

Revolution and Truth

To people new to the left the disputes between competing organizations often seem obscure or trivial. Everyone seems to agree on the "big things" so why spend so much time arguing about secondary questions? But experience has shown that questions which seem secondary today can assume great importance when circumstances change. The truth is there are good reasons for the separate existence of virtually every group on the left. The only intelligent way to gauge the relative merits of the various groups is to seriously study the points in dispute between them.

The materials attached to this leaflet provide a complete record of a recent exchange between the Bolshevik Tendency and the Spartacist League (the American parent group of the Trotskyist League). It was initiated by a newsletter put out by Howard Keylor, a BT supporter in the San Francisco longshoremen's union. Militant Longshoreman condemned the union leadership's plans to set up mandatory drug testing with the companies. The Spartacist League responded with an article in its newspaper, Workers Vanguard.

The nature of the exchange over this question can tell you a lot about the character of the two groups involved, in addition to the particular issues in dispute. Both the BT and the SL lay claim to the legacy of Lenin and Trotsky and on many questions we have very parallel positions--at least on paper. But we have two different methodologies and we represent two different kinds of politics.

1) WV's 25 April attack misrepresents the article in Militant Longshoreman as in effect calling for "union narcs" and characterizes it as "Ed Meese <Reagan's top cop> unionism." Read the original for yourself and see what you think.

2) The 5 June reply to this attack by Bryan P. was printed in the 1 August issue of WV but in an edited (ostensibly "for space") version. The quotation from the original which made it clear what Militant Longshoreman's attitude was toward the proposed testing was omitted. WV also dropped the comparison to the right of a union to expel known fascists. Why? We can only presume that they couldn't come up with an answer. Instead WV resorted to a filthy smear, claiming that with the rationale put forward in the letter "you could have found some people to transport the Jews to the death camps."

3) Finally, the 29 August issue of WV takes this whole dishonest method of argument one step further and invents a "quote" which they attribute to Keylor. It claims that "Howard Keylor, in the San Francisco longshore union has called for 'union control of drug testing'". This is an out and out lie. Neither Keylor, nor any other BT supporter has

ever called for any such thing.

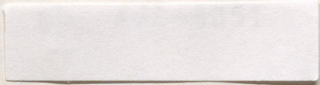
Members and supporters of the Trotskyist League should ask themselves two questions: 1) why does the Spartacist tendency find it necessary to distort and falsify the positions of the BT?; and 2), why has the Spartacist tendency consistently refused to meet the BT in open public debate (as it has in the past with a wide range of other political opponents)? The answer is that the SL is no longer a revolutionary organization. Revolutionaries do not need to falsify the record to "prove" a point, nor do they resort to smears or exclusions. These are the weapons of cynics.

A group which does not tell the truth in little things will never be able to build a working class movement to look after the big things. The truth is revolutionary. Unfortunately the Spartacist tendency is not.

20 September 1986

labor donated

Bolshevik Tendency
Box 332 Adelaide St. Stn.
Toronto



MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

Issue No.14
(415) 562-3308

Published by Howard Keylor
P.O.Box 43092, Oakland, CA 94624-0092

3 January 1986
Labor Donated

Re-Elect Keylor to Executive Board

A few days ago a brother approached the editor and asked, "Are you still going to run for office on that pie in the sky program? Stan [Gow] doesn't print up a program any more. You know the union is going down hill fast and these guys won't fight PMA - and sure not the government." This leaflet will try to respond to these questions.

First a few obvious examples why this brother is so pessimistic. The 1984 contract settlement allowed PMA to code hundreds of men out of PGP. The local was unable to stop many of these brothers from losing health and welfare benefits.

The increasingly desperate job squeeze for older men led to a dangerous confrontation between Locals 34 and 10 over the extra clerk jobs. At one point the Local 10 Executive Board seriously debated taking our sister local to court -- a clear invitation to the capitalist courts to "administer" our contract. One of the few positive events this past year is that this issue was finally resolved, leaving our two locals free to fight PMA instead of each other.

The decline in traditional winch and lift skilled jobs due to containerization and the monopoly of better paid skilled jobs by 9.43 men means that a longshoreman in San Francisco has to spend 20 years working on the hold board. During the last couple of years we've seen continued attempts to wipe out seniority in promotions and skilled dispatch categories. Fortunately the membership recognized that seniority is the only remaining protection we have for older and partially disabled longshoremen, and voted these motions down.

DRUG & ALCOHOL SCREENING COAST COMMITTEE ACTS AS PMA COPS

Those members who were at the November meeting got a real shock when it was reported that the class collaboration policies of the International has reached a new low. The union side of the Coast Committee has agreed with PMA to a "screening program" for alcohol and drug use. Applicants for registration and longshoremen being promoted will be subject to a screening or check for drug and alcohol use -- supposedly to make the waterfront a safer place to work. This cynical and hypocritical demand from PMA should have been summarily rejected by the union side with the counter demand that the employers stop their speed-up, unsafe work practices, and short manning that create unsafe working conditions on the waterfront. For instance: In 1984 PMA adamantly refused to even consider updating the safety code to provide for safety conditions working aboard container ships that have been in effect in Asian and European ports for years. This is just another move by the stevedoring companies to try to make the individual longshoreman legally responsible for the high accident rate in the industry.

Think about it: How will this "screening" for drug and alcohol addiction take place? This program makes all arrest and legal actions and all medical records outside the job evidence that can be used against a longshoreman. There

are two outstanding dangers here. "Evidence" accumulated in this way could be used by employers to get out of paying claims to longshoremen injured on the job. Even more sinister is the danger opened up by the Coast Committee grant of approval to PMA for the acquisition of this kind of information, thereby giving the bosses another weapon to use against union activists and militants!

Almost all unions have resisted employer drug testing programs, pointing out among other reasons the notorious unreliability of these "tests". For example: A person who never uses marijuana but happens to be in a room or enclosed space where someone else is smoking a joint will test out as a user for up to 30 days afterwards. Our local Caucus delegates must go into the February Coast Caucus and demand that the Coast Committee reverse their decision to act as cops for PMA.

There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to PMA, the union handled such problems internally. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control.

WHY A CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM?

Most brothers and sisters see no way out of the weakness, decline and isolation of our union. We say that the history of the working class and of our union has valuable lessons that show the way for workers to protect themselves and finally seize control of society. The MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN program, printed at the end of this issue, tries to apply these lessons to our own union as a guide to those things we should fight for, and the tactics we have to use to get them. That's why we call for concrete acts of workers' solidarity, from joining other unions on their picket lines to political strikes against U.S. imperialist intervention against Central American revolutionary movements. Unless we break out of our isolation and help to build ties with other workers, our isolation will lead to even more defeats.

We should be ashamed that, except for a tiny handful of longshoremen, the Restaurant workers on strike for months just a couple of blocks from our hall got no help from our local. While Chilean longshoremen are in a desperate strike to defend their union, ILWU locals continue to unload cargo from that country, while the International issues mealy-mouthed statements of support. No group of workers can even defend and preserve their hard-won gains without working class solidarity. Those who forget this lesson lead the working class into one defeat after another.

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION:

LOCAL 10 DELEGATES SURRENDER TO HERMAN

Local 10 sometimes takes very good positions on paper, but doesn't follow through. Last April our local went into the International Convention having unanimously passed two historically important resolutions for working class solidarity. One resolution called for a union wide boycott of South African cargo demanding the International organize the action, and urging other locals to make the same demand of the International. The second resolution called for a 48-hour coastwise longshore strike if Reagan intervened militarily in Central America. [Stan Gow opposed both of these resolutions in the Executive Board -- probably because Keylor proposed them.] But what happened then? Our Convention delegates sat on their hands and failed to put up a fight for these resolutions allowing Jimmy Herman to line up his cronies and hand-raisers and defeat the proposals in the Resolutions Committee -- thus preventing these issues from even coming up on the floor for debate. Keylor was not a delegate, having failed to be elected in the February 1985 election by one vote.

Local 10 and our union appear even further away than in previous years from developing a class-struggle leadership -- but the need is even greater. No other candidate for office besides Keylor has a program that answers the needs of our union. No other candidate is committed to such a program.

DON'T MISS THE NEXT MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN

In February we will deal with the coastwise erosion of our jurisdiction and the sub-standard longshore contracts being negotiated by the International. We'll try to describe an alternative to this no-win strategy to stop non-union longshore operators.

We'll also deal with the danger to workers posed by protectionism, union busting and the growing racist and fascist movements.

MILITANT LONGSHOREMAN PROGRAM

1. DEFEND OUR JOBS AND LIVELIHOOD - Six hour shift, no extensions, at eight hours pay. Manning scales on all ship operations; one man, one job. Weekly PGP, eliminate all "coding out" rules. Full-no-cap C.O.L.A. on wages. Joint Maritime union action against non-union barge operations.
2. DEFEND THE HIRING HALL - Use regular gangs on container ships; no dispatch of "unit gangs". Call all 9.43 men back to the hall. Stopwork action to defend the hiring hall, the stop line, and older and disabled men.
3. DEFEND UNION CONDITIONS AND SAFETY THROUGH JOB ACTION - Stop PMA chiseling on the contract. Eliminate "work as directed", "no illegal work stoppage", and arbitration sections from the contract. Mobilize to smash anti-labor injunctions. No employer drug or alcohol screening.
4. DEFEND OUR UNION - Eliminate class B registration category from the contract - promote all class B to class A coastwise. Keep racist anti-labor government and courts out of the union. Support union resistance against court suits and government "investigations". Union action to break down racial and sexual discrimination and employer favoritism on the waterfront. Organize now for a coastwise contract fight to get what we need.
5. BUILD LABOR SOLIDARITY - against government/employer strikebreaking. No more PATCOs. Honor all picket lines - remove reactionary ones. Don't handle struck or diverted cargo. No raiding of other unions. Organize the unorganized and the unemployed. Labor strikes to stop cuts in Social security, MediCal, Medicare and Workmen's Compensation.
6. STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR through union organized labor/black/Latino defense actions. No dependence on capitalist police or courts to smash fascists.
7. WORKING CLASS ACTION TO STOP REAGAN'S WAR DRIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION - Oppose reactionary boycotts against Soviet and Polish shipping. Labor strikes to oppose U.S. military actions against Cuba, Nicaragua, or Salvadoran leftist insurgents. Boycott military cargo to Chile, El Salvador, Israel and Turkey. Defy the apartheid injunction. Boycott all South African cargo.
8. INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY - Oppose protectionist trade restrictions. Defend undocumented workers with strike action. ILWU support to military victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador.
9. BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES - Start now to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without payment to the capitalists and establish a planned economy to end exploitation, racism, poverty, and war.

ET Wants Unions to Police Workers Ed Meese Unionism

As Big Brother Ed Meese and the Reaganites in Washington gear up for a Moral Majority pot-and-porn crack-down, out in the heart of "Reagan Country" compulsory drug testing of workers has already touched off an uproar. While Los Angeles police chief Daryl Gates and Orange County state senator John Seymour have called for random urine tests for all workers, the Machinists union is suing General Dynamics for violating constitutional protection of privacy with its arbitrary drug testing of employees (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 April). The misleaders of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), on the other hand, have gone along with the PMA maritime bosses in ordering compulsory "screening" for drug and alcohol use by new-hires on the docks.

We denounced such totalitarian controls in our article "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (*WV* No. 400, 28 March). It should be clear to any fighter for labor's rights that this sinister form of capitalist control will be used to intimidate and tyrannize the workforce and frame up union activists. With their drug testing the bosses make no bones about the fact that they're after speedup and putting liability for accidents on the workers. Yet, incredibly, in the face of

this cynical employer offensive, one Howard Keylor, in his misnamed "Militant Longshoreman" (3 January) newsletter, calls on the ILWU to "exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem"! What this amounts to is calling for *union narcs*!!

Keylor claims this is "a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning." Like hell! Stan Gow, a member of the Local 10 exec board and long-time Trotskyist on the waterfront, sharply denounced this crap:

"The argument is that since the PMA, or the government, raise it, therefore there must be *A PROBLEM*. And therefore, for reformist-minded people like Keylor, what better 'solution' than using the union as the bosses' cat's paw to subject the workers to one more form of regimentation for the anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan and his crony Jerry Falwell would love it."

Gow, a spokesman for the Militant Caucus in the union and a supporter of the Spartacist League, has forthrightly fought against this "moral rearmament" witchhunt. But Keylor, as the main public spokesman for the former "External Tendency" (now self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency"), is legitimizing *the maritime employers' anti-drug*

campaign with his call for a union detox campaign.

What's next, Howard! "union-controlled" lie detector tests? This is no joke. The drawn-out Coors brewery strike was touched off in part by the company's use of lie detectors on job applicants, covering everything from marijuana and sex to "subversive, revolutionary or communist activities." Adolph Coors is a major Reagan backer, who has kicked in big bucks to finance the CIA's contra terrorist war against Sandinista Nicaragua.

Henry Ford had his own "morals" experts for spying on workers, lest they engage in extramarital sex, unauthorized absenteeism, left politics or whatever. It took bloody fights to build trade unions to protect the workers against this crap. Now the ET/BT proposes that a bunch of fat-cat bureaucrats be given the power to police the workers' "morals." So what about policing their politics, or their productivity? Millions of workers today are bedeviled by company spies, like the "beakies" in New York transit, whose job it is to make sure that workers calling in sick are really home in bed. Perhaps Howard would like to see this function too taken over by the unions?

Keylor's despicable position on drugs

contains the germ of the whole outlook of a reformist labor party: to take "control" of all the shit of capitalist society, from running bankrupt industries to policing prostitutes. And what about keeping an eye on AIDS carriers, compulsive gamblers, vivisectionists? Where does it stop? The ET line is closely related to the idea that prison guards and police should belong to the unions. This view used to be popular in Britain, but after the miners strike workers discovered that cops are not just friendly bobbies. In less than two steps this program of making the unions responsible for "resolving" social evils under capitalism leads to joining company boards of directors and participation in capitalist governments. Keylor aspires to be another "Sir Harold" Wilson.

In World War II, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party raised the "proletarian military policy" of trade union control of military training. This mistaken notion was an opening toward social patriotism, and contrasted sharply with the SWP's principled, internationalist opposition to the imperialist war and defense of the Soviet Union. But for Howard Keylor, his policy of "proletarian Meesism" is a return to his Stalinist-reformist roots. In fact, even before he and the other ET/BT quitters individually fled from Spartacist politics in the hard times of Reagan's America, Keylor continued to hold the Stalinist line of supporting the imperialist Allies in WWII.

This is not simply a "historical" question. During the war it led Keylor's

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Ed Meese Unionism...

(continued from page 3)

former Communist Party comrades to scabherd in the name of the "anti-fascist coalition." In 1984, as he worked hand in glove with Stalinist supporters like Leo Robinson in sabotaging an SF dockers' boycott of a South African ship, Keylor hailed the ILWU's 1939 boycott of scrap iron to Japan as a model (see "Battle Over Union Action at South Africa Ship," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984). Yet this was simply a part of Roosevelt's imperialist sanctions, to strangle Japan economically in order to force it to go to war! It led straight to the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. If that boycott was so great, how about calling on the workers to boycott *American* imperialism which was embarking on a global expansion?!

Today, Reagan & Co. are trying to frame everyone from the Sandinistas to union militants on charges of terrorism and drugs. Yet it's precisely the U.S. spy agencies, working hand in glove with the Afghan mujaheddin and Nicaraguan contras, who are up to their necks in drugs-for-guns trafficking. Keylor's drug program is class collaboration masquerading as concern for "safety." Consider what it would mean in practice. Suppose his union narcs nab someone smoking a joint, what then? Dock their pay? Is the union supposed to supply straitjackets to force members to go "cold turkey"? Howard Keylor is a canting hypocrite and a renegade, and the bosses have uses for such types. In his desperate efforts to secure a niche in the ILWU bureaucracy Keylor is offering himself up as an anti-drug narc and an anti-red narc, to keep the union in the straitjacket of reformist politics. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Newburg, Ontario
KOK 2S0

June 5, 1986

Workers Vanguard
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10116
U.S.A.

Dear Editor:

→ { For a number of years I have been a reader of Workers Vanguard. On occasion I have defended the ist, marched with your contingents on demonstrations and supported specific defense campaigns that you have endorsed or initiated.

I read with surprise your polemic against ILWU militant and Bolshevik Tendency supporter, Howard Keylor (WV #402, 25 April 1986). I could not imagine a BT supporter calling, in your words, for "union narcs." I took the trouble to get a copy of the Militant Longshoreman which you cited as the source of this "deviation" (No. 14, 3 January 1986). What I read there was exactly the opposite of what was conveyed in your article, where you lifted quotations out of context and ignored the actual content of the newsletter.

Keylor's article was an expose of the collusion between the PMA maritime bosses and the ILWU labor fakers in a proposed drug and alcohol screening scheme. The article was titled: "Coast Committee Acts as PMA Cops." What Militant Longshoreman actually said was:

→ { "The union side of the Coast Committee has agreed with PMA to a 'screening program' for alcohol and drug abuse....This cynical and hypocritical demand from PMA should have been summarily rejected by the union side with the counter demand that the employers stop their speed-up, unsafe work practices, and short manning that create unsafe working conditions on the waterfront.... This is just another move by the stevedoring companies to try to make the individual longshoreman legally responsible for the high accident rate in the industry....There are two outstanding dangers here. 'Evidence' accumulated in this way could be used by employers to get out of paying claims to longshoremen injured on the job. Even more sinister is the danger opened up by the Coast Committee grant of approval to PMA for the acquisition of this kind of information, thereby giving the bosses another weapon to use against union activists and militants!"

So Keylor was actually attacking the bureaucrats and putting the whole PMA demand in the proper context of a repressive assault on workers related to the exploitative nature of the work and its health and safety hazards. The Militant Longshoreman item concluded with the demand for the

reestablishment of union power and control over its own internal affairs-- things which the labor bureaucracy has traded for its cosy relationship with the bosses:

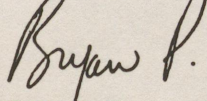
"There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to the PMA, the union handled such problems internally. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control."

→ { Your argument against Keylor seems to hinge on the proposition that reliance on the traditional mechanisms of internal union discipline to control the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters could potentially be misused by the bureaucrats. To be consistent you should also then come out against the hiring hall--for what is that but an example of "union power and control" over individual members? In neither case is it possible to offer any absolute guarantee that union discipline might not be utilized improperly--whether in allocating work unfairly or in regulating the behaviour of a particular member. Or consider this: suppose a union decided to throw out some fascist creep who had wormed his way in? Would you be inclined to view that as a dangerous precedent which might allow the bureaucrats to censor the political views of its membership? The point is that the truth is concrete. Ultimately only the political consciousness of the ranks can prevent perversions of hard-won union gains by unscrupulous officials. Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods (from the point of view of the working class) for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world.

As for the rest of your polemic--it is hard to take it seriously. What if Keylor did hold the wrong political position on World War II years ago when he was a supporter of the Communist Party? Where was Jim Robertson on Soviet defensism in the early 1950s? That kind of argumentation is contemptible.

Your article "ET Wants Unions to Police Workers: Ed Meese Unionism," stinks and anyone with access to the documents knows it. It is indeed evidence of profound degeneration when those who claim to uphold the mantle of Trotskyism are convicted in the pages of their own press of this kind of cynical manipulation. Small wonder that students at Berkeley now reportedly greet the SL with the jeer "The Main Enemy is the BT!"

Yours for militant truth,


Bryan P.

P.S. I now consider myself a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency.

Workers Control of AIDS?

Newburg, Ontario
June 5, 1986

Workers Vanguard

Dear Editor:

I read with surprise your polemic against ILWU militant and Bolshevik Tendency supporter, Howard Keylor (WV #402, 25 April 1986). I could not imagine a BT supporter calling, in your words, for "union narcs." I took the trouble to get a copy of the *Militant Longshoreman* which you cited as the source of this "deviation" (No. 14, 3 January 1986). What I read there was *exactly the opposite* of what was conveyed in your article, where you lifted quotations out of context and ignored the actual content of the newsletter.

Keylor's article was an expose of the collusion between the PMA maritime bosses and the ILWU labor fakers in a proposed drug and alcohol screening scheme.... The *Militant Longshoreman* item concluded with the demand for the reestablishment of union power and control over its own internal affairs—things which the labor bureaucracy has traded for its cosy relationship with the bosses:

"There is a traditional union solution to the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning. In the earlier history of the union, before Harry Bridges and his buddies surrendered so much union power and control back to the PMA, the union handled such problems *internally*. But when our local tries to exercise union discipline as part of the effort to help our brothers overcome their problem, PMA has rushed in to stop us. Our union must reassert this right and exercise internal union discipline and control."

Your argument against Keylor seems to hinge on the proposition that reliance on the traditional mechanisms of internal union discipline to control the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters could *potentially* be misused by the bureaucrats. To be consistent you should also then come out against the hiring hall—for what is that but an example of "union power and control" over individual members? In neither case is it possible to offer any absolute guarantee that union discipline might not be utilized improperly—whether in allocating work unfairly or in regulating the behaviour of a particular member.... Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods

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WV Photo

BTer Howard Keylor (left): would-be union narc.

Where was Jim Robertson on Soviet defensism in the early 1950s? That kind of argumentation is contemptible.

Your article "ET Wants Unions to Police Workers: Ed Meese Unionism," stinks and anyone with access to the documents knows it. It is indeed evidence of profound degeneration when those who claim to uphold the mantle of Trotskyism are convicted in the pages of their own press of this kind of cynical manipulation. Small wonder that students at Berkeley now reportedly greet the SL with the jeer "The Main Enemy is the BT!"

Yours for militant truth,
Bryan P.

P.S. I now consider myself a supporter of the Bolshevik Tendency.

WV replies: Your long letter [excerpted for space] in defense of the indefensible Howard Keylor and his policy of "proletarian Meeseism" is a quintessential expression of Canadian social democracy—i.e., it's "our" job to keep the slovenly, drunken lowlifes of the working class in line, to keep them clean, moral, hard-working and disciplined in the name of temperance, god, the queen and especially the Cold War. Your views reek of all the hypocritical

moralism of the New Democratic Party, which is currently campaigning to stop the Ontario Liberal government from allowing beer and wine to be sold in grocery stores. Issues of *Playboy* have been banned in Canada. For years Swedish social democracy has made the price of hard liquor, cigarettes and even cigarette papers too expensive for workers to afford, because "it's not good for them." Britain of course is notorious for its restrictive licensing hours of pubs.

In our article "Down with Meese's Drug Witchhunt!" (WV No. 400, 28 March) we stated: "The anti-drug hysteria is part of the Reagan administration's effort to regiment American society, the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive." This is the context of the compulsory "screening" for drug and alcohol use of new-hires initiated by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) with the support of the ILWU union tops.

There was no drug or alcohol "problem" on the waterfront until the PMA said there was! But Keylor (and you) accept, and therefore legitimize, the premise of the PMA witchhunt. He refers sanctimoniously to "the problem of brothers who use substances that affect their functioning." You echo Keylor with your condescending reference to "the odd member who might engage in dangerous or abusive behaviour toward his brothers or sisters...." Keylor merely objects to the instrumentality of an *employer*-administered anti-drug program ("No employer drug or alcohol screening," is all he states under the heading of "Safety"), and instead argues that the union should have its *own* program to deal with "the problem." Keylor's concern about employer drug testing seems mainly to be that the

The Dispatcher



1934: SF general strike won ILWU union hiring hall. BT grotesquely equates this historic gain to the union's enforcing Meese's drug witchhunt.

1 AUGUST 1986

WORKERS VANGUARD, No. 409

innocent could be caught up with the "guilty." Citing the "notorious unreliability" of the employer tests, Keylor complains, "A person who never uses marijuana but happens to be in a room or enclosed space where someone else is smoking a joint will test out as a user for up to 30 days afterwards." The man even talks like a narc! Presumably he wants a union anti-drug campaign using more "reliable" methods, like maybe eyewitness informants.

Only a reformist-minded cynic and dilettante, comfortably remote from the struggles of the working class would attempt as you do to equate union control of the hiring hall with your own despicable call that "union power and control" be used "in regulating the behaviour of a particular member." The 1934 San Francisco general strike was a historic victory for the North American working class. In fierce and bloody battles the longshoremen and their allies wrested union recognition and the union hiring hall from the maritime bosses, thereby ending the infamous "shape up" system of hiring on the West Coast waterfront. Now you and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency" of Cold War quitters would have that same union put its hiring hall in the service of the maritime bosses by denying work to members victimized by the Reagan/Meese-inspired anti-drug witchhunt!

Your blithe generalization of Keylor's position, "Union discipline is simply the best of all conceivable methods... for dealing with the kind of problems which inevitably arise in the real world" is a proposal that the existing trade union leadership take charge of and repress real or alleged social evils within the working class. How nice for the

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BT Letter...

(continued from page 3)

bourgeoisie! Even the old labor lieutenants of capital with their "business unionism" outlook didn't want that role. How about "union control" of AIDS testing? With this rationale you could have found some people to transport the Jews to the death camps.

But why has this issue come up at all? Because there has been a substantial move to the right in this country, and the BT's idea of meeting this shift is an obscene collaboration. You people have got it exactly wrong. Instead of opposing it, you have simply joined the pack, only with a nuance.

What you refer to so offhandedly as Keylor's "wrong position on World War II" was support to his own bourgeoisie in an interimperialist war. And it wasn't "years ago." He maintained this position while a member of the Spartacist League. Attempts to discuss this question of class principle with Keylor were interrupted by disputes over his unwillingness to raise the SL program in the popular-frontist Central American trade-union solidarity milieu. These disputes ultimately concluded with his resignation from the SL in late 1981 over our condemnation of the betrayal of the PATCO strike by the U.S. labor

bureaucracy.

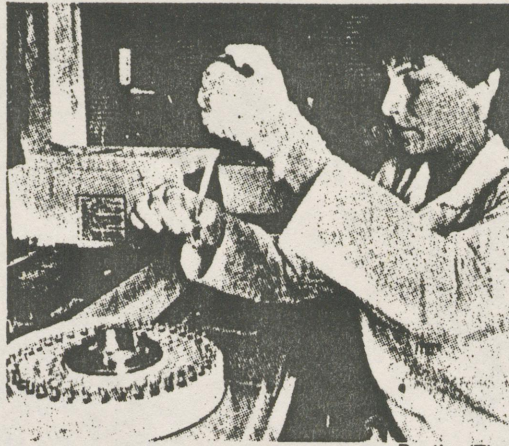
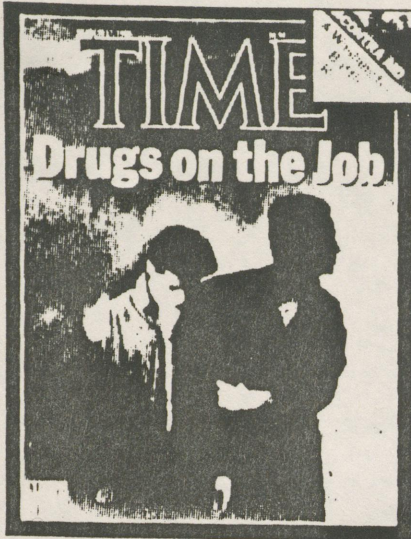
Interestingly, Keylor—who joined the Communist Party because of its support in 1948 to Henry Wallace, the "third party" candidate of the capitalist Progressive Party—left the CP only in 1961, and then over the relatively smaller issue of a trade-union question. With your common outlook of white, reformist, anti-communist laborism, you and the other Canadian BTers and the aspiring labor bureaucrat Keylor are fit company. By your efforts to legitimize Meese's reactionary anti-drug crusade you serve the interests of your own bourgeoisie, attempting to put a "labor face" on the domestic side of the anti-Soviet war drive.

P.S. The BTs bombed out badly at Berkeley recently when your pal Keylor disgusted a roomful of anti-apartheid students when he launched into a real 1950s-style redbaiting attack against the pro-Albania Marxist-Leninist Party. ■

NOTICE

**Workers Vanguard
skips an issue
in August.
Our next issue will be
dated August 29.**

WORKERS VANGUARD



Big Brother at work: U.S. rulers want to regiment workforce through mandatory drug tests.

to buy black shampoo. The Black Muslim leader has got his, and he's off to Phoenix, moving into Elijah Muhammad's old mansion. In contrast, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight in the tradition of Frederick Douglass, for *revolutionary integrationism* and black liberation through socialist revolution. Speaking at a Harlem community group last August, Spartacist candidate for NYC mayor Marjorie Stamberg responded to questions about the ghetto syndrome of drugs and school dropouts:

"Our starting point is that we cannot reform, in any kind of piecemeal way, the system—the whole system is set up to exploit and oppress the working people and minorities. We need a socialist revolution that overturns the whole basis of the oppression in this society. You see, you're going to want an education if you have a job out there. If you don't have it, and you have no possibility of doing anything, except being drafted into the army and being cannon fodder in some damn war against your class brothers in Nicaragua or Vietnam, what life is there for you? That is what we want to change. That is what we're fighting about."

The Only Solution: Socialist Revolution

At the heart of struggles for democratic rights in this society is always to be found the fundamental contradiction between capital and labor. And predictably the unions are being heavily targeted by the Meese police in the current drug witchhunt. Ironically, top on the list are air traffic controllers. On August 22, dozens of controllers in the Los Angeles area were removed from their jobs because of suspected drug use. Reagan considered his firing of 13,000 air controllers, in order to break the PATCO union, the high point of the first year of his administration. But now even the scabs of 1981 are again talking union, so great are the job pressures. So the government tries to enforce labor

industry, where stimulants are widely used to cope with the pounding pressure and need for quick action. College and professional athletes often turn into speed freaks from all the pills they're fed by the trainers. Over-the-road trucking wouldn't exist without drivers popping bennies in order to meet impossible schedules. And Wall Street stock brokers keep as high as the market from the moment the bell rings. Their bosses on the Big Board never complained until they discovered that their yuppies were engaging in insider trading scams to feed their habits!

With millions of government workers facing the threat of random drug testing, a number of public employees unions have mounted legal challenges. In Plainfield, New Jersey, Judge H. Lee Sarokin (who freed Hurricane Carter) ruled that surprise urine tests were an invasion of privacy and raised "serious constitutional questions." In Los Angeles, the Machinists have gone to court over drug testing at General Dynamics. A judge ruled favorably on the baseball players union's suit against Ueberroth's mandatory drug testing plan, holding that it was indeed an illegal attack on the contractual grievance procedure. But what is the upshot? The labor fakers are not objecting to *stimulation* by drug testing per se, but only to its being used without their involvement.

One would-be bureaucrat and renegade, Howard Keylor, in the San Francisco longshore union has called for "union control of drug testing"—that is, union narcs. This should endear Keylor

Court Gags Students...

(continued from page 5)

to Stalinist puritans of the Progressive Labor ilk. Declaring that "the U.S. has become the land of drugs and greasy hamburgers" (*Challenge*, 23 July), PL has been stomping around Brooklyn trying to shut down crack houses like junior G-men. In Detroit, they reportedly extended this pernicious vigilantism to smashing the windows and doors of a local resident while shouting "child molester."

Marxists are fighters for scientific socialism, not bluenosed Mrs. Grundys who pawn off prudery as progress. In the industrial revolution in Britain in the 1840s, Karl Marx's associate Frederick Engels wrote about the hullabaloo of those Reaganite bigots of the age, the temperance troops who used to go around attacking pubs:

"The working-man comes from his work tired, exhausted, finds his home comfortless, damp, dirty, repulsive; he has urgent need of recreation, he *must* have something to make work worth his trouble, to make the prospect of the next day endurable.... His enfeebled frame, weakened by bad air and bad food, violently demands some external stimulus; his social need can be gratified only in the public-house, he has absolutely no other place where he can meet his friends. How can he be expected to resist the temptation?... Drunkenness has here ceased to be a vice, for which the vicious can be held responsible.... They who have degraded the working man to a mere object have the responsibility to bear."

—*Condition of the Working Class*, quoted in Peter Fryer, *Mrs Grundy: Studies in English Prudery* (1963)

Spearheading the drive for global counterrevolution, the Moral Majority and Reaganite New Right target everything from abortion clinics to the legacy of the hippie drug culture, in order to instill in the youth the "traditional values" so necessary to serving as cannon fodder. In the process, they end up targeting just about everybody.

Now they have declared a "war on drugs." It's pure hypocrisy: practically every one of their Third World puppets—Batista, Somoza, Duvalier, Stroessner—is a big-time drug trafficker. The real aim is enforced social conformity in preparation for war. And the battle against the sinister anti-democratic "anti-drug" campaign is intricately bound up with the struggle against imperialism and for socialist revolution. ■

even in Reagan's America, newspapers across the country printed Fraser's entire speech—more than can be said for the pronouncements of Richard ("Expletive Deleted") Nixon. Even some members of the Supreme Court found nothing to blush about in the