" and took the Musteites to task for their refusal to support the sectarian Stalinist line of forming tiny "red" unions. As long as Muste was active in the workers movement, he was adamant about the importance of defending and working in the existing unions. In an essay entitled "Trade Unions and the Revolution" written in 1935, Muste asserted: "The slogan 'Deeper into the Unions' (whether they happen to be AFL or independ-

Columbia SYL Protest Demands "Keep Kissinger Off Campus"



WV Photo

Eighty people demonstrated on the Columbia University campus in New York City March 25 to protest the proposed appointment of Henry Kissinger to the faculty. The action was called by the Ad Hoc Coalition to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, a united-front coalition initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League.

The prospect of the butcher of Vietnam draped in the gowns of Ivy League "respectability" provoked considerable revulsion on campus. The anti-Kissinger rally was the largest militant action at Columbia in several years.

Speaking at the demonstration were Columbia professor Alexander Ehrlich and representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee, Friends of the Filipino People, Friends of Santucho, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union and the SYL. The committee also attracted the active support of a number of unaffiliated students.

Following the rally, demonstrators marched to the University Senate meeting, which was about to discuss Kissinger's appointment. Inside the meeting, Professor Ehrlich read a statement on behalf of the SYL and Ad Hoc Committee which pointed out that in the case of Kissinger there was no question of academic freedom. Kissinger is not an academic apologist for U.S. imperialism but a symbol of the American war on Vietnam and a genuine war criminal—the architect of the murderous 1972 Christmas bombing campaign against Hanoi.

"Kissinger must be driven away—not for his views, but for his deeds," the statement read. Instead of the impotent liberal tactic of relying on the university administration it called for "broad, militant actions to keep Kissinger off campus."

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Courts out of the IBT!

Oppose Teamster Expulsion of Camarata, Ferdnance!

ent) must be applied by the party and all its committees and members much more thoroughly and enthusiastically than ever before."

Nor is Comrade Herreshoff's assertion that on the purely political plane Muste was "the leader of the sectarian faction in the Workers Party" strictly accurate. There were, in fact, two groupings in the WP opposed to entry into the Socialist Party (SP). The genuine sectarian element was the Oehler-Stamm faction, which believed that entrism constituted in principle a betrayal of the independence of the revolutionary party. Muste and a circle around him at one point formed a bloc with the Oehlerites on opposing entry into the SP; however, the Musteites were always a political distinct grouping.

The Muste-Oehler bloc soon disintegrated, and it was Muste himself who put forward the resolution that called the Oehlerites to order for threatened violations of party discipline. In his *History of American Trotskyism*, Cannon is very careful to distinguish the Musteites from the sectarians. Cannon characterized Muste's "ill-starred bloc with Oehler" as an example of "combinations which cut across the lines of principle."

Herreshoff implies that Muste's abstentionist attitude toward the turmoil in the SP was linked to a similar disinterest in the birth of the CIO. Quite to the contrary, Muste's opposition to entry into the Socialist Party was based on fear that it would circumscribe participation in the labor upsurge then occurring. In his recollections Muste complained that "mass work remained neglected" and asked, "if, in the Workers Party, we had stuck to mass work and wooed the younger elements in the Socialist Party by different means," wouldn't it have been possible to win the best militants from the SP anyway? (quoted from Nat Hentoff, ed., *The Essays of A.J. Muste*, 1967).

Muste was never able to overcome his distaste for factional and inner-party struggle (no doubt at least partly the result of his Christian pacifist background), and thus could not become a fully formed revolutionary politician. His reconversion to religious pacifism in 1936 took place very suddenly, and in all he spent under two years as a Trotskyist. But Muste was a genuine spokesman for a layer of worker militants, and the CLA-AWP fusion, in which he played a major role, represented the first regroupment after years of disintegration within the communist movement.

This fusion along with the Workers Party refusal to either capitulate before the "progressive" bureaucrats (as the CP did in the popular-front period) or to abandon the existing trade unions (as the CP did during its earlier "Third Period" sectarian phase) enabled the Trotskyists to achieve hegemony among the ostensibly communist opponents of the Stalinists. On these points there was no question that Muste fully shared the views of Cannon—in fact, it is certain that without agreement on these trade-union policies there never would have been an AWP-CLA fusion. And it is also clear how fundamentally this Leninist policy differs from the latter-day reformism of the degenerated ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party today.

Thus Herreshoff has wrongly posed a little-known—but, on examination, luminous—period in the history of the American Trotskyist movement, in order to derive conclusions that are flatly contradictory to the practice of that earlier generation of revolutionary socialists. ■

DETROIT—On March 25, bureaucrats from Teamster Local 299 in Detroit announced the expulsion from the union of dissident members Pete Camarata and Al Ferdnance. Both are leading members of the reformist opposition group Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), which is the real reason they were expelled. Both were charged with involvement in an unauthorized work stoppage by car haulers last August at the Willow Run terminals of Complete Auto Transit (not, as we earlier reported, for a separate car haulers strike at another firm last June).

The decision was rendered by a trial board composed of Local 299 president Robert Lins, secretary-treasurer Otto Wendel and five hand-picked stewards who sat in for absent executive board members. TDU leader Gene Fleszar asserted to a *WV* reporter that the substitutes were intended to lend some appearance of rank-and-file support for the expulsions. As well, even the hidebound Local 299 officialdom may have been reluctant to include Richard Fitzsimmons (son of Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons and widely hated vice-president of the Local), who is currently under indictment for embezzling union funds, as a judge in a trial for alleged "misconduct"!

Working-class militants must oppose the efforts of Teamster bureaucrats to purge the union of these critics of Fitzsimmons and his local lackeys. But militants must stand equally opposed to the instant response of Camarata, Ferdnance and the TDU to these bureaucratic attacks: running to the bosses' courts. At an April 2 rally in front of the Local 299 hall, attended by about 80 TDU supporters, the TDU distributed a statement which boasted that a temporary restraining order was issued in U.S. district court against the expulsions. On April 8, TDU lawyers planned to ask the federal court to issue a preliminary injunction for the same purpose. In addition, TDU announced that "there will be a full jury trial to assess monetary damages resulting from the wrongful conduct of the union officials." Camarata and Ferdnance are seeking \$15,000 each in damages from Local 299's treasury.

The TDU has apparently, if only temporarily, succeeded in having the courts decide what constitutes "unbiased and fair" internal union proceedings. But as the Spartacist League has repeatedly pointed out, this policy runs directly against the necessity of fighting for the independence of the workers movement from the bosses government. The courts, Congress and various government agencies intervene in union affairs not to bring "justice" to the labor movement, but in order to shackle the unions closer to the capitalist state.



Pete Camarata (center) in TDU demonstration outside Teamster Local 299 hall protesting expulsion from the union.

This is particularly clear in the case of the Teamsters, which once again faces the strong possibility of a massive government invasion spurred on by charges of graft, nepotism and dictatorship. But previous government sorties got the crook Dave Beck only to yield the crook Jimmy Hoffa. And Hoffa was jailed only to be replaced by the Nixon-loving, Mafia-tied Frank Fitzsimmons.

The government is not interested in "honest" union officials, just pliant ones. It especially fears the strength of the Teamsters, the nation's largest labor union, with many thousands of members who know not to cross picket lines and have pretty firm ideas about how to handle scabs. Increasingly broad sections of the bourgeoisie believe they had better step into the Teamsters before a rank-and-file explosion blows the lid off and releases forces that may not be so easy to control.

Court suits like Camarata and Ferdnance's are counterposed to such a class mobilization; they only serve as left cover for government union-busting under the guise of "reform." As well, such court "remedies" play right into the hands of the bureaucrats. The labor hacks are allowed to appeal to the class instinct of the rank and file against outside government intervention to discredit their opposition. Despite his obvious corruption, Jimmy Hoffa maintained a wide and loyal Teamster following for years, in part by tapping the membership's legitimate resistance to the government deciding who should be in and run their union.

The TDU's appeal to the courts has not only been proven historically ineffective in "democratizing" the unions, but can also be turned against the defense of dissident members. The Teamster membership may not appreciate their much-drained treasury being further bled by oppositionists' damage suits.

Local 299 hacks Lins and Wendel (who both, ironically, received Camarata's support last year for appointment to the Local presidency) have decided to tough it out against any oppositionists. In a signed article in the 28 March issue of the International Socialists' *Workers' Power*, Camarata describes a series of recent confrontations over TDU-backed by-law changes. Camarata had

filed charges on Lins over being excluded from the car haulers craft meetings of Local 299, and, three days later, was notified of his own "trial."

The sham trial and drastic verdict against Camarata and Ferdnance had also been prepared by a frenzied red-baiting campaign against the TDU. The TDU recently replied to these charges with the claim that "Pete is a Catholic who is very active in his parish" (*The Rank and File Speaks*, April 1977). Evidently, assertions of Christian activism did not pacify Camarata's bureaucratic persecutors, however.

But the Local 299 tops, like Fitzsimmons who is pulling their strings, are also scared. The obviously peaceful demonstration on April 2, which included Teamster wives and children, sent security guards scurrying to lock the gates to union property and to summon the Detroit police. Nervous bureaucrats barricaded themselves inside the several Teamster halls along Detroit's Trumbull Avenue.

The hold of these labor skates is exceedingly brittle and can be shattered. But that is the job of the Teamster ranks, not the labor-hating government! This task requires the construction of a class-struggle leadership pitted against the companies, their bootlickers in the union and the capitalist government. By its policy of running for protection to the employers' courts and its mild-mannered program of minimal reforms, the TDU forfeits any claim to this role. Any alleged connection between the TDU and real socialist politics is only the result of a gross and many-sided misunderstanding. ■

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Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL
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Date: Sat., April 9

Time: 7:30 p.m.

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CHICAGO

MEC Lies and Whispers

Several months ago the Marxist Education Collective (MEC) began gearing up for an exclusion of the Spartacist League. The MEC—a kind of latter-day “Free University” which provides a sheltered environment for homeless U.S. supporters of the centrist European majority of Ernest Mandel’s “United” Secretariat, together with “Marxist” academics, burnt-out radicals and other social-dilettantes—has been increasingly disturbed by the intervention of the SL (which “disrupts” the monotony of the MEC’s empty “radical” cheerleading by raising Trotskyist politics). The MEC accordingly initiated a whisper campaign about SL “lies and slanders,” which we demanded be put in writing. Finally five weeks ago, the document appeared in the form of a letter from “MEC coordinator” Stephen Kass.

In print—where the MEC has to take responsibility for them—the charges have been reduced from “lying” and “slandering” to “glaring inaccuracies.”

We will not inflict upon our readers Kass’s petty and petulant opus, which would take up a page and a half in *WV*. The charges boil down to the following: that we did not accurately report the MEC’s December 24 “Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women”; that we insulted Laura Allende; that we distort the MEC position on defense work; that we accuse the MEC of “supporting” Nazi political prisoners; and that we “violate the norms of workers democracy.” Finally, the letter casually informs us in passing that the MEC has come up with a singular new fringe benefit for its “teachers”: the “discretion to limit SL attendance to one representative per class.” Kass’s accusations are nothing but the pretext by which the MEC hopes to excuse this and future political exclusion.

“Night of Solidarity”

Last November 15 the MEC sent the SL Women’s Commission an invitation

to participate in a “cultural and political event being organized around the international oppression of women.” In our response declining this “Invitation to a Betrayal” (see *WV* No. 136, 3 December 1976) the SL explained:

“The broadest possible defense efforts against savage junta terror in Latin America and throughout the world have consistently been among our most urgent concerns. But the defense of class-war prisoners against right-wing repression can only be damaged by the sectarian feminist ‘event’ you are planning.”

The MEC objects to our “irresponsible” prediction that the event would be a “shameless display of feminist sectarianism.” But the invitation (which *WV* reprinted) clearly invoked:

“...the unitary character of imperialism’s attack on women through its state apparatus: openly on women freedom fighters as prisoners, and in less obvious ways on all of us, especially Third World Women.”

Our indictment of the “event” for drawing the “sex line where it is absolutely crucial to draw the class line” was a political charge amply supported. That the MEC does not like it does not make it a slander.

Moreover, the “Night of Solidarity” completely bore out our prediction (see “MEC Feminist Fete Defends Women Only,” *WV* No. 138, 24 December 1976). Annette Rubinstein asked the audience to send Xmas cards to Puerto Rican political prisoner Lolita Lebrón while barely mentioning her four male comrades jailed along with her; Myra Tanner Weiss declared that Chilean women prisoners were the most oppressed because they had not only been seized by the class enemy but were now being held in “male-dominated jails.”

Does the MEC deny that these statements were made? Clearly it cannot. But Kass claims our account was distorted because we did not also mention the unmemorable, uncritical speech by the MEC’s Mary Boger, whose remarks were in no way a departure from the evening’s feminist politics. If Boger disagreed with Rubinstein or Weiss, it would be news to the audience which gathered that evening to hear her uphold the MEC’s public propaganda bloc with the feminism whose most egregious expressions *WV* reported.

Kass indignantly protests that *WV* should have quoted from an MEC pamphlet, something called “Feminism and the State,” which contains “our [MEC] political positions.” As the MEC meanders over the shifting sands of opportunism, it leaves behind contradictory tracks, including a left face which is convenient, of course, when it encounters the SL (though its “Feminism and the State” with its talk of “our sisters” is hardly an example). It is revealing that the MEC—this “open forum” which cringes at the prospect of an explicit political program, where nobody can ever be found to take responsibility for anything that is said, where there are no leaders but only “coordinators” and “respected teachers”—suddenly can come up with political positions when it wants them. But what the MEC *doesn’t* do is forthrightly defend the feminist invitation for the “Night of Solidarity with Revolutionary Women,” which just happens to be the document we polemicized against.

One can only shudder at what students are taught in this school for “Marxist education.” At the MEC’s International Women’s Day forum, Arthur Felberbaum again reiterated the MEC’s feminist defense position, claiming that the vicious persecution of former Black Panther Assata Shakur “shows; when given the choice, the state

will go after a woman”—as if Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, George Jackson, John Huggins, Bunchy Carter, etc., had never existed.

Kass accuses us of taking “cheap shots” at “a person who was jailed and tortured for her opposition to the Chilean junta”: Laura Allende. In fact, *WV* gave Laura Allende her due, and this is no doubt what is so embarrassing to the MEC. For it was Allende and not any of the speakers associated with the MEC who separated herself from the evening’s rampant feminism. As we reported at the time:

“...even the featured speaker, Laura Allende, sister of the late president of Chile and herself an official in the Chilean Unidad Popular (UP) government, understood the implications and took pains to draw a sharp line between herself and the feminists. She began her remarks by pointedly greeting ‘compañeras...and compañeros, because I do see men here,’ and went on to point out that many women who participated in Chilean left-wing politics did so because their *class instincts* dominated over their *sex instincts*.”

Our criticisms of Laura Allende are not “cheap shots,” but are profound political differences directed at a leading spokesman of the suicidal popular-frontist strategy of preaching reliance on the “constitutionalist” officer corps, leaving the Chilean proletariat defenseless before the bloody coup. Kass would have us believe that her remarks that night (calling for more arms—now that the battle is over) make her some sort of left critic of the popular front. Yet only the night before, Allende—who is presently a representative of Chile Democrático, the popular front in exile—addressed the International Human Rights forum to call for building a “better” popular front with “better” bourgeois forces in it.

Fascism

Kass’s letter complains of “a slanderous charge” which “leaves us open to attacks by the bourgeoisie and its agents.” The supposed charge is:

“...your presumption that we would support Nazi political prisoners.... The implication of your spurious charge has the effect of trying to put the MEC outside the Left. (After all, any group that would support and defend fascists should be treated like them, i.e. attacked out of social existence by whatever means the situation requires.)”

But the SL never said that the MEC defends fascists! What we did say was:

“Your sex-defined strategy for political defense would not in principle preclude the defense of, for example, an Isabel Perón, or a Nazi like Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan who is certainly a political prisoner in imperialist West Germany. Your attempt to apply the feminist concept of ‘sisterhood’ to defense work leaves you with no way to separate the defense of women prisoners in the

continued on page 10

Victory to Atlanta Sanitation Workers Strike!

Striking Atlanta sanitation workers, members of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), are continuing to hold out this week in the face of the vicious drive by Mayor Maynard Jackson to smash their strike.

The walkout began one week ago when the city refused to grant the union’s demand for a 50 cents-an-hour wage increase. In a frenzy of anti-labor hysteria the city council delivered an ultimatum to the more than 1,000 striking sanitation and water works employees, 80 percent of whom are black.

Letters were sent out to the strikers threatening them with dismissal if they did not return to work—at the same time it was announced that the city was taking applications to replace them if they were not back on the job by April 2. Moreover, on April 4, the mayor began a massive scab operation. Schools, shopping centers and fire stations were designated as pick-up points where scabs, backed up by the Atlanta police,

broke through the workers’ picket lines to collect the garbage.

When black Democrat Maynard Jackson became mayor of Atlanta in 1974, the liberals praised him to the skies and the AFSCME labor tops themselves worked tirelessly for his election. The first black mayor of Atlanta was hailed as the harbinger of the “new South” where labor organizing would be encouraged and racial antagonisms ended. But Maynard Jackson is certainly no champion of black civil rights; he and his Democratic cronies have abandoned busing for school desegregation, counterposing instead their “Atlanta Plan” which merely calls for increased black representation in the local public school bureaucracy.

However, the Spartacist League insisted at the time that the working masses must place no confidence in such capitalist politicians. The Democratic Party will never fight on the side of the oppressed—this bourgeois party is dedicated to smashing strikes, reinforcing racial divisions among the workers and everything else necessary to protect the workings of the capitalist system.

It is crucially important for the future of labor organizing in the South that Jackson’s union-busting drive be smashed and the strike won. All Atlanta labor should go out in support of the courageous AFSCME strikers. Jackson’s attempt to break this strike demonstrates the urgent need for the labor movement to break all ties with the capitalist parties and fight for the formation of a workers party to unite behind it all the oppressed in the struggle for a workers government.

Victory to the sanitation workers strike! ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

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NEW YORK

Chicago Motorman Scapegoated in Wake of "L" Disaster

CHICAGO—The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), operator of the dangerous and obsolete elevated railways which snake their way above the streets of this city, is waging a relentless campaign to scapegoat a black motorman, Stephen Martin, for the February 4 "L"-train collision which killed 11 people and injured 189. Within hours of the crash, which occurred in the Loop during evening rush hour traffic, the CTA claimed that "human failure" caused the disaster. Martin, who suffered a crushed pelvis and other internal injuries in the crash, bitterly stated from his hospital bed, "they [the CTA] always blame the driver, it's never the system's fault" (*Chicago Defender*, 12 February).

Recently concluded hearings before the federal National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) indicate that "motorman error" will likely be cited as the major cause of the accident. While the NTSB hearings in themselves are neither disciplinary nor criminal proceedings, their determination carries significant weight. The basis for the attempt to get Martin is largely a charge that he ignored a safety warning device inside his cab which is supposedly "fail safe." This charge was settled on after more than six weeks of character assassination and attempts to try him in the bourgeois press.

The attacks on Martin included a blatant but badly bungled drug plant. Six days after the accident the Chicago police triumphantly leaked to the press that they had "discovered" four marijuana cigarettes in a shoulder bag re-

covered from the wreckage which was alleged to be Martin's. However, the police had in the meantime "lost" the evidence for four days and then "found" it in the attache case of another passenger. Although the drug plant failed—this "evidence," in view of its checkered history, was not admitted in the NTSB hearings—the CTA is reluctant to drop this angle and is seeking to introduce another series of urine tests which supposedly show a trace of marijuana in his system. This would not, however, prove that he had been smoking marijuana prior to the crash, and is in any case no evidence of operator negligence.

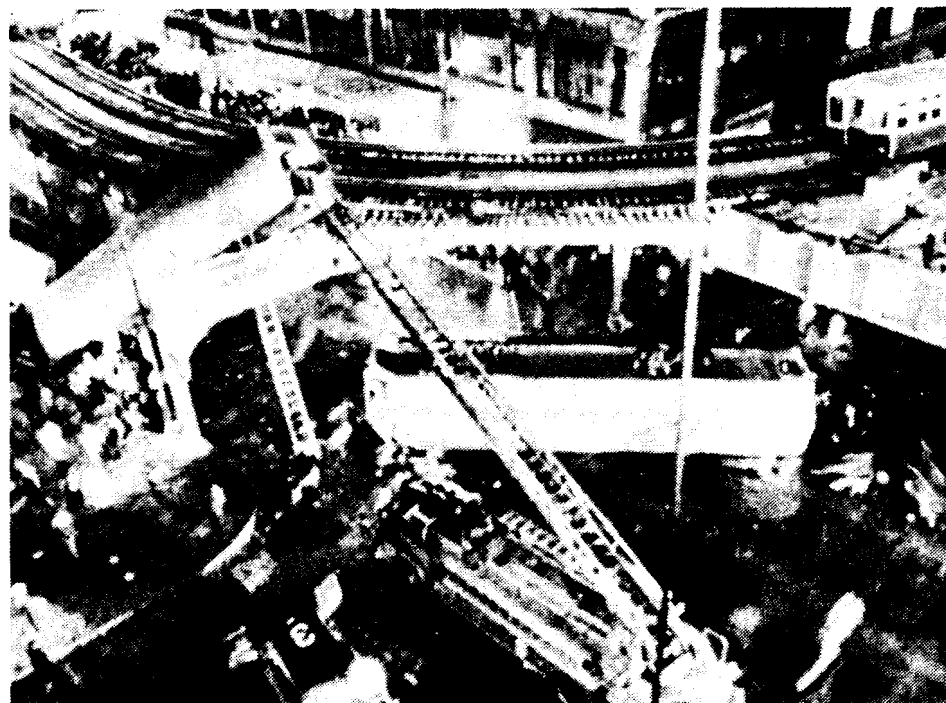
Martin admits that he failed to wait for permission to proceed from a traffic controller after receiving a flashing red warning signal in his cab. However, he says he was unaware of this regulation, and there is considerable evidence that it was not well-publicized and seldom, if ever, applied. It was only issued in December 1976, and in testimony given before the Safety Board CTA general manager George Krambles admitted that the rule book had not been revised since 1962, despite an NTSB recommendation to update it after another fatal CTA crash in January 1976. Krambles also conceded that there were no formal briefing procedures for motormen when new regulations were introduced.

In any case, there is considerable question as to how well observed this regulation is. CTA management is notorious for keeping safety rules on the books as a hedge against accidents, while in practice expecting drivers to violate them. CTA motorman Jesse Martinez told the press: "If everybody had to call in [to controllers] when they got a flashing red, the whole line would be tied up all day." Another motorman stated, "You can proceed on the flashing red without getting permission and nothing is ever said" by supervisors. Obviously embarrassed on this score, the CTA refused to answer questions about whether the rule was actually enforced or whether any motormen had ever been disciplined for violating it (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 11 February).

Martin vehemently denied the marijuana charge and explained that a blind spot in his cab prevented him from seeing the other train. He said that the emergency braking system did not stop his train properly, allowing it to slide into the rear of the other train.

A survey taken of its membership by Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 308 demonstrated that a substantial number of drivers report that CTA supervisors deliberately overlook safety violations and that it is not uncommon for supervisors to tell motormen to ignore safety regulations. Management's callous disregard for safety procedures was corroborated by interviews conducted over the last two weeks by *Workers Vanguard*. One motorman told *WV* of an incident in the past week in which he reported to a supervisor that he was unable to engage his brakes. He was told that his train was "normal" and ordered to drive it—filled with passengers—into the congested Loop area. Another worker reported that once during a snow storm her windshield wipers were inoperative and she was ordered to continue using the train in this condition.

The most treacherously cynical example of the CTA's callous disregard for the safety of both the public and train workers was documented at the NTSB hearings. An ATU member, Arthur W. Brown, recounted that minutes after the February collision,



Train wreck in downtown Chicago February 4. AP

while two train cars full of trapped commuters dangled perilously over the street from the elevated tracks, he was instructed to drive a Lake Street/Dan Ryan train around the curve. Brown was terrified that the vibrations of his passing train might "jostle the cars dangling from the structure" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 18 March).

With a notorious safety record (including 32 deaths in 50 years), the CTA is morbidly afraid of disclosures which reveal to the public its outrageous safety violations. Several workers told *WV* reporters that they had been explicitly threatened with firing if they discussed the safety of the CTA system. One driver, Jesse Martinez, was threatened with suspension after he circulated a petition critical of safety procedures shortly after the accident. The CTA backed down only after Martinez complained to the press and an editorial blasting the CTA appeared in the liberal *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The most recent disclosure of widespread company negligence was the survey conducted by ATU Local 308 of the \$25 million "fail-safe" system designed to prevent collisions. Some 201 motormen (out of 400) completed the questionnaire, and a good 96 percent claimed that they had received wrong signals from the safety system: green lights when the track ahead was occupied, hold lights when the track was clear, etc. An overwhelming majority of the motormen felt that the new system of signal lights in the cab was less reliable than the old system of wayside signals on the track.

While not explicitly defending Martin, the Local 308 leadership submitted the results of its survey to the NTSB hearings to denounce the CTA. The ATU also issued a statement complaining that Martin was being scapegoated: "Blaming the motorman before investigations are complete or before the man can speak in his own defense is both unfair and misleading to the public.... The news media's rush to raise sensational charges and then have trial and conviction by publicity brings a rain of abuse on the individual and on all transit operating employees" (quoted in *Chicago Defender*, 15 February).

The union threatened to set up its own 24-hour hot line to take complaints about safety equipment, claiming that they were routinely ignored by Transit Authority supervisors. However, the union bureaucracy's denunciation of the CTA is certainly hypocritical. Its own record of defending its membership against management is tarnished; large

numbers of workers interviewed by *WV* were so disgusted that they referred to their local as a "company union."

The bureaucracy's refusal to fight safety grievances makes it at least complicit in disasters like February 4. And its newly announced threat to bypass the CTA and bring safety violations directly to the NTSB is a dead end. "Public" agencies like the NTSB will not defend the interests of the workers. This is proven by years of experience with such federal regulatory agencies in industries like mining, maritime, chemicals, etc. What is needed is militant union action on the job to halt management's interminable safety violations.

As for Martin himself, he is the intended victim of a railroading job orchestrated by CTA officials. Unlike New Leftists, who viewed random sabotage and shoddy workmanship as defiance of capitalism, communists do not encourage or condone wantonly irresponsible actions by workers. However, the recently concluded NTSB "fact-finding" hearing has not produced convincing evidence of gross negligence on Martin's part. The CTA regulation he violated was neither well publicized nor consistently enforced, and the "fail-safe" system of which it is a part is notoriously unreliable. The would-be discovery of marijuana was a transparent frame-up which even the NTSB refused to admit as evidence.

Finally, the attempts by the CTA to depict Martin's work record as grossly substandard are not convincing. CTA management regularly employs an arbitrary and discriminatory system of disciplinary measures against the drivers. Workers interviewed by *WV* responded overwhelmingly that his record was no worse than average for a driver of his seniority.

The CTA's despicable attempts to "get" Martin are a smokescreen to obscure decades of callous disregard for the well-being of working people and blacks who largely depend on urban mass transit. Nor will the partial revelations of CTA neglect and inefficiency in the bourgeois press produce a qualitatively better transportation system. Essential services like schools, hospitals and mass transit will continue to deteriorate in the cities, which are largely poor and black, as the capitalist class seeks to bolster its profit rate by slashing social expenditures. The provision of high quality, free social services awaits the destruction of the archaic capitalist system. ■

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How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals

It is common knowledge that a good number of Nazi officials escaped from Germany during the last days of the Third Reich and made their way to Spain and Latin America. There many (such as Adolf Eichmann) faded into the background and became successful businessmen under their new aliases. Others, like Otto Skorzeny, continued to ply their trade of anti-communist terrorism, advising fascist groups and military secret police agencies.

A review of
Wanted!—The Search for Nazis in America
by Howard Blum

Much less publicity has been given to the fact that, for decades, the United States government has sheltered an unknown number of former Nazis. Among them are numerous ex-members of the Rumanian Iron Guard, the Croatian Ustashi, the Latvian Daugavas Vanagi and other East European clerical-fascist groups who slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews, communists and subject nationalities during World War II.

A recent book by Harold Blum, *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1977), details the cases of several of these war criminals. The title, however, is somewhat misleading, for what the book shows is not an official search for Nazis but the opposite: a consistent policy, reaching to the highest levels of government, to cover up for and protect fascist refugees from justice.

The book is also valuable for its recounting of the barbaric crimes of East European fascists. While years of Hollywood World War II movies have shaped American popular opinion to see the archetypal Nazi as an arrogant Prussian officer in polished black boots, a former German Einsatz commando chief commented on the Balkan and south Slav fascists that "We were actually frightened by the bloodthirstiness of these people."

Of course, the German army found the pogroms unleashed by the rabidly nationalistic, mystical-terrorist native fascist groups (and special non-German SS detachments recruited from among local anti-Semites, anti-communists and criminals) quite useful in consolidating its brief occupation of East Europe. After the war, these local Nazis who fell back with the retreating Wehrmacht before the advancing Red Army tried to hide themselves in the mass of several hundred thousand "displaced persons." But with the onset of the "cold war" they soon resurrected themselves as "refugees from Communist totalitarianism" and found a comfortable haven in the U.S.

The anti-communism and thwarted nationalist ambitions of these sadistic killers coincided with U.S. imperialism's desire to reconquer East Europe, and ultimately the USSR, for capitalism. That is why they have been protected by conservative Republican and liberal Democratic administrations alike, just as have the Cuban racketeers and Saigon generals who followed in their

footsteps. These are the people who set up CIA-funded operations like the Assembly of Captive Nations, waiting to regain power in John Foster Dulles' plans to "roll back Communism." These are the broadcasters who beam "free world" propaganda from the transmitters of Radio Free Europe. This is the advance guard of Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade.

Who Are the Nazi Hunters?

The book describes the efforts of a few individuals, stubbornly working for years, even decades, against bureaucratic apathy and sabotage to uncover fascist war criminals at large in America. The character of the "Nazi hunters"—isolated men, each driven by bitter personal experience—is revealing.

Blum follows the dogged efforts of three men—Anthony DeVito, a former Immigration Service agent who successfully brought Mrs. Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, the Maidanek concentration camp guard, to trial; "Harold Goldberg" (a pseudonym), an ex-NYC cop who stumbled across the bloody history of Circassian fascist Tscherim Soobzokov in the course of an investigation for the Social Security Administration; and Charles Kremer, a Jewish dentist originally from Rumania who sought to bring the authors of a 1941 pogrom in Bucharest to justice.

None of the three originally had doubts about the fairness of the "American system." The cop and the Immigration agent felt that, after all, they were simply doing their job. Yet both were constantly blocked in their efforts. Vital files disappeared, DeVito was transferred away from Nazi-catching activities, Goldberg was threatened by his superiors and local New Jersey politicians. Kremer's over 3,000 letters to government authorities about Rumanian fascist Valerian Trifa were ignored for years.

Despite official sabotage, they persisted on their own. Goldberg was a



Mrs. Ryan at the time she was concentration camp guard.



Rumanian Iron Guard marching in 1936.

New York Post

devotee of unsolved mysteries, bored with his Social Security job and relishing his role as a tough cop-detective hunting down criminals. Kremer was a "self-made man" who was not about to let faint-hearted compatriots prevent the avenging of the dead in the Bucharest pogrom. For Anthony DeVito, one



Maikovskis in the Latvian S.S. in 1943

New York Post



Bishop Trifa in 1954

New York Post

of the first Americans to enter Dachau concentration camp after it was taken by the Allies, the image of the crematorium stacked with bodies, skulls on top of skulls, was fixed indelibly into his memory.

These men uncovered not only the existence and dark histories of Nazis living in America, but a sinister web of U.S. government complicity and protection of the war criminals they sought. DeVito has come to believe that the Nazis have infiltrated the government and have a plot to get him. Even a conservative reviewer, the *New York Times'* Harrison Salisbury, states: "Blum has brought *The Odessa File* to life.... His findings are chilling, scandalous, and read like the latest fictional suspense story."

But the real source of the obstructions is far deeper than lonely hunters like DeVito comprehend, or than "responsible" bourgeois journalists would care to admit. There are countless circles of right-wing exiles in the U.S., and no doubt a fair number of fascist plots; but it has been the deliberate policy of the American government—not a secret conspiracy of former SS officers—that has protected the Nazi war criminals. While a few of the more pathological, usually lower-echelon, butchers have been brought to trial (although Mrs. Ryan is the *only* one ever actually deported), former high-ranking Nazi collaborators such as Dr. Hubertus Strughold, associated with murderous medical experiments on Jewish prisoners at Dachau, were brought to America to strengthen its military-research apparatus.

Valerian Trifa—Iron Guard Pogrom Instigator

On 11 May 1955 Bishop Valerian Trifa of the American diocese of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, gave the opening prayer to the U.S. Senate: "... bless them [the senators] that they may remember... Rumania and all the oppressed nations who are still longing for 'a government by the people, and for the people.'" Trifa's presence on the dais was requested by none other than Vice President Richard Milhous Nixon.

In 1941 Trifa was a leader of the fascist Iron Guard and president of the National Union of Christian Rumanian Students. By January 20 of that year, the Iron Guard had become impatient with the pro-Axis military government

WORKERS VANGUARD

of General Ion Antonescu and sought to precipitate a coup against him, which, while it failed, led to a night of wholesale murder of Jews. Trifa's speech in Bucharest that evening was the signal for the pogrom uprising to begin. Proclamations over his name distributed in the streets of the Rumanian capital demanded "the replacing of all Masonic and kike sympathizers in government...."

Only several weeks later did the news of this slaughter reach the outside world, in a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch which Charles Kremer read and saved:

"Perhaps the most horrifying single episode of the pogrom was the 'kosher butchering' last Wednesday night of more than two hundred Jews in the municipal slaughterhouse.... There the Greenshirts forced them to undress and led them to the chopping blocks, where they cut their throats in a horrible parody of the traditional Jewish methods of slaughtering fowl and livestock...."

"Some mangled bodies were disposed of by pouring them down manholes to the sewers usually used to carry animal remains. Other naked, headless bodies were hung on iron hooks and stamped *Carne Kosher*: kosher meat."

"The general staff which ordered the massacre consisted of Vice President Horia Sima, chief of the Greenshirt Legion, Dimitry Groza, boss of the Legionary Workers Corps, and Viorel Trifa, leader of the frenetic Greenshirt student movement."

After the failure of the 1941 putsch, Trifa and other Iron Guardists fled to Germany where they were kept in reserve by Hitler as a useful threat to keep Antonescu in line. In 1945 he went to Vienna, from there to Italy, and finally entered the United States in 1950. He became bishop of the American Rumanian church in 1952 and a U.S. citizen in 1957.

Trifa's ordination as bishop was not religious at all but an out-and-out political putsch. The fact that the incumbent prelate, Bishop Moldovan, had been appointed by the patriarch in Bucharest gave Trifa his opening to seize a position of authority in the Rumanian exile community through a coup based on McCarthyite red-baiting. On July 4 a group of former Iron Guardists surrounded the Rumanian Orthodox Episcopate in Michigan chanting "Com-mu-nists, Com-mu-nists!" hurling rocks through the windows and slashing car tires. The phone lines had been cut so the residents could not appeal for aid, and the bishop finally surrendered the mission to Trifa and his cohorts.

Some months after Trifa moved in (he had by now dubbed himself Valerian and had himself ordained "bishop" by an anti-Communist Ukrainian exile archbishop), Kremer was present at an unusual meeting in New York of the United Rumanian Jews of America (URJA). Bishop Moldovan had come to appeal for their aid in exposing Trifa, the author of the 1941 Bucharest pogrom. Kremer was enthusiastic, but not his organization. "It doesn't concern Jews," said one. Others feared that to challenge the government's admission of Trifa to the U.S. would make Jews seem foreign and unpatriotic. Later Kremer went to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. They told him: "Don't rock the boat. America has been good to the Jews. Leave well enough alone."

Kremer was infuriated and vowed to pursue Trifa. He was elected president of the URJA and began sending out letters on its letterhead. But it was no use: Trifa was anti-Communist, and this was good enough for the Immigration Service. Trifa subsequently made himself of use to the government by aiding in witchhunting "reds" among Detroit auto workers in the 1950's. But above all he was protected because a close friend and former Iron Guardist, industrialist Nicolae Malaxa, was in tight with Nixon.

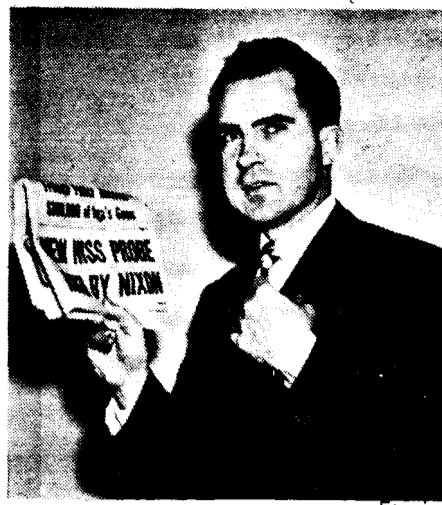
Malaxa had supplied the Iron Guard with arms and money in Rumania, but

when the Nazis were defeated he made a deal to pay large sums to the local station chief of the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS—forerunner of the CIA) in return for admission to the U.S. Arriving as part of a trade mission, Malaxa never left. But despite support from California Congressman Nixon, who introduced a private bill in the House of Representatives to allow Malaxa to remain permanently in the U.S., he encountered some difficulties. So the Iron Guardist and the witchhunter worked out a clever scheme: in 1951 at the height of the Korean War Malaxa set up a company called "Western Tube Corp.," whose offices were located at the address of Nixon's Whittier, California, law firm. By pushing a petition to have Western Tube declared a vital wartime priority, Nixon managed to obtain permanent resident status for his protégé.

Ustashi and Einsatzgruppen

Another of the cases recounted by Blum is that of Andrija Artuković, founder of the secret police of the puppet Ustashi regime in Axis-occupied Croatia (see "U.S. Harbors Ustaši Death Camp Butcher," *WV* No. 105, 16 April 1976, for a fuller account). Artuković authorized and supervised the imprisonment of the 30,000 Jews of Croatia, of whom 90 percent were murdered. During the first summer of Nazi occupation, the Ustashi slaughtered over 180,000 Serbs, gypsies, Communists and Jews. Artuković reveled in the blood: "Kill all the Serbs and Jews without exception," he ordered his chief of police.

When the Germans pulled out in 1945, the Ustashi leaders fled with them,



Nixon in 1948, hunting "Reds" at home.

some going to Spain. By 1948 Artuković had made his way to the U.S. In 1951 the Yugoslav government requested his extradition to face charges of war crimes, but the State Department has consistently refused to comply. FBI officials testified as "character witnesses" for Artuković at his first trial, while his lawyers argued he was just a persecuted victim of International Communism. At his final trial in 1958 the Ustashi mass murderer was declared a victim of "political persecution" and the next year he was officially granted asylum. The Catholic Church, Knights of Columbus and various anti-Communist Congressmen have all backed him.

The two other fascist war criminals whose histories are detailed in Blum's book are Tschirim Soobzokov and Boleslavs Maikovskis, both members of SS Einsatzgruppen, special "anti-partisan" units set up by the Nazis to

exterminate Jews and communists in occupied East Europe. Soobzokov made his way to Jordan after the war, where there was a substantial community of emigrés from the Circassian region of the Caucasus; from there he proceeded to the U.S. After struggling as a factory worker in Paterson, New Jersey, for two years, he returned to the Near East. Although posing as an antique dealer, his real task was as an agent of the CIA, a role he filled again shortly after the U.S. Marines' invasion of Lebanon in 1958.

There were repeated official denials of Soobzokov's connection with the U.S. spy agency, but Goldberg discovered during his investigation that the former Obersturmführer of the Einsatzgruppen was paid several thousand dollars from the Army Civilian Payroll Section, a well-known conduit for CIA funds to temporary operatives. Upon his return to the U.S., Soobzokov quickly worked himself into New Jersey machine Democratic policy, setting himself up as the man who could deliver the vote of Paterson's Circassian community. His influential friends eventually squashed Goldberg's investigation.

Boleslavs Maikovskis, today a retired carpenter living in Mineola, Long Island, joined the Einsatzgruppen in Latvia, where he participated in mass executions of the population of entire Jewish villages. From there he was sent to the Baltic University in Germany in 1941. This was the school from which Nazi masterspy Reinhard Gehlen recruited his network of agents for the East European service.

When the end of the Third Reich was in sight, rather than face a Russian firing

continued on page 9

S.F. Nazi Office Smashed

SAN FRANCISCO, April 2—Provoked by anti-Semitic vandalism, a crowd of up to 150 residents of the Sunset district yesterday ransacked and burned a "bookstore" recently opened by American Nazis. This exemplary treatment of the fascist scum forced the local Nazi leader, Allen Vincent, to flee the store and seek refuge with the police.

The "Rudolf Hess Bookstore," complete with a large swastika on the window, was clearly a deliberate provocation by the Nazi vermin. The store was located in the center of a German Jewish community of survivors of World War II, right across from the community synagogue. Ironically, the landlord, Nathan Green, who unknowingly rented the storefront to the Nazis, is a Polish Jew who survived the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz. Green is seeking a legal eviction notice. Earlier in the week one self-proclaimed stormtrooper, Carl Herler, clearly admitted that the Nazis were deliberately trying to provoke a reaction: "We are going to be evicted or bombed out or burned out," he boasted (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 April).

Only hours after a small crowd ransacked the store on Friday evening, the nearby synagogue was vandalized with bottles or rocks thrown through the stained glass windows. Soon after that the Nazi store was burned, and when firemen arrived a large crowd of local residents tried to restrain them.

As usual, bourgeois justice tilts in favor of the fascists. While police protected Nazi leader Allen Vincent, they arrested Morris Weiss, a concentration camp survivor, and his son Allan. The elder Weiss was booked for aggravated assault and resisting arrest, requiring \$2,750 bail—apparently because he allegedly kicked the fascist leader and shouted "dirty Nazi bastard"! The younger Weiss was charged with malicious mischief, requiring \$300 bail. Clearly it is in the interest of



S.F. Nazi bookstore after trashing.

working-class justice that these charges be dropped.

The Nazis have recently increased their exploratory probes into the San Francisco Bay Area, traditionally a center of working-class and left-wing strength. The fact that these cowards have felt emboldened enough to make such attempts is a sign of the heavy blows dealt to the labor movement in the recent period. Fortunately though, the Nazis have been driven back each time—such as at San Francisco State

University in 1975, where the Spartacus Youth League helped drive off the Nazis under the banner "No Platform for Fascists!" In 1966 an outraged crowd of trade unionists, including longshoremen, joined Jewish refugees in breaking up an attempted Nazi demonstration at San Francisco Civic Center.

The fascist bands will ultimately be the last defense of the decadent bourgeoisie, and the working class must learn now how to deal with them—through organized defense squads. Workers must have no illusions that the capitalist police will "protect" the labor movement. Nor must they be misled by the predictable wails of liberals and reformists who bemoan the infringement of the Nazis' "constitutional rights" instead of solidarizing with those whose just outrage put a halt to the fascist provocation. (We wonder whether the super-legalist Socialist Workers Party, which has openly defended "free speech" for the Nazi and Klan terrorists around the country, will carry its wretched civil libertarianism to its logical conclusion by coming to the defense of the Nazi storefront!)

In the absence of a labor-based defense squad, it is possible that the outrage of the Jewish refugees may be manipulated by the ultra right-wing Zionist terrorist Jewish Defense League (JDL). The day after the ransacking, at least one sign appeared near the bookstore bearing the JDL slogan, "Never again."

The left has had numerous run-ins with these anti-communist reactionaries. However, we defend those who resist fascist attack, while warning that the Zionists' own goal to assemble all Jews in Israel neatly dovetails with the fascists' desires to drive them out of the country. The only protection against a revival of serious anti-Semitism lies in winning the unions to class-struggle policies and ultimately in carrying out a working-class revolution. ■

Fremont...

(continued from page 12)

International to negotiate an end to the strike.

Only four pickets were assigned to each plant gate! Management was freely allowed in and out of the plant and new hires were encouraged to report for work (i.e., to scab). At the same time pickets were instructed not to try to stop Teamsters from entering or leaving the plant grounds. According to one picket interviewed by *WV*, when a Teamster driving a truck loaded with frames refused to cross the lines, Local 1364 bureaucrats came out and unsuccessfully urged him to make the delivery!

As if these leaky picket lines weren't enough, Mays also refused to call out the GM parts warehouse workers, also members of Local 1364.

To fend off criticism of its no-win strategy, the Fremont UAW bureaucracy, with Mays and vice president Ed Malone in the lead, unleashed a vicious redbaiting attack against its opponents in the Local. Dovetailing with this slander campaign was an attempt to physically seal off the membership. Mays and his cronies tried to drive off and intimidate members of socialist organizations trying to sell their papers to the strikers. Striking UAW members were also instructed not to talk to any reporters or newspaper salesmen.

At a time when sentiment was building in other sections of the Bay Area labor movement to support the strike, Mays launched his drive against "outsiders"! However, Mays' bungling of the strike made it progressively ever clearer that his witchhunting was simply designed to squelch criticism of his weak-kneed policies. Only a day after the Local 1364 president reportedly denounced the company/International return-to-work ultimatum before a mass meeting, he buckled under.

Under the terms of the agreement announced by Mays, the firings of the shop committee and other strike activists are to be lifted. Nevertheless, the company will "note" the firings in its records. Further, Mays is to receive a 30-day disciplinary layoff (DLO) on his record; the rest of the shop committee had 14-day DLO's recorded. This means Mays can now be fired for any infraction of company rules, with the rest of the shop committee just two steps away from a firing!

In selling this capitulation to the workers, Mays also assured the assembled workers that he had the International's "word" that it had GM's "word" that GM would order its foremen to stop assaulting (!) UAW officials on the plant floor. The International also "promised" to help get a local contract for Fremont UAW, which given the miserable national contract should make GMAD quite happy.

Meanwhile, the Oakland *Tribune* of 2 April quoted a General Motors spokesman as saying the issues that provoked the strike "aren't negotiable." Also, *WV* learned that foreman Holquist is back on the job today and is being conspicuously paraded around the plant.

Mays calls this a victory! No, it is a defeat! The union has returned to work on GM's terms. Holquist remains on the job, and this isn't negotiable. The union leadership has been disciplined for leading the walkout; and paragraph 117 of the national contract has been upheld.

The Development of the Strike

The Fremont defeat could have been averted. Although the Local leadership did nothing to prepare the members for a strike, once the walkout was called support for the action was enthusiastic. Local 1364 members had plenty to strike about. Working without a local contract since last September, Fremont workers have had a steady diet of overtime, speed-up and harassment.

There was considerable sentiment on the picket lines to broaden the strike to obtain a local contract and to clear away the mountain of accumulated grievances. However, the membership was not reluctant to fight for even the limited demands of the Local bureaucracy—wanton insulting of union officials was clearly seen as an attack on the entire membership. Had the foreman been removed and the shop committee brought back with all disciplines lifted, it would have been viewed as a reversal of the past period of defeats, paving the way for the union to go on the offensive.

However, this required a decisive show of strength by the Local against the company and the strikebreaking International. But Mays adamantly kept the lid on, refusing to set up mass picket lines or appeal to other union locals. It is clear that there was sentiment in favor of the strikers within the Bay Area labor movement. When the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League threw up a small picket at a Chevrolet dealership in nearby San Leandro in order to show support for the strike and bring it to the attention of the labor movement, union machinists refused to cross the line. By Monday those same machinists, along with 1,700 other machinists in the Bay Area, were on strike to obtain their own contract.

The ILWU Local 6 executive board passed a motion to "stand in solidarity with the UAW Local 1364 strike" and asked the strikers if their union could aid the strike in any way. When ILWU Local 6 executive board member Bob

Mandel attended a UAW Local 1364 strike meeting on Thursday, read the motion and declared his union's solidarity with the strike, he received thunderous applause.

The International had already broken one strike that week, by Local 1226 at an Indianapolis Chrysler plant (see article in this issue). While Doug Fraser faces no serious opposition as Woodcock's chosen successor, the rapid-fire beheading of UAW shop committees throughout the country would not be a favorable inauguration for his administration. Given the volatility of the UAW membership, any shop chairman—no matter how servile to Solidarity House—could find himself in the position of Local 1226's Larry Shick or Local 1364's Earlie Mays. Fraser does not want to needlessly alienate local officials, however, and doubtless this factor was among those cushioning the extent of the defeat at Fremont.

Attempts to bludgeon Local 1364 could easily backfire, provoking a massive turnout by enraged Fremont workers at the UAW convention scheduled in Los Angeles in six weeks. Fraser and Woodcock would find this especially embarrassing given the scheduled appearance at the convention of imperialist chief Jimmy Carter.

But instead of standing up to the International, the Local 1364 leadership devoted its energies to redbaiting, hoping no doubt to lay the ground work for blaming a defeat on a "fifth column" within the union, or on "outsiders." However, the character of the strike and

the demands themselves—which largely centered around the leadership—make it obvious who was responsible for the course of the strike.

The witchhunting policy failed. When three vans of bureaucrats drove up to two *WV* salesmen on the picket lines and threatened them, pickets and other workers on the scene came to their defense, telling the bureaucrats these sellers supported the strike and had a right to sell their papers. (Several years ago, in response to Maoist thuggery, Local 1364 passed a motion upholding the right of all labor and socialist organizations to freely distribute their literature outside the plant and union meetings.)

Time and again, Fremont UAW members made it clear to *WV* that they had no intention of letting their "leaders" muzzle them or tell them what they could or could not read. Even some hardened right-wing bureaucratic supporters mobilized by the Local leadership to keep *WV* salesmen out of the union hall parking lot told us they were mystified by the union's policies. "Why are they [the Local 1364 leaders] doing this? I don't understand this hostility," said one of these workers, puzzled at having to guard his union from people who clearly supported the strike.

It is indeed ironic that Mays & Co.—who in their redbaiting invoked the totalitarian horrors of Stalin's Russia and Mao's China—act exactly like the bureaucrats who run the deformed workers states...and for precisely the same reasons. Like Hua and Brezhnev, Mays and his pals tried to quash all criticisms of their sellout policies and bureaucratically suppress dissent. What both the Stalinist and trade-union bureaucrats fear above all else is that the workers will learn the truth about their betrayals and throw them out. And the Fremont strike indeed gave Local 1364 members a chance to see their "leadership" in action under fire. It failed miserably.

A Test

This strike was also a test for the various oppositions to the incumbent leadership. Among those who miserably failed this test are the various Maoist-supported groupings. Auto Workers United to Fight (AWUF), which is politically supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), spent most of the strike trying to crawl back into the good graces of the Mays leadership, which it helped get into office in 1973.

After Mays' initial blast of redbaiting on Monday, AWUF timidly held back from speaking in the strike meetings. Instead, it spent its time collecting signatures for a petition, presumably to be delivered to Mays, listing its strike demands and calling for mass picketing. What bankruptcy! Instead of fighting to get the membership together in favor of solid strike action at the many mass meetings which took place during the strike, all these cowards could do was to give Mays a piece of paper, telling him "UAW members feel that the membership must be organized and united to go all out to fight the company!"

While Auto Workers United to Fight called for the International to sanction the strike, its method for fighting for such action was simultaneously legalistic and idiotic. On Monday the AWUF presented its only motion of the entire strike to the membership: that the union refuse to recognize receivership should the International impose it on the striking Local. This accepted defeat as inevitable and was, rightly, simply laughed off the floor.

Mays' redbaiting also sent supporters of the October League, the "Resistance" group supported by the August 29th Movement, and supporters of the Workers Viewpoint Organization scurrying for cover. But whereas the AWUF was at Mays' feet throughout the strike, these groupings were at his throat. All

CMUAW Leaflet:

Let's Win this Strike!

We are not on a wildcat—This is a legitimate official strike called by our elected local union leadership in response to extreme provocation by the company. GM has made its position clear; they would rather fire the entire shop committee in an attempt to break Local 1364 than remove one foreman.

Our strike is solid; it's the International that has branded it a wildcat. They are stabbing us in the back by refusing to sanction it. It is expected that they intend to read us the riot act at today's union meeting. The International has been using the no-strike Paragraph 117 to break a series of local strikes. At Indianapolis as well as Fremont, they have abandoned locals because they say company assaults on union reps are not a strikable grievance.

No matter what our criticisms of Mays and the shop committee (and we have plenty of them), they are the strike leadership. In attacking the shop committee, GM is attacking all 5,000-plus members of the local. If this strike is defeated by GM with the International's help, we will pay the price for it back in the plant with intensified harassment and a weakened union. This strike and the incidents leading up to it show the need to get rid of Paragraph 117 which is being used to undercut our just struggle.

To protect ourselves, we must do everything possible to expand the basis of this strike. Instead of wasting time red-baiting at union meetings, we should be discussing ways to make this a winning strike.

•SEAL OFF THE PLANT! To make this strike hurt the company, nothing must move through the gates. To date, carriers full of trucks and cars have been allowed to pass through the picket lines—this must stop. Not management, not new hires, NOBODY should be allowed through. The Parts plant should be brought out to join us. Not the present skeleton picket lines, but solid mass picket lines involving the whole local are needed to stop traffic of trains, trucks and people.

•EXTEND THE STRIKE! This morning Ford Milpitas is scheduled for a strike vote, opening up the possibility of expanding the strike. Our local can send delegations to other UAW locations in Region 6. Also, a lot of other unions in the Bay Area have been hit hard by the employers; they might be inclined to send us reinforcements in response to an official request (ILWU, Teamsters, etc.).

While winning the present demand with no reprisals would constitute a limited victory, what we should really be going after is a local contract which includes settlement of all grievances and the junking of Paragraph 117 so we can deal directly with company harassment.

The incident precipitating this strike is a just cause, but everybody knows that it is part of a steady stream of abuse of workers and union reps, racial insult, job harassment, and killing overtime. Only a few hundred out of thousands in this local even came out to vote on the local agreement. It is that suppressed anger that is reflected in the solid turnout for this strike.

GM thinks they can fire our shop committee, but it is another thing to fire the whole plant. We have the power to win this strike, and we do not need the International stabbing us in the back either by a back-to-work order or an unacceptable compromise. This local leadership must hang tough and demand that the International sanction the strike. They must take every step to extend and strengthen this strike and hold out for VICTORY!

—The "UAW Militant," 30 March, published by the Committee for a Militant UAW, a class-struggle opposition caucus of Local 1364

denounced Mays' motives for the strike, claiming he called it to touch up his tarnished image as a militant; and they all demanded that he be dumped.

While it is likely that Mays' motives involved more than a defense of the assaulted committeeman, it was important to point out that the cause of the strike was just and that once the lines had been drawn, the battle had to be won. By failing to do this, and by failing to make it absolutely clear that the firings of Mays and the shop committee were an attack on the entire union which must be lifted, these supporters of various Maoist sects edged very close to the position of opposing the strike and blocking with GM.

Workers Viewpoint Organization went over the edge when one of its supporters told *WV* Mays should stay fired because he was a class collaborator! Likewise, both the *Call* supporters and Resistance failed to clearly demand the rehiring of Mays and the shop committee, stressing that Mays should be dumped just when General Motors had "dumped" him. Certainly, the Local 1364 bureaucracy should be kicked out of office; but this must be decided by the membership, not General Motors!

Once again it has been demonstrated that Maoism, with its idealist notion that whether someone is a capitalist or not depends on whether they have "bad" or "good" ideas, is unable to see the class line. Internationally, this leads the Maoists to prostration before U.S. imperialism as a consequence of the betrayals of the Chinese bureaucracy. Likewise in the trade unions, those who look to Maoism are either spineless lackeys of the "progressive" wing of the bureaucracy, or end up denouncing the trade-union misleaders as "capitalists" and "bosses."

While Auto Workers United to Fight, *Call* supporters, Resistance and Workers Viewpoint Organization all emerged from the Fremont strike widely discredited, this was not the case with the only other organized oppositional grouping in the Local, the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW). Unlike the other oppositions, CMUAW has always stood for a clear and principled program of class struggle. When supporters of the *Call* and AWUF were backing Mays in 1973, CMUAW refused to go along and pointed out that in power his Brotherhood Caucus would be just another gang of sellouts, no better than the Unity Team it replaced.

During the strike, the CMUAW made it clear that not only did it support the strike, but it was crucial that the entire union stand as one against the company's firing of the shop committee. CMUAW supporters were the only oppositionists able to effectively cut through Mays' red-baiting and get a sympathetic hearing on the real issue facing the Local—how to win the strike. By the end of the strike, the CMUAW was acknowledged by both the Mays leadership and large numbers of strike militants to be the opposition in the Local.

The strike at Fremont is now over. It ended in a defeat for the union, but certainly not an irreversible one. If the militants of the CMUAW can, in the light of the authority which they won during the strike, take to the membership a sober and realistic assessment of the role played by the Mays leadership and the several fake-militant oppositionists during the strike—patiently explaining to the most thoughtful and militant workers the way forward—the path will be open to forging a new leadership in Local 1364 and throughout the UAW, to fight against the companies for the real interests of the working class. ■

ABONNEZ-VOUS

Le Bolchévick

publication de la Ligue Trotskyste de France

pour toute correspondance:
Pascal Alessandri, B.P. 336, 75011 Paris, France

Nazis...

(continued from page 7)

squad Gehlen surrendered to the Americans and was spared from the Nuremberg war crimes trials. A few years later, he was asked by the CIA station chief in Bonn to reconstitute his spy network. When the head of West Germany's official intelligence agency defected to East Germany in 1954, Gehlen's CIA-financed organization was simply taken over in toto and became the Bundesnachrichtendienst, the new federal intelligence agency. (Valerian Trifa also worked for Gehlen while in Vienna in 1945.)

Maikovskis arrived in the U.S. from West Germany in 1951 and soon became vice chairman of the American Latvian Association and a delegate to the Assembly of Captive Nations. Repeated requests by the USSR for his extradition have been turned down by the United States government. A 1966 investigation of Maikovskis by the Immigration Service was halted after only four months on instructions from Washington. When DeVito became interested in the case, the files disappeared.

Yet these are only a select few out of hundreds of cases. Its hand forced by publicity surrounding the trial of Hermine Ryan, the U.S. government announced last year that it now has over 85 alleged fascist war criminals "under investigation," including Maikovskis, Trifa and Artuković.

Another of those supposedly under investigation is the Latvian Edgars Laipenieks, a member of the Latvian secret police during the Nazi occupation, who is accused of murdering hundreds of Jews. Last fall the *New York Times* (15 October) reported that his defense against attempts to remove his citizenship is a longstanding relationship with the CIA. From 1963 to 1968 he traveled extensively at the expense of the imperialist spy agency to "plant certain information about the Soviet Union."

Vilis Hazners, another Latvian former Nazi collaborator and secret police butcher, is a former president of the Committee for a Free Latvia and a delegate to the Assembly of Captive Nations. He was for years a script writer for Radio Liberty, a U.S.-funded anti-communist propaganda vehicle preaching the virtues of "freedom and democracy" to the Soviet Union.

In detailing these cases, the *New York Times* (28 November 1976) reported that "The State Department has long balked at seeking information on suspects from the Russians, who have sometimes used the war-crimes issue for propaganda..."; that "There have also been allegations that the war-crimes inquiries here were deliberately impeded"; and that Hazners and Laipenieks "may be beyond the reach of the law" because they entered the U.S. after 1952, and thus were not required to declare that they had not persecuted any nationality or minority!

Another *Times* article (23 November 1974) reports that in the case of the former head of the Luftwaffe's Medical Research Center, referred to earlier in this article, "Dr. Strughold's record of postwar activities suggests the sponsorship of American intelligence and security officials."

The obstructions, subterfuges, delaying tactics and other obstacles placed by American officials to hamper the uncovering and prosecution of Nazi war criminals are endless. For many

years, their defense was "ignorance"—that there were no known Nazis living in the U.S. Yet both Laipenieks and Hazners appeared on a list of 34 Nazi criminals published on 7 January 1949 by *Aufbau*, the New York German-Jewish weekly. This was before either applied for U.S. citizenship, yet the Immigration Service claims it never heard of any suspects until the mid-1960's.

The "Black International"

No one should delude himself that these fascist war criminals are nothing but a dwindling group of harmless old men, without influence and quietly whiling away their last years as "model citizens" who "go to church, work hard,



Florea/Life

Bodies at Nordhausen concentration camp, Germany, in 1945.

and tend their flower gardens," as the *New York Times* (18 October 1976) claimed. We have demanded that Artuković be extradited to Yugoslavia and others of these Nazi vermin be placed before juries of surviving relatives of their victims. It is a matter of elementary justice that these mass murderers must pay for their crimes—and also a vital measure of self-protection for the workers movement.

The capitalist world is not currently experiencing the degree of social crisis such that the frenzy of a desperate petty bourgeoisie provides a breeding ground for fascism to flourish. But the networks of ex-Nazis and fascist terrorists are still there, ready to be activated. They are especially active in Italy where a fascist "strategy of tension" led to an attempted coup d'état by military officers in 1970 (a plot headed by the "black prince" Valerio Borghese and implicating the Italian air force chief of staff and the head of military intelligence), numerous bombings of leftist meetings, the blowing up of an international express train by Ordine Nero (Black Order) and assassinations of left-wingers.

In Italy the connections to the Mussolini era are obvious, with several levels of fascist organization ranging from the legal Italian Social Movement to an unknown number of secret rightist terrorist organizations. Internationally these groups meet periodically under the auspices of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). The WACL has drawn support from "respectable" imperialist politicians, and its September 1970 world conference held in Tokyo was addressed by U.S. senator Strom Thurmond and received greetings from American vice president Spiro Agnew, Korean dictator Pak Chung

Hee and long-time Taiwan strongman Chiang Kai-shek (*Daily World*, 13 October 1970). Also affiliated to the WACL is the World Union of National Socialists which includes German, Swedish, Chilean and Argentinian chapters.

Ex-Nazi war criminals have played an important role in these international terrorist conspiracies. A prime example is Otto Skorzeny, the former SS officer who "rescued" Mussolini from the Badoglio government in 1943 and then was instrumental in suppressing the 1944 "generals' plot" against Hitler. While supposedly "living quietly" in Madrid since the war, he has been identified as advising the French fascist shock group Paladin, the Italian Ordine Nero and in 1975 the "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP) which carried out an extensive bombing campaign against Communist Party leaders and left-wing military officers (*O Seculo* [Lisbon], 29 March 1975). Skorzeny reportedly died last year.

Others have played key advisory roles to the murderous secret police agencies of Latin America. Thus in Chile, Walter Rauff, a former SS colonel who devised the gas trucks used to murder at least 97,000 Jews in 1941-42, in the period before Hitler's extermination camps were completed, played an important part in setting up Pinochet's murderous DINA secret police after the bloody 1973 coup (*New York Times*, 18 May 1975).

Today, while the Carter administration has launched a major international campaign of phony "human rights" propaganda as a means of isolating the Stalinist-ruled USSR and simultaneously restoring the tarnished image of U.S. imperialism, the United States continues to harbor scores if not hundreds of Nazi war criminals. The profoundly anti-democratic, murderous fascist filth collected by the Allied "democracies" as a part of the anti-Soviet cold war was dramatically revealed recently at a New York City forum for "Soviet dissidents" at which leading social democrats were howled down. In slightly different circumstances they would have been lucky to escape with their lives from the clutches of these fascist scum.

It is these vicious forces of reaction which the U.S. government has protected, while refusing to admit tens of thousands of Jews during and after World War II, excluding Chilean left-wingers tortured in junta concentration camps and deporting several million innocent foreign workers. The *New York Daily News*, in propagandizing in favor of fascists right up until the bombing of Pearl Harbor, merely said openly what the liberals would not admit: that the imperialist bourgeoisie would use these anti-labor, anti-communist race-hate nationalist terrorists as their final weapon to defend the capitalist order. Only international proletarian revolution will finally wipe the Nazi, Ustashi, Iron Guard and other fascist vermin from the face of the earth. ■

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Indiana Chrysler Strike...

(continued from page 12)

and shop committee chairman Ted Ward claimed that they had tried, unsuccessfully, to get the workers back on the job. The failure of the Local leaders to actively mobilize the membership greatly strengthened the International's hand. UAW president Woodcock called a Local meeting for March 29 and appointed Fraser, the union's Chrysler Department head, to do the hatchet job.

In 1973 he gained a certain notoriety by bitterly opposing a series of pre-contract summer wildcats. He castigat-ed Chrysler for "giving in" after two black workers secured the firing of a racist foreman at Detroit's Jefferson Ave. plant by locking themselves in an electrical power cage and shutting off the juice. Later he played a prominent role in defending the 1,000-man goon squad of union bureaucrats which broke the Mack Avenue Stamping Plant sit-in.

Also in 1973, in his capacity as head of the UAW Skilled Trades Department, he helped cram a rotten agreement down the throats of Ford skilled tradesmen who had voted it down. In 1974 he backed the cops, judges and local union officials who broke a wildcat strike at the Dodge Truck plant. Here, truly, is a man with experience.

Before Fraser left Detroit, he let his strikebreaking intentions be known, along with the threat to place Local 1226 in receivership. "We will ask the workers to go back to their jobs at the meeting in Indianapolis," Fraser said. "I don't want to contemplate what we'll do after that if they don't end the walkout. I'm reluctant to take control. First we'll try to convince them to do the right thing" (*Indianapolis Star*, 29 March 1977).

At the massive meeting of 2,000-2,500 workers at the Market Square sports arena, Fraser predictably described the

situation as untenable and, foisting the blame on the strikers, promised merely "to try to salvage the damage already done." Mimicking Chrysler's line that no negotiations were possible until work resumed, Fraser urged the workers back and assured them that negotiations on the grievance against the foreman would begin only after that.

One striker, a 23-year Chrysler worker, complained to *WV* that Fraser "didn't want to hear our side" and that members had to demand that Fraser allow Local president Larry Shick to speak in the meeting. Shick said he explained the situation but, instead of forthrightly denouncing Fraser's backstabbing, told the workers "you have to make the decision." Fraser called for a straw vote; in the absence of a fighting alternative leadership, two thirds of those voting decided to return to work while a majority (including the Local leadership) abstained.

Shick told *WV* that the role of Solidarity House in the strike was a "travesty." But his refusal to openly fight the International, to organize mass picketing and to call for solidarity action from other locals gave Fraser a free hand to strangle the strike. "They do their job, we do ours," Shick said lamely. Following the meeting, pickets were removed and the second shift reported for work.

The pro-capitalist UAW bureaucrats in Solidarity House see their "job" as maintaining labor peace at any cost. In this case, the price was a broken strike and a beheaded Local. Union officials who seek to find safe ground between Woodcock/Fraser & Co. and the hard-pressed rank and file, will either be crushed, or, as is more often the case, they will simply capitulate to the union tops.

Either way the workers lose. The UAW needs leaders who break with the pro-capitalist treachery of Solidarity House and the equivocation of local leaders caught in the squeeze. For a class-struggle leadership in the UAW! ■

Lewis 17X Dupree Acquitted

Lewis 17X Dupree was acquitted on March 27 of murder charges stemming from a 1972 police attack on the Nation of Islam's Mosque No. 7 (now the Malcolm Shabazz Temple) in Harlem. The trial, which began in February, was the second for Dupree on the same charges. The first, one of the longest and most expensive trials in the state's history, ended with a hung jury last November. But the prosecution would not give up in its determination to railroad the Muslim teacher.

Dupree was arrested along with Bobby 9X Hopes on 14 April 1972, the day of the police raid. It began when two cops barged into the mosque, claiming they had received a phone call for help from a detective inside. Dozens more helmeted police arrived while outraged neighborhood residents gathered outside. Almost immediately, as if planned in advance, over 100 police in full riot gear, including machine guns, laid siege to the mosque.

In the melee a cop was shot; he died several days later, most likely as a result

of wounds received in the police crossfire. Dupree and Hopes were charged at the time with assault, but two years later the charge against the mosque teacher was changed to murder. Bobby 9X Hopes' trial is scheduled for next month.

The state's frame-up case against Dupree was based mainly on the testimony of police "eyewitnesses" and a paid police informer, who admitted in the first trial that he received \$140 from the cops for his services and was under indictment for using stolen credit cards. To encourage other "witnesses," the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association offered \$25,000 to anyone providing "evidence" leading to a conviction of Dupree.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League demand that the charges against Bobby 9X Hopes be dropped immediately. Stop the cop vendetta! For more information, write to the Lewis Ali Defense Fund, c/o Malcolm Shabazz Temple No. 7, 102 West 116 St., New York, NY 10026. ■

MEC...

(continued from page 4)

torture centers of Chile from the cases of other women who are their class enemies."

The MEC is here engaging in the most despicable dishonesty. We nowhere said or implied that the MEC defends fascists, much less that it "supports" them.

Our objection to the civil libertarian defense of "all political prisoners" is an important part of the SL's principled political history. More than ten years ago we exposed the refusal of the SWP-supported USLA to explicitly disavow the support of fascist political prisoners; this social-democratic evasion finds its full political logic in the SWP's explicit position in favor of "free speech" for fascists as well as in USLA's sectarian red-baiting of the campaign to free Chilean miners' leader Mario Muñoz.

The MEC's silly demagogic syllogism is a blatant attempt to justify MEC exclusionism. The argument goes: the SL says the MEC defends fascists; therefore the SL reads the MEC out of the workers movement; therefore the SL must feel it would be principled to disrupt MEC classes; therefore we must exclude the SL.

Kass's letter also includes a hilarious defense of the MEC's sectarian failure to endorse the campaign to free Muñoz. Says Kass, "we feel just lending our name does not have much impact in supporting the case." MEC literature boasts that the MEC supported the "Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, the campaign to save Hostos College, the Fourth of July Coalition, the Puerto Rican cement workers struggle, the June 5, 1976 meeting in defense of the Portuguese Revolution," but we are asked to believe that it was misplaced modesty that caused the MEC to make its name conspicuous by its absence from the long list of trade-union organizations, left-wing tendencies and individuals concerned with democratic rights who endorsed the campaign which became a symbol of the plight of victimized Chilean militants and refugees in Argentina.

"Disrupting"?

Finally, we are told that the SL violated the "rights of the rest of the audience, packed our meetings, attempted to monopolize discussion periods..." What is this supposed to mean? "Packing a meeting" invokes images of

people who are not members of an organization turning out to be counted for a vote. What meeting? What vote? SL members have attended MEC classes, public forums, special "events." At these gatherings, no votes are taken.

The MEC's plaintive wail about the rights of "the rest of the audience" apparently boils down to a complaint that the SL has paid too much attention to the MEC, has sent too many people to participate who have argued too vigorously and effectively for our politics. We are sorry that our interventions have apparently wounded the inflated egos of MEC honchos who are forced to defend their revisionist and often unintelligible theories against Leninist criticism. But we defy the MEC to produce a single instance where SL supporters have "packed" meetings, shouted anybody down, threatened anyone, assaulted anyone, or committed any kind of violation of the practices of workers democracy.

The SL's interventions put the MEC into the uncomfortable position of admitting that it has political positions—something which is always threatening to the paper "unity" of this heterogeneous "collective." The Kass letter is nothing but an attempt to legitimize suppressing our exposure of the MEC's prostration before feminism and popular frontism, our counterposition of the Marxist program to the MEC's opportunist cheerleading for "Third World" nationalists and Stalinists. It is the bureaucratic formalization of the petty gripe and gossip campaign by which the MEC leadership hopes to shield its members from the principled Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League. ■

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: \$10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund.")

Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Name _____

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The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization, which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

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Britain...

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the Liberals to "Keep Labour in - on approval," and opined that "the consequences of a Tory victory now are, frankly, worrying." And the *Economist* (26 March) "tentatively welcomed" Callaghan's deal with the Liberals.

Why is it that every important organ of bourgeois opinion now favours maintaining in office the Callaghan government over an election which would bring the Tories to power? Why do British capitalists and their most intelligent spokesmen prefer a Liberal-Labour coalition to their own traditional party and direct agency of bourgeois rule?

The British working class has powerful economic organizations and a tradition of trade-union militancy and solidarity. The recent long strike of 3,000 Leyland toolmakers against the Social Contract, though broken by bureaucrat Hugh Scanlon, put a scare into the ruling class. They knew that a violently right-wing Tory government would provoke massive industrial action which could explode in a revolutionary confrontation.

As the *Financial Times* (23 March) put it just before the Lib-Lab deal was announced:

"However sceptical one may be about the success of Phase Three [of the Social Contract], it is at least arguable that Labour has a better chance of preventing a wage explosion than a new Conservative Government would have..."

At the present time, only the reformist Labour misleaders have the political authority to force the working class to accept a drastic cut in living standards. The rabidly anti-working-class Thatcher could impose an economic austerity program like Callaghan's only through widespread state repression, inciting fascist forces such as the National Front and ultimately risking civil war.

Callaghan has been quick to discover another advantage from being the "hostage" of the Liberals (apart from the obvious one of remaining in office). Already he is alibiing the bloc with Steel by explaining that:

"... because we are a minority government then we have to do certain things that wouldn't be done if we were a majority... there are times when you want to take certain actions that you find difficult to take because you can't construct a majority for it."

—quoted in *Tribune*, 25 March

Unfortunately for Callaghan, the British workers have just experienced two years of majority Labour rule, and they are not liable to quickly forget the "certain actions" (wage freezes, social service cuts, etc.) that Callaghan used his parliamentary majority for.

Ramsay MacDonald's Coalition Government of 1931

Recently in West Europe there has been a rash of coalitions involving mass social-democratic or Stalinist parties and one or several bourgeois parties. The French Union of the Left; the Italian Communist Party's attempts to "historically compromise" itself with the Christian Democrats; and, the case which most closely parallels the present situation in Britain, the West German coalition government since 1972 of the dominant Social Democracy with the Free Democrats (a small liberal bourgeois party) are all examples of this trend. However, the British working class has traditionally more strongly opposed "coalitionism" than have its continental counterparts. This is largely due to the lingering stench of the "National Government" established in 1931 by Ramsay MacDonald, the former leader of the Labour Party.

MacDonald headed the second Labour government, which was elected in 1929. This cabinet, like Callaghan's, was a minority government and required the support of the Liberals to get any legislation through parliament.



Economist

"Left" Labour cabinet members Tony Benn (left) and Michael Foot complained about coalition with Liberals, then backed Callaghan.

After the 1929 stock market crash, British financiers were threatening the government with the collapse of the entire British banking system, and demanding drastic cuts in public expenditure, particularly unemployment benefits.

MacDonald was unable to get his Labour government to agree to impose such unpopular anti-working-class measures and instead led 12 (of 254) Labour MP's into a reactionary coalition government with the Liberals and Tories. In the subsequent election the Tories scored tremendous gains, the Liberals' vote declined sharply and Labour only managed to retain 52 seats. The new cabinet, headed by MacDonald, proceeded with its attack on the working class, including such measures as the vicious Means Test to push the mounting numbers of unemployed off the dole.

Callaghan is no doubt hoping that the fading memory of the 1930's, his own fast talking and the unanimous support of the loyal fake-lefts in parliament will be sufficient to dispel the taint of "MacDonaldism" which attaches itself to this most recent coalition. However, traditional hostility to "the traitor MacDonald" and coalitionism remains strong enough that Callaghan has been compelled to explicitly disavow the historic parallel. Callaghan, Foot & Co. are already busy denying that their deal with the Liberals is a coalition and claiming that it does not represent a denial of the "basic principles" of the Labour Party.

In one sense, of course, Callaghan is right—for inasmuch as the fundamental "principle" of the Labour brass is class collaborationism, this bloc with the Liberals is only a variation on the same theme which runs straight through the history of their wretchedly reformist, social-democratic party. However, the most class-conscious Labour supporters will see this coalition with the Liberals as a formal repudiation of the Labour Party's traditional claim to stand for the interests of working people against the capitalists.

It is this militant layer to which revolutionaries must address themselves in the coming period, seeking to use Callaghan's open bloc with the Liberals as a lever to separate chunks of Labour's base from the treacherous tops. One important tactic for revolutionaries in doing this is to put forward a policy of conditional non-support to Labour in upcoming elections unless and until they repudiate coalitionism.

The "Far Left" Tails Labour, as Always

Those groupings to the left of the Labour Party in Britain have generally expressed displeasure at the Lib-Lab coalition. The Communist Party's *Morning Star* denounces Callaghan and Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis

Healey, drawing the parallel with MacDonald. But then it uncritically reports "for the record" objections of the Tribunites, neglecting to mention that every one of these fakers is continuing to give the Callaghan leadership their full support. The political simpletons of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (formerly International Socialists) were only able to draw the abstractly correct but one-sidedly syndicalist/economist conclusion from the Lib-Lab deal that, "this week has proved it one more time... we can't rely on parliament" (*Socialist Worker*, 26 March). The Cliffite program is well summed up as,



Economist

James Callaghan

"support of all workers in struggle for higher wages."

The lead article of the 25 March *Militant* (the paper of an ostensibly Trotskyist tendency of Labour-loyal parliamentary cretins, led by Ted Grant) notes with relief that, "The attempted overthrow [!] of the Labour government by Mrs. Thatcher and her sorry crew of Tory 'extremists' has failed." After railing against "the Tory Shadow Cabinet in their brainless greed for office," the *Militant* goes on to offer its own advice to Callaghan: "Only socialist policies can save the Labour Government." Thus the Grant group presents its own utopian-reformist strategy of "winning the Labour Party to peacefully transform capitalism into socialism" as the most expedient way for the pro-capitalist Labour tops to save their government (and their portfolios) from the Tories. But Callaghan is no more interested in "socialist policies" than socialists should be in "saving" Callaghan's vicious anti-working-class Liberal-supported Labour government!

The response of the self-styled "Trotskyist" "far left"—the centrists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the International Communist League (I-CL) and the Workers Socialist League (WSL)—has been to combine verbal opposition to the Lib-Lab deal with continuing support to Labour.

After going through a ritual denunciation of the crimes of the Labour government, the IMG concludes that "whenever the election takes place *Red Weekly* will call for a vote for Labour" (*Red Weekly*, 24 March). The coalition with the Liberals did not change the IMG's electoral loyalism to Callaghan.

The I-CL, writing before the bloc had been finalised, advised that it would be "better a thousand times that the Labour party should vacate office than that it should depend on Liberal or Ulster Tory votes" (*Workers' Action*, 24 March). The I-CL also advised the Tribune group not to support the government on the Tory no-confidence motion, but could not bring themselves to advise a vote against the Labour Party (in coalition with the Liberals)—so they counselled abstention. Like the IMG, the I-CL indicates that come what may it will support Labour in any election. Thus in explaining to the Tribunites the difference between not supporting the government in the no-confidence vote and in a general election, the I-CL states that, "To support the Government is not an act of preference: if it were we would say, Labour in, Tories out!"

The Workers Socialist League noted that, "Even when the ignominious pact had been concluded, not a single [Labour] 'left' MP was prepared to come out with decisive condemnation... with friends like these, workers fighting the government need no enemies" (*Socialist Press*, 25 March). From these essentially correct observations, the WSL somehow concludes that the "lefts," despite their manifest real appetites, "should have demanded and themselves set up a new leadership based on socialist policies." Thus the WSL's at best naive position ("make the lefts fight") logically leads to the same capitulatory conclusion as the IMG and I-CL—continuing to support the Labour Party (or at least a wing of it).

The response of the Healyites was predictable. Denouncing the Lib-Lab deal as a betrayal, these political bandits called on Labour supporters to "turn out at once to the factories and housing estates [public housing] to build the Workers Revolutionary Party as the alternative to these traitors" (*News Line*, 25 March). And what does this mean concretely? The lead editorial answers: the "Euro-March '77" consisting of youth from eight countries will set off from Dortmund, West Germany, and will link up with no less than four other marches in Britain.

All this marching will culminate in London, where "a giant rally will be held focusing on one question—the main question; calling for the independent strength of the working class to bring down the Lib-Lab coalition government!" Why wonder how the German Healyites feel about a 500-mile hike to end up simply protesting the Labour Party's parliamentary manoeuvre—such is life in Healy's "little English" "International." All in all, the Euro-March '77 will be far less politically potent and significant than the historical event it most resembles—the 14th-century Children's Crusade.

Labour's parliamentary coalition with the Liberals poses the fundamental contradiction between the socialist aspirations of the British working class and the parliamentary character of its party, the Labour Party, in a particularly acute fashion. The various "Trotskyist" groups which inhabit the British left have all once again demonstrated their incapacity to respond to the treacherous social democrats except by sectarian posturing as the mass alternative to the Labour Party on the one hand, or by offering counterrevolutionary bureaucrats their political support on the other. The disorientation and capitulation of the ostensibly revolutionary left in Britain underlines the urgent necessity for the construction of an authentic Trotskyist party in Britain as part of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike Ends, Nothing Solved

Defeat at Fremont

FREMONT, California, April 4—The strike by some 5,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 at the giant General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) plant here ended in defeat last Friday with none of the issues which provoked the four-day-long strike settled.

The Fremont GM workers walked out at noon on March 28. The strike was called by shop chairman Earlie Mays after the company arrogantly refused to meet union demands that foreman Clem Holquim be removed from his job. Holquim, who has a long record of treating the union with utter contempt, assaulted a committeeman filing a grievance against GM harassment of an injured worker. Holquim also racially insulted an alternate committeeman working on the same grievance.

In retaliation against the walkout, GM fired the entire shop committee, haughtily announcing that the issue of Holquim's job was "not negotiable." To justify these outrageous acts it labelled the strike a "wildcat," and "illegal" under the UAW/GM national contract's paragraph 117 (prohibiting strikes without International authorization).

At the same time that Local 1364 was being kicked in the face by GM, the

UAW International stabbed it in the back by refusing to sanction the strike. Instead, the Woodcock bureaucracy denounced the walkout as a "wildcat" and told the Local to go back to work. The positions of both the UAW International and GMAD were identical. Local 1364 had to end its "wildcat" and return to work before negotiations could begin.

But the strike was not a "wildcat." It was called by the elected officials of Local 1364 in response to a deliberate and serious company provocation. No union can permit company goons to freely harass, insult and intimidate its officials and members. The right to strike is the chief weapon of the trade unions and any union which renounces the right to strike over working conditions is giving up its ability to defend its members.

By drawing a hard line on the foreman issue and firing the whole shop committee, GM was announcing its intent to tame the Local, one of the most militant in the UAW, and to try to turn the clock back to the early 1930's when there were no unions in the auto plants and company goon squads roamed the shop floors, terrorizing militants at will.

From the outset of the strike it was clear that GM's firing of Mays and the



WV Photo

Picket at San Leandro Chevrolet dealer in solidarity with Fremont GM strike.

shop committee was an attack on the entire union and that all union members, whatever their criticisms of the Mays leadership, should unite to overturn these firings. Yet events were to make it perfectly clear that Mays and the Local 1364 shop committee, having stumbled into a strike provoked by management, had no stomach for waging a serious fight.

To begin with, Mays too called the strike a "wildcat," playing into the hands of the company and the Solidarity House gang in Detroit, both of whom wanted the strike over as quickly as possible. The Local 1364 leadership also adopted the suicidal policy of limiting picketing while looking to the UAW

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Doug Fraser Breaks Indiana Chrysler Strike

INDIANAPOLIS, March 30—Yesterday Doug Fraser, who is slated to succeed Leonard Woodcock as president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) later this year, broke the back of a twelve-day strike at Chrysler's Indianapolis Electrical Plant. The longest UAW "wildcat" in recent years was terminated by the heavy hand of the International without gaining a single concession! The fate of 23 officials of Local 1226 who were fired during the strike and of 44 Local members who were suspended has been left to post-strike negotiations.

The action stemmed from an incident March 15 when a 6 ft. 8 in. foreman assaulted a union steward. The strike began three days later when outraged workers watched the foreman being escorted back into the plant by a bristling circle of armed cops. As a further provocation, Chrysler had other cops stationed throughout the area as well. One Local official told *WV* that it was "almost like a concentration camp."

Workers in the windshield wiper department began jeering and booing the reappearance of the foreman, backed up by state firepower, and soon walked out. The entire second shift followed, and the next day all 3,200 plant workers were on strike.

Pickets went up around the plant. But Chrysler rushed to obtain a strikebreaking court order which limited pickets to four per gate and precluded blocking traffic. On March 21 Chrysler stepped

up its legal offensive by issuing a battery of lawsuits against the Local and its officers. The corporation sought a \$200,000 damage suit plus \$238,000 for each continuing day of the strike as well as \$1.5 million in punitive damages. And a week later, Chrysler fired the Local president, the vice-president, the recording and financial secretaries, five committeemen and 14 stewards, also suspending 44 militants "identified" on the picket lines. Reportedly, another list of "identified" pickets was also prepared.

Despite this barrage, Local 1226 members solidly supported the strike. Union officials estimated that no more than five workers crossed the picket lines. At a Local meeting on March 20 only two or three workers voted to return to their jobs out of more than 600 in attendance. More than 200 workers appeared at a subsequent press conference and showed similar solidarity.

The Local 1226 membership has a history of defending itself. They struck for 17 days in January over the Local contract. Last September they wildcatted to keep plant cafeteria workers in the bargaining unit. The plant manager moans that the factory has the "worst" strike record in the corporation.

Thus the Local 1226 ranks have a demonstrated capacity and willingness to fight. What spelled defeat in their recent struggle was the absence of a leadership capable of outlining and implementing the class-struggle policies



WV Photo

Doug Fraser

needed to beat the cops, courts, Chrysler and the UAW International. By refusing to take the steps that could defeat this unholy alliance the Local leadership managed to stab itself in the back.

To win the strike, mass picketing should have been instituted to shut the

plant down tight. Acquiescence to the court injunction limiting picketing not only allowed Teamsters to cross the token lines, but inevitably demoralized the striking workers. Equally important, mass picketing would have served dramatic notice to both the company and the International of the ranks' solidarity and determination to win the strike.

A broad-based strike committee should have been elected to draw large numbers of militants into active participation and leadership of the strike. Such a committee could have served as a rallying point, calling on other UAW locals to support the strike and bolster the picket lines. It would also have provided a focus for militant opposition to the Local leaders' buckling under to the International, the company and the government.

Such tactics would have helped to counter the virtual news blackout imposed by Indianapolis' two pro-Republican, staunchly anti-labor newspapers. Management took out full-page ads denouncing the strike and emphasizing that it was unauthorized by the International. A belated union ad claimed that the strike had "the sanction of human decency." This was printed only after 25 Local members picketed the *Star and News* Building March 25 to protest the delay.

Local 1226 officials told *WV* that they were not involved in calling the strike,

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